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Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 2024 • \$3

## Russian cash sways far right in Europe

Kremlin-backed outlet funneled thousands to politicians, officials say

BY CATHERINE BELTON  
AND SOUAD MEKHENNET

PRAGUE — When an associate of one of Russian President Vladimir Putin's closest allies launched a pro-Kremlin media outlet here in May 2023, Czech counterintelligence officers began keeping careful watch.

For nearly a year, European intelligence officials said, the Czech authorities secretly recorded hours of meetings between several far-right politicians from across Europe and the associate, Artem Marchevsky, who was running the propaganda website, Voice of Europe, including at its offices on a quiet side street in the center of Prague. E.U. and Czech authorities, which have shut down the site, have labeled Voice of Europe a Russian propaganda operation.

The Czech probe rapidly expanded into Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland and France, European security and intelligence officials said, as investigators concluded that Voice of Europe represented far more than its official veneer as a pro-Russian website interviewing favored European politicians about ending aid to Ukraine.

The organization was being used to funnel hundreds of thousands of euros — up to 1 million a month — to dozens of far-right

SEE RUSSIA ON A14

**Interference:** Report says Russia is trying to disrupt Olympics. **A14**

## Religious schools get billions in public cash

State rules on vouchers expand taxpayer funds for private tuition use

BY LAURA MECKLER  
AND MICHELLE BOORSTEIN

Billions in taxpayer dollars are being used to pay tuition at religious schools throughout the country, as state voucher programs expand dramatically and the line separating public education and religion fades.

School vouchers can be used at almost any private school, but the vast majority of the money is being directed to religious schools, according to a Washington Post examination of the nation's largest voucher programs.

Vouchers, government money that covers education costs for families outside the public schools, vary by state but offer up to \$16,000 per student per year, and in many cases fully cover the cost of tuition at private schools. In some schools, a large share of the student body is benefiting from a voucher, meaning a significant portion of the school's funding is coming directly from the government.

In just five states with expansive programs, more than 700,000

SEE SCHOOLS ON A6



CARL DE SOUZA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

**Claudia Sheinbaum, protégée of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, celebrates her successful bid Sunday to succeed him. Their Morena party also appeared close to assembling two-thirds majorities in Congress. Likely next on the party's agenda: the judiciary.**

## For Mexican democracy, ‘warning signs’

BY MARY BETH SHERIDAN

MEXICO CITY — Claudia Sheinbaum's resounding victory in Mexico's presidential election has injected fresh energy into a leftist movement that has rapidly reshaped the United States' most populous neighbor and is poised to assume far-reaching control over government.

It took Mexico decades of painstaking effort to transition from a one-party state to a 21st-century democracy. Now, some warn, it's at risk of returning to the authoritarian system of the 20th century, under a different name.

"There are many warning signs on the horizon that should worry those concerned about the future of democracy in Mexico," said political scientist Denise Dresser, a prominent critic of the ruling Morena party.

Morena, founded by President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, emerged from Sunday's election the undisputed heavyweight of Mexican politics. It secured the presidency for six more years and appeared close to

Vote's concentration of power in López Obrador's leftist movement raises specter of a return to one-party rule

assembling two-thirds majorities in Congress, which could allow it to change the constitution.

With such clout, it could now take control of the third branch of government, the judiciary — a prospect that alarms some democracy activists. López Obrador has proposed modifying the constitution to change how judges are named.

What sets Morena apart is that it sees itself as more than a political party. It's proclaimed the "Fourth Transformation" of Mexico, a campaign to break the grip of a corrupt political class linked to economic and media leaders. López Obrador, or AMLO, has maintained high ratings with expansive welfare

programs and the kind of bash-the-elites rhetoric that's fueled the popularity of Donald Trump.

Opposition parties say López Obrador has interpreted his mandate as a license to centralize power and weaken any institutions — the courts, the federal election board, the media — that stand in his way. They fear that Sheinbaum, his protégée, will do the same.

Morena supporters counter that a strong, centralized government can avoid the gridlock that has kept Mexico from solving some of its most intractable problems, such as the spectacular growth of organized-crime groups. Yet even some of those supporters concede that Morena, which also controls two-thirds of the nation's governorships, could be tempted to run roughshod over opponents.

"The big question," political scientist Carlos Pérez Ricart said, "is how do you ensure

SEE MEXICO ON A13

**Female president:** With official push for parity, Mexico paved way for a woman to lead. **A12**

## Biden faces son's trial as president and patriarch

Opening pushes a new high-profile legal case into heart of campaign

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA

As jury selection launched Monday for *United States v. Robert Hunter Biden*, it marked another novel moment in a period that has seen no shortage of them: the first time the child of a president faces a felony trial.

Coming just four days after jurors in New York convicted former president Donald Trump for falsifying records to hide a hush money payment, Hunter Biden's trial for allegedly lying on a gun-purchase form further entrenches the courtroom as a central player in an unorthodox and chaotic presidential election.

President Biden has lost two other children, and the legal ordeal facing his surviving son will be an emotional experience as well, longtime associates say, testing his ability to maintain a professional and political distance.

Facing a situation unlike any president before him, Biden — who at 81 is the patriarch of a large and growing family — will have to navigate the trial as



KEVIN LAMARQUE/REUTERS

**Hunter Biden arrives at federal court Monday with his wife, Melissa Cohen Biden, in Wilmington, Del. He is charged with lying on an official form when he bought a gun in 2018.**

president, candidate and father.

The cases against Trump and Hunter Biden are markedly different, not least because one defendant is seeking the presidency and the other is a private citizen. But both could affect the 2024

election as Republicans seek to tie Biden to his son's legal troubles, and the president's handling of them will be scrutinized closely by voters considering his performance as president and as patriarch.

"We live in a time when Americans largely consider the courtroom to be politics by other

SEE BIDEN ON A4

**Jury selection:** First day of trial highlights U.S. drug epidemic. **A4**

## Biden to set cap limiting asylum

ACCESS TIED TO  
ILLEGAL CROSSINGS

System shuts down if threshold is exceeded

BY NICK MIROFF  
AND TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA

President Biden plans to issue an order Tuesday that would shut off access to the U.S. asylum system when illegal border crossings exceed a daily threshold, according to four administration officials and people with knowledge of the plans.

Migrants would be returned to their home countries or Mexico and be ineligible for asylum consideration once the limit is surpassed, according to the officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss the pending White House order.

The administration has been considering the move since the failure of bipartisan border legislation this year that would have enacted a similar trigger to shut off asylum access at times when U.S. authorities become overwhelmed. People with knowledge of the plans said they expected the cap to be set at a daily average of 2,500 illegal crossings. Standard asylum processing would resume when the number drops below 1,500 crossings, an official said.

Illegal crossings along the U.S.-Mexico border have averaged more than 3,500 in recent weeks, according to the latest government

SEE BORDER ON A7

## Billionaire to pay D.C. \$40M in settlement

Lawsuit accused Bitcoin investor of dodging his income taxes for years

BY MICHAEL LARIS

Billionaire bitcoin investor Michael Saylor and the software company he founded have agreed to pay \$40 million to settle a lawsuit by D.C.'s attorney general alleging he defrauded the city of millions in taxes by falsely claiming he lived in Virginia or Florida, according to a copy of the agreement.

Attorney General Brian L. Schwab (D) said the resolution marked the largest income tax recovery in city history and should serve as a message for District residents trying to dodge tax bills by pretending to live elsewhere.

"No one in the District of Columbia, no matter how wealthy or powerful they may be, is above the law," Schwab said in a statement.

Under the agreement, Saylor and MicroStrategy, the business software firm he founded in 1989, deny they violated District law and admitted no wrongdoing.

In a statement Monday, Saylor

SEE SETTLEMENT ON A20

### IN THE NEWS

**'Simply preposterous'** Anthony S. Fauci, a former health adviser to Donald Trump and President Biden, dismissed allegations at a House hearing that he led a covid coverup. **A5**  
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# Rubio spreads debunked 2020 election claims



The Fact Checker

GLENN KESSLER

*“You have places like Wisconsin with over 500 illegal drop box locations ... you have places like Georgia where liberal groups were paying people \$10 per vote. ... Look at what happened in Arizona, 200,000 ballots that the signatures didn’t match.”*  
— Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.), in remarks on NBC’s “Meet the Press,” May 19

In the contest to join former president Donald Trump on the 2024 ticket as his running mate, aspirants have had to follow his path on questioning election integrity in the United States. Many refuse to say they will accept the election results if Trump doesn’t win. Some in contention have echoed Trump’s falsehoods, as Vivek Ramaswamy did when he declared in one of the GOP primary debates that “the 2020 election was indeed stolen by Big Tech.” (The theory, without evidence, is that more coverage of the Hunter Biden laptop would have changed the election results.)

In a recent television appearance, Rubio managed to achieve a trifecta.

He refused to say he would accept the results: “If it’s an unfair election, I think it’s going to be contested.”

He suggested that more coverage of the laptop would have affected the 2020 results: “What undermines elections is when NBC News and every major news outlet in America in 2020 censored the Biden laptop story, which turned out to be true, not Russian misinformation, unprecedented.”

And he made three specific claims about 2020 — one misleading, two debunked. Let’s examine them in the order he made them. A Rubio spokesperson declined to address his statements in detail. She



JOE SKIPPER/REUTERS

**Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.), who is reportedly interested in being Donald Trump’s running mate, has questioned the 2020 results.**

forwarded the office’s news release on his appearance, which cast his comments as addressing the “legacy media’s one-sided questioning on election denying.”

## 500 ‘illegal’ drop box locations in Wisconsin

Rubio is referring to a July 2022 ruling by the Wisconsin Supreme Court that 528 drop boxes that were in place in 2020, during the pandemic, and 570 in a 2021 election were “illegal under Wisconsin statutes.” In the 4-3 ruling, the court concluded that state law did not explicitly permit drop boxes, even though they had been used in some jurisdictions for years. “An absentee ballot must be returned by mail or the voter must personally deliver it to the municipal clerk at the clerk’s office or a designated alternate site,” the court said.

Officials “may have been trying to make voting as easy as possible during the pandemic, but whatever their motivations, WEC [the Wisconsin Elections Commission] must follow Wisconsin statutes,” the court said. “Good intentions never override the law.”

Brian Hagedorn, one of the judges in the majority,

emphasized in a concurring opinion: “This case is not about the risk of fraudulent votes being cast or inspiring confidence in elections.”

In other words, Rubio is relying on an after-the-fact court ruling, one narrowly focused on whether state statutes allowed the use of drop boxes, even in a once-in-a-century health emergency. The ruling was close. In fact, the balance of power on the court has since changed, and the now-liberal-leaning court is considering whether it should overturn the ruling.

## People in Georgia were paid \$10 per vote

This is a discredited falsehood, peddled by an organization, True the Vote, notorious for spreading election misinformation. True the Vote first made this claim in 2021, but after the state of Georgia launched an investigation and demanded evidence, it tried to withdraw the allegation.

The investigation “uncovered zero evidence of the allegations made by True the Vote but did expose True the Vote as a mendacious and deceptive enterprise that ... is untrustworthy and unable to provide a shred of evidence for a

single one of their fairy-tale allegations,” Mike Hassinger, a spokesman for the Georgia secretary of state, a Republican, said in an email. “Like all the lies about Georgia’s 2020 election, True the Vote’s fabricated claims of ballot harvesting have been repeatedly debunked, and anyone who repeats them is either a willful dunce or a co-conspirator.”

True the Vote did not respond to a request for comment. In brief, the organization in November 2021 filed a complaint claiming that a source identified only as “John Doe” said he had been one of many people who had been paid to collect and deliver absentee ballots — for a fee of about \$10 per ballot — during the 2020 election. The complaint said this “ballot trafficking scheme” had been organized by “a network of non-governmental organizations” and that the source had been paid directly from one of these groups.

But the story fell apart when Georgia authorities tried to investigate. Truth the Vote first tried to refuse a subpoena, claiming confidentiality agreements, and then tried to withdraw the complaint. When Georgia refused to allow that, True the Vote admitted in a court filing that it had no confidentiality agreement or “identity and contact information” regarding its alleged source.

## 200,000 signatures didn’t match on ballots in Arizona

As with the Georgia example, Rubio is fanning a theory that has little basis in fact.

Joe Biden won Arizona by only 10,457 votes, or 0.3 percent of the nearly 3.4 million ballots cast. Afterward, Republicans claimed that Maricopa County, the state’s biggest, allowed tens of thousands of ballots with signature mismatches to be counted. Biden won the county by 45,109 votes, so his margin there was critical to his narrow victory.

Mark Brnovich, the

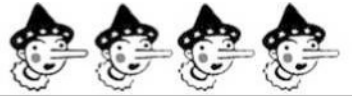
Republican attorney general at the time, in 2022 issued a report saying the signature verification system in the county was “insufficient to guard against abuse.” When a Democrat, Kris Mayes, became attorney general last year, she released internal documents from the Brnovich probe showing that his investigators did not find evidence of fraud or improper procedures. At one point, Brnovich even left out edits from his own investigators refuting his assertions. His staff advised him that the county had rigorous training and processes, as well as additional staff, to ensure signature verification.

As we noted, Rubio’s spokesperson did not explain where he obtained the 200,000 figure. Our colleagues at FactCheck.org believe it came from a February 2022 “pilot study” funded by the Republican-controlled Arizona Senate. That study extrapolated from a sample of 499 early ballot envelopes; more than 1.9 million early ballots were cast. The study claimed that “200,000 mail ballots with mismatched signatures were counted without being reviewed (‘cured’) in Maricopa.”

That’s not the same as 200,000 signatures being fraudulent. Indeed, the study estimated that only 5,277 ballots should have been disallowed. But again, all of these numbers are an extrapolation from a tiny sample — and we now know Brnovich’s investigators found no evidence of problems.

## The Pinocchio Test

Trump is setting a high bar for vice-presidential contenders. They appear to need to echo his debunked claims of election fraud in 2020. Rubio’s statements, especially regarding Georgia and Arizona — one from a notorious election conspiracy group; the other extrapolated from a small sample — likely pass the Trump test. But they fail the Pinocchio test. Rubio earns four.



## DIGEST

### ARKANSAS High court sends back redistricting case

The Supreme Court on Monday sent a lawsuit challenging Arkansas’s 2021 U.S. House map back to a three-judge panel, ordering it to review the suit in light of the high court’s decision against similar claims of bias in a redistricting case from South Carolina.

The ruling is a setback for the lawsuit challenging the way Arkansas’s majority-Republican Legislature redrew the lines for a Little Rock-area congressional district. A three-judge panel last year dismissed the suit, which claimed the redrawn map violated the U.S. Constitution and the Voting Rights Act by moving thousands of predominantly Black voters out

of the 2nd District in central Arkansas. Those voters were split between the state’s 1st and 4th congressional districts.

Residents of the district who sued over the map had appealed the panel’s decision to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court’s Arkansas decision comes after the court last month preserved a Republican-held South Carolina congressional district, rejecting a lower-court ruling that said the district discriminated against Black voters.

Tim Griffin, Arkansas’s Republican attorney general, called Monday’s decision a procedural move that will require the lower court to apply the South Carolina decision.

None of the state’s four congressional districts are majority Black, and the state has never elected a Black person to

Congress. About 15 percent of Arkansas’s population is Black.

— *Associated Press*

### NEW YORK 2 officers, gunman hurt in shooting

Two New York City police officers and a 19-year-old man were shot and wounded early Monday during a confrontation and were hospitalized, officials said.

Mayor Eric Adams said one of the officers was saved by his bullet-resistant vest.

The officers pursued the man while he was driving a motorized scooter the wrong way on a street in Queens around 1:40 a.m., Police Commissioner Edward Caban said.

The officers tried to pull him

over, but he got off the scooter and ran away. The officers chased him on foot for several blocks, Caban said.

He fired multiple rounds at officers, who returned fire, Caban said. One officer was shot in the front of his vest, and the other officer was shot in the leg.

The man was shot in the ankle and was taken to a hospital. Both officers were treated at a hospital and released.

— *Associated Press*

### CALIFORNIA Protesters arrested in Israel mission building

Police on Monday arrested pro-Palestinian demonstrators who occupied the lobby of a San Francisco building that houses the Israeli Consulate.

Associated Press journalists

saw police zip-tie the hands of about 50 people. Officers then put them in police vans and drove them away.

A group of pro-Palestinian demonstrators entered the building and occupied it for several hours Monday. They posted signs on the front doors of the building calling for an end to the Israel-Hamas war.

Police officers made multiple warnings ordering the demonstrators to leave before they moved in and started detaining people, police said.

Marco Sermoneta, consul general of Israel to the Pacific Northwest, said the protesters arrived around 9 a.m. at the Financial District’s high-rise but didn’t enter the consulate’s offices. Police officers guarding the building said it was not open to the public.

— *Associated Press*

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POLITICS & THE NATION

Flag at the center of Alito controversy tied to extremism

BY HANNAH ALLAM

From the earliest days of the republic, American radicals have drawn inspiration from a simple white flag emblazoned with a green pine tree and the words “An Appeal to Heaven.”

Among 18th-century revolutionaries, the flag emerged as a call to arms in the buildup to war against British rule, a plea for divine help when all else had failed and it was time to fight.

More than two centuries later, extremism monitors say the self-styled revolutionaries of today’s Christian far right are reviving the idea that drastic action is again required to save the republic, and they have adopted the flag as their own. Appeal to Heaven banners have appeared at rallies against pandemic-era lockdowns and at protests against LGBTQ+ events, such as Pride parades. Photos show dozens of them in the mob that attacked the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

One also flew at the New Jersey vacation home of Supreme Court Justice Samuel A. Alito, Jr. and his wife, Martha-Ann Alito. Together with the upside-down U.S. flag flown at their Virginia home, another emblem appropriated in recent years by extremist groups, researchers say the two symbols represent problem and solution: a nation in grave distress, and Christian patriots willing to rally to its rescue.

The Appeal to Heaven banner in particular, they say, has taken on apocalyptic overtones that a decade ago were limited to the far edges of the right, but are increasingly present in the centers of American power.

“The original meaning of that flag is: ‘I think armed, violent opposition to the existing government is the only recourse that true patriots have right now,’” said Seth Cotlar, a Willamette University history professor who has written extensively about early American radicalism.

Today, Cotlar said, it is embraced by “a movement that has become ever more comfortable with the idea that political violence might be necessary to save America from this largely imagined phantom of the radical left.” Conspiracy theorists and religious extremists cast themselves as fighting “communism,” “satanism,” and other forces they blame for societal ills.

The flying of both flags was first reported last month by the New York Times. In a letter Wednesday rejecting Democratic calls for his recusal from cases involving the Capitol attack, Alito said his wife was solely responsible for the flags and that neither he nor Martha-Ann was familiar with the Appeal to Heaven flag’s use by Stop the Steal advocates who promote the falsehood that Trump won the 2020 election.

“She may have mentioned that it dates back to the American Revolution, and I assumed she was flying it to express a patriotic and religious message,” Alito wrote.

While interpretations vary in detail, extremism monitors say the Appeal to Heaven flag broadly denotes a religious and political identity that mythologizes revolutionary history as precedent for a modern-day uprising. Some expressed skepticism or concern that a Supreme Court justice — especially a self-described “originalist” celebrated by conservatives as a bulwark against liberal



“Appeal to Heaven” flags dot the crowd at the “Stop the Steal” rally in Washington on Jan. 6, 2021.

SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES

ism — didn’t grasp the flag’s political message.

The flags displayed at the Alito properties have long been connected to the anti-government militia world as a protest of the “tyranny” of federal power, or to extremists preparing for what they see as a looming showdown over race or religion.

In the past decade, the Appeal to Heaven flag has gained a following among Christian nationalists seeking to impose their religious views in schools, libraries and other public institutions, a campaign that extremism analysts describe as a challenge to the separation between church and state.

Most concerning, the analysts say, is the implicit militancy the flag represents as it moves from a Revolutionary-era relic to a weapon in the culture wars.

“This flag was never neutral,” said Phoebe Jones, who researches Christian nationalism at the Middlebury Institute’s Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counism,” and other forces they blame for societal ills.

Before the Alito controversy, a handful of U.S. and state lawmakers already had faced criticism for their display of the Appeal to Heaven flag, most notably Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.). When questioned about the flag last week, Johnson told the AP he had “used that flag for as long as I can remember” out of reverence for its “critical, important part of American history.”

To Cotlar, the Appeal to Heaven flag at the Alitos’ vacation home was especially jarring. His research has explored the Appeal to Heaven’s origins in the philosopher John Locke’s Second Treatise. Cotlar said the text justifies violence against the established government as a last resort; he has described it as a colonial-era version of “Praise God and pass the ammunition.”

“If it’s clear that there’s absolutely no redress and your rights have just been completely obliterated, and you have no other re-

course, you can make this appeal to heaven and pick up your gun and start shooting,” Cotlar said.

The flag had faded into obscurity by the 1990s, when it was dusted off and adopted as a symbol of a then-nascent far-right movement to infuse Christianity into all aspects of society, with a focus on governance. The flag’s legacy, historians say, helps conceal the zealotry of the new forces claiming it.

“If you’re in the inside, you know that the Appeal to Heaven flag is this symbol for this very prophecy-, spiritual warfare-driven form of Christian nationalism. But on the outside, it just seems like it’s another patriotic symbol,” Matthew Taylor of the Baltimore-based Institute for Islamic, Christian and Jewish Studies explained in the center’s documentary “Spiritual Warriors,” on the role of Christian nationalists in the Capitol attack.

In 2013, one of the movement’s most visible proponents, Texas-based Dutch Sheets, launched what scholars have called a “spiritual warfare campaign” built around the Appeal to Heaven flag. He passed out the flags to conservative politicians, cultivating supporters who share right-wing anxieties over race, sexuality and leftist influence, said Lindsay Schubiner of the Western States Center, a civil rights group that monitors anti-democracy movements nationwide.

“That flag is a symbol of Christian nationalism, of opposition to inclusive, representative democracy, and a symbol of bigotry,” she said.

In response to questions, Sheets wrote via text message that he doesn’t know the Alitos and did not give them a flag. He described the Appeal to Heaven flag as a “wonderful” symbol of history and faith.

“The Founders knew there was no hope to defeat the British Empire unless God helped them. So they appealed to heaven,” Sheets wrote. “Today, it means we must have God’s help in restoring America. Not through violence or war, but through a great spiritual

awakening.”

One early supporter was Sarah Palin, the former Alaska governor and 2008 Republican vice-presidential nominee, who defended the Appeal to Heaven flag in 2015 during a controversy over its display at a courthouse in Arkansas. Writing in the right-wing outlet Breitbart, Palin acknowledged that her “special friends,” Sheets and his wife, Ceci, had given her one as a gift.

Republicans have often dismissed criticism of the flag as artificial outrage manufactured by liberals who are out to smear conservative Christians as violent extremists. They’ve insisted that the flag is a part of U.S. history — and that there’s no shame in flying it.

“Something that has had a particular meaning for 250 years retains its original meaning, no mat-

ter which fringe group might seek to co-opt it,” Janae Shamp, a Republican state lawmaker in Arizona, told a local news outlet when asked last year about the Appeal to Heaven flag on her desk.

That argument, however, is now being revisited in the wake of the Alito episode and a widening awareness of the flag’s roots and symbolism.

The Appeal to Heaven banner was among 18 historic flags that had been displayed since 1964 at a plaza across from City Hall in San Francisco. It was removed in recent days, according to the San Francisco Chronicle, which quoted parks officials as saying that the flag’s original significance in the quest for American independence has “since been adopted by a different group — one that doesn’t represent the city’s values.”

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# First day of Hunter Biden trial highlights drug epidemic

Jury selection delves into some of the most divisive and pervasive U.S. issues

BY PERRY STEIN,  
DEVLIN BARRETT  
AND MATT VISER

WILMINGTON, DEL. — Jury selection for the trial of President Biden’s son Hunter on Monday turned into an impromptu but painful indictment of the nation’s drug epidemic, with person after person telling the court of their loved ones’ battles with addiction. Judge Maryellen Noreika swore in a dozen jurors — plus four alternates — to determine the legal fate of Hunter Biden, who is on trial for three felony gun charges just months before his father seeks a second term in the White House in November. A substitute teacher, a former Secret Service employee and multiple gun owners were among those chosen to report back to court Tuesday morning, when opening arguments are expected to begin. Six jurors chosen were men. Six were women. Most were people of color, and their ages appeared to range from mid-20s to 70s.

During the hours of screening and selection, Hunter Biden sat with his lawyer at the defense table, while his wife Melissa Cohen Biden, first lady Jill Biden and several other relatives and family friends sat nearby in the gallery.

The responses of dozens of prospective jurors to questions in open court reflected some of the most pervasive and divisive issues in American society, with jurors discussing their views on gun ownership and mistrust of the judicial process.

And in a trial where the criminal defendant has been public about his struggles with drug addiction, the jurors told the court about similar battles fought by their parents, children and friends.

Many offered their own versions of a written statement from President Biden, who was in Wilmington on Monday but did not come to the courthouse. He said he found his son’s recovery from addiction inspiring and



First lady Jill Biden departs federal court in Wilmington after the first day of her son Hunter Biden’s trial on federal gun charges.

knew that many families of addicts could relate to Hunter Biden’s journey.

“My daughter’s been given a second chance,” said one prospective juror who was not chosen for the panel, but like many others said his experience watching a family member struggle with drugs would not prevent him from judging Hunter Biden fairly. “Everyone deserves a second chance.”

Hunter Biden faces three felony charges related to a gun he purchased in 2018. A four-page indictment accuses him of making two false statements in filling out the required paperwork to purchase the weapon. He allegedly claimed to not be addicted to or using illegal drugs, the indictment says, “when in fact, as he knew, that statement was false and fictitious.” He then allegedly

affirmed his statement was true, and illegally owned the gun for 11 days as a drug user.

He has pleaded not guilty to the charges. If convicted, the maximum sentence for the most serious crime in the indictment is 10 years in prison, though as a first-time offender he would probably face far less.

The gun trial has brought Hunter Biden back to his hometown of Wilmington — the city where he grew up, where his older brother died in 2015 of brain cancer and where prosecutors allege he was addicted to drugs when he purchased a Colt revolver. At the time, he was in a romantic relationship with his brother’s widow, Hallie Biden, who found the gun in his truck and dumped it in an upscale grocery store’s trash can. According to text messages that prosecutors plan to

present as evidence, she did so because she feared for his safety.

Many of the jurors said they have read or seen headlines about Hunter Biden’s gun case over the years in local and national news outlets, but few said they delved deeply into the details. One woman, who was selected as an alternate juror, said she first learned Hunter Biden was going to trial on Monday when her dad informed her on her drive over to the courthouse.

She told the court that many of her relatives are gun owners and that she has lost multiple friends to drug addiction. “I feel it’s an everyday part of the world nowadays,” she said.

A few prospective jurors said they personally knew the Biden family from living in Delaware. One retired police officer who has donated to the Republican Na-

tional Committee said he worked at the same school as Jill Biden and has bumped into Joe Biden at events over the years. A bartender had served drinks to Hunter Biden’s uncle — who was in the courtroom Monday — a few times at a Delaware bar. Another prospective juror had coached the children of Hunter Biden’s brother in youth sports. And one woman said she was social acquaintances with Hunter and Hallie Biden.

All four of the people who said they had personal relationships with the family were struck from the jury.

“Delaware’s a small place,” one prospective juror said.

A number of people questioned said their political views colored their opinion of the case, and were excused after acknowledging they disliked what they had

heard about Hunter Biden. A female prospective juror said she laughed when she realized what case it was, because she remembered coverage of the Biden family when Joe Biden ran for president in 2020. Asked her opinion of Hunter, she said, “not a good one.”

Hunter Biden was also charged in Los Angeles last year with failing to file and pay at least \$1.4 million in federal taxes from 2016 through 2019, tax evasion and filing false tax returns. Three of the charges are felonies; six are misdemeanors. That case is set for trial in September.

While the two indictments are separate, they stem from the same troubled period in his life, share some of the same evidence and were once more closely linked together. Delaware U.S. Attorney David Weiss began investigating Hunter Biden’s business dealings during the Trump administration, but has not brought any charges related to those activities.

Last summer, Hunter Biden reached a tentative agreement with prosecutors to plead guilty in Delaware to two misdemeanor tax-related charges and admit to the facts of a gun charge. That deal fell apart after Noreika questioned some of its terms.

Soon after, Attorney General Merrick Garland named Weiss as special counsel — a move that gave the prosecutor clear authority to file charges outside of Delaware and paved the way for the tax indictment in California.

The trial in Delaware is expected to last up two weeks, with prosecutors saying they may call a dozen witnesses. The testimony could get deeply personal and reopen some of the most painful moments in the Biden family’s past.

In his statement Monday, President Biden said: “I don’t and won’t comment on pending federal cases, but as a Dad, I have boundless love for my son, confidence in him, and respect for his strength.”

At each trial break, Hunter Biden would kiss both his wife and mother on the cheek.

As he waited for jury selection to begin in the morning, he greeted the first lady with a wry joke. “Happy birthday,” he told her.

“I got you a special event.” The two laughed.

## Biden’s son’s trial tests his ability to maintain professional, political distance

BIDEN FROM A1

means,” said Russell Riley, a presidential historian at the University of Virginia’s Miller Center. “This is the main argument Donald Trump is making, evidently with success, to diminish the impact of his multiple felony convictions. So ironically, this same argument helps inoculate President Biden from damage if his son’s trial goes badly.”

In one sign of how the two cases could affect each other, Biden on Friday chided Trump for complaining repeatedly that his case was rigged, saying, “It’s reckless, it’s dangerous, and it’s irresponsible to say this was rigged just because they don’t like the verdict.” Such a comment could make it harder for Biden to criticize his son’s trial if he is unhappy with the outcome.

Just as the defendants in the two cases are very different, so are the charges.

In Trump’s case, prosecutors said he used illegal means to prevent public exposure of an affair that could have damaged his political prospects. Hunter, in turn, is charged with falsely declaring that he was not using illegal drugs when he filled out a form to buy a gun in 2018 — even though he was in the throes of a deep drug addiction, as recounted in his memoir.

The quick succession of two historic cases just five months before the election promises to shape the contours of what is expected to be a close presidential race in unpredictable ways. Hunter Biden faces another criminal trial in September, on tax evasion charges, while Trump faces three more trials, though they could come after the election.

Biden has largely taken a hands-off approach to the courthouse machinations, seeking to show that he is not interfering with the administration of justice. And his campaign has tried to present a clear distinction between Trump’s struggles with the law and Biden’s work to deliver for the American people.

But those efforts could be complicated if Hunter Biden’s trial



President Biden has kept his son Hunter Biden close in the days leading up to the trial. Hunter Biden attended a recent White House state dinner, and the two were together in Delaware over the weekend.

resurfaces a troubled chapter in the family’s history. Prosecutors have said they are prepared to call Hunter’s former wife Kathleen Buhle, as well as Hallie Biden, the widow of Hunter’s brother Beau with whom Hunter became romantically involved.

Any tales of drugs and romance that emerge could distract the public from the tawdry facts that came out in Trump’s trial, blurring the contrast the president is seeking, said Julian Zelizer, who teaches political history at Princeton University.

“In terms of the broader impact, it’s relevant less for the son being in legal trouble — given that there has been no evidence of wrongdoing by his father — but for how much it distracts from Trump’s legal problems and tarnishes Biden’s image,” Zelizer said. “Should the trial have the effect of dampening the contrast between integrity and wrongdoing, then the impact of the case will be extremely significant.”

Republicans in Congress for months aggressively pursued

Hunter Biden, focusing mostly on his foreign business dealings and trying to tie them to his father, efforts that have largely stalled. GOP leaders continue to charge that the Biden family is ethically troubled, however, and the specter of the president’s son facing two criminal trials could play into those efforts.

Trump and his allies complain of a “two-tiered” justice system, saying without evidence that the president has used his power to go after his enemies and shield his son, who they say should be facing tougher charges.

“Just so you understand, this is all done by Biden and his people,” Trump said Friday. “This is done by Washington.” Trump’s guilty verdict came in a case brought by state prosecutors in New York, not Biden’s Justice Department.

Biden blasted such comments on Friday, saying the jury system is a foundation of American democracy and should not be depicted as fundamentally corrupt. “The justice system should be respected, and we should never

allow anyone to tear it down,” he said.

Biden’s remarks come as his son’s lawyers have argued that the prosecutors charging Hunter were influenced by political pressure from Republicans. If Biden were not president, they have said, prosecutors would not be pursuing the charges so aggressively, noting that the two sides were near a plea deal last year but it collapsed after Republicans attacked it. (The deal fell apart under questioning from the judge, when prosecutors and defense lawyers could not agree on whether it blocked the Justice Department from filing more charges against Hunter Biden in the future.)

Against that backdrop, White House officials have said they do not plan to respond in real time to developments in Hunter Biden’s case, seeing the matter as a personal one that does not directly involve the president. Rather, the White House will seek to showcase Biden’s statesmanship on the global stage as he

takes presidential trips to France and Italy.

There will not be a White House war room operation to address the case, for example, or to respond to attacks from Republicans.

After the House GOP spent months on an impeachment inquiry focusing on Hunter Biden and the family finances, White House officials said they do not expect the trial to reveal anything new.

Lawyers for Hunter Biden did not respond to requests for comment.

Yet the trial could exact an emotional toll on a president who speaks to his children and grandchildren almost daily, his associates say. Before running for president, he agonized over the decision in part due to the effect a campaign could have on his family, who had endured years of turbulence marked by Hunter Biden’s struggles with addiction in the wake of Beau’s 2015 death, according to those close to the Bidens.

And Biden is clearly in a unique position as the head of an administration prosecuting his own son. While the president has pledged to allow the legal process to play out, he theoretically could bring it to a sudden end through a pardon, although White House officials say Biden is not considering such a move.

Asked twice last year if there was any possibility that the president would pardon his son, White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre gave an emphatic “No.”

The president spent Monday in Wilmington, Del., where he has a home and where the trial is unfolding, but did not come to the courthouse. On Tuesday evening, Biden travels to France for a five-day trip that will include a speech marking the 80th anniversary of D-Day. Next week, Biden will head to Italy for a summit of the Group of Seven nations.

Hunter Biden’s case is expected to take about two weeks, so it could overlap with both presidential trips, putting Biden several time zones away from his

son’s ordeal.

The president has kept his son particularly close in recent days, bringing him to a state dinner at the White House and to Delaware, where the Biden family gathered to mark the ninth anniversary of the death of Beau Biden. Father and son were spotted cycling together on Saturday in Rehoboth Beach.

“The president and the first lady, they love their son,” Jean-Pierre told reporters last week. “They are proud of how their son has been able to get back on his feet and continue his progress, and they will continue to support him.”

Few analysts are willing to predict the political impact of Hunter Biden’s legal problems — or Trump’s — on the 2024 election.

Polling suggests that Trump’s guilty verdict could have a marginal impact on voters who are wary of electing a felon. With Hunter Biden’s legal troubles a step removed from his father, it’s not clear that his trial, or a potential conviction, would sway many voters, according to strategists.

While it is unprecedented for a child of a president to face a federal trial, there is a long history of presidential family members who have found themselves in legal trouble, including presidential brothers Billy Carter, Roger Clinton and Neil Bush.

And after decades when high-profile prosecutors have targeted everything from President Bill Clinton’s Whitewater scandal to the Trump campaign’s interactions with Russia, the public has become accustomed to sensitive investigations affecting the presidency, Riley, the presidential historian, said.

“In the post-Watergate era, independent counsel investigations or their like became a staple of American politics, and in every case the go-to defense for those being investigated was ‘This is just partisan politics,’” Riley said. “Having heard this over time from both Republican and Democratic presidents, Americans evidently find it not just plausible, but familiar.”





**Anthony S. Fauci, who served as a senior leader at the National Institutes of Health for four decades, testified before a House panel investigating the federal government's coronavirus response.**

# Fauci dismisses allegations that he led covid coverup as ‘preposterous’

BY DAN DIAMOND

Anthony S. Fauci defended himself Monday against claims that he orchestrated a coverup of the coronavirus pandemic's origins, with the former government official rejecting some allegations as "simply preposterous."

The prominent infectious-disease expert, who served as a senior leader at the National Institutes of Health for four decades before leaving government at the end of 2022, said Republicans have distorted emails between himself and other scientists as they discussed whether a laboratory leak of the coronavirus was possible.

"We spend our whole life trying to determine the causes of infectious diseases and stop them to protect the American people," Fauci said, adding that he did not pressure colleagues to reach a conclusion about the origins of the virus, while disputing other Republican charges.

The former health adviser in the Trump and Biden administrations testified Monday before the House panel investigating the nation's coronavirus response. The contentious hearing unfolded for 3½ hours. It came amid a battle between the panel's Republican and Democratic leaders over whether its focus on Fauci is necessary to understand the virus's possible origins, or a waste of time that is propagating unproven theories about the pandemic and damaging confidence in public health.

It was the first time Fauci has faced a GOP-led panel publicly to answer questions about the covid-19 pandemic, which is linked to the deaths of more than 1 million Americans. Leaders of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, which oversees U.S. health agencies, also joined the hearing. Fauci privately testified before the lawmakers for 14 hours in January.

The panel has not found evidence that Fauci led a coverup or that the virus leaked from a laboratory. Most U.S. intelligence entities probing the pandemic favor the theory that the virus emerged naturally, via animal-to-human transmission.

Republicans on Monday pushed on the relationship between Fauci and EcoHealth Alliance, a nonprofit organization that received funding from Fauci's agency to conduct risky virus research in Wuhan, China. Federal officials halted funding to EcoHealth last month, saying the organization failed to monitor and report on that work. Republicans also focused on David Morris, a former Fauci deputy who deleted emails and took other steps to evade federal records law as he emailed with EcoHealth officials and other colleagues.

“We have senior officials from your office, in their own writing, discussing breaking federal law, deleting official records and sharing private government information with grant recipients,” Rep. Brad Wenstrup (R-Ohio), chairman of the panel, said in prepared remarks. Fauci distanced himself from Morens, saying he “knew nothing” about his former colleague’s actions regarding EcoHealth or his emails, and rebuked him for violating NIH policies.

Democrats rallied around Fauci, defending the 83-year-old scientist's government service and saying that his work to combat HIV and other viruses saved countless lives in the United States and around the world. Fauci testified that he and his family have faced persistent death threats over allegations that he played a role in sparking the covid-19 pandemic.



**Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) was rebuked by the panel's chairman after she accused Fauci of wrongdoing on various issues.**

Republicans have “wasted significant time and taxpayer money” pursuing dubious claims about the pandemic, said Rep. Kathy Castor (Fla.), the top Democrat on the Energy Committee’s oversight panel. She called on lawmakers to pivot to other efforts, such as stalled legislation to reauthorize funding for public health preparedness programs. “It’s not too late for Republicans to join us,” Castor said.

In an interview after the hearing, Rep. Raul Ruiz (Calif.), the covid panel's top Democrat, told *The Washington Post* that he did not learn "a single thing" from the session, urging the GOP-led panel to drop its "narrative" that Fauci and his colleagues covered up the virus's possible creation in a laboratory.

The hearing with Fauci, widely viewed as the face of the United States' coronavirus response, drew a circus-style environment to a covid panel that has often struggled for attention as the public has moved on from the pandemic. A line of would-be spectators snaked around the Rayburn House Office Building, seeking a seat in the standing-room-only hearing; a person sitting in the front row wore a T-shirt emblazoned with "JAIL FAUCI."

Lawmakers also packed the roster, including Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.), a member of the covid panel who skipped seven of its last 10 hearings. Greene briefly brought the hearing to a halt by accusing Fauci of wrongdoing with lab experiments on beagles and other matters, saying he should be in prison and refusing to address him as a doctor. Democrats protested Greene's accusations, and Wenstrup rebuked her for violating decorum. Fauci expressed puzzlement over why Greene was invoking beagles at a hearing dedicated to the covid response.

Republicans also pressed Fauci on broader pandemic issues, such as when he privately told the panel in January that the federal government's recommendation for six-foot social distancing "sort of just appeared" in early 2020 and that the choice of distance "wasn't based on data."

Fauci said Monday that he meant there was no clinical trial to settle on the distance of six feet, and that officials from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention who crafted the recommendation were basing the distance on early expectations of how the virus spread. The answer did not satisfy Republicans, who asked why Fauci did not push CDC officials to change the recommendation as it became clear that virus particles could float in the air for hours, particularly in enclosed environments, and that six feet of social distancing alone would not be sufficient to protect against infection without other measures such as masking and



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Arkansas Gov. Sarah Huckabee Sanders signs into law an education overhaul bill March 8, 2023, at the state Capitol in Little Rock. The legislation created a school voucher program that allows use of public money to help pay for private and home schooling.

# Taxpayer funds flow to religious institutions

SCHOOLS FROM A1

students benefited from vouchers this school year. (Those same states had a total of about 935,000 private school students in 2021, the most recent year for which data are available.) An additional 200,000 were subsidized in the rest of the country, according to tracking by EdChoice, a voucher advocacy group. That suggests a substantial share of about 4.7 million students attending private school nationwide are benefiting from vouchers — a number that is expected to grow.

The programs, popular with conservatives, are rapidly growing in GOP-run states, with a total of 29 states plus D.C. operating some sort of voucher system. Eight states created or expanded voucher programs last year, and this year, Alabama, Georgia and Missouri have approved or expanded voucher-type programs. Some recently enacted plans are just starting to take effect or will be phased in over the next few years.

The growth follows a string of recent victories in the Supreme Court and state legislatures by religious conservatives who have campaigned to tear down what once were constitutional prohibitions against spending tax money directly on religious education. It also marks a win for the school choice movement, which has spent decades campaigning to let parents use tax money for any school they see fit.

Voucher programs, which vary in their details, have grown particularly large in a half-dozen states. In each of these, participating families have overwhelmingly chosen religious schools, sometimes using the subsidy for schools their children were already attending before the programs began.

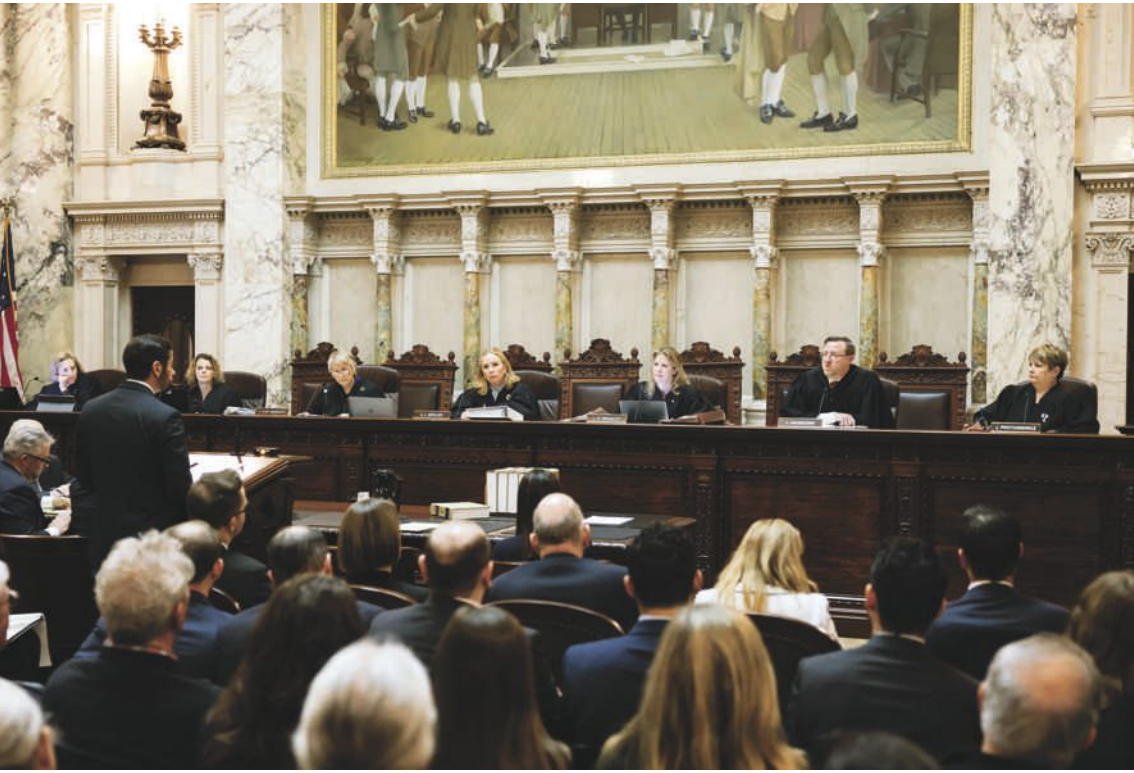
In Ohio, the GOP legislature last year significantly expanded its voucher program to make almost every student eligible for thousands of dollars to attend private school. As a result, more than 150,000 students are paying tuition with vouchers this year — up from about 61,000 in 2020. About 91 percent of this year's voucher recipients attend religious schools, The Post analysis found. When vouchers for students with autism and other disabilities — who typically seek specific services — are removed from the list, the portion going toward religious education rises to 98 percent. (Unless otherwise noted, The Post calculations exclude schools for students with disabilities.)

In Wisconsin, 96 percent of about 55,000 vouchers given this school year went toward religious schools, The Post found. In Indiana, 98 percent of vouchers go to religious schools. (Indiana state data only specifies the number of vouchers for schools with at least 10 recipients.)

In Florida, several programs combine to make every student in the state eligible for vouchers, with more than 400,000 participating this year. At least 82 percent of students attend religious schools, The Post found. Florida is first in the nation in both the number of enrolled students and total cost of the voucher program



Members of Save Our Schools Arizona protest at the Arizona School for the Arts in 2017 in Phoenix. The group sought to delay expansion of the state's school choice program.



The Wisconsin Supreme Court in session Nov. 21, 2023. The court later declined to hear a lawsuit brought by Democrats seeking to end the state's taxpayer-funded private school voucher program.

— more than \$3 billion this year.

And in Arizona, more than 75,000 students are benefiting from the Empowerment Scholarship Program, which pays for any educational expense. In 2022-2023, three-fourths of the money — about \$229 million — went to 184 vendors. Most of that money went for tuition, 87 percent of it to religious schools.

Arizona also has an older voucher program, funded by tax credits, which last year subsidized tuition for at least 30,000 students. (The state tracks only the number of scholarships given, and one student can receive multiple scholarships.) Since this program was created in 1998, 19 of the 20 schools that received the most money were religious, according to a state report. Those 19 schools received about 96 percent of the \$767 million spent between 1998 and 2023 at the top 20 schools.

Pennsylvania also has a large program, but state data does not show which schools families choose. Studies of states with smaller programs such as one in North Carolina and another in Illinois show that their payments, like those of larger programs, are concentrated toward religious schools.

The largest conservative state without a program — Texas — moved closer to one Tuesday when several Republicans who had opposed vouchers were de-

feated in legislative runoffs by pro-voucher candidates.

Supporters say these programs give parents more choices and that religious schools are receiving this money because parents see these schools as the right place for their children.

"It's the parents' money to use as they see is best," said Brian Hickey, executive director of the Catholic Conference of Ohio. "We don't necessarily see it as taxpayer money."

To critics, the burgeoning number of taxpayer-financed religious students adds up to an unwelcome mingling of government and religion, and a drain on dollars that could support public schools, which unlike private schools are required to serve all students. That occurs both when public school students use vouchers to attend private schools — meaning their public schools lose per-pupil funding — and when the state spends large amounts of money on students whose families would otherwise pay private school tuition themselves.

A coalition of Ohio public school districts is suing the state to halt its program, charging among other things that it depletes resources meant for public schools. "Because public funds are finite, funding EdChoice Program Vouchers ... inevitably depletes the resources designated by the legislature for educating Ohio's

public school students," the suit alleges.

Vouchers have not led to a gutting of spending on public schools, partly because state budgets have been relatively healthy. But critics fear that cuts are coming as voucher spending rises.

In Arizona, for instance, the cost of universal vouchers has exceeded the \$624 million budgeted for this year, contributing to a budget hole that lawmakers have not yet said how they will fill. That budget crunch could affect public school spending and certainly makes any increases unlikely at a time when public schools are struggling, said Beth Lewis, director of Save Our Schools Arizona, which opposes vouchers.

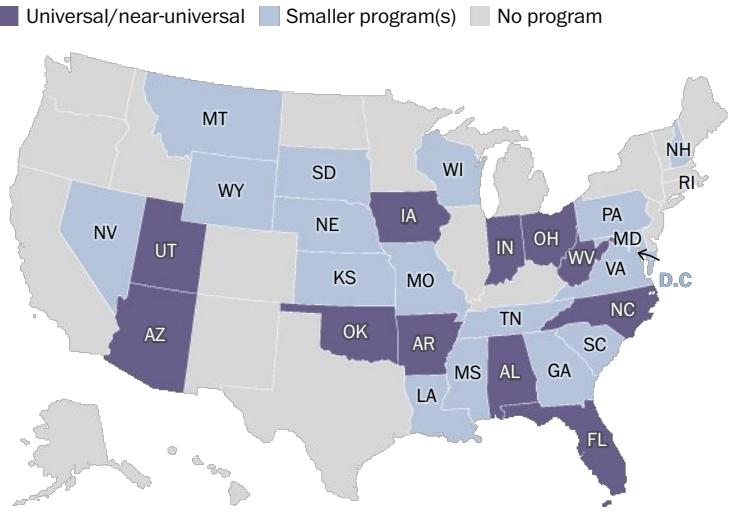
"Arizona schools are not able to pay for teacher pay raises or desperately needed resources. You just have teachers begging for copy paper and markers. It's so bad," she said. "This is robbing our local public schools and our most vulnerable students."

## The growth of vouchers

The modern voucher movement began in the early 1990s with a program in Milwaukee and spread to other states over the decades. Early programs were limited to students with disabilities, students living in big cities or families with lower incomes, sometimes in struggling public

## States with school voucher programs

Eleven states have voucher programs where all or almost all students are eligible for subsidies. An additional 18 states plus D.C. have smaller programs.



Note: Includes traditional vouchers, education savings accounts and tax credit scholarship programs. Illinois and Minnesota have tax breaks that subsidize educational expenses; Maine and Vermont have tuition subsidies for towns without public schools.

Source: EdChoice

LAURA MECKLER / THE WASHINGTON POST

school districts, and billed as a means of giving more choices to children with particular needs. For years, in response to political and constitutional objections, lawmakers also created a roundabout voucher system that required applications to go through taxpayer-supported nonprofit corporations. Those programs, too, were targeted to students who proponents argued were being poorly served by the public schools.

Now those limits are being dropped.

Eleven states, including Ohio, Arizona, Indiana and Florida, have programs where all or almost all children are eligible for either vouchers, which subsidize or cover tuition, or educational savings accounts, which can be spent on any school-related expense, according to tracking by EdChoice.

The fact that so much of the money is going to religious schools reflects at least in part the dominance of religious institutions among the nation's constellation of private schools. Nationally, about 77 percent of students attending private school go to religious schools, according to federal data. But in the states with big voucher programs, the share of money going to religious schools is higher — in some cases, much higher.

Catholic schools have been among the biggest winners. Nationally, more than 1.6 million K-12 students were enrolled in Catholic schools in 2021, the latest federal data show.

In Ohio, 75,000 Catholic school students participate in the newly expanded voucher program, said Lincoln Snyder, president of the National Catholic Educational Association. That's about 63 percent of all Ohio students enrolled in Catholic schools. In Florida, about 60 percent of Catholic school students tap into educational savings accounts, he said.

That has benefited families that would otherwise be paying tuition themselves and also bolstered the schools, which receive money instead of having to spend funds on financial aid.

At some Ohio schools, as many as eight in 10 students attend with the help of vouchers. For instance, the boys-only St. Xavier High School in Cincinnati enrolls 1,346 students. Of them, about 1,100 receive taxpayer-funded vouchers, said Gerry Bollman, the school's chief financial officer.

The state's expanded voucher program "has opened the door to many families that otherwise wouldn't have been able to send their sons here," he said.

This year's freshman class is almost 15 percent larger than last year's — growing from about 325 to 370 students, he said. Vouchers in Ohio — the amount depends on family income — can cover almost half of the school's \$17,350 tuition.

The recent expansion of voucher programs has turned "distant dreams into realities for hundreds of families" who attend Calvary Christian Academy's three South Florida campuses, Calvary's president, Jason Rachels, wrote in an email. Of the school's 3,156 students, about 2,700 use vouchers, a Calvary spokesman wrote.

In an email, Rachels credited the program with ensuring "that an academically rich, Christ-centered education remains within reach for a diverse range of families."

## A fading church-state line

The expansion in voucher programs is part of a broader move in some states toward more government-sponsored religion inside public schools.

New laws allow schools to hire chaplains for counseling or other roles, let teachers pray aloud with students and mandate hanging of "In God We Trust" signs. In West Virginia, a new law allows teachers to discuss alternative theories to evolution. Seven states have passed measures mandating elec-

tive courses focused on the Bible, which are supposed to be secular but critics say open the door to proselytizing.

In Oklahoma, the state Supreme Court in April considered what would be an unprecedented step toward the mingling of church and state in education, weighing whether the state could directly fund what would be the nation's first religious charter school.

Like the growth in vouchers, those developments stem in large part from a shift in how the conservative-dominated U.S. Supreme Court, operating along largely ideological lines, has redefined religion's role in education and public life.

For much of the 20th century, a bipartisan consensus protected a separation of church and state. But in recent decades, advocates who thought separation had gone too far advanced the opposite argument: Limiting the rights of religious groups in schools and other government settings constitutes discrimination.

That movement got a significant boost in 2020, when the Supreme Court ruled that a Montana scholarship program that funded secular private schools had to finance religious schools as well — even though the Montana state Constitution barred it.

Two years later, the Supreme Court reinforced the point in a case from Maine, ruling that a program providing tuition aid to students in rural areas without public schools could not exclude religious education.

Robert C. Enlow, president of EdChoice, the advocacy group, said he used to hear state lawmakers regularly argue against vouchers by citing legal concerns, but no more.

"The majority of times now we do not hear any of 'this is not constitutional,'" he said. "That's not an argument they're using. Not anymore."

The Oklahoma case could mark the first time a state directly funds a religious public school. While vouchers give public money to students for private schools, allowing the Oklahoma charter school to go ahead would mean the government was paying directly for education infused with religion.

Last year, the state online charter school board approved the proposal for a new school called St. Isidore of Seville Catholic Virtual School. It is to be operated by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Oklahoma City and the Diocese of Tulsa, and leaders say religion will be infused throughout the curriculum.

The school is being challenged by Oklahoma's Republican attorney general, who argued before the state Supreme Court that its creation violated the separation of church and state.

Some justices expressed skepticism that a fully religious school could pass constitutional muster; others suggested there may be little difference between a religious charter school and other instances of tax dollars supporting religious entities, including private school vouchers, that have been blessed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

People on both sides of the case say it could ultimately provide the U.S. Supreme Court an opportunity to expand on its recent rulings that widened the use of tax dollars in support of religious education.

Richard Katskee, a professor who directs the Appellate Litigation Clinic at Duke University School of Law, said recent court actions represent a sweeping change in the relationship between government and religion.

"We are, as a society, underwriting religion," he said. "That's not what the public schools are supposed to be about."

Emmanuel Martinez and Clara Ence Morse contributed to this report.



# Biden’s order could have immediate effects at border

BORDER FROM A1

data, so Biden’s order could have immediate effects.

During the peak of the coronavirus pandemic, U.S. authorities used a public health emergency to rapidly “expel” migrants and turn away asylum seekers who arrived illegally. Officials said Biden’s expected order will operate similarly, while agents at the border will continue to face limitations, including a lack of detention space, transportation capacity and asylum officers.

The failed border legislation would have provided billions in additional funds for deportation capacity and asylum processing, but Republican lawmakers spurned the bill after former president Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, came out against it.

Biden has already implemented measures to restrict the asylum claims of migrants who cross into the United States illegally, but many continue to be released into the United States because border authorities lack the capacity to detain, screen or deport them. In other cases, migrants’ home countries won’t take them back or cooperate with U.S. authorities on deportations.

“The big question for me is whether this will come with additional resources,” said Kathleen Bush-Joseph, an attorney and analyst at the nonpartisan Migration Policy Institute in Washington. “Without additional dollars to implement this, the same challenges will remain that each of the past asylum restrictions have faced.”

Migrants who state a fear of persecution if returned to Mexico will remain eligible under the Convention Against Torture and other protections afforded by U.S. law, according to officials with knowledge of Biden’s order.

Mexico also places limits on the number of non-Mexican migrants it will accept from the United States.

The president has been in a political bind over the border, as the issue has become increasingly important for voters. The surge of migration during his term, which has ebbed and flowed but often surpassed record levels, remains



ADREES LATIF/REUTERS

Asylum-seeking migrants from Jordan and Colombia line up to enter the United States from Tecate, Mexico, in May. President Biden on Tuesday is expected to issue an order that would restrict asylum for immigrants when illegal border crossings exceed a daily threshold.

one of his largest political liabilities, according to strategists.

Trump has continuously attacked him for what he has described as “open border” policies and “Biden migrant crime,” pledging to enact a sweeping crackdown if he wins the presidency.

“Our borders will be closed very soon,” Trump said Friday, in remarks during which he railed against immigration as well as his 34 felony convictions for falsifying business documents in the New York hush money trial against him.

Trump made a similar attempt to cut off migrants’ access to U.S. asylum protections, but the measures were blocked in federal court in 2019. Biden’s order is expected to be challenged on similar grounds.

“We will need to review the

*“Any policy that effectively shuts off asylum would raise obvious legal problems, just as it did when the Trump administration tried to end asylum.”*

Lee Gelernt, ACLU attorney

executive order before making litigation decisions, but any policy that effectively shuts off asylum would raise obvious legal problems, just as it did when the Trump

administration tried to end asylum,” Lee Gelernt, the ACLU attorney who was lead counsel on many challenges to Trump’s policies, said in an interview Monday.

U.S. authorities have tallied about 2 million illegal crossings per year along the southern border since 2021, the highest levels ever, and migrants have been arriving in record numbers from China, India, Venezuela and dozens of other countries. Often guided to the U.S. border by criminal organizations in Mexico, the migrants typically surrender to U.S. border agents and express a fear of persecution if returned — the first step in seeking U.S. asylum.

Biden’s order would render them ineligible for asylum protections if crossings exceed the daily threshold.

Current agreements allow the

United States to send up to 30,000 non-Mexicans back across the border each month, but Mexico has generally limited returns to Central Americans, Cubans and some Haitians.

Mexican voters elected Claudia Sheinbaum, the country’s first female leader, by a landslide margin Sunday in a vote that was widely viewed as a referendum on current President Andrés Manuel López Obrador. Sheinbaum, who will be inaugurated Oct. 1, has vowed to continue López Obrador’s cooperation with the United States on migration.

While Biden has increasingly adopted the kind of language embraced by Trump on immigration — including pledging this year to “shut down” the border if it becomes overwhelmed by unauthorized crossings — he has struggled

to find a message that can satisfy the diverse coalition of voters he is courting.

Several liberal lawmakers have criticized Biden for his increasingly tough stance on the border, and pro-immigration activists have accused him of betraying core American ideals and not adopting more humane immigration policies after Trump’s turbulent term.

“The decision by this administration to criminalize migrants — many of whom are fleeing harm — is deeply disturbing and misguided,” Sarah M. Rich, senior supervising attorney at the Southern Poverty Law Center, said in a statement.

“Prosecuting people seeking safety in the U.S. for these immigration violations will lead to more Black and Brown people being incarcerated at the expense of immigrant families and communities,” Rich said.

White House officials said Biden will continue to explore various policy options to address the migration challenge.

“While Congressional Republicans chose to stand in the way of additional border enforcement, President Biden will not stop fighting to deliver the resources that border and immigration personnel need to secure our border,” Angelo Fernández Hernández, a White House spokesman, said in a statement.

The expected executive order is a signal that the plan of some Democrats to hammer Republicans over the failure of the bipartisan border deal opposed by Trump is unlikely to shield them from a barrage of attacks over the issue.

When the bill failed the first time in the Senate, Biden pledged to take the message across the country and blame Trump for encouraging lawmakers to kill the agreement.

While Biden initially pushed that message in campaign speeches, his focus in recent months has shifted toward figuring out how much he can accomplish without Congress.

White House officials have long said Biden cannot unilaterally provide the resources necessary to secure the border, calling on Congress to pass funding and statutory changes that would create a more orderly migration system.



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# Wife’s texts take center stage at senator’s corruption trial

Numerous messages detail Menendezes’ scheme, prosecutors say

BY SALVADOR RIZZO

Nadine Arslanian was getting desperate. For more than a year, she’d been arranging meetings and dinners between Egyptian officials and her powerful boyfriend, Sen. Bob Menendez of New Jersey. But by mid-2019 she had nothing to show for it, she fumed, and now her home was going into foreclosure.

She told the New Jersey businessman seeking the senator’s help with deals, Wael “Will” Hana, that he had to pay up, according to a trove of text messages, emails, photos and bank records that prosecutors displayed last week during Menendez’s corruption trial in Manhattan federal court.

Hana needed Menendez to keep the Egyptians happy, as she put it, and Arslanian needed more than \$18,000 to save her home.

“This is a lot of money. He is going to cry like a baby,” texted an associate of Hana’s, Jose Uribe.

“I NEVER forget when someone is there for me in bad times,” she texted back. “and I end up paying them back 100 fold.”

Arslanian, who became Nadine Menendez after marrying the senator in 2020, is undergoing treatment for advanced breast cancer and has not attended her husband’s trial. Yet she has loomed large in the courtroom: Her voice mails are played for jurors, her photos appear on their screens, and her prolific text messages serve as the backbone of the prosecution’s story, portraying the 57-year-old socialite as the conduit to the trio accused of bribing the 70-year-old lawmaker over a four-year period.

A lawyer for Hana testified that he paid Arslanian’s mortgage company more than \$23,000 to stave off foreclosure in July 2019. And that was just the beginning.

“I have not received any checks from Wael . since the check that was sent to the mortgage company directly . The understanding is



SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES

Nadine Menendez leaves a Manhattan court in September after she and her husband, Sen. Bob Menendez (N.J.), were arraigned on federal bribery charges. The Democrat and his wife pleaded not guilty. Nadine Menendez is scheduled to go on trial later this year.

that he would give me a check the first of every month,” she texted New Jersey real estate developer Fred Daibes two months later.

Arslanian asked for a \$36,431.46 check. Daibes responded: “Nadine I personally gave Bob a check for September ... Please send me a rundown of what you believe you are owed.”

Hana’s company ultimately issued three checks to Arslanian from August to November 2019, each for \$10,000, according to the trial evidence. Federal prosecutors in the Southern District of New York say that they were bribes disguised as consulting fees from a low- or no-show job and that the Menendezes also illegally accepted a Mercedes-Benz convertible, more than a dozen gold bars, hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash and other items.

Bob Menendez has pleaded not guilty, as have Hana and Daibes.

All three deny exchanging bribes for political favors. Uribe pleaded guilty and is expected to testify for the government.

Nadine Menendez, who faces her own trial later this year, also has pleaded not guilty. Her attorney, Barry Coburn, declined to comment last week.

The text and voice messages reveal a woman ready to play hardball.

“I’ve been at the lobby every day to pick up the ch — paycheck that I, especially this past two weeks, earned very correctly and now [Hana] doesn’t want to pay it,” she said in a 2019 voice mail to Daibes. “So if he wants to make public the story that I’m sure he told you, I don’t have a problem making it public and it’s gonna be very, very ugly.”

Hana’s company, IS EG Halal Certified Inc., issued her one of those \$10,000 checks the next day. The messages shown to the

jury do not elaborate on the story Arslanian said Hana had threatened to make public.

The Democratic senator’s meetings with Hana and Egyptian intelligence officials began almost at the start of his courtship of Arslanian in early 2018, according to the trial evidence. A mother of two with a master’s degree in French literature from New York University, Arslanian would often text Menendez compliments on his looks and called him “my very handsome senator.”

Menendez kept a watchful eye on his new girlfriend, messaging her at times when her location did not appear on a cellphone app that allows consenting users to track each other in real time.

“I lost you!!” Menendez texted Arslanian in January 2019.

“You could never lose me because I will never let go,” she texted back. “I just have a super 40 minute meeting with Will.”

Arslanian would also keep tabs on Menendez, tuning into video feeds of the Senate floor. “Make sure your zipper is UP. Is that woman at the caucus as well? By the way who is she? The one that was all over you , so inappropriate on the Senate floor?” she texted in 2019.

Menendez’s legal team has not tried to defend Arslanian’s torrent of texts and voice messages. Instead, his attorneys have characterized her as a duplicitous schemer and him as unwitting husband.

“She kept him in the dark on what she was asking others to

give her,” attorney Avi Weitzman said in his opening statement. “She was outgoing; she was fun-loving. But she wasn’t going to let Bob know that she had financial problems. So what did Nadine do? She tried to get cash and assets any which way she could.”

In one text exchange from 2019 that was shared with the jury, a male acquaintance asked Arslanian to go out with him. She responded the next day that she had been “in DC at the Egyptian embassy.”

“I thought you broke up with Grandpa,” the acquaintance texted back.

“You’d agree with me that Nadine doesn’t respond in a way that defends ‘grandpa?’” Weitzman asked the FBI agent reading Arslanian’s texts from the witness stand.

Hana’s attorney said his client fired Arslanian because she didn’t show up for work and told the jury that she used profanities to refer to Hana when she was frustrated with him. Daibes’s attorney noted that his client did not respond to a 2019 text from Hana — “Hey Fred can you please help naden with car . Thanks” — and that Daibes did not appear in any photos of Menendez meeting with Egyptian officials.

Menendez does not appear as often as his wife in the various chains of texts and emails shared with jurors. In some messages, the senator helps Arslanian polish her résumé or register the company through which she collected payments from Hana. In

others, Menendez sends her information to pass on to Hana or offers open dates on his calendar for meetings.

“Tell Will I am going to sign off this sale to Egypt today,” Menendez texted Arslanian in one 2018 message, referencing a sale of \$99 million in tank ammunition that had been approved by the State Department. “NOTE: These tank rounds are for tanks they have had for many years. They are using these in the Sinai for the counter terrorism campaign.”

Early in their courtship, Arslanian asked Menendez to “fix” a letter that Hana had sent her, with talking points that the Egyptian government would use in response to a \$300 million hold on U.S. military aid to Egypt and another senator’s concerns about that country’s human rights record.

“Love of my life , PLEASE, could you fix this letter and send it back to me. I want to prove a point to the General. He and Will just got me clearance for a project. Thank you my love very very very much,” she texted.

The same night, Menendez emailed back with a letter that began: “I write to respond to some of the issues that have been raised by [Sen. Patrick J. Leahy] and others, which have lead to a hold on \$300 million dollars in appropriated aid to Egypt.” Prosecutors say Menendez ghostwrote that letter, addressed to his Senate colleagues, on Egypt’s behalf.

The communications also show Menendez, then the top Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chafing at some of Arslanian’s requests.

“In your speech , could you please say: Egypt now in the right direction with the new government now. With the International Monetary Fund. And all the new developments, new Capital and the new Suez Canal. Egypt is important to the United States,” Arslanian texted in 2018.

“Really???” he responded. “Will said please just speak about the IMF that’s important. Thank you mon amour de la vie,” Arslanian texted back, using the French phrase for “love of my life.”

The next year, Menendez texted Arslanian that he would grudgingly meet with Hana and an Egyptian general at a Washington steakhouse: “7:30 Morton’s. This is last time I will do this meeting.”

But the meetings continued. After their wedding in October 2020, the Menendezes traveled to Egypt and dined with Maj. Gen. Abbas Kamel, head of the Egyptian General Intelligence Directorate.

It was after returning home from that trip that the senator started Googling “how much is one kilo of gold worth,” according to the trial evidence.

## Menendez files to run for reelection as independent as trial continues

BY PATRICK SVITEK

Embattled Sen. Bob Menendez (D-N.J.) on Monday filed to run for reelection as an independent amid his trial on federal corruption charges.

Menendez’s campaign submitted 2,465 signatures to the New Jersey Division of Elections. He was required to submit at least 800.

Menendez’s corruption trial is underway in New York. He and his wife were charged last year with taking bribes, including gold bars, from three business executives in exchange for legislative favors. He has pleaded not guilty.

Shortly after 5 p.m., Menendez told reporters outside the courtroom that he had filed for reelection as an independent candidate, noting that he had turned in “three times the number of signatures necessary.”

The senator told reporters that he was “looking forward to continuing to prove our innocence” and touted some of his accomplishments in office.

“The people of this great state deserve a leader in Washington with a proven track record of fighting tooth and nail to deliver results, and I intend to keep doing so as an independent Democrat,” Menendez said in a statement later Monday. “It displeases me to have to go this route, thanks to overzealous prosecutors, but I will do what must be done.”

Asked Monday outside the courtroom whether he would caucus with Democrats if he won, Menendez waved a hand in the air and gave no verbal response.

Menendez previously announced he would not run for



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

One day ahead of the deadline, Sen. Bob Menendez (D-N.J.) filed signatures to run for reelection as an independent this year.

reelection as a Democrat in New Jersey’s primary, which is Tuesday. He made that announcement days before the primary filing deadline in March — and hinted he could still pursue reelection as an independent.

“I am hopeful that my exoneration will take place this summer and allow me to pursue my candidacy as an independent Democrat in a general election,” Menendez said at the time.

Since then, Rep. Andy Kim (D-N.J.) has emerged as the favorite in the primary. He previously faced New Jersey first lady Tammy Murphy, though she dropped out of the race in late March.

“Everyone knows Bob Menendez isn’t running for NJ families,” Kim said Monday on social media. “He’s running for himself. People are fed up with politicians putting their own personal benefit ahead of what’s right for the country.”

Menendez filed as an independent a day before the 4 p.m. Tuesday deadline to do so.

His petitions could face challenges that add uncertainty to his independent campaign in the short term. June 10 is the deadline for such objections.

While well-known, Menendez faces an uphill battle as an independent candidate in a solidly blue state. The largest percentage an independent candidate has ever received in New Jersey is less than 6 percent of the vote, according to the New Jersey Globe.

Menendez’s independent bid also could make the race more competitive between the Democratic and Republican nominees. While Kim is favored in Tuesday’s Democratic primary, four Republicans are vying in their party’s nominating contest.

Salvador Rizzo contributed to this report.

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# Family sues butcher who slaughtered pet pigs after going to wrong house

BY KYLE MELNICK

Natalie Gray recalled arriving home to a shocking sight last month. A large truck and a stranger were in her backyard. Nearby, her family's pet pigs, Betty and Patty, were lying dead.

When Gray confronted the stranger, they both realized a fatal mistake had occurred.

A nearby butcher shop had received a request from a man hoping to turn his two pigs into meat. The customer was away, so he asked butcher Jonathan Hines to enter his gate and slaughter the pigs behind his barn, Hines told The Washington Post.

So Hines and a friend drove to a house in Port Orchard, Wash., on May 1, located two pigs on a farm and shot them with a rifle, he said. Only when Gray and Hines spoke a few minutes later, he said, did he realize he had taken a wrong turn during the short drive — a right instead of a left. He was at someone else's house.

The pigs he killed weren't meant for slaughter; Gray and her husband, Nathan, were raising them as pets.

The Grays alleged in a lawsuit filed Thursday that Hines, 29, and his friend "recklessly inflicted serious and severe emotional distress" on their family, and they're requesting damages "representing the intrinsic value of Betty and Patty." The complaint also lists the butcher shop Hines works for, Farmer George Meats, and his friend, Dillon Baker, as defendants.

An incident report by the Kitsap County Sheriff's Office said that there was no "maliciousness" in Hines's actions and that he didn't intend to shoot the Grays' pigs.

Nonetheless, the incident left the Grays — and Hines — devastated.

"Coming around the corner and seeing these animals that are supposed to live out their lives with you ... it was very emotional," Natalie, 38, told The Post last month.

When Hines realized his mistake around that same time, he said, his "heart dropped." He recalled apologizing to Gray.

"I didn't know what to do," Hines said. "I was just kind of sitting there in shock."

Joseph Keehn, who runs Farmer George Meats with his wife, said he also apologized to the Grays, calling the incident "a perfect storm of a mistake" but saying there was "no maliciousness."

Baker, 30, said he didn't shoot the pigs, a report Hines also made. The sheriff's office report didn't list Baker as a suspect and said he was there only to "assist" Hines.

Hines, Keehn and Baker spoke with The Post in mid-May. Reached after the lawsuit was filed, Hines said in a text message that he's still employed by Farmer George Meats but didn't comment further. Keehn and Baker didn't respond to requests for further comment Sunday.

This isn't the first time an animal has been killed after someone visited the wrong place. In Waco, Tex., last year, and in Faulkner County, Ark., in 2020, a law enforcement officer shot a dog after reporting to the wrong address. In February, a woman in



Kunekune pigs Betty and Patty were adopted by a family in Washington state in March 2022.

Birmingham, Ala., told WBRC that a delivery truck driver who had "no reason" to be on her property shot her dog.

Natalie and Nathan have run a seven-acre farm for nearly a decade but use it only to raise pets. They have dogs, cats, ducks and chickens, and when Natalie saw a picture of two Kunekune piglets a local breeder posted on social media in 2022, she wanted them, too.

Natalie said she and her daughters liked tickling Betty and Patty's bellies until they rolled onto their sides. Natalie sang them "You Are My Sunshine" and fed the piglet sisters sweets for their birthdays on Jan. 3 — Betty and Patty loved when Natalie sprayed whipped cream into their mouths, she said.

Every morning before taking her 12- and 9-year-old daughters to school, Natalie said she visited Betty and Patty, rubbing them and feeding them. After she returned home in the afternoon, Betty and Patty would squeal in excitement when they heard Natalie's voice.

Nathan said he left the house's gate open on May 1 while he ran an errand. About 30 minutes later, he said, his home's security system sent him a phone alert that showed a white box truck on his property. Natalie said she saw in the footage someone near the pigs' pen, which they shared with eight ducks.

Natalie said she rushed home from the nearby elementary school where she works.

"Who are you?" she recalled asking Hines, who said he initially thought her question was a joke.

After Natalie saw that Betty and Patty had been killed, she called 911 around 1:30 p.m. "I was sick to my stomach," Natalie said.

Kunekune pigs usually live between 15 and 20 years, according to the Smithsonian's National Zoo and Conservation Biology Institute. Betty and Patty were both 2 years old when they died.

When a sheriff's deputy arrived later that afternoon, Hines told him that he didn't put the correct address into his GPS system and didn't verify the address when he arrived, according to the office's incident report.

## Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee reveals cancer diagnosis

BY KELLY KASULIS CHO

Longtime Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Tex.) has been diagnosed with pancreatic cancer, she announced on social media Sunday, adding that she expects to be "occasionally absent from Congress" as she undergoes treatment.

"My doctors have confirmed my diagnosis of pancreatic cancer," Jackson Lee wrote in a letter shared on X. "I am currently undergoing treatment to battle this disease that impacts tens of thousands of Americans every year."

Jackson Lee, 74, has served Texas's 18th Congressional District since 1995. Throughout her career she has sponsored legislation on issues such as police reform, sentencing laws, safe gun storage and white-supremacy-motivated hate crimes.

Jackson Lee also sponsored legislation that led to Juneteenth being recognized as a federal holiday in 2021; that same year, she was arrested during nonviolent protests that called for the protection of voting rights.

Last year, Jackson Lee announced she would seek a 16th term in the House after losing a bid to become Houston's first Black female mayor.

She won the Democratic primary on Super Tuesday earlier this year.

"As a member of Congress, I've been honored to be one of the leaders in the fight for justice and equality for all," Jackson Lee wrote on Sunday. "Today, my fight is more personal, but I will approach it with the same faith and courage."

Pancreatic cancer accounts for about 3 percent of all cancers in the United States. About 66,440 people are estimated to be diagnosed with it this year, according to the American Cancer Society. Generally considered an aggressive form of cancer, the disease does not often present symptoms during its early stages.

People with pancreatic cancer may experience jaundice, weight loss, nausea, vomiting, poor appetite and pain in the back or abdomen. The disease can also cause blood clots and diabetes as well as gallbladder or liver enlargement.

Jackson Lee did not specify the type or severity of her pancreatic cancer, but said she is confident her medical team has developed "the best possible" treatment plan.

"The road ahead will not be easy, but I stand in faith that God will strengthen me," she said.

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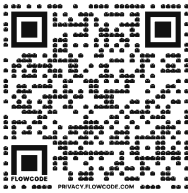


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# THE WORLD

## Basic training in Ukraine barely covers basics, officers say

BY ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN  
AND SERHII KOROLCHUK  
IN KRAMATORSK, UKRAINE

As Ukraine prepares to mobilize tens of thousands of men to address a critical shortage of soldiers amid intensified Russian attacks, Ukrainian commanders in the field say they are bracing for most of the new troops to arrive with poor training.

Ukrainian commanders have long griped about lackluster preparation for recruits at training centers. But with Russia on the offensive, the persistent complaints are a reminder that a newly adopted mobilization law intended to widen the pool of draft-eligible men is just one step in solving the military's personnel problems.

An influx of conscripts under the new law is still months away. In the meantime, commanders are redeploying soldiers from rear positions to fighting units near the front. President Volodymyr Zelensky last month also signed a law to allow some prison inmates to join the military in exchange for a chance of parole — copying a Russian tactic that provided thousands more fighters but is also releasing violent criminals back into society.

Wherever the new soldiers come from, Ukrainian field commanders said that because training is so deficient, they must often devote weeks to teaching them basic skills, such as how to shoot.

"We had guys that didn't even know how to disassemble and assemble a gun," said a 28-year-old deputy battalion commander from the 93d Mechanized Brigade, whom The Washington Post agreed to identify by his call sign, Schmidt, according to Ukrainian military protocol.

Schmidt said that he spent the first week with soldiers transferred from rear posts just making sure each one fired at least one box of bullets — some 1,500 shots — daily before moving on to more complex tasks. Within weeks, these soldiers could be fighting near the embattled town of Chasiv Yar, where Russian forces have been making advances.

"We are just wasting a lot of time here on basic training," Schmidt said, adding: "If, God forbid, there will be a breakthrough near Chasiv Yar, and we get new infantry that doesn't know basic things, they will be sent there to just die."

With Ukraine's forces critically understaffed and losing ground, the failure to provide adequate basic training for soldiers underscores the dire situation Kyiv is facing more than two years after Moscow's invasion.

Russia has made gains this year in large part because Ukraine's military doesn't have enough troops to defend against relentless assaults, soldiers say, while the government has been slow to ramp up its mobilization efforts.

To get more troops to the battlefield immediately, Zelensky's recently appointed military chief, Col. Gen. Oleksandr Syrsky, has redeployed people who were previously serving in jobs such as guarding bridges and other infrastructure far from the combat zone to brigades engaged in some of the fiercest fighting.

The move was designed in part to reduce the number of men who would have to be drafted — an issue that is politically fraught for Zelensky. Syrsky's predecessor, Gen. Valery Zaluzhny, had proposed drafting close to 500,000 people — a figure Zelensky publicly rejected by saying that he had not been shown evidence that it was necessary and that Ukraine would struggle financially to pay so many new soldiers' salaries.

For front-line commanders, any new troops are welcome, giv-



PHOTOS BY ED RAM FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**ABOVE:** Civilians are shown how to operate an antitank weapon during a military training course in the Kyiv region last month. **LEFT:** Oleksii, 34, talks to a recruitment agent at a military recruiting center in Dnipro at the end of May.



en that some units have endured months without reinforcements. But many of these redeployed arrivals appear ill-prepared, commanders said, despite many having served in the military since the start of Russia's invasion more than two years ago, albeit far from the battlefield.

Until about a month ago, a Ukrainian soldier, whose call sign is Val, had been standing guard on a bridge in the southern Odessa region — the same job he'd been doing every day since he enlisted at the start of the invasion.

On April 30, Val was told that he was being transferred to combat duty. Within 24 hours, he was assigned to the 93rd Brigade and instructed to deploy to the eastern Donetsk region. He didn't even have time to pack his things — some had to be shipped later.

"It's scary," the 31-year-old said. "Nobody was really prepared."

For a reconnaissance unit in the 42nd Mechanized Brigade, which was recently redirected to the northeast Kharkiv region to defend against a renewed Russian offensive, many of the scouts had just been reassigned from

rear roles and were given just two weeks' preparation before being sent into combat, to carry out tasks that at times require sneaking behind enemy lines.

What is taught in Ukrainian training centers "is complete nonsense," said a 32-year-old soldier in the unit with the call sign Chirva. "Everything is learned on

the spot."

An officer who has spent more than a year instructing new soldiers at one of Ukraine's facilities said the training centers are low on Soviet-caliber ammunition because it is being saved for troops on the battlefield. That means recruits get little experience firing live rounds. The officer said



**Soldiers from Ukraine's 93rd Brigade train to fight in trenches and fire rifles in the Donetsk region in late May.**

the training center received just 20 bullets per person.

"There are no grenades for throwing in training centers, and there are no grenade launcher rounds in the training center," said the officer, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to do so publicly. "This is the problem."

"We don't have a proper training system in place," the officer continued, adding that Ukraine needs its instructors to be taught by NATO trainers to condense the standard two-month basic training into one month.

A current priority for Ukraine's General Staff is securing more training for recruits abroad — at facilities that can't be targeted by Russian bombardment, unlike those in Ukraine. Britain so far has provided the most basic training for Ukrainians. In a potential boost, France is considering sending instructors to Ukraine to help prepare draftees, Syrsky said in a post on social media.

The prospect of being sent to dangerous front-line positions without adequate training is a main reason many Ukrainian men fear conscription. As part of a recruitment effort, the National Guard's Khartia Brigade has billboards across the country promising "60 days of preparation."

But despite individual brigades investing in ads to attract recruits — an internal competition of sorts within the military — those who enlist might not end up with their preferred brigade.

The chief sergeant for a battalion fighting in the eastern Donetsk region described a process in which certain brigades, particularly assault brigades, often get first pick of new soldiers brought to training centers.

The sergeant, who is typically sent to training centers to select troops for his battalion, spoke on the condition of anonymity to be candid and because he was not authorized to discuss the sensi-

tive matter publicly.

Some assault brigades might devote personnel to live practically full time near training centers, the sergeant said, to quickly snatch up the youngest, fittest, most motivated men. The officer who was an instructor at a training center confirmed that some brigades indeed plot for first dibs.

"If they send us to recruit someone, all the good ones have already been taken by other brigades, and you have to choose from the crooked, lame, sick ones," the sergeant said. "And so you choose from them, dammit."

The sergeant said that he aims to communicate with soldiers to get a sense for who is more willing to fight versus those who were conscripted forcibly and might refuse orders on the battlefield. This is expected to become an issue of heightened importance, as most Ukrainians eager to serve have already volunteered to do so. Those who have not yet volunteered tend to be resistant to fighting.

Some recruits, the sergeant said, are deemed physically fit despite being over age 50 with knee and back issues, meaning they will struggle to walk miles with a pack of gear and weapons, as is often required. Some brigades are ordered to take those men anyway.

"There are guys whom you just look in the eye and understand he's hesitating," the sergeant said. "He needs a push. He needs confidence in his weapon, confidence that we won't abandon him, and he will fight."

"And there are those who immediately say, 'I won't fight,'" he added. "Of course, you try not to take them. But again, in our army, it's set up so that the personnel department tells you, 'No way, you have to take him, he's healthy.'"

Anastacia Galouchka in Kyiv contributed to this report.

### DIGEST

#### SERBIA International observer cites election issues

Serbia's rerun of a troubled municipal election was marked by misuse of public resources and ruling party dominance but overall was well-run, an international observer said Monday.

The coalition led by the nationalist Serbian Progressive Party of President Aleksandar Vucic won convincingly over the weekend against splintered opposition groups in the rerun election in the capital, Belgrade, and in the regularly scheduled vote in other municipalities,

according to official results. The report by an office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe said its observers noted "numerous problems with the secrecy of the vote as well as several instances of serious irregularities including vote buying, and isolated cases of violence."

The report added, however, that fundamental freedoms were respected.

— Associated Press

#### IRAN Hard-liner signs up for presidential election

Iran's hard-line parliament

speaker registered Monday for the country's June 28 presidential election, the last day for aspirants to enter the race.

The entry of Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf brings a prominent candidate with close ties to the country's paramilitary Revolutionary Guard into the vote to replace President Ebrahim Raisi, who died in a helicopter crash with seven others on May 19.

Ghalibaf, 62, initially became speaker following a string of failed presidential bids and 12 years as the leader of Iran's capital city, during which he built out Tehran's subway and supported the construction of modern high-rises. He was

recently reelected as speaker. Many know Ghalibaf for his support, as a Revolutionary Guard general, for a violent crackdown on Iranian university students in 1999.

He also reportedly ordered live gunfire to be used against Iranian students in 2003 while serving as the country's police chief.

— Associated Press

#### PAKISTAN Methane gas kills 11 in coal mine

At least 11 coal miners suffocated to death in a build-up of methane gas in a mine outside

the southwestern Pakistani city of Quetta on Monday, a government official said.

The miners died in the Sanjdi coalfield, about 40 miles from Quetta, according to Abdul Ghani Kakar, the chief inspector of mines for the provincial Baluchistan government.

The miners were working about 1,500 feet underground, and rescue teams retrieved their bodies after hours of work, he added.

The chief inspector said an inquiry has been ordered to investigate the cause of the incident and to see whether there was any negligence.

— Reuters

**Portugal announced a new plan** Monday that will toughen some rules for migrants, following in the footsteps of other European Union countries. The rule will require migrants to have an employment contract before moving to Portugal. The government will outlaw a widely used mechanism called "manifestation of interest," which for years allowed non-E.U. migrants without an employment contract to move to Portugal and request residency after paying social security for a year.

— From wire reports



ISRAEL-GAZA WAR

Netanyahu, Hamas say no agreement has been reached yet on cease-fire

A Biden-led proposal has divided public opinion in Israel

BY SARAH DADOUCH AND ADELA SULIMAN

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu told a parliamentary committee Monday that any “claims that we have agreed to a cease-fire without our conditions being met are incorrect.” The remark came as a Hamas official, Suhail Hindi, told The Washington Post that the plan presented publicly by President Biden last week was “still under discussion” by the group.

The stalemate continues as international pressure grows on both parties. Egypt’s foreign minister urged Israel and Hamas on Monday to accept the cease-fire plan, telling reporters: “Hamas’s initial statements indicate that it received the deal proposal positively, and we are waiting for the Israeli response,” Foreign Minister Sameh Shoukry said.

The proposal, which the White House has called an Israeli proposal, has divided public opinion in Israel, where more than 100,000 people filled the streets of Tel Aviv this past weekend in support of the deal, demanding that the Israeli government accept it to hasten the release of hostages held in Gaza.

Netanyahu said in a separate statement Monday that he was “working in countless ways to return our hostages,” adding, “I think about them constantly, about their families and about their suffering.” But he underscored that the “elimination of Hamas,” remained a primary focus.

The Israeli military on Monday confirmed that four more hostages were killed several months ago in Hamas custody. The four were “killed while together in the area of Khan Younis during our operation there against Hamas,” Israeli military spokesman Daniel Hagari said in



An Israeli air strike destroys a building in the al-Bureij refugee camp in Gaza on Monday. More than 36,000 Palestinians and over 1,400 Israelis have been killed since Oct. 7, according to the Palestinian Health Ministry and the Israel Defense Forces.

a Monday briefing. The IDF notified the families Monday.

The news increases the pressure on Netanyahu to seek a deal that will bring the remaining hostages back home.

“Chaim [Peri, 80], Yoram [Metzger, 80], Amiram [Cooper, 84], and Nadav [Popplewell, 51] were kidnapped alive, some of them were with other hostages who returned in the previous deal — and they should have returned alive to their country and their families!” the Hostages and Missing Families Forum said in a statement.

The cease-fire proposal has already divided his fragile war cabinet after far-right members

of the coalition threatened to quit and bring down the government if the deal is accepted.

Ultrnationalist minister Bezalel Smotrich called the proposal “dangerous” on Monday and said it would “humiliate the State of Israel.” He reiterated that he and others would stand down and “work to replace the failed leadership with a new one,” should it be accepted.

Opposition leader Yair Lapid, however, has said that he would provide backing to Netanyahu’s government to keep it from collapsing if it accepts the deal.

“The Israeli government must agree to the Netanyahu proposal and send a delegation to Cairo

today to finalize the details,” he said. “I am repeating my offer to give Netanyahu a political safety net to carry out the deal.”

Netanyahu has also accused the United States of presenting only a “partial” view of the cease-fire plan.

National Security Council spokesman John Kirby told reporters on Monday there were no “gaps,” in the proposal. “We’re confident that [Biden’s speech] accurately reflects that proposal — a proposal that we worked with the Israelis on, so I know of no gaps to speak of,” he added.

The White House has described the proposal as including a six-week halt in fighting, dur-

ing which hostages taken from Israel during Hamas’s blitz on Oct. 7 would be released in phases in exchange for hundreds of Palestinian prisoners. There would also be a significant increase in aid shipments allowed into the Gaza Strip, where aid organizations have warned that a humanitarian crisis is underway.

The main point of contention for this and past proposals, however, remains how and when the war will officially end. Israel insists on the complete destruction of Hamas. Hamas says it wants a permanent cease-fire and the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip.

Israeli Defense Minister Yoav

Gallant, a Netanyahu rival within his own party, spoke with U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken on Sunday night and said Israel envisions creating an alternative to Hamas to run Gaza. “Putting a governmental alternative to Hamas will help to bring them home,” Gallant said in a statement issued by the Defense Ministry.

He told Blinken the security establishment is promoting measures to dismantle Hamas’s role as the governing and military authority in Gaza and enable the establishment of an alternative power that would overthrow Hamas rule and exert pressure to return hostages.

The U.N. Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), which aids Palestinian refugees, said Monday that more than 1 million Palestinians have fled from Rafah since Israeli ground operations started last month and that most are sheltering in the ruins of the city of Khan Younis. “Conditions are unspeakable,” the agency said on X. The United Nations also said Monday that more than half of the total buildings in Gaza — about 137,297 structures — had been destroyed or damaged by the war so far.

**Here’s what to know**

**A group of U.N. experts are calling on more nations to formally recognize the state of Palestine.** “This recognition is an important acknowledgment of the rights of the Palestinian people and their struggles and suffering toward freedom and independence,” the experts said in a joint statement Monday.

**The Maldives will impose a ban on Israeli passport holders entering the country,** the president’s office announced following a recommendation from the cabinet. The president will appoint a special envoy “to assess Palestinian needs” and set up a fundraising campaign to “assist our brothers and sisters in Palestine” with the help of UNRWA.

Heba Farouk Mahfouz, Hazem Balousha, Shira Rubin, Lior Soroka and Alon Rom contributed to this report.



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# With legislated parity push, Mexico cleared the way for a female president

BY MARY BETH SHERIDAN  
AND LORENA RIOS

MEXICO CITY — Mexico is famous for its macho culture. Women here didn’t win the right to vote for president until 1953 — three decades after their U.S. counterparts. As recently as nine years ago, there wasn’t a single female state governor.

Yet Mexico has just elected its first female president, Claudia Sheinbaum, in what was essentially a race between two women engineers. With 88 percent of the ballots counted Monday, Sheinbaum had 59 percent of the vote; Xóchitl Gálvez, her closest rival, had 28 percent.

As the United States gears up for another two-man contest for the presidency — Joe Biden vs. Donald Trump — Mexico is eclipsing its northern neighbor on gender parity in government.

Today, women hold half the seats in Mexico’s legislature — roughly double the percentage in the U.S. Congress. Women lead Mexico’s Supreme Court and central bank. While the United States has a record 12 female governors, Mexico will soon have 13, including four who won election Sunday.

How did Mexico do it?

Female politicians and activists lobbied for years to force parties to set quotas for female candidates. As in other parts of Latin America, when a wave of authoritarian governments crumbled in the 1980s and 1990s, activists sold the idea that real democracy meant equal participation for women.

So many senior positions in government here are held by women that gender wasn’t a big topic in the presidential race. There was, of course, recognition of the historic nature of the campaign. Sheinbaum’s slogans included “It’s time for women”; Gálvez proclaimed she had the “ovaries” to take on organized crime. Yet there was nothing like the sense of anticipation that accompanied Hillary Clinton’s presidential run in 2016.

“For most of the population, the gender theme isn’t all that important in and of itself,” said Lorena Becerra, a prominent pollster. “We had already internalized



Claudia Sheinbaum, seen at an event in January, won Mexico’s vote Sunday for president and is set to take the oath of office in October. She is an environmental engineer and former mayor of Mexico City.

the idea that the next president would be a woman.”

### How Mexican women led a political revolution

Mexico’s current president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, set a precedent in 2000 when he became mayor of Mexico City: The cabinet he appointed was half-male, half-female. He invited Sheinbaum, an environmental engineer, to be his environment secretary.

It was the start of an era of big gains for women in politics.

Mexico was rewriting its election laws as it transitioned from a one-party state to a democracy. A coalition of female politicians, activists, lawyers and academics pressed the Congress to adopt quotas for female congressional candidates. They were first set at 30 percent, then 40, then 50.

In 2019, Mexico passed a sweeping constitutional amendment establishing “parity in everything” — candidacies for all elected offices, and top jobs in the executive and judicial branches.

Not a single member of Congress voted against it. Female politicians had painted men who opposed affirmative-action measures as dinosaurs. It became too costly, politically, to oppose such initiatives.

po, a professor of gender and politics at Royal Holloway University of London.

But passing laws wasn’t enough. During the democratic transition, Mexico established strong institutions to interpret

*Mexico’s “gender quotas and parity amendment form a really important context where women’s political participation is normalized.”*

Jennifer Piscopo, a professor of gender and politics at Royal Holloway University of London

By the time the amendment passed, López Obrador was president, and Sheinbaum, his protégée, had become mayor of Mexico City herself.

“The gender quotas and parity amendment form a really important context where women’s political participation is normalized, and where parties are forced to think about and value women as candidates,” said Jennifer Piscopo,

and enforce electoral laws. The National Electoral Institute bird-dogged parties to ensure they ran an equal number of female candidates. Politicians who made sexist comments about female rivals could be stripped of the right to run themselves.

“The story of implementation is really important,” said Piscopo. The United States, in contrast, doesn’t have a comparable federal

apparatus for elections, which are overseen mostly by local authorities.

**Sheinbaum seen first as López Obrador’s protégée**

Sheinbaum’s gender hasn’t attracted much fanfare in part because her political career has developed in López Obrador’s shadow. During the campaign, the low-key Sheinbaum emphasized that she would continue the policies of the popular leader.

“What weighs more here is her loyalty, her closeness to him, the fact that he has absolute trust in her, rather than that she’s a woman,” said Carlos Heredia, an economist and political analyst.

Neither Sheinbaum nor Gálvez focused their platforms on women’s issues.

Consuelo Bañuelos, a human rights activist in the state of Nuevo Leon, said the candidates didn’t want to provoke unease in a society still permeated with machismo.

“The word ‘inclusion’ is scary. The phrase ‘gender perspective’ is scary. The word ‘gender’ is scary,” she said. “So why ruffle feathers if it’s not necessary?”

Becerra, the pollster, said voters still judge female candidates differently than they do men. About 25 percent of voters surveyed during the presidential campaign, for example, said it would be harder for a woman to address problems of security or organized crime. There was almost no difference on issues like health or the economy.

But it was difficult to gauge whether Sheinbaum’s gender helped or hurt her in the election because her top competitor was also female. The lone man in the race, Jorge Álvarez Máynez, the candidate of a small center-left party, had 11 percent of the vote.

**Feminists criticize Sheinbaum on women’s issues**

While feminists were thrilled by the prospect that Mexico would elect a female president, some say Sheinbaum has done little to advance women’s issues.

As mayor, she criticized big demonstrations in 2019 to protest violence against women, after some participants shattered windows and scrawled graffiti on

monuments. She did, however, pledge to make reducing femicides more of a priority.

In 2021, a group of women took over a major Mexico City traffic circle, erecting a statue of a girl with her fist raised. They rebaptized the site “the Plaza of the Women Who Fight,” in honor of the activists battling femicides and searching for the tens of thousands of victims of forced disappearance.

Sheinbaum opposed their effort and tried unsuccessfully to install a less politically charged statue honoring Indigenous women.

“She handled that incident with clumsiness, with absolute rejection, with a direct attack on us,” said Marcela Guerrero, one of the activists who placed the statue. “We don’t see a hopeful future.”

Although López Obrador emerged from the left, he had a tense relationship with feminists, charging that their protests had been infiltrated by his conservative opponents. He outraged feminists by defending an ally running for governor of Guerrero state, Félix Salgado Macedonio, after it was alleged that he’d sexually assaulted women. (Salgado Macedonio denied the allegations; he was eventually disqualified because of campaign finance violations.)

Sabina Berman, a writer and feminist who supports López Obrador’s Morena party, said he was slow at first to understand the importance of the women’s movement. But in backing Sheinbaum as his party’s presidential candidate, she said, he showed how he had changed.

“As a consequence, the opposition realized that gender mattered in this election, that it was a decisive element,” she said. “And so they looked for a female candidate as well.”

Berman hopes Sheinbaum’s election will be a turning point.

“In every household, in every classroom across the country, the idea that a woman exists to serve and please a man is going to crumble,” she said.

Ríos reported from Monterrey, Mexico. Paulina Villegas in Mexico City contributed to this report.

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# Mexico, after breaking free of one-party rule, could be headed for a relapse

MEXICO FROM A1

that this concentration of power doesn't turn into authoritarianism?"

### A radical overhaul of the courts

The state of Mexico's democracy matters beyond the country's borders. Mexico is the top U.S. trade partner and the second-biggest economy in Latin America. But it has struggled for decades to generate enough growth to lift tens of millions of people out of poverty. Mexico remains the No. 1 source of irregular migration to the United States, with more than 700,000 detentions at the border last year, including asylum seekers.

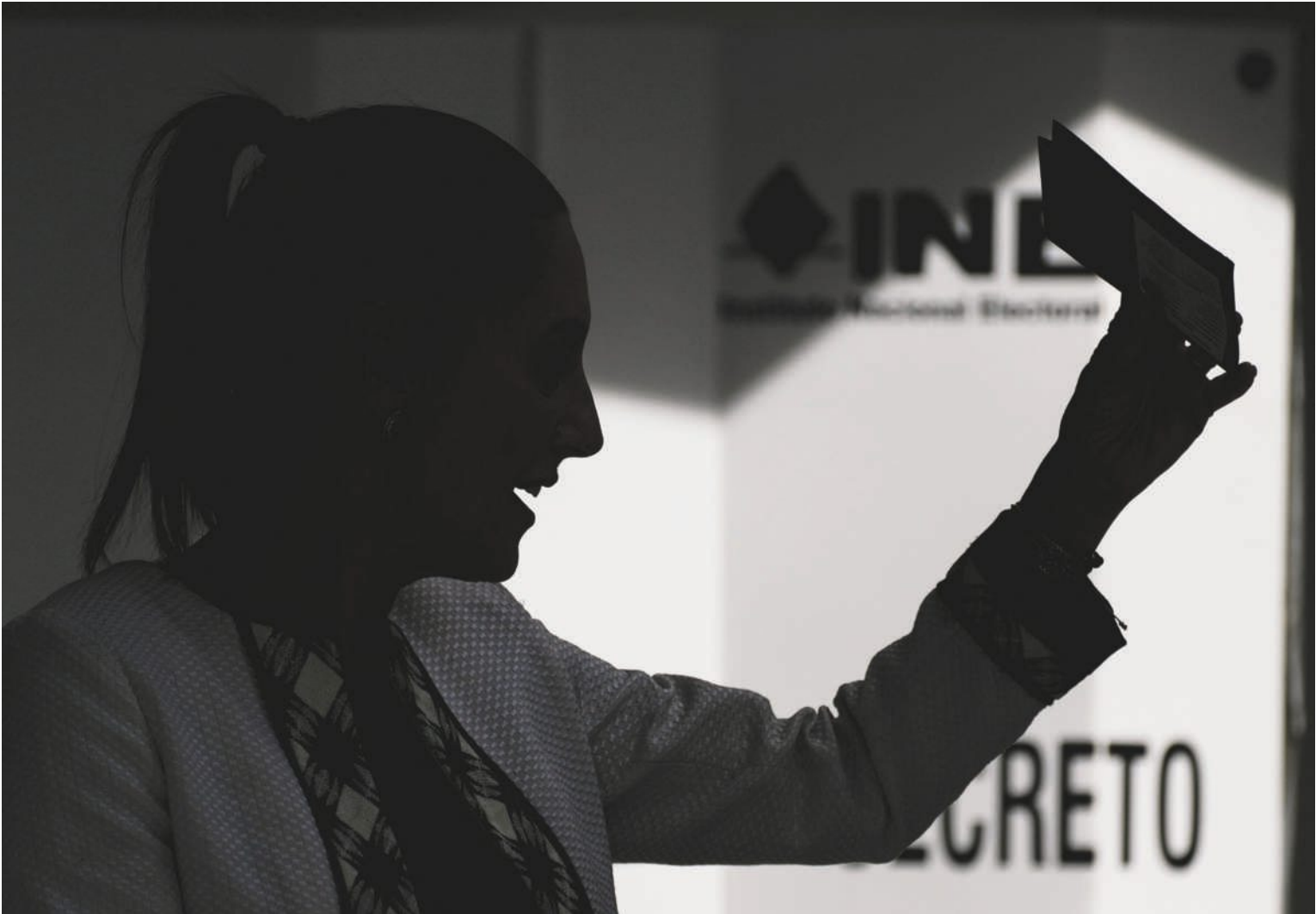
If Morena undermines the independence of the judiciary, analysts say, it could be harder to attract foreign investors and spur economic growth.

López Obrador has called for an overhaul of the courts, including the direct election of Supreme Court judges. He says only a scorched-earth policy can fix a judicial system rife with corruption, and the Supreme Court has blocked some of his signature initiatives, such as a plan to increase the role of the state in the electrical power sector. Sheinbaum, who takes office in October, has promised to pursue his plans to revamp the judiciary.

Until now, López Obrador has had a "concentration of power, but with limits," said Ana Laura Magaloni, a legal scholar who worked on justice reform with Sheinbaum in her early days as mayor of Mexico City.

If the president's power were no longer circumscribed by the courts or Congress, "what we'd have is constant political negotiations, similar to what happened under the PRI," she said. The Institutional Revolutionary Party controlled the Mexican government for 71 years until 2000.

Until now, Morena and its allies didn't have the supermajorities in the House and Senate they would need for a constitutional amendment establishing the direct election of federal judges. After Sunday's vote, it appears the ruling party is within striking distance of being able to implement that and other far-reaching



MARCO UGARTE/AP

Claudia Sheinbaum holds up her ballot before voting Sunday in Mexico City. The presidential winner has vowed to further expand popular welfare programs launched by President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, but just how closely she will follow his agenda is a question mark.

changes.

The Supreme Court was already approaching a critical juncture, with one of the 11 justices scheduled to retire in November. In Mexico's system, the court needs eight votes to declare a law unconstitutional. Three current judges, nominated by López Obrador, already vote consistently with his wishes.

If Sheinbaum names a loyalist, "clearly the court will no longer be a credible check" on presidential power, Magaloni said.

### Sheinbaum reiterates her support for democracy

Sheinbaum, 61, has vehemently rejected the idea that her government might mark a democratic regression.

She grew up in a left-wing

household in Mexico City; her mother, a biology professor, was fired for marching in the huge pro-democracy protests of 1968. The student-led demonstrations ended in a massacre by security forces in the capital's Tlatelolco district.

"Democracy has always been on the side of our movement. It's been our flag, our way of behaving," Sheinbaum said last week in her closing campaign rally. She recalled that heavy-handed governments once censored journalists, jailed social leaders and stole elections. "The people of Mexico don't want to return to the past."

Sheinbaum has been a political activist since her college days, when she helped organize a strike against a fee increase at Mexico's flagship National Autonomous

University. She earned a PhD there in environmental engineering and served as López Obrador's environment secretary when he became mayor of Mexico City in 2000. She won the mayor's job herself in 2018.

She is regarded as being on the left of Morena, which has absorbed a wide range of politicians, including ex-Communists and longtime PRIlists who switched sides when their party collapsed. Yet Jorge Zepeda Patterson, a left-leaning writer, said it wasn't accurate to describe her as radical.

"In reality, she's a nerd rooted in her academic formation," he said, describing her as a data-driven technocrat known for delivering projects on time.

Sheinbaum, who lacks López Obrador's folksy charm or politi-

cal skills, "will have to legitimize herself with results," he said. He predicted a new phase of the Fourth Transformation, "with less microphones, more Excel."

López Obrador's government has maintained economic stability and a strong peso. But the fiscal deficit has widened from 2 percent to nearly 6 percent of gross domestic product. And economic growth is expected to slow from the current 2.4 percent to 1.5 percent next year, the central bank says.

Sheinbaum has promised to further expand popular welfare programs launched by López Obrador, but she won't have the luxury of implementing policies that scare off investors and slow growth, analysts say.

"It is a question mark whether

she will really embrace" all of López Obrador's agenda, said Fernando Dworak, a political analyst. "And we have ignored the fact that she faces a very tough first two years."

### Mexico's political system in uncharted waters

Can Sheinbaum deviate from her mentor's path and become a less divisive, more centrist leader? Her commanding win gives her considerable political strength, and the president says he plans to retire to his ranch and leave politics.

But Carlos Heredia, an economist who advised López Obrador during his days as mayor, said it was in his nature to dominate the political scene.

"At the baptism, AMLO wants to be the priest, the baby, the father and the godfather," Heredia said. "He wants to be an ex-president who continues issuing orders."

Mexico is entering uncharted waters. The old PRI system gave presidents enormous power, but each was forced to relinquish it when his single six-year term ended. Morena is different: It's built largely around López Obrador. Without his unifying force, it could splinter into feuding factions, making it difficult for Sheinbaum to govern.

"The big question is, what will be Sheinbaum's source of political support?" Heredia said. "Now it's López Obrador and Morena. But once López Obrador is an ex-president, Morena loses the purpose it was founded for."

Another challenge: Morena often behaves like the opposition movement it grew out of. With all his years battling the PRI system and its heirs, López Obrador became an astute critic of the ills of Mexico's government. His administration was good at getting rid of old institutions, but less so at building new ones.

"They knew what they wanted to destroy," said Eugenio Fernández, an environmental analyst and activist. Creating effective substitutes is another matter. "They haven't thought about what kind of state they want."

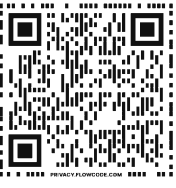
Lorena Ríos in Monterrey, Mexico, Paulina Villegas and Isabel Maney contributed to this report.

# KOSTAS IS FRED

Kostas Karametos was born and raised in Athens, Greece. Kostas completed his associate degree from Doxiadis College of Art with a concentration in Interior Design. Kostas led his own remodeling firm for 18 years designing and remodeling kitchens, bathrooms, and other home improvements. He joined the Fred team in 2017, drawn by the opportunity to utilize his creativity and expertise with every project he undertakes. Find out how all 35 of us at FRED are here to take on repairs and renovations **just the way you like it.**



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# Microsoft report alleges Russia is trying to disrupt the Paris Olympic Games

BY ANNABELLE TIMSIT  
AND AARON GREGG

PARIS — Russia is trying to undermine the 2024 Paris Olympics through disinformation campaigns that blend old propaganda tactics with artificial intelligence, according to Microsoft.

Microsoft's threat analysis center said in a report that the Kremlin's goals are to denigrate the reputation of the International Olympic Committee and create an expectation that violence will break out at the Paris Olympic Games, which will take place from July 26 to Aug. 11 in the French capital and in locations across France and its overseas territories.

Russia “seeks to spread public fear to deter spectators from attending the Games,” wrote Clint Watts, general manager of Microsoft's Threat Analysis Center, in

an accompanying blog post. The company warned that disinformation could intensify in the lead-up to the Opening Ceremonies.

The Russian Embassy in Washington did not immediately respond to an emailed request for comment.

The report appears to confirm allegations made by French President Emmanuel Macron, who said in April that Russia had been targeting the games by pushing the narrative that France wouldn't be ready to host. At the time, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov called the allegations “completely unfounded.”

Cyberattacks and information operations are the largest threats facing the Paris Olympics, according to Dale Buckner, chief executive of the private security firm Global Guardian and a retired U.S. Army colonel. Those attacks have probably already begun, he

said, and are likely to multiply, with French authorities going “on the offensive” as the Games approach to crack down on groups planning attacks.

In a report about the Paris Games published last month, Global Guardian said that while some attacks on the Olympics have been tied directly to Russian intelligence services, “most of them were attributable to private criminal organizations” that have ties to Russian intelligence but “are motivated principally by profit.”

Russia “wants to make the Games look bad, make the French system look bad, make the country of France look bad and its politicians look bad,” Buckner said. “It almost doesn't matter what the tactics are.”

Among the disinformation campaigns documented by Microsoft is a film called “Olym-

pics Has Fallen,” featuring an AI-generated voice impersonating actor Tom Cruise, and following a “strange, meandering script” disparaging the Olympic committee's leadership. The film began circulating on social media last summer, Microsoft reported, and has more recently been accompanied by other propaganda.

Russia has also spread false news clips claiming that a quarter of Olympics tickets purchased had been returned due to fear of terrorism. Another clip included a false security warning from the CIA. Among the most worrying methods of disinformation, Microsoft said, are social media accounts that appear to impersonate militant organizations and fabricate threats to the Games.

Microsoft said the propaganda campaigns fit into a long-held pattern of trying to undermine the Olympics.

Russia was banned from participating in the 2018 Winter Olympics following a wide-ranging IOC investigation into state-sponsored doping campaigns. After Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022, the IOC suspended the Russian Olympic Committee and banned Russian and Belarusian athletes from competing under their national flags. Last year, the IOC confirmed that Russian athletes would be allowed to compete in the Paris Games — but only under the status of “individual neutral athletes” and only if they do not actively support the war.

France is grappling with the long arm of Russian influence in other arenas. When Stars of David were tagged onto buildings in northern Paris last year, prompting fear among France's Jewish community, France condemned Russian interference. More recently, red hands — a fraught

symbol that some associate with the killing of two Israeli soldiers by a crowd in the West Bank in 2000 — were tagged onto a wall built in honor of individuals who helped save Jews during the Holocaust, prompting Macron to denounce “odious antisemitism.” But French media have reported that authorities now believe Russia may have been responsible.

Buckner said Russia is poised to exploit tensions within French society, including over the wars in Gaza and Ukraine, to generate negative discourse ahead of the Games. The difference between the Paris Olympics and the previous Games in China in 2022, Japan in 2021 and South Korea in 2018 is that “we didn't have two hot wars then,” he said. “Any kind of conflict [Russia] can stir ... they're going to do.”

Gregg reported from Washington.

# Kremlin-backed outlet in Prague bolstered European far right, officials say

RUSSIA FROM AI

politicians in more than five countries to plant Kremlin propaganda in Western media that would sow division in Europe and bolster the position of pro-Russian candidates in this week's European Parliament elections, according to interviews with a dozen European intelligence officials from five countries. Most of the officials spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss an ongoing and sensitive investigation.

Officials described the Russian operation as among the most ambitious undertaken by the Kremlin in Europe in its efforts to undermine support for Ukraine and create divisions in the transatlantic alliance. Previous Kremlin-backed covert actions include the attempted union of the far right and far left in Germany, stoking domestic divisions in France, and sabotage in Poland, The Washington Post has reported.

Internal Kremlin documents obtained by one of the European intelligence services and reviewed by The Post show for the first time that Voice of Europe was part of an influence campaign established by the Kremlin in close coordination with Viktor Medvedchuk, the Putin ally who until Russia's invasion of Ukraine led a pro-Moscow opposition party in Kyiv. It was later managed by a key Medvedchuk lieutenant who, other documents show, worked closely with a unit of Russia's Federal Security Service, or FSB, responsible for Ukraine and some former Soviet states, otherwise known as the FSB's Fifth Service.

After the expulsion from Europe of dozens of Russian intelligence officers following the invasion of Ukraine, fronts such as the Voice of Europe became instruments for the Kremlin to regain lost ground, one of the senior European intelligence officials said. “The Russian intelligence services had to change their work. The result is, for example, influence networks such as Voice of Europe,” the official said.

The website's status as a news organization was designed to provide cover, another of the intelligence officials said, making it “easier to approach politicians” under the guise of interviewing them about Ukraine, anti-globalism and other issues.

Michal Koudelka, head of the Czech domestic security service, said that the Voice of Europe operation was also an attempt to get more pro-Russian members into the European Parliament and that after the vote that starts Thursday, “there was a plan for the people in the European Parliament to conduct classic espionage” on behalf of Russia.

“It was an operation that aimed to shape Europe,” Koudelka said in an interview.

Far-right parties could end up with 25 percent of the seats in the 720-member European Parliament, according to some opinion polls. And for Russia, increasing influence among those parties could provide a mechanism for threatening aid to Ukraine, as well as fertile ground for espionage, according to Vera Jourova, the European Commission's vice president.

Pro-Russian politicians “could really make the financing [of Ukraine] difficult,” Jourova told The Post.

## Tens of thousands in cash

The Czech investigation has led to raids on the home and offices of an aide to a far-right Dutch member of the European Parliament and of Petr Bystron, a leading member of the far-right Alternative for Germany, or AfD, and the party's No. 2 candidate for the



Viktor Medvedchuk, then the leader of a pro-Kremlin opposition party in Ukraine, during a session of the Ukrainian parliament in Kyiv in 2019. He was arrested on treason charges after the Russian invasion and later turned over to Moscow during a prisoner exchange.

European Parliament. Bystron, the AfD's spokesman for foreign affairs, has been among the most vocal in Germany against sending Western weapons to Ukraine and for lifting sanctions on Russia.

German authorities said in May they have placed Bystron under investigation for alleged corruption and money laundering as part of the probe, and police raided his office in the German parliament as well as properties in Germany and Spain. In one recording, three of the senior European intelligence officials told The Post, Bystron can be heard complaining to a Voice of Europe official about the difficulty of transporting tens of thousands in cash to his vacation home in Mallorca.

“We knew he was pro-Russian,” said one of the senior intelligence officials, noting Bystron's longstanding ties with Russia and pro-Russian politicians in Ukraine. The official believes authorities have now gathered evidence supporting the accusation that Bystron received money from Russia and placed propaganda in far-right publications in return.

The Czech-born Bystron wasn't only “a passive person who received money,” the official said. “He organized things,” according to the official, who said that Bystron, who speaks Russian, brought other political figures into Voice of Europe's orbit and was “the main leading person.”

“Bystron knew about the plans for the espionage operations” in the European Parliament, this person said, adding that there was recorded evidence of this.

Bystron remains a candidate for the European Parliament and has denounced the investigation as a plot by European security services to damage AfD's standing ahead of the elections. “Before every election it is the same: defamation with the help of the secret services,” he told Deutschland Kurier, an AfD-linked website.

In a brief text exchange with The Post, Bystron said: “We already had a house search during an election campaign in 2017, which was subsequently declared to be illegal by the courts. Nobody was interested after the election.” He declined to be interviewed

further and did not respond to detailed written questions.

AfD is still expected to come in second or third in the June 6 poll, behind the center-right Christian Democratic Union, despite the controversy, which has touched other AfD leaders. Prosecutors in Germany said in a statement that they initiated a preliminary investigation into Maximilian Krah on allegations of accepting payments from Russia and China for his work as an AfD member of the European Parliament. Police searched his office as part of an

Security services in Europe are still investigating the role of dozens of other far-right politicians in the Voice of Europe network, including from France, Belgium and the Netherlands, as well up to six more AfD figures, including politicians and parliamentary assistants, people familiar with the investigation said. Belgian authorities have also played a leading investigative role, with key Voice of Europe meetings with politicians taking place in other locations in Europe, including Brussels, senior officials said.

*“It was an operation that aimed to shape Europe.”*

Michal Koudelka, head of the Czech domestic security service, on the Prague-based Voice of Europe media outlet

investigation into allegations that one of his aides was working as a spy for China. On Wednesday, police raided the residence and offices of the Dutch parliamentary assistant who had previously worked for Krah.

Krah said in a statement to The Post that the allegations were part of a “disinformation campaign against my party orchestrated by intelligence agencies” and called the accusations “not only wrong” but “slandering.”

## A series of scandals

European security officials and Kremlin documents link the creation of Voice of Europe in early 2023 to Russia's presidential administration and Medvedchuk, who is so close to Putin that the Russian president is godfather to his daughter. Medvedchuk was turned over to Russia in September 2022 as part of a prisoner exchange between Moscow and Kyiv. He was seen in Moscow as a possible leader of Ukraine if the



Petr Bystron, a member of the far-right Alternative for Germany party and its foreign affairs spokesman, in parliament in 2023.

vated by Russia's political allies in Ukraine since the Kremlin illegally annexed Crimea in 2014. Those relations were often first managed by Oleg Voloshyn, a political operative in charge of foreign relations for Medvedchuk's For Life political party before Russia's invasion.

In an interview, Voloshyn said he introduced Medvedchuk and Bystron in Berlin in 2020. Voloshyn said he brought Bystron and Krah to Kyiv to celebrate his 40th birthday in April 2021, introducing them to Marchevsky, who at the time headed one of Medvedchuk's three television stations in Ukraine.

After Medvedchuk was placed under house arrest by Zelensky's government and accused of treason, Bystron and Krah traveled again to Kyiv to visit Medvedchuk in his home, a trip that raised concerns among European security officials.

Voloshyn's ability to travel in Europe was hampered in January 2022, shortly before Russia's invasion, when the U.S. Treasury Department placed him on its sanctions list, calling him an “FSB pawn” in efforts by the Russian security agency to destabilize and take over Ukraine. Voloshyn said the sanctions — and allegations that he was connected to Russian intelligence — were based on inaccurate information.

When Bystron made a secret trip to Belarus in November 2022 — acknowledging the visit only after it was exposed by Lithuanian and German media — he met with Voloshyn, who had relocated there following Russia's invasion, Voloshyn told The Post.

Voloshyn said he connected Bystron with Medvedchuk by phone during the visit but insisted that the German and the Ukrainian spoke for no more than a few minutes.

In a 2023 interview with The Post, Bystron said he met only with Belarusian officials during the trip. Soon after the visit, Bystron presented a peace plan favorable to the Kremlin to the German parliament.

With Voloshyn unable to travel to the European Union, Marchevsky became the face of Voice of Europe in Prague.

Marchevsky did not respond to a detailed request for comment. In earlier comments to the Financial Times, he denied working as a proxy for Medvedchuk and said he was not involved in Voice of Europe's management, claiming his company was only a third-party contractor. He declined to reveal his whereabouts after fleeing the Czech Republic.

A series of scandals dogging the AfD — including a statement by Krah that not all members of the Nazi SS in World War II were guilty of crimes — has dented but not destroyed the party's standing ahead of the European Parliament elections. Krah has withdrawn from the race, and AfD is still expected to get at least 15 percent of the vote, which could allow it a second-place finish in Germany.

Krah's statement about the SS did prompt the far-right National Rally party in France, led by Marine Le Pen, to say it would not sit with the AfD in the European Parliament. But the AfD's membership in such official groupings may not mean much when it comes to voting on issues related to Russia or Ukraine, one of the European intelligence officials said, with parties able to vote in ad hoc blocs.

The Czech intelligence services, at least, are still vigilant. “We stopped [the Voice of Europe operation], and I am very proud of my service,” Koudelka said. But there are concerns that other networks may be working in other European countries. “This fight is never-ending.”



# ECONOMY & BUSINESS



SHURAN HUANG FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Arati Prabhakar, the director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy since 2022, has been charged with enforcing Washington's newly tough consensus on China.

BY EVA DOU

Early in her career, Arati Prabhakar led the development of a self-piloting ship for a secretive U.S. military research agency. Now she's the White House's top technology official — the first to hail from a defense background since the Cold War and a representative of Washington's new hard-line consensus on China.

For three decades, the United States threw itself headlong into globalization, backed by the confidence that while a rising tide lifts all boats, America's vessel would rise the highest. China's technological ascent has shaken that broad assurance and prompted a self-policy reversal.

"We had an oversimplified model for a long time, for a number of decades," Prabhakar said in an interview with The Washington Post. "That oversimplified model was that markets and globalization would solve all the problems."

Prabhakar's early specialty was semiconductor research, a rare background among senior policy-makers. That technical knowledge has come into use, as she has helped the Biden administration craft the largest industrial policy push in decades, in an effort to help the United States retain its technological lead over China. Semiconductors — the brains of computers — are the program's centerpiece.

"It's the biggest industrial policy initiative in the U.S. since the Second World War," said Gary Hufbauer, a former Treasury deputy assistant secretary and now a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. "The only thing that the U.S. did which was comparable was the interstate highway system back in the 1950s."

Kevin Wolf, a former assistant commerce secretary for export administration, says the Biden administration has enacted the strictest technology export controls against China in recent memory, adopting the policy position that China having the capability to produce advanced computing systems indigenously is a "per se national security threat"

## Biden's science adviser explains the new hard line on China

to the United States.

The hard-line shift is reflected in the appointment of Prabhakar, 65, as the president's science and technology adviser in 2022. Her recent predecessors were all scholars from civilian fields like biology and meteorology.

In contrast, Prabhakar previously oversaw the Pentagon's futuristic technologies research agency, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). Her team at the White House's Office of Science and Technology Policy now is assigned to answer thorny questions of how to accelerate U.S. innovation in technologies with military applications — semiconductors, telecommunications and quantum computing — while curbing U.S. research connections to China without veering into racial profiling.

Many of these projects will take far longer than a four-year presidential term to accomplish, a recognition that the technological rivalry with China may last decades, as the Cold War did.

Her team is already maneuvering to wrangle commitments from allied nations to support U.S. wireless technologies over China's for the 6G generation, which won't deploy until around 2030. U.S. officials had been caught flat-footed with 5G, with China getting a jump-start on 5G research and development and rolling out its networks faster.

"It is the right time to start lining everyone up," Prabhakar said about building a 6G coalition around the U.S. position.

Her office sits in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building on the White House grounds, down a hallway checkered black-and-white like a chess board. The Bruce Springsteen lyric "Meet me in a land of hope and dreams" is emblazoned across the wall.

After immigrating to the United States from India with her parents as a child, Prabhakar earned a PhD in applied physics from the California Institute of Technology, then strayed from the academic career path. She was working at DARPA in 1986 at the tail end of the Cold War.

"The Soviet Union ended while I was at DARPA, and so I saw what an enormous shift started in how we thought about national security," she said.

Following the Soviet Union's dissolution in 1991, one of her colleagues went to brief Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, about submarines, only for Powell to remark that they didn't care about submarines anymore. Washington downsized its military and embraced globalization, secure in its position as the unquestioned world leader.

"We were riding high," said Rob Atkinson, founder of the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation. "We were the center of the internet and the IT economy. China was nothing. ... We

assumed that would continue in perpetuity."

China's unexpected emergence as a serious technological rival has prompted a return to a Cold War-like chill. President Donald Trump began the pivot, launching a trade war against China. Since arriving in the Oval Office, President Biden — who criticized those policies at first — has surprised many by doubling down on Trump's tariffs and export controls, though with more measured rhetoric and a focus on multilateral cooperation.

National security adviser Jake Sullivan announced in September 2022 that the United States could no longer just maintain a "relative" technological lead over rivals and "must maintain as large of a lead as possible." Soon after, the Commerce Department, led by Gina Raimondo, fired a fusillade of technology export controls at China.

Prabhakar's team has been working on a longer-term research and development strategy, including directing research projects in quantum computing and cancer treatment, and trying to wrangle multiple agencies to cooperate to squeeze out more radio spectrum for emerging technologies in an effort to get a jump on 6G in competition against China.

The Biden administration also has leaned hard into industrial policy in key technological sectors such as chips and telecommunications gear, with the help of \$52 billion in funding from the bipartisan Chips and Science Act.

Ken Zita, a telecom expert who advised the Biden administration on industrial policies, said Washington was making the leap from "no industrial policy" to "having one" after many years in which industrial planning by the federal government was deeply out of fashion.

"They've had to take it from whole cloth, and say, 'What can we do? Where can we act?'" Zita said.

A major challenge for the Biden administration has been how to pursue this policy shift without fanning anti-Chinese sentiment.

Prabhakar's team is drafting research security guidelines for universities across the nation on how they should limit and monitor research relationships with China and other countries deemed adversaries. This task was inherited from the Trump administration.

Prabhakar said her team is now "pretty close" to a final version of the rules, though she stopped short of saying when they may be released. She said that after they released a draft version of the rules for comment last year, feedback from the research community gave her pause, including input that the requirements for universities were too onerous.

"It's possible to put in so much process that you actually exacerbate the problem," she said. The

House Committee on Science, Space and Technology questioned Prabhakar in February over the delays in producing a final version of the rules. She told the committee that drafting the regulations had turned out to be more complex than expected.

"Doing this in a way that respects every individual, their rights as an individual and respecting their dignity, I think, is critically important," she said. "Not exacerbating anti-Asian bias in the environment that we are in — absolutely key."

The draft guidelines issued by her office for comment call for research institutes' training programs to include instruction on "the importance of nondiscrimination as a guiding principle," though it isn't entirely clear what this would look like in practice.

More broadly, the Biden administration's approach to China has its share of skeptics. Some foreign governments suspect the export controls are more about trade protectionism than national security necessity.

"When I do travel — and by overseas I mean Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, U.K., you know, allied countries — almost to a person, they don't really understand what the national security objective is that the U.S. government is trying to accomplish with all these new controls," said Wolf, the former assistant commerce secretary.

Some, such as Atkinson, say the grants for building new U.S. technological hubs have been distributed too diffusely.

"The whole point of this was you can't have 50 places," he said. "There's not enough money. There's not enough technology to go around."

Prabhakar defended these measures as part of a carefully considered long-term plan to ensure U.S. competitiveness.

"It's important to say that this is a really carefully calibrated strategy. It's not saying, 'We're going to roll up the sidewalks and never trade with anyone else around the world.' It's very globally engaged, working with our allies and partners."



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Biden signs into law the Chips and Science Act, a key part of U.S. industrial policy in major technological sectors.

### DIGEST

#### INVESTING

##### NYSE glitch sparks big swings in some stocks

A glitch at the New York Stock Exchange triggered massive swings in the shares of Berkshire Hathaway and Barrick Gold, and trading halts in dozens of other companies Monday, before the problem was fixed.

The NYSE, owned by Intercontinental Exchange, by late morning said on its website that it had resolved a reported

technical issue and that the affected stocks had resumed trading.

At least 60 stocks listed on the NYSE were halted because of volatility, and some stocks showed unusual outsize movements.

— Reuters

#### NIGERIA

##### Strikes close airports, spur power outages

Africa's most populous

country ground to a halt Monday, with electricity cut and major airports closed, as Nigeria's largest labor unions began striking to demand a salary increase amid the worst cost-of-living crisis in decades.

In this strike, the fourth since President Bola Ahmed Tinubu came to power a year ago, workers shut down the national electricity grid and drove away operators at a key transmission station, the Transmission Company of Nigeria said, adding that other workers sent to

restore power were blocked.

Elsewhere, government workers either did not show up or shut down entrances to offices, including at airports in the capital, Abuja, and the economic hub of Lagos.

Hundreds of passengers were stranded after local airlines suspended flight operations.

— Associated Press

#### ALSO IN BUSINESS

Research animal breeder Envigo pleaded guilty to animal welfare and environmental

crimes Monday after a two-year Justice Department probe into its mistreatment of thousands of beagles, a department official said. Envigo agreed in federal court in the Western District of Virginia to pay \$22 million in fines, plus \$13.5 million in expenses and to cover animal welfare projects. That includes the largest-ever fine in an animal welfare case imposed by the Justice Department, \$11 million, the U.S. attorney for the Western District of Virginia said.

Montreal-area Safran workers who make components for landing gear used in Airbus and Boeing jets will begin an unlimited general strike Tuesday over pay, a union official told Reuters on Monday. It comes as plane-makers are wrestling with supply chain snags due to parts shortages, and as unions are capitalizing on tight labor markets and high inflation to win hefty contracts at bargaining tables across North America.

— From news services







## TUESDAY OPINION

KAREN TUMULTY

### The Texas Republican Party has gone off the deep end

Looking for something really hair-raising to read? Check out the 50-page platform that was just adopted by the Texas Republican Party.

The document, approved at the party's biennial convention in late May, is not a serious policy road map. But it does reveal the id of a political party that has gone off the deep end.

Just a few of the platform's planks: that the Bible should be taught in public schools, with chaplains on hand “to counsel and give guidance from a traditional biblical perspective based on Judeo-Christian principles.” That noncitizens who are legal residents of this country should be deported if they are arrested for participating in a protest that turns violent. That name changes to military bases should be reversed to “publicly honor the southern heroes.” That doctors who perform abortions should be charged with homicide. That the United States should withdraw from the United Nations and that the international organization should be removed from U.S. soil.

Then there is this audaciously undemocratic provision: To be elected to state office, a candidate must win not only a majority of votes, but also more than half of Texas's 254 counties. Let me translate what that means. Democrats in Texas are concentrated in a few urban areas, while Republicans are spread across the map. This system would effectively mean Democrats — who, as it is, haven't won a statewide office since 1994 — would be shut out forever.

Traditionally, the core mission of state parties is to do the basic work of winning elections: recruiting candidates, organizing, fundraising, registering voters. Texas Republicans, however, are on an ideological crusade to push the state further to the right and purify their own ranks, even as the state party's coffers dry up and its donor base shrinks.

Those endeavors are likely to alienate more moderate Texans — that is, if they are actually paying attention. Voter turnout in the state is notoriously low, which is one reason the wing nuts hold so much sway.

The latest round of primaries and runoff elections saw 15 Republican state House members lose to far-right challengers. House Speaker Dade Phelan managed to squeak by in Tuesday's runoff by less than 400 votes against a challenger who had Donald Trump's endorsement, as well as those of Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick, Attorney General Ken Paxton and the most recent party chairman, Matt Rinaldi.

Rep. Tony Gonzales, the Republican congressman who represents Uvalde, where the mass shooting of 19 children and two adults took place in 2022, barely won his runoff against a gun zealot who refers to himself as “The AK Guy,” a reference to his fondness for Kalashnikov assault rifles.

Both Phelan and Gonzales were censured last year by their state party. The speaker's punishment was for a “lack of fidelity to Republican principles and priorities” after the House impeached Attorney General Paxton for corruption. (The state Senate refused to convict him.) The congressman's reprimand was for a handful of heresies including his vote for the modest gun law changes in the wake of the massacre at Robb Elementary School.

Lest rank-and-file GOP voters ever again be allowed to override the activists who run the party machinery, the convention approved a new rule preventing any candidate who is censured from appearing on the ballot for two years.

More sensible Republicans — yes, there are still some in Texas — worry that their party is bent on its own destruction.

Travis County Republican Chairman Matt Mackowiak is one of them. Citing “five years of neglect, dishonesty, self-dealing, and blatant anti-Semitism” within his party, Mackowiak joined a crowded field vying to replace outgoing state chairman Rinaldi at the convention. He lost to the far-right favorite, who was Rinaldi's handpicked successor.

“The party has been taken over by people who have no interest in running a healthy, growing party,” Mackowiak told me. “It feels to me that we're going to keep going down this road until Democrats start winning statewide elections in Texas, and then Republicans are going to wake up.”

How might that happen? In recent years, the state has gained more new residents than any other. Many of the people who are coming from other places are attracted to Texas's conservative economic policies, which have helped to produce a robust business climate. But they may not feel the same about political leaders who are trying to impose social policies that would turn the clock back a century or two.

I don't believe Texas is on the brink of turning blue in the immediate future, especially in an election year with Trump at the top of the ballot. But these days, its persistent red tinge may partly be one of embarrassment.



The Texas State Capitol in Austin last year.

BY WILLIAM MCRAVEN

My mother was a member of the Greatest Generation. Born in 1921, she was raised on a small farm in East Texas. She went to church every Sunday. Her family struggled through the Great Depression. Her brother went off to fight World War II in the Pacific, and she found lasting love with a fighter pilot from that war.

She believed in American Exceptionalism — not in the power of our military or the strength of our economy, but in the values that shaped the nation. She often told me stories of great acts of courage, sacrifice and integrity, stories rooted in American history. Stories that would frame my understanding of our national character.

She loved the story of John Adams, who despite withering criticism defended the British soldiers who shot and killed several rioting civilians during the Boston Massacre in 1770. She praised the jurors who found the soldiers — who had been harassed and assaulted by the crowd — not guilty of murder charges. She extolled their fairness as essential to the American character.

Then there was Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who treated a defeated Robert E. Lee with grace and compassion at Appomattox; Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who worked to rebuild Japanese society during the post-World War II occupation of Japan; Secretary of State George C. Marshall and his plan to reconstruct a devastated postwar Europe; the Berlin Airlift; and

many other examples of the American character.

Growing up in the segregated South, my mother was not naïve about our nation's faults, but she always believed in our better angels. She believed that America was exceptional because there was goodness in our hearts, goodness that transcended our hatreds, goodness that brought us together in

*My mother believed that America was exceptional because there was goodness in our hearts, goodness that transcended our hatreds, goodness that brought us together in the worst of times.*

the worst of times, goodness that showed the world that despite our internal strife and political divisions we could rise above it all and be the best version of ourselves. This was what made America exceptional.

Now, a former president has been convicted by a jury in New York, and we have a choice to make. We can show the world that we are still exceptional and continue to lead the international community with

integrity and pride, or we can prolong the onslaught of crassness, vulgarity, pettiness and righteous indignation and descend into national mediocrity, where there is nothing of value worth emulating.

I have been a vocal critic of the former president, but I took no joy in seeing him found guilty. He was the president of the United States. My president. Whether I liked him or not, he had been elected by the people, the American people — your neighbors, your colleagues, your friends and your family. If we are going to continue to be viewed as exceptional, then it is time for both sides to lay down their rhetorical arms and find a way to rise above.

On the left, stop the gloating, the ugly memes, the public rants, the late-night roastings and the political vitriol. On the right, respect the legal verdict, support the jurors, fly your flag with honor and find a way to bridge the political divide. There are thoughtful, reasonable, genuinely good men and women on both sides. Let them speak for America.

Abraham Lincoln once said, “My dream is of a place and a time where America will once again be seen as the last best hope of Earth.” It is up to us — all of us — to decide whether *this* is that place and time. Whether this is where we stand together and show the world that we can rise above, that we are exceptional, that my mother was right — that our goodness can transcend our hatreds and bring us together even in the most challenging of times.

The writer is a retired Navy admiral.

BINA VENKATARAMAN

### South Florida influencers are already fighting viral disinformation

In the early hours of a Saturday morning in April, a man in a bar fight in the Miami suburb of Doral shot and killed a security guard who tried to intervene. Soon, residents started sharing a rumor over WhatsApp and Telegram. The killer, conspiracists asserted, must have belonged to a criminal gang from Venezuela infiltrating the United States. Known as Tren de Aragua, the criminal organization has become a recurring bogeyman in anti-immigrant conspiracy theories circulating in Spanish-speaking diaspora communities over the past year.

By the time the Miami-Dade Police Department released the name of the actual shooter — who was not an immigrant from Venezuela or anywhere else, and whom police also shot and killed — the lie had already penetrated community gossip circles. Lost in the early rumor mill was that an immigrant family was the victim of the crime: The 23-year-old fallen security guard was George Castellanos, an aspiring police officer and the father of an adorable little girl.

A national survey conducted late last year showed that Hispanics around the country see open borders and immigration as the nation's No. 1 security threat — over terrorism, access to guns, cyberattacks, war, China or Russia. Eduardo Gamarra, a political scientist at Florida International University who conducted that public polling, says rampant disinformation contributes to the perception in immigrant communities that the next wave of migrants poses dangers that their own wave did not. Meanwhile, online accounts tied to the Kremlin and Russian state media have been actively spreading lies about immigrants in the United States this year in an apparent attempt to undermine public support for aid to Ukraine.

Messaging apps such as WhatsApp and Telegram, used to communicate within the United States but also with family and friends from countries of origin, have an outsized impact in shaping views in Latino communities, and it's harder to track false information spreading on them than on more open social media platforms. Big Tech companies have also done far too little in recent election cycles to address disinformation in non-English languages posted by the likes of propagandists and political campaigns on their platforms, providing fodder by way of links used for conspiratorial private-messaging threads.

But what is happening today in Spanish-speaking communities also paints a picture of where the entire nation might find itself in the near future. Artificial intelligence is increasing the ease and slashing the cost of creating and circulating online rumors in multiple languages and formats — from outlandish memes to deepfake videos. Shuttering local newspapers leave information gaps in English-speaking communities around the country that fearmongers with political or profit agendas can readily seize. Traditional arbiters and communicators of truth — journalists, the courts, scientists — have been losing trust across vast swaths of the population, and in some corners never earned it in the first place.

Who shot and killed someone in a nightclub is not a matter of subjective opinion — nor is the deadliness of a new virus or the date that an election is being held. What will become of the public's ability to know such truths? This is what most keeps me awake at night when contemplating the future. Are we on the cusp of an era of unprecedented witch trials and xenophobia — targeting people and groups who we feel pose a danger, instead of demanding that political and business leaders enact real reforms to keep us safe? How will we convict criminals, exonerate the innocent, prevent pandemics or hold elections in this new world?

I recently spoke with the leader of a community organization in South Florida called We Are Más who also dreads this future — and spends her days fighting to prevent it. Evelyn Pérez-Verdía works to quell rumors in Spanish-speaking diaspora communities, using the same group chats where they already are and drawing on trusted community voices to influence them. As part of a collaboration with the Information Futures Lab at Brown University, Pérez-Verdía recently recruited 25 local messengers — including the head of a YWCA chapter and a Colombian American hairdresser — to swat rumors as they start flying in South Florida.

The local influencers began by listening for questions and narratives taking hold in the community. They ranged from how safe it was to get the shingles vaccine to whether President Biden had a



MICHELLE KONDRICH/THE WASHINGTON POST

body double, from how to get a mammogram if underinsured to whether the 2024 presidential election had been canceled — a notion now circulating among Latinos in swing states thanks to a social media post translated into Spanish featuring the Sandy Hook conspiracy theorist Alex Jones. Pérez-Verdía and her collaborators gave the trusted messengers templates to answer the questions in both English and Spanish using WhatsApp and social media vernacular and formats, but also in person. The formula: Empathize with a concern instead of shaming people or telling them they are wrong. And acknowledge — rather than ignore — the kernels of truth that make false claims seem convincing.

The South Florida influencers, for instance, heard a rumor circulating that the government had put microchips in the coronavirus vaccine so it could track people. Pérez-Verdía and the co-directors of the Information Futures Lab, Stefanie Friedhoff and Claire Wardle, recommended that the influencers acknowledge to community members who raised the rumor that it was a scary thought and of understandable concern. The influencers also explained that YouTube videos showed magnets and coins sticking to people's skin because of natural body oils. And they noted that private companies and government agencies can track people using credit card and cellphone data, while also explaining what was actually in the vaccine.

The impact of this kind of work on community awareness is still being documented, but it offers a useful counterpoint to the latest trend in investment to fight online rumors, which is far too focused on technological fixes for what is fundamentally a human problem. What resonates most are the stories that speak to people emotionally and that they feel engaged in — whether or not they are true. Bad information meets people where they are when they are afraid and in the dark.

When there's a shooting or an outbreak in a neighborhood or town, people seek answers immediately — and clues for how to keep themselves

and their families safe. They look to people and cultural contexts that they trust for this information, whether it's a beauty salon or a WhatsApp group, and they construct stories, often in collaboration with others. Researchers from the University of Washington have found, for instance, that many online conspiracy groups have a participatory quality, engaging their audiences in creating a narrative — a characteristic lacking in most credible information sources.

That's why it's underwhelming to see technology companies today espousing “watermarking” — labeling digital images and text so that more people might distinguish what comes from verifiable sources and what has been concocted by AI — as the solution to the proliferation of online disinformation. Many of the same companies' social media and search platforms have long eased the way for propagandists all over the world to spread lies and conspiracies, resisting calls to tame their gardens in the name of free speech. AI is an amplifier of that existing trend, not the cause of it. There's not much hope, moreover, that good information can now drown out the surfeit of bad.

It would be a better idea if the tech companies that have profited from the spread of misinformation, as well as governments and philanthropies, invested in community-level efforts to combat conspiracies like the one in South Florida — or attempted otherwise to get to the root causes for why people find them so compelling.

Rumors will likely remain rampant online as long as there is something to gain from manipulating the masses; people who seek to impart the truth might never be able to keep up with their pace. But that is all the more reason not simply to play whack-a-mole with pieces of online disinformation if we hope to see the truth win even some of the time. Better that more focus is placed on people, for a start. The most urgent targets should be communities in swing states, where lies are fast spreading as interlopers try to influence this year's election.



OPINION

# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## How the ANC’s fall can help South Africa to rise

THE VOTES have been counted in South Africa, and the African National Congress has lost its governing majority in Parliament. It's a dramatic post-apartheid first: The ANC — the party of the late Nelson Mandela — has been in power since 1994. Despite this historic rebuke, the ANC remains the largest faction with around 40 percent of the seats in the 400-member National Assembly, which will pick the next president. Hence the incumbent, Cyril Ramaphosa, has to find a coalition partner to reach the necessary 201 votes.

Mr. Ramaphosa, who lost support partly because he was seen as indecisive, has never faced a more important choice. In making it, he needs to remember that much more is at stake than another presidential term for himself. South Africans were clearly fed up with the ANC's record of widespread corruption, incompetent delivery of basic public services such as water and electricity, rampant unemployment among the country's Black majority, and worsening inequality. The country's future, and that of the entire continent, depends on stabilizing South African democracy and restoring it as a strong engine of economic growth.

Given the voters' angry mood and the strength of the ANC's own left-wing traditions, Mr. Ramaphosa

will no doubt be tempted to ally with one of two ANC splinter parties. The Economic Freedom Fighters, or EFF, a quasi-socialist party, got roughly a tenth of the vote. Led by a red beret-wearing firebrand named Julius Malema, whom the ANC expelled for insubordination more than a decade ago, the EFF advocates a sweeping confiscation of White-owned farmland potentially similar to the one that ended ruinously in Zimbabwe under the socialist President Robert Mugabe. Mr. Malema has been twice convicted of hate speech, including a call to “shoot the Boer” (a reference to Afrikaans-speaking White South Africans). Many political analysts in South Africa refer to a potential ANC-EFF coalition, correctly, as “the doomsday scenario.”

Equally troubling, albeit for different reasons, would be an ANC coalition with uMkhonto weSizwe, or MK, which is on track to get around 14 percent of the vote, drawn disproportionately from its base in KwaZulu-Natal province. It's a left-wing Zulu ethnonationalist party formed by the 82-year-old former ANC president Jacob Zuma, whose terrible tenure, from 2009 to 2018, precipitated the county's economic slide. He resigned facing corruption charges and was briefly jailed, prompting deadly riots by his supporters that left 300 people dead. Mr. Zuma courted controversy earlier in his career when he was tried and eventually acquitted for rape, after

blaming his accuser for wearing a knee-length skirt and claiming he took a shower after sex to reduce his chances of catching HIV.

The most logical move for the ANC would be to join forces with the second-place vote-getter, the Democratic Alliance, which is headed for a vote share of around 21 percent. To be sure, this would

*The ANC has always been a collection of factions rather than a strictly ideological party, and it should be able to make room for the middle-ground Democratic Alliance.*

require the ruling party to pivot to the ideological middle. The DA, as it is known, is a pro-free market party of the center-right, ideologically closest to Britain's Conservative Party, according to DA leader John Steenhuisen. The party is more pro-Western than the ANC; for example, the DA more firmly and vocally opposes Russia's invasion of Ukraine. This

could bring much-needed new balance to the country's foreign policy generally and its relationship with the United States in particular.

As a potential partner for the ANC, the DA suffers from being seen as the party of South Africa's privileged White minority (about 8 percent of the population), a category that includes Mr. Steenhuisen, and many of its parliamentary representatives. Still, the DA's roots lie partly in the liberal White party that opposed apartheid before the transition to democracy. It might also be difficult for the ANC to team up with a party that campaigned against it by publishing a database of ruling party loyalists appointed to key government jobs without qualifications, a corrupt process known as “cadre deployment.”

Yet the ANC has always been a collection of factions rather than a strictly ideological party. Mr. Ramaphosa, who held several top ANC posts under Mr. Mandela, and who later became a millionaire in the private sector, hails from the more moderate wing of the party. He should be able to make room for the DA under the ANC's big tent. Such a coalition could give South Africa a strong, multiethnic governing majority, based on three-fifths of the votes, and capable of bringing needed economic reforms. That would be good for South Africa, the continent and the world.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

What were the Alitos thinking?

Regarding the May 30 news article “Alito says he will not recuse in Jan. 6 cases”:

Reading Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr.'s reasoning for refusing to recuse himself from Jan. 6, 2021, cases leaves me sad that this is the present state of the Supreme Court, a bench formerly occupied by legends such as John Marshall and William J. Brennan Jr. I am willing to concede that Justice Alito believes he can be impartial. The context he refuses to acknowledge is how his decisions will be perceived.

Regardless of how he decides any Jan. 6 cases, his judgment will be greeted with doubt. After all, how can one separate oneself from the convictions one has expressed in public, or that one's family members appear to have expressed? Justice Alito's rejection of basic concern for the court's reputation will forever be a stain on both the institution and his own legacy. I am hopeful that a future Congress will establish some oversight of justices who refuse to recuse in obvious conflict-of-interest situations.

John Hilton, Lemoyne, Pa.

The flying of these particular flags on Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr.'s properties, together with his response to the many inquiries about his judgment, unfortunately demonstrate that he possesses a personal characteristic that all too often induces public officials to abuse the authority they've been given, to the detriment of the public they are to serve.

The characteristic is arrogance. And Justice Alito's arrogance has been consistently on display over the past few weeks in his claim that he and his wife have the right to express their opinions outside of the court whenever and wherever they wish; in his rejection of the obligation incumbent on all public officials to avoid activities that the public might reasonably perceive as presenting a conflict between the official's personal interests and the interests of the public whom the official is sworn to protect; and in his all-too-apparent lack of concern for the reputational impact these flags have upon the institution of which he is a member. Justice Alito's basic response to the inquiries he has received regarding these flag-flying incidents has, in essence, been “nothing more to discuss.” I, and many other Americans, disagree.

Philip Sunderland, Alexandria

The path forward

Jennifer Rubin's May 26 online column, “What more need Alito do before Durbin gets off the stick?” was dead right about how destructive the court led by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. is, and why Justice Alito should recuse himself from Jan. 6 cases. But her criticism of Sen. Dick Durbin (D-Ill.) missed the mark.

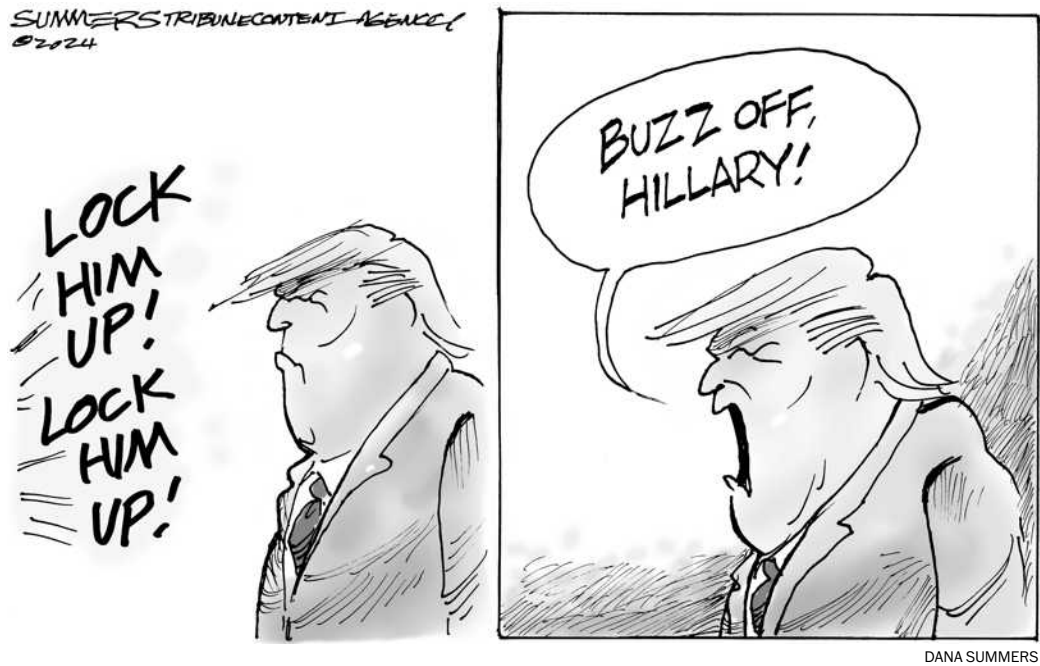
I share Mr. Durbin's doubts that a hearing will address the heart of the issue: the Supreme Court's embrace of a right-wing activist agenda.

Justice Alito's conduct is, in my view, shocking. His “blame my wife” defense of the controversial flags outside his homes, and his Alaska fishing trip with Leonard Leo, both flout the requirement that all judges must maintain the appearance of impartiality.

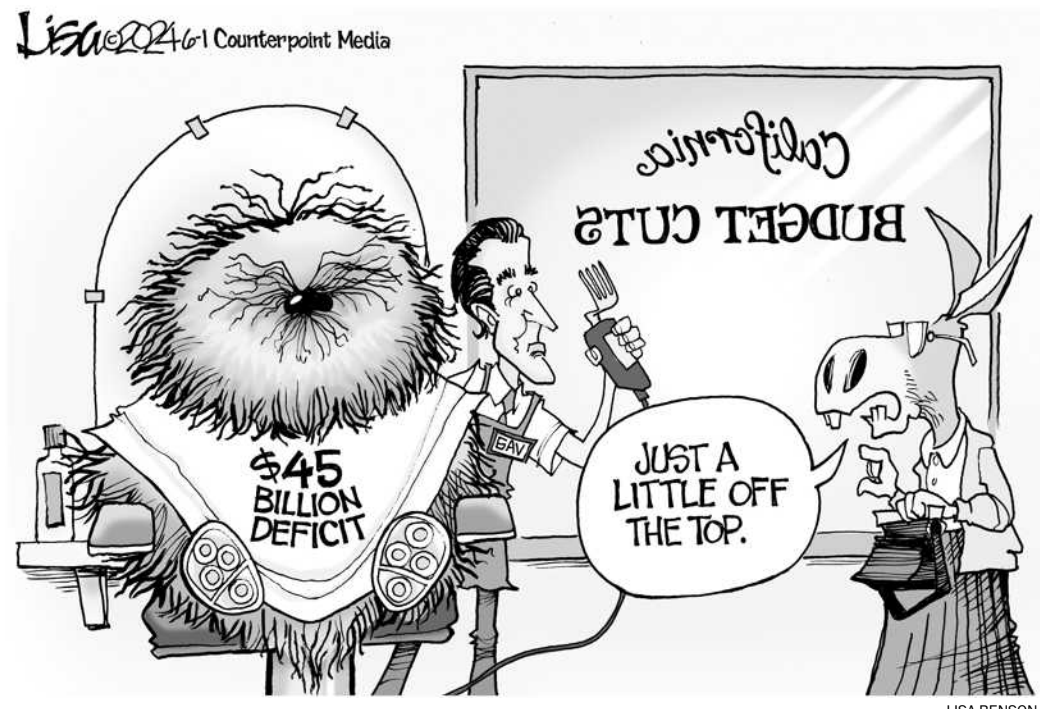
Since Justice Roberts's 2005 appointment and Justice Alito's confirmation in 2006, and with the help of Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) and former president Donald Trump, the Supreme Court has taken aim at our democracy. The disastrous *Citizens United* decision flooded our campaigns with dark money. In a shameful reversal, *Dobbs* stripped citizens of a constitutional right. Yet all Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee adamantly opposed the ethics bill introduced by Mr. Durbin and Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-R.I.), claiming it would be “judicial interference.” It's very doubtful they will cooperate to address the flags displayed outside Justice Alito's homes.

The good news: What Mr. Durbin has been able to accomplish, despite a one-vote majority, is to

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confirm more than 200 well-qualified federal judges with balanced views and a shared dedication to the Constitution. As Ms. Rubin suggests, the direction of the Supreme Court *must* be an issue for voters. Judiciary Committee Democrats will continue to do our part to try to hold the court accountable. We hope the same is true of our Republican colleagues.

As we work, one person has the responsibility and authority to act immediately to effect the change we need: the regrettably timid chief justice. He could enforce a stronger code of conduct today.

Peter Welch, Burlington, Vt.

The writer, a Democrat, represents Vermont in the U.S. Senate, is a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Different strokes

While attending a local community meeting the other night, I was struck by the fact that our county surrogate, whose job is to handle probate cases, adoptions and the like, displays more concern for public perception of her fairness and impartiality than does Supreme Court Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr.

Permitting a flag claimed by the “Stop the Steal” fringe movement to fly over his home and a banner that has become associated with that cause and that of increasing religious influence on government

shows a complete disdain for the ethical standards to which all U.S. judges beneath the level of the Supreme Court must hold themselves. His actions show contempt not simply for his neighbors but for the traditions of the American judicial system — and thus for the American people's expectation that the system itself treat them fairly.

Steven Lestition, Lawrenceville, N.J.

In the early 1990s, I was on a Pentagon assignment that required me to make public appearances around the country, speaking to veterans' groups and various civic organizations. Frequently, these groups presented me with a small memento such as an embroidered baseball cap, a logo T-shirt or a pen-and-pencil set.

When I returned to the Pentagon, I was required to turn in these gifts to the Defense Department's Office of the General Counsel and fill out a form describing who gave me the gift and what I did for them. A few weeks later, I would receive a package through Pentagon interoffice mail with a letter from the general counsel telling me that, in their judgment, no laws had been violated by my accepting the gift, and I could keep it. Now, we find that Supreme Court justices accept with impunity all-expenses-paid fishing trips, sweetheart loans to buy luxury recreational vehicles and multi-

thousand-dollar honoraria for making speeches.

Why was I — an unimportant Army colonel — required to abide by ethical laws far more stringent than any such rules covering Supreme Court justices?

Joseph A. Schlatter, Heathsville, Va.

What's love got to do with it?

I'm pretty sure that if I asked my spouse to “please take that flag down because it might cause difficulties for me, and it might call into question the impartiality of the Supreme Court and thereby harm one of our country's most important institutions,” my spouse would take it down.

Sue J. Henry, McLean

I generally agree with Ruth Marcus's opinions, but I found myself nodding even more than usual upon reading her May 30 op-ed, “For the Alitos, logic flies upside down.” Upon graduation from law school some decades ago, I served as a law clerk to a federal judge who was married. The judge's wife was a quite independent and intelligent woman. Indeed, years after my clerkship, I discovered that they voted in different parties. That fact notwithstanding, never in a million years would the judge's wife have done anything similar to what Martha-Ann Alito did. Why? For precisely the reasons Ms. Marcus cites: “[Justice Samuel A.] Alito recognized instantly that the upside-down flag presented a problem.”

Marc Chafetz, Washington

Do those critical of Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr.'s flags have wives? If so, do they get to tell them what they can and cannot do?

Tom Hafer, Arlington

God: “Have you eaten from the tree whose fruit I commanded you not to eat?”

Adam: “It was the woman . . .”

Congratulations to Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., whose dedication to originalism has led him to employ the oldest defense known to mankind.

Philip Billings, Concord, N.H.

Civics lessons

Of all the newspapers in the country, The Washington Post, the District of Columbia's newspaper, should have written a serious article about Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr.'s unpatriotic disrespect of the flag. In doing so, The Post could have explained to readers the history, meaning and significance of the flag, and thus how dishonorable was the Alitos' act. As a child living on various military bases where my father was stationed, I watched as the flag was taken down at sundown every day and carefully — even religiously — folded. If we were driving, we were to stop the car so that my father could stand at salute. And when driving without him, we still stopped and were silent.

Of course, those not in the military are not always schooled in the importance and meaning of the flag or how it must be honored at all times. That's why most Americans need a tutorial to understand just how deeply unpatriotic Justice Alito's act was. (America certainly punished Colin Kaepernick for a far less disrespectful act — and he had no obligation to the rest of us, as does Justice Alito.) Most schools no longer teach civics and government, and when they do, it's as an elective. I am very disappointed that the nation's newspaper missed this opportunity to teach all Americans to show their loyalty to American ideals by honoring the flag.

Nancy Luque, Washington

Letter submissions

Letters can be sent to [letters@washpost.com](mailto:letters@washpost.com). Submissions must be exclusive to The Post and should include the writer's address and day and evening telephone numbers. Letters are subject to editing and abridgment. Please do not send letters as attachments. Because of the volume of material we receive, we are unable to acknowledge submissions; writers whose letters are under consideration for publication will be contacted.

NEWS

EDITORIAL AND OPINION

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OPINION

The U.S. is escalating Ukraine’s war without a plan

BY SAMUEL CHARAP AND JEREMY SHAPIRO

The Biden administration’s decision to approve Ukraine’s use of U.S. weapons to attack targets inside Russia is, as President Biden might say, a big deal. Ukrainians argue that this change will derail the Kremlin’s offensive in the Kharkiv region and perhaps even turn the tide of the war. Russian officials and propagandists claim it is a major escalation and have threatened to strike back directly at the United States or its allies.

Both claims are likely to prove hollow. But this decision is nevertheless consequential, if for a different reason: It marks another turn of a tit-for-tat spiral that has continuously raised the risks of a broader war without offering a path to ending this one.

This isn’t the first time the United States, under pressure from Ukraine and Western allies, has crossed a threshold previously deemed too escalatory. Past decisions on HIMARS launchers, cluster bombs, long-range munitions and F-16s were also driven by perceived Russian gains on the battlefield.

Strikes inside Russia using U.S. weapons might slow military operations around Kharkiv, but they will not be a game changer. Russia’s Kharkiv push has already gotten bogged down around the city of Vovchansk, which is less than five miles from the Russian border. With strikes on supply lines in Russia proper, the offensive could slow further, but the Russians are likely to adapt, as they have to previous U.S. moves. After all, U.S. weapons are routinely used to hit Russian supply lines and command posts in occupied eastern Ukraine, with Russia nevertheless steadily realizing gains there. And so the grinding, attritional war will continue.

Past evidence also suggests Russia is not going to dramatically escalate just because the United States provides a new weapons system or eases constraints on an existing one. Russia is, relatively speaking, winning the war at the moment, so it is unlikely President Vladimir Putin will take the risk of provoking direct conflict with the United States and its allies. Moscow might well respond, but it is likely to do so in an indirect or asymmetric way, rather than firing a missile into a European capital next week.

The real problem with Biden’s decision is that Washington has yet again made a major policy change reactively — in response to Russia’s military moves and not as part of a broader strategy to end the war. The Russians will continue to push, and in three or six months the United States could find itself back here again, under a similar Ukrainian and allied pressure campaign, tempted to breach its next threshold to try to reverse the negative trajectory. As Secretary of State Antony Blinken put it, “we’ll continue to do what we’ve been doing, which is, as necessary, adapt and adjust.”

But adaptation and adjustment do not constitute strategy, and reactive escalation absent a strategy is not sound policy. Escalating U.S. involvement in this conflict — or any conflict — should be guided by an idea about how to bring the war to an end. In this case, that would have required demonstrating that Ukrainian strikes inside Russia using U.S. systems are part of an integrated strategy to end the war on terms favorable to Ukraine and the United States.

That end will come, as the administration itself has repeatedly stated, at the negotiating table. In a bargaining process, coercive measures can be used as leverage. You impose military costs on your opponent with the goal of making them do what you want, not merely to counter their latest maneuver. But Ukraine and the West have shown no signs of being ready to start bargaining with Russia. And imposing costs *absent* a bargaining process makes further escalation inevitable. As Thomas Schelling, the guru of military coercion, noted, “If [our enemy’s] pain were our greatest delight and our satisfaction his greatest woe, we would just proceed to hurt and to frustrate each other.”

This spiral dynamic — of unrelenting Russian aggression and ever-increasing Western military support for Ukraine to counter Moscow’s momentum — has been ratcheting up nearly 2½ years. Without a bargaining process, it might continue for years to come. And someday, one side or the other might finally stumble over an actual red line, which could lead to exactly the major escalation the Biden administration has been trying to avoid.

In the meantime, Ukraine will continue to suffer, and the costs of the war to the West will continue to mount. There has to be a better way to manage the most consequential military conflict in a generation.

Samuel Charap is distinguished chair for Russia and Eurasia policy at Rand. Jeremy Shapiro is director of research at the European Council on Foreign Relations.



JANE ROSENBERG/REUTERS

In a courtroom sketch, Justice Juan Merchan addresses former president Donald Trump during his trial last month.

RUTH MARCUS

Will Trump do time in jail? Here’s how Merchan should rule.

The defendant will rise.

Mr. Trump, I have thought long and hard about the appropriate sentence in this case. I am going to sentence you to 60 days in jail and six months of community service. I am going to suspend imposition of the sentence until the conclusion of any appeals that you may bring.

In addition, if you are elected president, any sentence that you serve will take place at the conclusion of your term in office. As a former president, your safety is paramount, and I instruct state authorities to work with the Secret Service to find an appropriate venue for housing you and your security detail. I am confident that a suitable solution can be found; if one cannot, the relevant parties should report back to me, and we will take things from there.

Let me begin with the arguments in favor of a lighter, noncustodial sentence. You are a 77-year-old man with no prior criminal record. The 34 felony counts on which you have been convicted are nonviolent offenses. Under New York law, they constitute Class E felonies, the least serious category. As a general matter, most of those convicted of felony violations involving falsification of business records, as you have been, are not sentenced to time in jail.

These are all factors that weigh against incarcerating you. One factor that I do not believe is relevant, and that I therefore have not considered, is your status as a former president and a current presidential candidate. As I said earlier, your presidential service is relevant to the *conditions* of your confinement, not to the baseline question of whether you should be incarcerated.

The fact of your having served as president, and the possibility that you will be elected to a second term, cuts in both directions. You are entitled to the respect and accompanying protections accorded someone who has

held the highest office in the land.

But the fact that you occupied that office also means that you are, or should be, a role model for other citizens. There is an argument that those entrusted with such positions of prominence and responsibility should be held even more strictly to account when they abuse the public trust and violate the law.

In my view, just as no person is above the law, no person should be treated better — or worse — because of the position they once held. In addition, I do not take into account any political implications of the sentence I impose. My job is to dispense justice to the best of my ability, not to anticipate public reaction or political fallout. Some will vehemently disagree with, and protest, the sentence I impose today. That is their right under the protections of our Constitution.

So, as I said, I am sentencing you to 60 days in jail. I base this decision on several factors. First, it is in line with — indeed, it is less severe than — sentences imposed on others involved in the same activities for which you have been convicted.

Michael Cohen, who testified against you, was sentenced to three years in federal prison after pleading guilty to crimes that included the very same payments central to this case. I myself sentenced Allen Weisselberg, the Trump Organization’s chief financial officer, to five months for his role in a tax fraud scheme at your company.

It cannot be that the principal of the organization should be somehow immune from incarceration while his deputies must serve time. And sentencing you to some kind of home detention hardly seems like much of an imposition given the quality of your homes.

Second, although nonviolent, the conduct of which you have been convicted involves a serious offense against voters of this state and against

the political system more broadly. The jury found that you conspired to keep potentially relevant and politically damaging information from coming to light during the 2016 election.

This is not a victimless crime, or a harmless one. As you well understood, your conduct might have influenced the outcome of that campaign. The subsequent falsification of business records, which the jury found that you intended, was in furtherance of that conspiracy.

Third, I must take into account your egregious conduct during the course of the trial and in the aftermath of your conviction. It is your right — as a citizen, a criminal defendant and a presidential candidate — to assert your innocence, to criticize the prosecution and to disagree with the verdict. It is your right to pursue every avenue of appeal.

It is not your right to disobey court orders, as you did in repeatedly and flagrantly violating my carefully crafted instructions on the permissible contours of your grievances. You criticized witnesses. You disparaged the jury. You committed 10 separate instances of contempt of court, and you came close then to being jailed for that conduct.

Immediately after the verdict was issued, you described the trial as “disgraceful” and “rigged.” In your fundraising emails, you have described yourself as a “political prisoner.” You darkly warned that the public might not “stand for it” were you to be jailed. It is your right, as you appeal, to protest your innocence. But your repeated and unwarranted denigration of the criminal justice system can fairly be held against you.

I hereby sentence you to 60 days in jail, followed by six months of community service. I do not take this step lightly, but I have concluded, after much reflection, that it is just and necessary that you be held accountable for your conduct.

It is so ordered.

EUGENE ROBINSON

He won’t do it, but Trump should drop out

For the good of his country and his party, Donald Trump must withdraw from the presidential race.

No, I haven’t lost my mind; of course, he won’t. But imagine what would have happened if this were any other moment in American history. A candidate for any public office, including deputy assistant dogcatcher, would have become an ex-candidate before the jury foreman got halfway through the reading of those 34 guilty verdicts. Remember that distant era? The one that began at the founding of the republic, and that ended in 2015 at the foot of a gilded escalator?

It seemed to me that *somebody* should tell Trump to walk away. After all, chin-stroking pundits and hand-wringing Democrats have been advising President Biden to step aside — for the apparently unforgivable crime of living to 81.

Amid all the caterwauling from Republicans about “lawfare” and their unhinged threats to somehow seek revenge, the reality is this: A jury found Trump guilty of 34 felony offenses after a lengthy trial. Despite what Trump and his histrionic acolytes may say, that decision was not made by Manhattan District Attorney Alvin Bragg, or by Justice Juan Merchan, or by George Soros, or by Joe Biden.

The verdict was not some kind of “lifetime achievement award” for Trump’s decades of lying, cheating and stealing. The jury, made up of citizens from Trump’s hometown, heard only evidence that pertained to the alleged crimes — instances of “falsification of

business records in the first degree.” It is true that adult-film actress Stormy Daniels was allowed to testify about her sexual encounter with Trump, at which no bookkeeping took place, but only because Trump’s lawyers opened the door to that line of questioning.

What happened in Merchan’s courtroom was hardly “a quintessential show trial,” as Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.) claimed. In fact, it was the polar opposite. Trump enjoyed the presumption of innocence throughout. The jurors had to agree unanimously on his guilt “beyond a reasonable doubt,” the highest bar for prosecutors to surmount. And Trump surely will exercise his right to appeal the verdict to a higher court.

Everyone should recall that when Bragg took office in 2022, he paused the ongoing investigation into the \$130,000 hush money payment to Daniels, which kept the story of her sexual encounter with Trump from hitting the headlines in the days before the 2016 election. Two prosecutors resigned in protest of Bragg’s caution. He decided to seek an indictment only when he was convinced he had a provable case. It turned out that he did.

Much has been made of how what might have been misdemeanors were made into felonies. But Bragg did not invent that process; it is spelled out in New York state law. If there is something wrong with using legally mandated aggravating factors to convict defendants of serious crimes, there are an awful lot of prison inmates who should be out on the streets. And if Merchan erred in any way, the New York State Court of Appeals can void Trump’s

conviction.

There is one thing that I have not heard Trump’s overcaffeinated defenders claim: He didn’t do it.

I haven’t heard one Republican official argue that Trump did not sleep with a porn star four months after his wife Melania gave birth to their son Barron; that he did not have Daniels paid to keep quiet about the tryst; that he did not cause his company’s books to be falsified to hide the payment; or that he did not buy Daniels’s silence because he worried her story would hurt his chances of winning the election.

Rather, the GOP argument is that Trump shouldn’t have been prosecuted or convicted for these actions. So much for the erstwhile party of law and order.

Republicans must need throat lozenges after a weekend yelling “election interference” at the top of their lungs. I wouldn’t put a lot of faith in the handful of instant polls that have attempted to gauge the political impact of Trump’s new status as a felon. The point of the trial was accountability, not electability.

But I do hope that Democrats, independents and non-MAGA conservatives will finally snap out of their funk and realize that the aura of inevitability that Trump has been trying to project is nothing but a smoke-and-mirrors illusion.

He lost in 2020 to Biden, although he’s too insecure to admit it. He lost in court, although the system is designed to give every advantage to the defendant. And it is we, the voters — not any judge or any jurors — who have the power to make sure he loses again in November.

DANA MILBANK

Fauci, again, idles the GOP conspiracy machine

Old conspiracy theories never die. They just fade into the congressional record.

Last fall, Rep. Brad Wenstrup (R-Ohio), chairman of the Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Pandemic, made an incendiary public accusation that, “according to information gathered by the select subcommittee,” Anthony Fauci “was escorted into Central Intelligence Agency Headquarters — without a record of entry — and participated in the analysis to ‘influence’ the agency’s review” to say that covid-19 did not originate from a lab leak. “Wenstrup reveals new allegations,” his news release boasted.

Another Republican on the panel, Rep. Richard McCormick (Ga.) declared definitively: “We now know that Fauci had a secret meeting with the CIA.”

Fox News, the New York Post and the rest of the right-wing conspiracy machine ran with it. And then — nothing. The subcommittee came up with no evidence to support the claim, supposedly made by a whistleblower, and nothing to challenge Fauci’s testimony that he hadn’t been to the CIA in 20 years. Appearing before the panel in a public hearing on Monday, Fauci, now retired after decades leading the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, ridiculed the idea that “I was parachuted into the CIA like Jason Bourne and told the CIA that they should really not be talking about a lab leak.”

So what did committee Republicans do after their Fauci-to-CIA conspiracy theory collapsed? They pretended it never happened. The Republican staff director, Mitch Benzine, during his time to question Fauci at the hearing, announced: “That was not an allegation made by the committee.”

Why would anyone have thought otherwise?

This follows a pattern. The Select Subcommittee on the Weaponization of the Federal Government, after holding several hearings that failed to produce anything other than warmed-over allegations about the so-called deep state, was panned even by right-wing media. The Oversight Committee investigation of Joe Biden’s “corruption” failed so thoroughly to find even a trace of wrongdoing by the president that Republicans have had to quietly shelve their impeachment ambitions.

On the covid panel, Republican House members had promised many a bombshell over the last year and a half.

Evidence is mounting that American tax dollars helped develop COVID & Dr. Fauci purposely suppressed the lab leak theory to cover it up,” alleged Nicole Malliotakis (N.Y.).

“While many lost their loved ones, their businesses, and livelihoods, Dr. Fauci made millions,” Michael Cloud (Tex.) accused.

Covid “was manufactured in a lab funded by Fauci,” asserted Marjorie Taylor Greene (Ga.).

Yeah, no.

Documents and testimony the panel gathered over 18 months, while finding misbehavior by a grant recipient and by an adviser to Fauci, produced nothing to substantiate these wild allegations. The United States did not fund research that created the pathogen. Fauci didn’t lie about the U.S. role in “gain of function” research at the laboratory in Wuhan, China. He didn’t try to suppress the lab leak theory, or bribe people to reject it. He didn’t get rich off the pandemic, either — although he testified that he earned about \$120 a year from an antibody he developed years ago.

And, so, when Fauci appeared before Congress on Monday, Republicans on the panel hit him with whatever else they could come up with.

Malliotakis scolded him for “cruel, horrific animal research” at NIH on beagles, piglets and rabbits.

“I’m puzzled as to what that has to do with the origins of covid,” Fauci replied.

Greene didn’t care what it had to do with covid. “As a dog lover, I want to tell you this is disgusting and evil,” she said, recommending “prison” for Fauci. She further informed the scientist that she would address him as “Mr. Fauci, because you’re not Doctor.” Democrats objected, and the committee spent several minutes bickering over proper decorum.

The dispute about Fauci’s honorific (he’s an M.D.) was all the more absurd because the chairman, Wenstrup, made a point in his opening statement of stating that “I am a physician” who during covid was “researching with another physician in Ohio to try and understand the pathology.”

Wenstrup did not mention that he is a podiatrist. Was he researching covid’s impact on the metatarsals?

But the constant repetition of the conspiracy theories is anything but amusing for, as Fauci testified, it has caused endless harassment of him and his family, including the arrests of two people “on their way to kill me.” He said he needs full-time security.

Yet Republicans on the panel, rather than focusing on lessons about masks, vaccines, and school and business closures that could save lives in the future, kept returning to the same conspiracy theories that are endangering Fauci’s life in the present. And Fauci kept batting them down.

He informed Debbie Lesko (Ariz.) that “you said about four or five things. . . that were just not true.”

He advised Jim Jordan (Ohio) to “look at the facts.”

And to Benzine, the staff director, Fauci offered a chuckle and a simple critique: “I know where you’re going, and you’re not going to get there.”

They never do.



# Ecstasy’s path to approval as PTSD treatment faces doubts from FDA staff

Agency analysis raises questions about safety and clinical trials

BY DANIEL GILBERT AND DAVID OVALLE

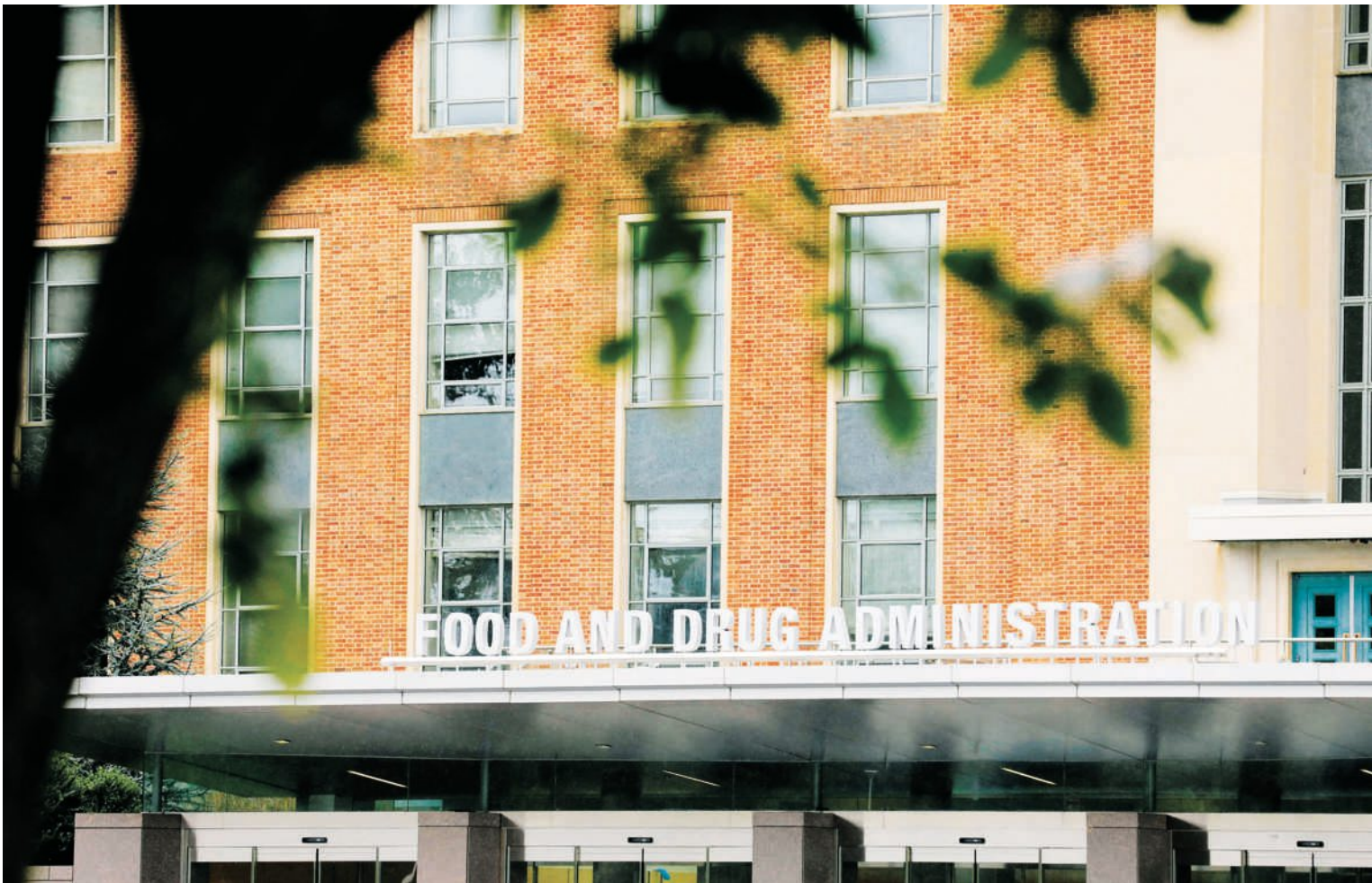
The U.S. Food and Drug Administration released an analysis Friday that raised extensive questions about the benefits of treating post-traumatic stress disorder with MDMA-assisted therapy, which aims to be the first psychedelic treatment to win the agency’s approval.

The agency’s review outlines the challenges for sponsor Lykos Therapeutics, which conducted two late-stage clinical trials showing that patients treated with MDMA — better known by its street name, ecstasy — experienced a significant improvement in their PTSD symptoms relative to those who got a placebo. But the nature of the psychedelic compound itself is muddying the results: Its mind-bending effects meant that most participants knew whether they got the real thing.

Participants in Lykos’s trials were supposed to be blind to whether they received MDMA or a placebo, but a survey — conducted at the FDA’s urging — showed that most correctly guessed their group. Knowing they got the drug may have biased participants to expect that it would help them, and “it is reasonable to assume” that this had an effect on the results, FDA staff wrote in the review.

The agency also flagged potential safety concerns surrounding MDMA, including the cardiovascular, liver and abuse risks of a substance that the Drug Enforcement Administration lists in the most restrictive category of drugs. The FDA noted that it asked the company to collect reports associated with abuse, but researchers failed to capture effects such as “euphoria” or “elated mood,” information that could gauge the risk of abuse.

Further complicating the evaluation, the FDA wrote, was that it



ANDREW KELLY/REUTERS

**The FDA urged Lykos Therapeutics to survey participants in two clinical trials of MDMA, or ecstasy; patients were supposed to be blind to whether they had received the psychedelic or a placebo. But the survey found that most guessed correctly which they had received.**

couldn’t measure how much benefit might have come from the therapy, which all participants received.

The review comes ahead of an FDA advisory committee meeting, scheduled for Tuesday, that will consider whether Lykos’s data shows MDMA-assisted therapy is effective in treating PTSD.

Lykos CEO Amy Emerson said the company — formerly known as MAPS Public Benefit Corp. — stands by the quality and integrity of its research and development. “Given there has not been a new PTSD medication approved in the United States in over two decades for the 13 million people living with PTSD, we are deeply committed to making a difference by bringing a potential new treatment to patients,” she said in a statement.

The successful clinical trials for MDMA have kindled excitement about the prospect that psychedelics could emerge as game-changers for a variety of mental health and substance-use disorders. Many doctors and veterans groups have praised the benefits of MDMA for treating PTSD, a debilitating condition that afflicts about 5 percent of U.S. adults.

“Our patients report that this treatment has been life-changing, leading to disease remission and drastically improved quality of life,” doctors and researchers at New York’s Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai wrote in a comment to the FDA last month. “Many have tried all the gold-standard treatments, and tell us that this is the best, most effective treatment they have ever re-

ceived.”

The FDA’s concerns about the potential for bias in the MDMA results echo those raised by the nonprofit Institute for Clinical and Economic Review, which concluded in a draft report that the evidence was too murky to determine a net benefit.

The difficulty of blinding a trial of a psychedelic drug was well known to the FDA. Early on, the agency and Lykos considered designing a trial to give some participants a low dose of MDMA — instead of a placebo — as a control group to compare with those getting a full dose. But Lykos “noted occurrences of increased anxiety and difficulty tolerating the medication” in mid-stage trials, and the company and regulator ultimately settled on a design they knew would be sus-

ceptible to participants knowing whether they got the drug or placebo.

Lykos also conducted a follow-up study to determine how long the benefits of its treatment lasted, and the data showed a durable effect: Participants who got the MDMA fared better than those who got the placebo more than six months later.

That could mean there’s a “true treatment effect” for the MDMA-assisted therapy, the FDA wrote, but it also flagged “major limitations”: Many participants dropped out of the study, others were evaluated at widely ranging intervals, and some used other therapies over that time. These factors, combined with the potential bias from participants knowing they received the MDMA, make it hard to interpret the

longer-term results, FDA wrote.

Lykos, in a separate briefing document, said there is “substantial evidence of effectiveness” of its treatment and described MDMA as having “low potential for nonmedical use” as it proposes, citing “extensive risk mitigation measures.”

The FDA said that if the drug is approved, restrictions would be required to minimize risk of serious harm to patients impaired by the medication.

Among the proposed restrictions: MDMA could be dispensed only in certain health-care settings with a doctor available while the drug is administered; at least two health-care providers to monitor a patient’s physical and psychological state for at least eight hours and until the patient is discharged; emergency care plans; and discharge to an accompanying adult after each session.

Such restrictions would also include a patient registry to track negative physical and mental effects. The agency said it is considering the requirement of a post-approval study to gauge the safety risk of MDMA.

Lykos, in its submission ahead of the meeting, acknowledged it was working with the FDA on restrictions, which could also include packaging of single doses only and oversight of distribution by the DEA.

The proposed restrictions are complicated and strict, illustrating the unprecedented decision facing the FDA in approving a potentially dangerous drug, said Aaron S. Kesselheim, a professor of medicine at Harvard Medical School.

He cautioned that even such restrictions don’t always ensure the risk of drugs will be flagged. He pointed to a study that showed the FDA could not determine whether restrictions on long-acting opioids, which have contributed to the nation’s addiction crisis, reduced improper prescribing or improved patient outcomes.

The agency’s risk protocols can be a helpful first step, Kesselheim said. “Then it needs to be implemented and integrated well into the regulatory system.”

# Court blocks Fearless Fund from awarding grants reserved for Black women

BY JULIAN MARK AND TAYLOR TELFORD

A panel on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit ruled Monday that an Atlanta-based venture capital firm should be temporarily blocked from issuing grants reserved for businesses owned by Black women, saying that doing so would probably discriminate against business owners of other races.

The ruling comes after Fearless Fund, a VC firm dedicated to funding businesses founded by women of color, was sued last August by a group led by affirmative-action opponent Edward Blum. Blum’s cases against Harvard and the University of North Carolina culminated with the Supreme Court overturning race-conscious college admissions last summer.

The federal appeals court in

Atlanta reversed a lower-court decision that the fund could proceed with its grant contest amid the litigation.

The case is being closely watched because of its possible implications for race-conscious programs in the private sector, particularly in the world of grant-giving and foundations. Observers have identified the case as a central legal battle over civil rights and affirmative action, with support pouring in from groups on both sides of the issue.

“This is the first court decision in the 150+ year history of the post-Civil War civil rights law that has halted private charitable support for any racial or ethnic group,” Jason Schwartz, a lawyer with Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, which is representing Fearless Fund, said in a statement emailed to The Washington Post. “The dis-

sending judge, the district court and other courts have agreed with us that these types of claims should not prevail.”

Schwartz added that Fearless Fund and its legal team are “evaluating” their options and that “this is not the final outcome in this case.”

The fund can appeal the decision to the full 11th Circuit or petition the U.S. Supreme Court for review. If the fund doesn’t appeal, the case would move back down to trial court.

The appeals panel ruled 2-1 that allowing the \$20,000 awards to be issued under the fund’s Fearless Strivers Grant Contest would be “substantially likely” to violate a federal statute that prohibits racial discrimination in contracts. The panel also ruled that the plaintiffs, who were not identified by name in their legal complaint,

had standing to proceed with their case.

The judges in the majority, Kevin Newsom and Robert Luck, were appointed by President Donald Trump. The dissenting judge, Robin Rosenbaum, was appointed by President Barack Obama.

“The American Alliance for Equal Rights is grateful that the court has ruled that the Fearless Fund’s racially exclusive grant competition is illegal,” Blum said in an emailed statement. “Our nation’s civil rights laws do not permit racial distinctions because some groups are overrepresented in various endeavors, while others are underrepresented.”

The majority brushed aside the fund’s arguments that a contest solely for Black women was a form of protected expression under the First Amendment and therefore exempted from the Civil Rights

Act of 1866, a Reconstruction-era law that prohibits discrimination in contracts. Newsom and Luck also rejected the fund’s argument that it was a valid program meant to remedy racial imbalances in the venture funding world. Moreover, they rejected the fund’s claim that the three plaintiffs lacked standing because they are not identified by name in the lawsuit.

The plaintiffs, all female entrepreneurs who are not Black, are identified as “Owner A,” “Owner B” and “Owner C.”

Arian Simone, chief executive of Fearless Fund, called the decision “devastating” in a statement emailed to The Post.

“America is supposed to be a nation where one has the freedom to achieve, the freedom to earn, and the freedom to prosper,” Simone said. “Yet, when we have attempted to level the playing

field for underrepresented groups, our freedoms were stifled.”

In her dissent, Rosenbaum focused on the issue of standing, comparing the plaintiffs to “flop-ers” in a soccer game — players who fake an injury to draw a penalty against the other team. She suggested that the plaintiffs do not have a genuine stake in the issues in the case and that “as American Alliance has portrayed its members’ alleged injuries, it has shown nothing more than flopping on the field.”

But Newsom, who wrote the majority opinion, shot back. “We’re talking about real-live, flesh-and-blood individuals who were excluded from the opportunity to compete in Fearless’s contest solely on account of the color of their skin,” he wrote in the majority opinion.

# Settlement marks largest income tax recovery in D.C. history, Schwalb says

SETTLEMENT FROM A1

said he moved to Florida in 2012 and made Miami Beach his home. “I continue to dispute the allegation that I was ever a resident of the District of Columbia. I have agreed to settle this matter to avoid the continued burdens of the litigation on friends, family, and myself,” Saylor said.

MicroStrategy said that this was a personal tax matter involving Saylor and that the company “was not responsible for his day-to-day affairs and did not oversee his individual tax responsibilities.” The company said under a separate agreement between MicroStrategy and Saylor, he will pay the District the full amount.

In legal filings, attorneys with the attorney general’s office argued that Saylor lived in a 7,000-square-foot penthouse on the Georgetown waterfront or on yachts anchored in the Potomac River. But they said that from 2005 through 2021, he paid no income tax to the city.

According to Forbes, Saylor has a net worth of \$4.6 billion, driven by major bitcoin investments.

Saylor first misrepresented himself as a resident of Virginia, where taxes are lower, then of Florida, where there is no personal income tax, the District alleged in court filings. D.C. said



JOE RAEDLE/GETTY IMAGES

**MicroStrategy founder Michael Saylor, left, and filmmaker Max Keiser at a 2021 cryptocurrency conference in Miami. According to Forbes, Saylor has a net worth of \$4.6 billion.**

MicroStrategy knowingly submitted false records as part of the effort. In all, Saylor avoided paying more than \$25 million in District taxes, the city argued.

“Saylor openly bragged about his tax-evasion scheme, encouraging his friends to follow his example and contending that

anyone who paid taxes to the District was ‘stupid,’” Schwalb said in Monday’s statement.

The city’s suit included a Facebook post from Saylor in 2012 evoking another billionaire inventor — albeit a fictional one from the “Iron Man” movies. Saylor’s post came with a snap-

shot of his building in Georgetown, where he was combining three penthouse apartments into one. It said he was “gazing wistfully at my future home” while waiting for his architect “to crack the whip on the contractors and herd the cats. I wonder if Tony Stark would be so patient . . .”

The District said Excel logs of Saylor’s location kept by his company showed that he met the threshold for needing to pay income taxes to the city. For example, he was present for 313 days in 2015, the District said. The threshold is 183 days.

Saylor’s lawyers, led by Eugene Scalia — a labor secretary in the Trump administration and son of former Supreme Court justice Antonin Scalia — argued in legal filings last year that the city’s case was a “speculative tale of connivance” filled with fatal legal flaws.

In one 2023 filing with D.C.’s Superior Court, Saylor’s attorneys argued that he “has suffered reputational harm” from the fraud allegations lodged by the attorney general’s office. They said the claims have been “banned about with remarkable nonchalance given their seriousness” and Saylor’s prominent role with MicroStrategy, a public company headquartered in the Tysons area of Fairfax County.

His lawyers argued that the District’s claims against Saylor should have been thrown out for procedural and legal reasons. “The District’s tax claims are subject to dismissal because there has been no tax assessment, which is a necessary prerequisite,” they wrote in one filing.

The District joined the case

after whistleblowers sued Saylor under the city’s False Claims Act. That law allows people to file suit in cases of alleged tax fraud — and then receive a major payout from whatever the city eventually collects.

Saylor’s lawyers alleged the law made the city’s approach problematic. The change in law allowing “vindictive” private individuals “to prosecute tax-related actions . . . fundamentally changed District government” and thus violates the Home Rule Act that governs its affairs, they argued in legal filings.


But rather than fight over the propriety of provisions in the False Claims Act, the sides reached a deal.

How much money the whistleblowers will receive is subject to negotiation with the city. If they can’t reach an agreement, a judge will decide. The money will come out of the \$40 million total Saylor has agreed to pay within 14 days. He also agreed to comply with the District’s tax laws.


The settlement bars any future action against Saylor or MicroStrategy on this matter.

The agreement said Saylor, MicroStrategy’s executive chairman, would file a return and pay income taxes in the city “in any current or future tax year” in which he owns or rents a residence and is physically present in the city for at least 183 days.







8 a.m.  
75°



Noon  
84°



4 p.m.  
84°



8 p.m.  
79°

High today at approx. 1 p.m.  
**87°**

Precip: 25%  
Wind: ESE  
6-12 mph

**THE DISTRICT**  
D.C. election workers have been fielding angry calls and emails over voting by noncitizen residents. **B4**



**THE DISTRICT**  
A woman was killed when another woman stole the vehicle she was in and crashed it, police say. **B4**



**OBITUARIES**  
Adele Faber, 96, was a gentle coach to millions of parents in a series of best-selling how-to books. **B4**



PHOTOS BY ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## Seven years later, singer hasn't changed his tune on opera



**Petula Dvorak**

On his return to Washington, Anthony D. Anderson faced the Lincoln Memorial, scanning the sprawling crowd and the orchestra behind him.

It's been seven years since he was a teenager fired for making burritos too slowly at a Chipotle in D.C., a kid with an astonishing talent in something that perplexed his family and friends — opera.

"Standing here, near the steps where Marian Anderson sang," he said on Saturday as he got ready to sing Puccini. "This is so special."

He has no relation to the contralto who famously sang in



**TOP:** Anthony D. Anderson rehearses at the Lincoln Memorial Reflecting Pool on Saturday. **ABOVE:** From left, Anderson, tenor Antonio Poli, Italian conductor Alvis Casellati and soprano Ewa Plonka thank the audience after their performance.

front of the Lincoln Memorial 85 years ago after she was banned from a concert hall because of her race. But they share talent and grit and a barrier-breaking place in our nation's fraught history.

At the Saturday concert on the National Mall, Anderson's velvet baritone unfurled at dusk, and opera aficionados, Italian diplomats, tourists, picnickers, his former public school teachers and his mom watched, gasped and even cried.

"That's my baby! That's my baby!" Charlene Anderson shouted, as her son — the youngest of seven children she raised alone after his father was killed in a drive-by shooting — sang Italian opera alongside international stars in front of his hometown crowd.

SEE DVORAK ON B3

## D.C. set to cast primary ballots

### OPEN WARD 7 SEAT IS HOTLY CONTESTED

Elsewhere, incumbents seek to fend off rivals

**BY MICHAEL BRICE-SADDLER AND MEAGAN FLYNN**

District voters on Tuesday will cast ballots in the Democratic primary, which could determine a new member of the D.C. Council in a generational change while several incumbents aim to hang on to their seats in local races.

This year's election cycle has lacked some of the fanfare of two years ago, when citywide races for mayor, attorney general and council chair were the main buzz. Still, more than 46,000 voters as of Sunday had cast ballots by mail or during the early voting period, according to the D.C. Board of Elections, and in wards with competitive council races, candidates have blitzed voters with mailers, ads and endorsement announcements as they work to get a last-minute edge.

Ward 7 has the most interesting race Tuesday, in which 10 candidates are vying to succeed outgoing D.C. Council member Vincent C. Gray (D), who is not seeking another term as he recovers from health challenges. The other ward-level races generally pit incumbents against lesser-known competitors.

In Ward 2, council member Brooke Pinto (D) is running unopposed. Council member

SEE PRIMARY ON B3

## Noncitizen residents reflect on their votes

For the first time in D.C., they are eligible to cast a ballot in local races

**BY ELLIE SILVERMAN AND JENNY GATHRIGHT**

They came to the United States from El Salvador, Ethiopia and Iran to study, earn money and escape violence. And they all found a home in the nation's capital. They are not U.S. citizens, but they care about issues in their communities, including education, health care and affordable housing.

And for the first time, these noncitizen residents — some of whom have lived here for decades and have children who were born here — will have a say in how their communities are run: They are among the more than 500 noncitizen District residents who have registered to vote and have cast their ballots or are heading to the polls Tuesday to pick their representatives on the D.C. Council.

The voters include 310 who registered as Democrat, 169 independent, 28 Republican and 16 Statehood Green, said Sarah Graham, a spokesperson for the D.C. Board of Elections.

In this city, which has no voting representative in Congress, leaders have expanded voting rights to noncitizen residents. Noncitizens are eligible to

SEE VOTERS ON B2

## A slick move in a greasy line of work

**BY SYDNEY PAGE**

Sam Delauter was worried about the mounting cost of ingredients at his diner in Ocean City, Md.

"I was getting very nervous when I saw bacon up 50 percent," said Delauter, 29, who opened Sunrise Diner in 2021 as a seasonal restaurant, operating from March to October.

Food prices surged in 2022 because of labor shortages, war, heat waves and higher gas prices. Delauter feared he would have to shut down his small business.

Then, as he was doing his daily disposal of bacon grease, he thought about his great-grandmother. Each year, Sunrise Diner produces about 1,000 pounds of bacon grease — all of which ended up in the trash.

"I could make soap out of this," Delauter thought.

The old-fashioned concept seemed obvious to him, as he had watched his great-grandmother turn bacon grease into soap for years. She started doing it during the Great Depression when her family couldn't afford to buy soap.



SOPHIA SEUFERT

**Sam Delauter, owner of Sunrise Diner in Ocean City, Md., turns leftover bacon grease into soap to help keep his business afloat.**

"This was something that a lot of people did back then, but she kept doing it up until she died in 2006," said Delauter, whose great-grandmother's name was Hazel Delauter.

All soaps are made from a chemical reaction between fat and an alkaline substance. Most modern commercial soaps are synthet-

ically processed, though some are still made with animal fat — which was the traditional method.

Delauter consulted with his grandfather, Russ Delauter, to get the family's bacon soap recipe. Russ Delauter was delighted by his grandson's interest in the soap he was raised on.

SEE SOAP ON B2

## Across region, schools are facing fiscal issues

**BY NICOLE ASBURY, LAUREN LUMPKIN AND KARINA ELWOOD**

School systems across the D.C. region are bracing for tighter budgets — including some cuts — as costs rise, local tax revenue is strained and one-time pandemic relief money goes away.

Many local governments in the region have approved budgets, or will do so in coming weeks, leaving districts to reconcile what programs or needs they can fund within their allocated budgets.

In Montgomery County, Maryland's largest school system, a group of teachers disrupted a recent school board meeting to decry the possible loss of 100 to 150 staff positions. In D.C., budget pressures also will mean fewer staff members in schools — the traditional public school district could eliminate as many as 200 positions, and the charter sector is also bracing for cuts — and the scaling back of tutoring pro-

grams at a time when children still need extra support.

In Northern Virginia, meanwhile, many school districts saw increases in their budgets. However, rising costs mean the budgets are really only maintaining existing initiatives.

Here are some of the factors affecting school system budgets:

### Pandemic relief funding is running out

Since 2020, school districts across the country received a windfall of one-time cash — an ultimate \$190 billion that was used to reopen schools, offer bonuses to teachers and help children recover from the academic setbacks they experienced during virtual learning.

But what remains of the pandemic relief will expire in September. As the money runs out, education advocates have warned of a fiscal cliff that could drop districts into a financial mess, especially at schools that

SEE SCHOOLS ON B3





Hazel and Willie Delauter, great-grandmother and great-grandfather of Sam Delauter.

## Revisiting a family recipe — for soap

SOAP FROM B1

“I was born in 1930, and that’s the only soap we had,” said Russ Delauter, 94. “She washed me and washed the dishes and everything else with that soap.”

Hazel Delauter’s soap-making process was relatively simple: She would first strain the grease to remove any bacon bits, then purify it by mixing it in a pot with boiling water, creating a clear, odorless lard. She then combined the lard with lye — a chemical compound found in soaps. When she first started making bacon grease soap, Hazel Delauter used fireplace ashes to make lye. She then left the mixture to harden overnight before cutting it into bars.

Direct exposure to lye can cause damage to the skin, but once soaps containing lye have been properly cured, they are safe to use.

Sam Delauter decided to try his hand at making his great-grandmother’s recipe. The only tweak he made was adding essential oils for scent.

“I experimented for two months,” he said, adding that when he finally landed on the right formula, he decided to start selling the soap at his diner and online for about \$6 a bar. He called it “Bumble Soap,” as the diner was originally bee-themed. Since he started selling bacon grease soap in 2022, he has made about \$10,000 a year on the product.



SOPHIA SEUFERT  
Sam Delauter opened his diner in 2021 as a seasonal business.

“It’s something that was just a pure waste product I had, and upcycled it into a bar of soap,” said Delauter, explaining that his five-ingredient soaps are made with only natural ingredients.

Bacon grease soap offsets 80 percent of Delauter’s annual bacon cost, he said.

“It saves about 1,000 pounds of food waste each year,” he said. “I think people are also interested in the fact that it’s homemade; you don’t find a lot of stuff like that anymore.”

“This is something that, start to finish, I made with my bare hands with something that is natural and would have gone into the trash anyway,” Delauter said.

When Sara Brown read about

Delauter’s soap online, she decided to order some. Although she lives in Southern California and has never been to Sunrise Diner, Brown was drawn to the bacon grease soap concept.

“I was really attracted to this idea that they were reusing the lard,” said Brown, 39, who has purchased several bars of the soap. “We live in this day of consumer culture and buying more and there’s just a lot of waste, so I love that it’s reused.”

Plus, she added, “I love that they’re using the owner’s great-grandmother’s recipe.”

If Hazel Delauter were around to see her great-grandson making and selling bacon grease soap, “she’d be tickled pink,” Russ Delauter said. “I’m proud of him, and really proud of my mother and my family.”

Sam Delauter currently sells five scents of soap, including lavender, patchouli and cedar mixed with cardamom. He experiments with different scents for Halloween and Christmas.

“I have fun with it,” he said, explaining that he never expected his bacon grease soap to be a success.

While his creative side business has helped him keep his diner afloat, it has also given him a deeper connection to his great-grandmother.

“Her memory is living on,” said Sam Delauter. “It’s a beautiful thing.”

## A meaningful election for D.C.’s noncitizen residents

VOTERS FROM B1

vote if they are at least 18 years old as of Election Day, have been a D.C. resident for at least 30 days before the election, have not been deemed by a court legally incompetent to vote and are not claiming the right to vote in any state, territory or country.

There has been opposition, with critics arguing that the right to vote should be reserved for American citizens. The U.S. House advanced a bill last month to block noncitizen voting in D.C., though it’s unlikely this bill would move forward in the Democratic-controlled Senate. Workers for the D.C. Board of Elections have also been fielding angry messages from callers opposed to noncitizen voting, said Monica Evans, the office’s executive director.

The noise lawmakers are making in Congress simply spreads more awareness that this new right for noncitizens exists, said Abel Amene, an Ethiopian immigrant who last year became the first noncitizen to hold public office in D.C. and who fought for the noncitizen vote. Abel, an advisory neighborhood commissioner in Ward 4 — who prefers that people call him by his first name because of cultural naming practices — is excited to see how voting will empower non-citizens to participate in local democracy and make their voices heard.

“It’s only one, [or a] few buttons to press,” Abel said, “but it will have huge impacts moving forward.”

Noncitizen voters shared with The Washington Post what the right to cast a ballot means for them.

### Ana and Genesis Lemus

Ana Lemus, 42, came to the District about 15 years ago to escape from a bad relationship and pervasive gang violence in El Salvador.

Before leaving her home country, she made a point of exercising her right to vote.

“It’s my duty,” she said in Spanish while her 19-year-old daughter, Genesis, interpreted. In El Salvador, even when her husband interrogated her about where she was going and discouraged her from voting, Ana still got ready and marched out of the house to the polls. “My vote is my vote.”

Now, Ana will cast her vote again in D.C. elections, along with Genesis, who was 4 years old when she arrived in the United States. Both registered to vote earlier this year.

Genesis said her top priorities in this election are “the cost of living skyrocketing, gender inequality, wealth inequality, and police brutality.” And Genesis, a leader in local advocacy for street vendors, isn’t satisfied with just being a voter. Her dream, she said, “is to one day maybe run, later on in my 20s, for [advisory neighborhood commissioner] first, maybe council member after.”

### Shahayegh ‘Chris’ Rostampour

A few months ago, Shahayegh “Chris” Rostampour was researching immigrant voting rights and came across the District’s legislation allowing noncitizens to vote. Rostampour looked at the eligibility criteria and realized they qualified.

“I was like, ‘Wow, this is what democracy is like, this is what participatory democracy and direct participation is like, and this is what an inclusive society should be like,’” said Rostampour, a 34-year-old resident of D.C.’s Ward 2. “So I was very thrilled about it. And it made me even happier to live where I live.”

Last weekend at the West End library, Rostampour voted for the first time since the 2017 presidential election in Iran, their home country. Rostampour declined to share whom they voted for but said they were most concerned about issues related to the lack of affordable housing, the high cost of living, pollution and environmental concerns.

“The very act of voting and feeling like I can have a small impact and I can make a decision, it made me feel very empowered,” they said. “It made me feel like I had a voice.”

Rostampour came to the United States on a student visa in 2018 to study conflict resolution at Brandeis University before moving to the District in 2022 to work at an arms-control nonprofit. They have become involved in political activism with peace organizations and submitted their green card application a few months ago.

Rostampour was raised to be-



JENNY GATHRIGHT/THE WASHINGTON POST  
Ana Lemus



GERMÁN TRINIDAD  
Germán Trinidad



COURTESY OF DOUGLAS ZEPPENFELD  
Shahayegh “Chris” Rostampour

lieve that voting was a civic duty and has been troubled by House lawmakers’ efforts to block the noncitizen vote and language suggesting noncitizens are trying to “interfere” with local elections. And Rostampour is concerned on behalf of immigrants who worry that voting could jeopardize their status in this country.

“There’s a lot of fear to participate, just because people are worried about the consequences,” they said. “All of this is legal, all of this is allowed, but we are still worried about how it might impact us.”

### Soledad Miranda

Soledad Miranda has lived in the United States for decades and is used to working hard to support her family and advocating for her rights.

Miranda, a 49-year-old Ward 1 resident from El Salvador, spends weekdays as a cleaner in the Wilson Building, which houses the offices of the city’s mayor and council members. In the evenings and on weekends, she is a street vendor selling traditional clothing from her home country.

As a shop steward for her union — Local 32BJ of the Service Employees International Union, which represents workers who help maintain about 1,500 office buildings in the region — Miranda was chosen by her colleagues to interview D.C. Council candidates to help the union make its endorsements.

What she wanted to know most was how candidates would improve access to housing and health care. Miranda said she often runs into council members and candidates in the lobby or hallways of the Wilson Building and takes note of how they treat her and others.

Although she did not want to share whom she planned to vote for, her union endorsed Ward 4 council member Janeese Lewis George and Wendell Felder, the former chair of the Ward 7 Democrats who is running for the council seat in that ward. When Miranda casts her ballot, she said, she will look to candidates who support immigrants and policies such as “temporary protected status,” which she said is the reason she can stay in the country, obtain a driver’s license and get her cosmetology license. And she will be thinking of her 14-year-old daughter and her future.

“I’ve lived in this country for 30 years. I have my daughter who is a U.S. citizen, I pay my taxes, I feel like I have the right to vote,” Miranda said through a translator. “I feel excited. I’ll have an



JENNY GATHRIGHT/THE WASHINGTON POST  
Genesis Lemus



JENNY GATHRIGHT/THE WASHINGTON POST  
Abel Amene



COURTESY OF SOLEDAD MIRANDA  
Soledad Miranda

opportunity to cast my vote — not just me, but other people who came here as immigrants and don’t need U.S. citizenship to vote.”

### Germán Trinidad

Germán Trinidad, 39, has long been active in local politics. Trinidad, who came to D.C. from El Salvador in 2002, has supported efforts to decriminalize street vending and create a pathway for street vendors to get licensed. He and his wife sell hot food and beverages on the street in Mount Pleasant.

On Tuesday, he will vote in D.C. elections.

“I’m very happy that they’re taking me into account,” he said through a translator. He wants better infrastructure in the District, and he’s concerned about crime. “[It’s] a big issue, especially because we are vendors and we are outside, so obviously that’s a priority.”

He’s proud of the progress street vendors have made in recent years in “being able to sell products peacefully in the city.” For future elections, he hopes for a stronger slate of candidates — “better choices, people who will make our future better.”

### Abel Amene

Advisory Neighborhood Commissioner Abel Amene, who is pursuing a double degree in physics and economics at the University of Maryland, said he is always on the brink of homelessness and sees other immigrants struggling, too. But he had never voted in D.C. and was unable to have a say about how elected leaders address housing or any other issue — until now in this primary.

“Almost every political decision I make, the fear I face of possibly becoming homeless, again, is always front of mind,” said Abel, 38, who came to the United States from Ethiopia as a teenager in 1999. “There’s a real impact that these politicians and these elected officials have on my safety and how secure I feel at home.”

In late May, he went to the West End library and voted for the first time in any government election. And although his views as a socialist don’t perfectly align with those of council members Robert C. White Jr. (D-At Large) and Janeese Lewis George (D-Ward 4), he voted for them because of their positions on housing.

“I’m now 38 years old, and this is the first time I ever cast a ballot in a government election. It was amazing,” he said. “It felt very impactful, like I had a say in something bigger than me.”

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PETULA DEVORAK

# The next generation of opera

DVORAK FROM B1

He was the perfect man for the night, for so many reasons.

The concert was a free, open-air event to bring opera to the masses. No tickets, ties, cute little opera glasses or understanding of the themes of Turandot needed.

“For over 400 years, opera was considered ‘pop’ music and only very recently wrongly perceived as music for the elites,” said Alvise Casellati, the founder of Opera Italiana in the Air, which gives free, open concerts in Italy and in Central Park, Miami and D.C. “In its purest form, it is sheer entertainment for everyone.”

And who better to showcase this idea than Anderson, who found opera while he was a student at Duke Ellington School of the Arts in D.C.

I wrote about Anderson after someone told me a college student who had to drop out because he couldn’t afford tuition was putting on a free concert in a D.C. church on a June night seven years ago. I should check him out, he’s pretty good, the guy said.

I popped in and saw a small audience watching a string-bean kid in a tuxedo.

But even my untrained ear told me I had walked into something phenomenal, a two-hour tour-de-force solo ranging from “Come raggio di sol” in Italian to “Nacht und Träume” in German to a

bouncy, bawdy Gershwin tune.

“That? What you heard up there tonight? It’s hard to believe that’s coming from an 18-year-old. You have to understand, this is really, really rare,” Michael Crabbill, a man who has taught in Austria and accompanied Anderson on piano during the concert that night, told me.

*Anderson’s velvet baritone unfurled, and opera aficionados, Italian diplomats, tourists, his former public school teachers and his mom watched, gasped and even cried.*

We wrote about him and the music world noticed. He showed off his talent and hard work in auditions and received offers from Julliard, Oberlin, Hopkins.

He chose Oberlin, and then went on to the University of Maryland, where he just graduated with a master’s degree in voice studies.

This summer, he’s got a gig with

Opera in the Ozarks. Yes, singing opera in Arkansas, stepping outside the box again.

“It’s just so beautiful there,” he told me. “And the people are so nice.”

He flew back to D.C. for the weekend, to finally sing in his hometown. The concert series started off with a show in the atrium of Children’s National Hospital because Casellati also likes to promote the therapeutic properties of music, and opera in particular.

When Anderson and tenor Antonio Poli sang a piece from “Madama Butterfly,” a child waiting for a blood draw stopped, listened and ran toward the music.

Then soprano Ewa Plonka hit soaring notes in an aria from “Tosca.”

“Oh, I like that,” said Madison White, who is 7 and happened to be at the hospital to have her eyes examined. We started talking about the music. She likes “Hamilton,” and it reminded her a little of it. Turns out she was there with her dad, D.C. Council member Robert C. White Jr. (D-At Large). Madison said the music calmed her.

“It made me feel better about maybe getting glasses,” she said, riveted, watching, listening.

At the National Mall the next day, after the show, Anderson had a hard time leaving because so many people wanted to shake his



ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Italian conductor Alvise Casellati, right, embraces Anthony D. Anderson after his performance during the Opera Italiana in the Air 2024 concert at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on Saturday.**

hand or get a selfie.

“We’ve heard about him,” said a couple of women who took photos with him and admitted they’re now fangirls.

His mom stepped back after being a little jostled by the crowd. Though she raised seven kids in D.C., this was her first time at the Lincoln Memorial.

“He got me here. And he got me on a plane for the first time,” she said, reminding me of the trip she took to see him sing at a gala in Fort Worth. “I’m so proud. So proud.”

This was all new to Anderson, 25. And thrilling.

“One person actually came up to me and was, like, ‘Oh my gosh, I’ve never heard this, this style of music before,’” Anderson said.

And sure enough, I heard something similar from a young boy after he took a photograph with Anderson.

“I’ve never heard anything like it,” said Israel Roberts, 8, whose mom brought him to the show because her son loves to sing. “It made me think I can do this when I grow up.”

That is exactly what Anderson wants to hear.

Because he doesn’t see himself blending into a rarefied world of old music and elite audiences. He wants to be part of the vanguard of opera’s next iteration, the modern, more inclusive works that go beyond old stories from Europe.

“They’re coming from stories of different cultures, like Hispanic culture and Black culture,” he said. “I’m standing on that precipice, and I’m hoping that even though I’m the future, that the future doesn’t end with me.”

## D.C. voters set to select Democratic nominees

PRIMARY FROM B1

Janeese Lewis George (D), seeking a second term in Ward 4, has drawn challenges from Advisory Neighborhood Commissioner Lisa Gore and municipal investment banker Paul Johnson. Two-term council member Trayon White Sr. (D-Ward 8) is running against Advisory Neighborhood Commissioner Salim Adofo and former Ballou High School principal Rahman Branch. And one at-large seat is on the Democratic primary ballot, where incumbent Robert C. White Jr. (D) is in a race against comedian Rodney “Red” Grant.

At the congressional level, voters will be asked to select the city’s various nonvoting representatives in Congress, including the House delegate seat long held by Eleanor Holmes Norton (D), who is running for reelection for the 17th time this year. While the general election is in November, in the District, the June Democratic primary typically determines the winners.

The Ward 7 campaign became the most acrimonious this campaign cycle, roiled by attack ads and beefs between candidates — particularly as a relative political newcomer, Kingman Park Advi-

sory Neighborhood Commissioner Ebony Payne, gained ground on some of the more established candidates. In the waning days of the race, several council members issued endorsements in Ward 7. Last week, a trio of lawmakers — Trayon White, Pinto and Zachary Parker (D-Ward 5) — backed Wendell Felder, who is the Mayfair-based chair of his Advisory Neighborhood Commission and had already received a critical endorsement from Gray. Council member Christina Henderson (I-At Large) endorsed Eboni-Rose Thompson, the president and Ward 7 representative on the State Board of Education.

Felder, Thompson and Payne, along with lawyer Veda Rasheed, have been largely neck-and-neck in fundraising from District residents, one measurement of who leads the pack — but Felder and Thompson had the most in the bank heading into the final stretch. Felder, who was also endorsed Monday by former D.C. mayor Anthony Williams, has emerged as the closest to an establishment darling in the contest — and is among the most politically connected, with his background working in the administration of Mayor Muriel E.



JULIA NIKHINSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**A voter casts a ballot at the Turkey Thicket Recreation Center in Northeast Washington during primary elections in June 2022.**

Bowser (D) and as former chair of the Ward 7 Democrats.

Thompson has an edge as the only candidate to have won a ward-wide race, on the state board. Endorsed by the teachers and firefighters unions, she also has broad backing from the progressive wing.

Payne, a Kingman Park advisory neighborhood commissioner who runs the herbal medicine business District Herbs, made a splash with vigorous fundraising efforts while touting support from some House lawmakers, an unusual national approach to a local race. She’s also distinguished herself as the only Ward 7 candidate who lives west of the Anacostia River and who

staunchly opposes a football stadium at the nearby RFK site — a divisive issue in the ward and across the city.

Rasheed has leveraged name recognition and a base that she built in her previous run against Gray in 2020, combined with her reputation for community advocacy against gun violence.

Ward 7 voters who spoke to The Washington Post overwhelmingly pointed to public safety, particularly for youths, as a top issue that affected how they chose their candidate. “The violence has become out of control,” said Rasheed supporter Michele Pinkard, pointing to Rasheed’s advocacy on that issue. “I think she would be supportive of more

activities or recreation for the youth.”

Concerns over youth violence drew Ward 7 resident Lauren Fraser to candidate Kelvin Brown, an advisory neighborhood commissioner, who she believes has the right background as a former teacher to work toward realistic solutions: “Once you’ve been a teacher, you know about the concerning issues we have with our youth and parent involvement,” she said.

Other candidates include Nate Fleming, D.C.’s former shadow representative in Congress; Denise Reed, who previously worked on the staffs of various council members, including three chairs; Villareal “VJ” Johnson, a former five-term neighborhood commissioner; Ebbon Allen, an educator; and Roscoe Grant, a small-business advocate.

Across all other council races, incumbents are generally favored to win even as their opponents make the case for change. Grant has stressed that he is not simply a comedian or entertainer, pointing to his work on D.C. youth programming that he said has prepared him to do the work of a council member. Robert White, meanwhile, has run on his leadership of the council’s housing committee while promising to continue working on legislative proposals to reduce crime.

In Ward 8, the city’s most disadvantaged ward, Trayon

White maintains a strong base of supporters. Still, Adofo and Branch have leaned on their experiences as a community advocate and a principal, respectively, to animate voters seeking change. But with few major policy differences among the candidates, Trayon White’s opponents could risk splitting the vote.

And in Ward 4, Gore, a retired special agent with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and Johnson, who has worked as a mediator, have sought to portray Lewis George as too soft on public safety — although it remains to be seen whether either candidate can unseat Lewis George, a self-described Democratic socialist who beat an incumbent backed by the mayor in 2020.

All registered D.C. voters should have received a mailed ballot in recent weeks; ballots that are mailed back to the Board of Elections must be postmarked by Tuesday. Alternatively, voters can drop off a ballot at any vote center or ballot drop box until 8 p.m. Tuesday.

The city also offers same-day voter registration at any of its vote centers, requiring proof of residency. And for the first time, noncitizens are permitted to vote in local races, though they cannot vote for federal offices. Polls close at 8 p.m. on Election Day, though anyone who gets in line before the deadline will be able to vote.

## D.C. region’s schools reckon with tight budgets

SCHOOLS FROM B1

serve the poorest students and received the most funds.

D.C. has reported spending about \$364.2 million of its \$540.5 million allotment and Virginia schools have used \$2.4 billion of their nearly \$3 billion, data shows. Maryland districts have spent about \$1.7 billion of the state’s \$2.7 billion grant, according to budget documents. All of the money must be spent or committed by September.

Schools were encouraged to use the money for one-time costs, such as HVAC upgrades. But leaders also hired counselors to address mental health needs or extra staff members to assist with tutoring. Schools are using local funding to try to hold on to as many positions as possible, but it is likely that many roles will disappear.

**Costs are rising**

Not only are schools losing pandemic-era relief, but it is also getting more expensive to run a school. Costs, from facilities maintenance to health care to teacher salaries, are rising, offi-

cials say.

The D.C. Council seems poised to approve a 12.4 percent increase to the per-pupil funding formula that largely determines how much money schools get. But leaders say that increase is mostly covering rising costs.

“At the end of the day, even with the 12.4 percent increase, our revenue is basically flat from last year to this year,” Will Stotetzer, chief executive of Ingenuity Prep, a charter school in Southeast Washington, said in early May. He said the school may have to cut seven positions in the 2024-2025 academic year, including teachers and student support staff members.

Budget pressures at the Friendship Public Charter School network mean delaying some curriculum purchases, slowing investments in literacy training for teachers, and buying fewer uniforms and classroom tools for students, said Patricia Brantley, chief executive of the network. “I cannot say that there won’t be reductions in staff hires,” she said.

In Fairfax County, home to Virginia’s largest district, the School Board recently approved

a \$3.7 billion budget, an increase of \$233.2 million from last year but less than its initial proposal. That means staff members will see a 4 percent pay increase, less than what the superintendent initially proposed to help keep salaries competitive salaries with those in surrounding districts.

**‘Blueprint’ adds mandates in Maryland**

Teacher pay also is going up in Maryland as school systems con-

to more 3-year-olds and all eligible 4-year-olds and to boost teacher pay. It requires that educators earn at least \$60,000 beginning in 2026.

Overall, public schools in the state are receiving more state and county funds to fulfill the Blueprint law. But a lot of the funding comes with specific guidance on what it can be spent on. And some of the Blueprint’s initiatives have costs that aren’t covered by the additional fund-

*“I cannot say that there won’t be reductions in staff hires.”*

**Patricia Brantley,**

chief executive of the Friendship Public Charter School network

tinue to implement initiatives outlined in the Blueprint for Maryland’s Future, a landmark education law that funnels billions into public schools with the goal of making the state’s education system one of the best in the nation.

The ambitious reform plan contains several components, including targets to expand pre-K

ing, such as a need to add physical space to expand pre-K.

Some county executives have voiced concerns that the Blueprint is straining local budgets. Prince George’s County Executive Angela Alsobrooks (D) earlier this year asked lawmakers to give the county more flexibility in how to spend the money from two local taxes on schools in part

to help pay for the county’s share of the Blueprint. The school board opposed the change, saying it could lead to a reduction in money, but lawmakers approved Alsobrooks’s proposal.

**Lingering fights over funding formulas**

Some school systems also are dealing with lingering fights over how they should be funded.

In Virginia, a report released last summer by a watchdog for state lawmakers found that schools were drastically underfunded compared with nearby states.

The report said the state’s complex funding formula lacked a “clear rationale” in its model, which has led to about 14 percent less funding for Virginia school districts than the national average — or about \$1,900 less per student. It also found the funding formula did not account for students with higher needs, regional labor costs and school division size, leading to regular underestimates of the needs of schools.

Fairfax school officials said that if the state had adopted all of the report’s recommendations, the district would receive an additional \$568.7 million each year. “While the state’s allotment to [Fairfax County Public

Schools] is close to what we anticipated, it is sadly representative of their persistent underfunding of public education — the cornerstone of successful communities,” Schools Superintendent Michelle Reid said in a news release.

Meanwhile, D.C. leaders remain at odds over a law passed in 2022 that says individual schools in the traditional public system must, with some exceptions, receive the same amount of funding year over year. The initial budget presented by the mayor and schools chief used a different model they say is more equitable.

But the D.C. Council recently gave initial approval to a plan that would shift more than \$25 million from the district’s central office into schools, which it said would bring the budget in compliance with the law. The revision would also allow schools to save two dozen teaching positions from budget cuts, said Council Chairman Phil Mendelson (D).

School officials, however, said that is not the right way to fund schools and argue the move will defund centrally funded programs, such as security and swim lessons for third-graders.

Lateshia Beachum contributed to this report.



**The Guide to Offers**  
**The Washington Post**

**Save on tickets to Jason Moran & Alicia Hall Moran: *Family Ball* on June 7 at The Kennedy Center**

Before celebrated mezzo-soprano Alicia Hall Moran married, her mother gave her sage advice: “Don’t get with anybody unless you like their problems.” This sentiment is at the center of new production, *Family Ball*. With husband Jason Moran, Alicia says she couldn’t have done better. “He’s the greatest man with the best problems I’ve ever met.” *Family Ball* reaffirms why the two fell in love. Encompassing the couple’s iconic blend of music and theater, this new work — set in their Harlem apartment — is intensely entertaining and visually stimulating. Created during the pandemic, *Family Ball* is a creative feat. But more importantly, it’s a love note.

**See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)**





THE DISTRICT

Election office is beset by angry calls

Spike is driven by opponents of noncitizen voting, workers say

BY ELLIE SILVERMAN

D.C. election workers have been fielding angry calls and emails for more than a month from people who oppose allowing noncitizen residents to vote in local elections, leaving the head of the D.C. Board of Elections concerned about safety at the polls in Tuesday’s primary election.

“I am definitely nervous,” said Monica Evans, the executive director of the D.C. Board of Elections. “The environment around elections has felt more unsafe.”

In one voice mail, which Evans played for The Washington Post and was first reported by WUSA9, a caller yells: “Where the hell do you get off letting illegals vote? This is the nation’s capital. You are traitors, traitors to our country.”

Evans said that employees have been encouraged to cover up any D.C. Board of Elections paraphernalia they may be wearing or holding while outside the office in case someone who opposes noncitizen voting directs their opinion toward a staffer. D.C. police spokesman Tom Lynch said in a statement Monday that officers would be near polling locations

“ensuring safety for voters.”

These precautions come amid heightened concerns across the country that bitter partisanship could lead to disruptions at the polls, voter intimidation and potentially violent challenges to the November presidential election results. The D.C. Board of Elections added armed security to its office headquarters and mail ballot processing center this year, Evans said.

For the first time in this year’s D.C. primary election, noncitizen residents — some of whom have lived in the District for decades — will be allowed to cast a ballot.

The new D.C. law stipulates that noncitizens are eligible to vote if they are at least 18 years old as of Election Day, have been a D.C. resident for at least 30 days before the election, have not been deemed by a court legally incompetent to vote and are not claiming the right to vote in any state, territory or country. As of May 29, 523 noncitizen D.C. residents were registered to vote, said Sarah Graham, a spokeswoman for the D.C. Board of Elections.

The law has faced opposition from those who argue that noncitizens, regardless of how long they have lived and worked in this country, should not be able to vote. The U.S. House advanced a bill last month to block noncitizen voting in D.C., though it’s unlikely the bill will move forward in the Democratic-controlled Senate.

Graham, the spokeswoman for the D.C. Board of Elections, estimates the office has received more than 60 calls and voice mails opposing the right of noncitizens to vote. As recently as Sunday, the anger made its way to an early-voting center at the Georgetown Library in the form of a chalk message that read: “VOTING NOT A RIGHT. IS A PRIVILEGE OF CITIZEN,” according to a photo shared by Evans.

Evans said election workers noticed a spike in angry calls after Rep. Bryan Steil (R-Wis.), shared a message on X criticizing noncitizen voting. He wrote that “Washington, D.C. is actively encouraging noncitizens to vote” and called it “absurd” above a photo of a pamphlet from the Board of Elections.

In a response to a request for comment, Steil said in a statement, “There is absolutely no place for violence or intimidation aimed at election workers.”

Steil’s message also misrepresented the D.C. Board of Elections’ role in the process, Evans said; her office was simply providing nonpartisan information to voters.

“I just wish people would appreciate the fact that we are merely doing our jobs. We are merely adhering to the law,” Evans said. “I think I would be in more trouble if I decided to pick and choose what laws we were going to enforce.”

THE DISTRICT

Woman stole a car and crashed it, killing its occupant, police say

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER, EMILY DAVIES AND JENNY GATHRIGHT

A woman died Monday after another woman allegedly stole the vehicle she was in at Washington Hospital Center and sped through downtown Washington, crashing into a concrete barrier outside of the U.S. attorney’s

office in D.C., police said.

D.C. Assistant Police Chief Darnel Robinson said at a news conference that officers arrested a woman who was trying to flee the scene of the crash at the corner of Sixth and D streets NW. He did not identify the victim or the woman accused of stealing the vehicle.

Robinson said the victim was

in the front seat when the other woman got into the vehicle and started speeding into downtown before ultimately losing control. The incident began shortly after 1 p.m. at the entrance to the emergency department, a Washington Hospital Center spokeswoman said in an email.

Motor vehicle thefts and carjackings in the city have started to fall after significant surges in 2023, which saw an 82 percent spike in motor vehicle thefts and nearly twice as many carjackings compared with 2022.

Motor vehicle theft in the District is down 30 percent so far this year compared with 2023, according to D.C. police data, and carjackings citywide are down 33 percent compared with this time last year.

OBITUARIES

ADELE FABER, 96

Co-author of best-selling how-to guides for parents

BY EMILY LANGER

Adele Faber, who gently guided millions of readers through the vicissitudes of parenthood as the co-author of best-selling books including “How to Talk So Kids Will Listen & Listen So Kids Will Talk,” died April 24 at an assisted-living center in White Plains, N.Y. She was 96.

Her daughter, Joanna Faber, confirmed her death but did not cite a cause.

Children, as the aphorism goes, do not come with instruction manuals. But practically since the advent of the printing press, self-anointed sages have tried their hand at writing them, as generation after generation of parents encountered the universal challenges and joys that are theirs to know.

Modern parents have turned to books by experts such as Benjamin Spock and T. Berry Brazelton, both pediatricians, and Penelope Leach, a child psychologist, for guidance in child-rearing.

Ms. Faber, a former high school English teacher, lacked their advanced degrees. But she had another, perhaps more important qualification when she began writing in the mid-1970s. She was the mother of three children and sought, as most parents do, to bring them up as best as she could.

Ms. Faber credited much of her philosophy to child psychologist Haim Ginott, the author of widely read books such as “Between Parent and Child” (1965) and a popular speaker whose lectures she attended while raising her children on Long Island.

Ginott rejected traditional disciplinary practices, encouraging parents to treat their children as individuals worthy of respect and to avoid resorting to criticism and punishment. He spoke of “expressing anger without insult,” Ms. Faber recalled, “accepting rather than denying feelings” and “offering a choice instead of a threat.”

Ms. Faber was so taken by his approach, and saw such noticeable change when she began applying it in her household, that she implored a friend, Elaine Mazlish, to attend Ginott’s lectures with her.

Mazlish, also a mother of three, was by her own account content to get by on “common sense and natural instinct” in her parenting. She reluctantly agreed to go and, like Ms. Faber, was deeply influenced by Ginott’s teachings.

Together, the two women agreed to write a book — not from the perspective of an expert psychologist but from the standpoint of two mothers attempting to use Ginott’s work in their lives. The result was “Liberated Parents, Liberated Children” (1974).

The book was widely read, and the authors found it revealed a need among parents to know more. They recalled receiving a letter from a mother in New Delhi who had read their work and wrote to them, “The old ways do not suit me, and I do not have the new tools. Please help me get over this.”

“It was the letter from India that did it,” Ms. Faber told the New York Times in 1982, inspiring her and Mazlish to turn their debut book into a cottage industry. In 1980, they published “How to Talk So Kids Will Listen & Listen So Kids Will Talk.”

Their later volumes included “Siblings Without Rivalry” (1987), “Between Brothers and Sisters” (1989), “How to Be the Parent You Always Wanted to Be” (1992), “How to Talk So Kids Can Learn at Home and in School” (1995) and “How to Talk So Teens Will Listen & Listen So Teens Will Talk” (2005).

Their first How to Talk book became their most enduring classic. It was full of practical advice about difficulties almost any parent can relate to, such as the seemingly insurmountable challenge of getting out the door in the morning with a small child or the Sisyphean task of keeping a house even moderately picked up. Humor and concision, they advised, work better than shouts and long, angry rants.

For many parents, the greater value of the book was its insight into how to form deeper, more positive relationships with their children. The book coached them in validating the children’s feelings rather than minimizing or trying to make them go away with fast fixes. To a child, even a



FAMILY PHOTO

**Adele Faber, above, was a former English teacher and mother of three who co-wrote bestsellers such as “How to Talk So Kids Will Listen & Listen So Kids Will Talk,” left.**

mother and child needed no translation.

Adele Meyrowitz, the youngest of three children, was born in the Bronx on Jan. 12, 1928. Her father, a furrier, and her mother, a seamstress, were both Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Ms. Faber grew up speaking Yiddish at home and learned English in New York City public schools.

She was raised by loving, hard-working parents, her daughter said, whose success in putting food on the table for their children and sending them to school was already a monumental achievement. She had few if any books at home and was entranced by them when she encountered them at school.

She ultimately enrolled at Queens College, where she studied theater, and where she graduated in 1949. She continued her studies at New York University, where she received a master’s degree from the school of education in 1950.

Ms. Faber taught English and speech in New York City schools before her children were born. Even as a teacher, she told the Times, “I felt there was more to know about relating to children effectively, more than I had learned in my education courses.”

In addition to leading parenting workshops, Ms. Faber taught at institutions including the New School for Social Research in New York.

Survivors include her husband of 73 years, Leslie Faber of White Plains; three children, Carl Faber of New Hyde Park on Long Island, Joanna Faber of Putnam Valley, N.Y., and Abram Faber of Brookline, Mass.; and seven grandchildren. Mazlish died in 2017.

Joanna Faber continued her mother’s line of writing, co-authoring with Julie King the volumes “How to Talk So Little Kids Will Listen: A Survival Guide to Life with Children Ages 2-7” (2017) and “How to Talk When Kids Won’t Listen: Whining, Fighting, Meltdowns, Defiance, and Other Challenges of Childhood” (2021).

Just as Ms. Faber and Mazlish encouraged empathy for children, they encouraged understanding for parents, who Ms. Faber said “are on the firing line seven days a week.”

“The process of living or working with children is demanding and exhausting,” they wrote in the final pages of “How to Talk So Kids Will Listen.” “It requires heart, intelligence, and stamina. When we don’t live up to our own expectations — and we won’t always — let’s be as kind to ourselves as we are to our youngsters. If our children deserve a thousand chances, and then one more, let’s give ourselves a thousand chances — and then two more.”



SCRIBNER

small boo-boo can hurt, and even passing tears over a broken toy may represent genuine sadness.

The book encouraged parents to let their children struggle, within reason, with new skills such as tying shoelaces, because the confidence the children feel after achieving the new skill is far more valuable than any minutes saved in sparing them difficulty.

In situations of conflict, Ms. Faber and Mazlish taught parents to see their children as individuals with dignity the same as their own.

“The hardest part is the shift we have to make in attitude. We have to stop thinking of the child

*“We have to stop thinking of the child as a ‘problem’ that needs correction.”*

**Ms. Faber and Elaine Mazlish,** in their parenting book “How to Talk So Kids Will Listen & Listen So Kids Will Talk”

as a ‘problem’ that needs correction. We have to give up the idea that because we’re adults we always have the right answer,” they wrote.

“It requires a great act of faith to believe that if we take the time to sit down and share our real feelings with a young person, and listen to his feelings, together we’ll come up with solutions that will be right for both of us.”

Ms. Faber and Mazlish’s books sold millions of copies around the world. Some translations tweaked the text to suit the cultural context.

In a Polish translation, Ms. Faber recounted to the Times in 1995, a passage on choices vs. threats describes a mother and child waiting in line for rations. Instead of telling the child, “Masha, if you keep running away from me you’re going to get a beating tonight,” the mother says, “Masha, you can stand with me and we can sing together or we can have a nice conversation. Masha, choose!”

“And Masha chose,” Ms. Faber said.

The love exchanged between

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# THE WEATHER

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Warm and mainly sunny


Skies should be mainly sunny early in the day. There might be additional cloud buildup with time, but it will only be partial cover at most. High temperatures will be mostly in the mid-80s. An isolated afternoon shower or storm could pop up. Winds will blow from the south around 5 to 10 mph.

**Today**  
Partly sunny




**87°** 68°  
FEELS\*: 95°  
CHNCE PRECIP: 25%  
WIND: ESE 6-12 mph  
HUMIDITY: Very High

**Wednesday**  
T-storm




**78°** 70°  
FEELS: 82°  
P: 90%  
W: SE 6-12 mph  
H: Very High

**Thursday**  
Partly sunny




**87°** 67°  
FEELS: 87°  
P: 40%  
W: W 7-14 mph  
H: High

**Friday**  
Showers




**79°** 62°  
FEELS: 82°  
P: 80%  
W: WNW 8-16 mph  
H: Moderate

**Saturday**  
Partly sunny



**78°** 65°  
FEELS: 81°  
P: 25%  
W: WNW 8-16 mph  
H: Moderate

**Sunday**  
Mostly cloudy



**84°** 64°  
FEELS: 83°  
P: 25%  
W: WNW 8-16 mph  
H: Moderate

**OFFICIAL RECORD**

**Temperatures**

Statistics through 5 p.m. Monday

	National	Dulles	BWI
High	86° 2:37 p.m.	85° 2:57 p.m.	86° 3:27 p.m.
Low	69° 4:43 a.m.	66° 5:12 a.m.	70° 5:00 a.m.
Normal	81°/64°	80°/58°	80°/59°
Record high	99° 1925	95° 2020	98° 1925
Record low	45° 1910	39° 1986	47° 1996

Difference from 30-yr. avg. (National): this month: +1.3° yr. to date: +3.0°

**Precipitation**

Statistics through 5 p.m. Monday

	National	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	0.01"	Trace	0.00"
Total this month	0.01"	Trace	0.00"
Normal	0.38"	0.44"	0.39"
Total this year	18.55"	17.30"	20.29"
Normal	16.61"	17.78"	17.73"

**Moon Phases**

June 6 New  
June 14 First Quarter  
June 21 Full  
June 28 Last Quarter

**Solar system**

	Rise	Set
Sun	5:43 a.m.	8:30 p.m.
Moon	4:00 a.m.	11:18 p.m.
Venus	5:45 a.m.	8:28 p.m.
Mars	3:21 a.m.	4:27 p.m.
Jupiter	5:04 a.m.	7:26 p.m.
Saturn	1:53 a.m.	1:19 p.m.

**REGION**

Weather map features for noon today.

**Pollen: High**  
Grass High  
Trees High  
Weeds Low  
Mold High

**Air Quality: Moderate**  
Dominant cause: Ozone

**UV: Extreme**  
11 out of 11+

**NATION**

Weather map features for noon today.

**Yesterday's National**  
High: Cotulla, TX 104°  
Low: Angel Fire, NM 24°  
for the 48 contiguous states

**World**  
High: Bilma, Niger 118°  
Low: Hall Beach, Canada 10°  
excludes Antarctica

**Blue Ridge:** Today, partly sunny. A couple of showers, a thunderstorm in central parts; a morning shower in spots, then a couple of thunderstorms in northern parts. A thunderstorm in the area in southern parts. High 68 to 76. Winds southeast 4-8 mph.

**Atlantic beaches:** Today, humid. A couple of afternoon showers in the south; partly sunny in central parts. Low clouds then partly sunny in the north. High 74 to 82. Winds east 6-12 mph. Tonight, patchy clouds; a couple of thundershowers in the south.

**Waterways:** *Upper Potomac River:* Today, partly sunny, a shower in the afternoon. Wind east-southeast 4-8 knots. Waves under a foot. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, partly sunny. Wind southeast 4-8 knots. Waves 0-1 foot on the Lower Potomac; 1-2 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 3.40 feet today, with no change of 3.40 Wednesday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

**Today's tides** (High tides in **Bold**)

	Washington	Annapolis	Ocean City	Norfolk	Point Lookout
1:05 a.m.	<b>6:40 a.m.</b>				
2:07 p.m.	<b>7:16 p.m.</b>				
4:18 a.m.		<b>10:55 a.m.</b>			
6:10 a.m.		<b>12:16 p.m.</b>			
2:26 a.m.			<b>8:18 a.m.</b>		
8:18 a.m.			<b>2:14 p.m.</b>		
7:08 a.m.				<b>12:04 p.m.</b>	
				5:54 p.m.	<b>none</b>

	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	87/62/s	84/67/pc
Albuquerque	93/65/pc	94/67/s
Anchorage	58/47/pc	54/47/r
Atlanta	84/69/t	87/72/t
Austin	97/77/pc	96/74/pc
Baltimore	86/67/s	76/70/t
Billings, MT	73/54/s	78/50/s
Birmingham	83/72/t	89/69/t
Bismarck, ND	74/54/pc	74/53/s
Boise	80/56/s	84/51/s
Boston	67/58/s	80/63/pc
Buffalo	85/68/pc	81/65/t
Burlington, VT	87/65/s	84/64/t
Charleston, SC	88/71/pc	86/75/t
Charleston, WV	87/63/pc	79/64/t
Charlotte	82/68/t	83/69/t
Cheyenne, WY	77/56/pc	85/51/s
Chicago	87/68/t	81/63/t
Cincinnati	85/67/t	75/63/t
Cleveland	89/67/pc	83/62/t
Dallas	93/75/pc	90/77/t
Denver	83/58/pc	90/56/s
Des Moines	85/57/t	84/58/sh
Detroit	88/66/pc	80/61/t
El Paso	99/74/s	107/78/s
Fairbanks, AK	73/54/c	69/48/s
Fargo, ND	74/56/c	72/56/sh
Hartford, CT	81/57/s	82/66/pc
Honolulu	86/74/sh	86/71/pc
Houston	93/79/pc	93/76/pc
Indianapolis	85/63/t	78/64/t
Jackson, MS	89/73/t	89/70/t
Jacksonville, FL	89/70/pc	89/71/t
Kansas City, MO	84/59/t	86/65/pc
Las Vegas	102/81/pc	108/82/s
Little Rock	84/73/t	87/67/t
Los Angeles	78/61/pc	77/61/pc
Louisville	85/69/t	80/65/t
Memphis	85/72/t	83/70/t
Miami	89/78/t	92/78/s
Milwaukee	82/66/t	81/61/sh
Minneapolis	81/58/t	78/60/sh
Nashville	82/70/t	79/65/t
New Orleans	90/77/t	91/77/pc
New York City	76/64/s	76/66/pc
Norfolk	82/70/sh	81/72/c
Oklahoma City	87/67/pc	88/69/c
Omaha	81/56/t	87/60/pc
Orlando	92/71/s	95/73/t
Philadelphia	86/66/s	80/69/t
Phoenix	104/79/pc	110/83/s
Pittsburgh	87/65/pc	81/63/t
Portland, ME	69/53/c	73/58/pc
Portland, OR	67/53/sh	73/52/pc
Providence, RI	73/56/s	76/61/pc
Raleigh, NC	88/69/t	87/67/t
Reno, NV	89/63/s	97/61/s
Richmond	86/67/t	81/71/t
Sacramento	103/69/s	104/63/s
St. Louis	83/72/t	88/69/t
St. Thomas, VI	88/81/c	88/81/c
Salt Lake City	78/59/pc	90/67/s
San Diego	69/61/pc	68/61/pc
San Francisco	79/59/s	77/54/s
San Juan, PR	90/81/t	92/79/s
Seattle	62/47/r	65/49/pc
Spokane, WA	66/44/pc	69/47/s
Syracuse	89/65/pc	83/65/t
Tampa	94/77/t	94/77/t
Wichita	82/65/t	91/68/s

**World**

	Today	Tomorrow
Addis Ababa	82/57/pc	80/56/pc
Amsterdam	68/53/sh	61/47/s
Athens	94/71/s	92/72/s
Auckland	60/50/c	61/48/pc
Baghdad	113/83/s	114/84/s
Bangkok	93/80/t	92/81/t
Beijing	90/66/pc	79/63/pc
Berlin	70/54/pc	71/52/sh
Bogota	65/51/r	67/49/r
Brussels	70/56/pc	62/45/r
Buenos Aires	55/52/pc	60/55/pc
Cairo	101/75/s	102/76/s
Caracas	77/68/t	77/69/t
Copenhagen	66/59/c	65/49/c
Dakar	81/73/pc	82/73/pc
Dubai	61/40/pc	57/43/pc
Edinburgh	59/43/r	56/43/pc
Frankfurt	72/56/pc	72/50/pc
Geneva	72/53/pc	78/55/s
Ham., Bermuda	78/71/s	77/70/pc
Helsinki	77/52/s	75/53/s
Ho Chi Minh City	97/79/t	93/79/t
Hong Kong	82/76/r	84/77/r



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# New Post editor takes helm as publisher accelerates plans

Departed executive editor wanted restructuring postponed until after the presidential election

BY SARAH ELLISON,  
ELAHE IZADI  
AND JEREMY BARR

Barely five months after joining The Washington Post as publisher and CEO, William Lewis recently began discussing a plan with his top executives for dramatically restructuring the newsroom.

His timing, though, drew resistance from executive editor Sally Buzbee. With her team of journalists absorbed by the demands of covering a historic presidential

campaign, she urged Lewis to wait until after Election Day.

Lewis didn't want to wait. Hired by Post owner Jeff Bezos with a mandate to reverse a sharp decline in subscriptions and a \$77 million deficit over the past year, he wanted to execute the new plan immediately. She also balked at the role he saw for her in the new structure — and the two agreed she should depart, according to two people familiar with the conversation.

Buzbee's abrupt exit after three years at The Post — which even



ROBERT MILLER/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Matt Murray, the new top editor of The Washington Post, told staffers that the change is “about building on The Post.”**

her own department heads learned about late Sunday in a companywide email from Lewis — left the newsroom reeling.

A Monday morning newsroom meeting to introduce Matt Murray, who will take on a new role as a top Post editor, turned contentious as staff members pressed Lewis about Buzbee's departure and his plans to spin off portions of The Post's journalism into a new division.

Murray, a former editor in chief of the Wall Street Journal, vowed to uphold journalism standards and The Post's legacy.

“This is change about growth,” he said. “It's change about the future. It's change about building

on The Post and taking it to the next generation and enhancing the legacy of the place.”

Lewis, who previously worked with Murray at the Journal, called him “a proper journalist who loves causing trouble and working with fellow editors and reporters, and an old-fashioned editor who will edit each day.”

Though Lewis took staff questions, he refused to give specifics about the decision-making behind Buzbee's departure.

“I really enjoyed working with Sally,” Lewis said. “I wish it could

SEE POST ON C4

**News veterans:** Murray, Winnett praised for tough journalism. **C4**



ANDREW HARNIK/GETTY IMAGES

**During Friday's White House visit, Kansas City Chiefs tight end Travis Kelce paired an oversize double-breasted blazer with pants that were too small.**

## FASHION

# Kelce and the travesty of too-tight trousers

During the Kansas City Chiefs' visit to the White House, the usually fashion-forward star dropped the ball with his clingy pants

BY RACHEL TASHJIAN

When the Kansas City Chiefs went to the White House on Friday to celebrate their Super Bowl win, the team's burgeoning fashion sense was on full display. There was Patrick Mahomes, smiling in cornflower pinstripes for photos with the president, Charles Omenihu in shrunken Chanel-inspired tweeds, and Nick Bolton in a subtly checked gray-blue.

And then there was the team's most famous player (and America's most famous boyfriend), Travis Kelce. He chose a beige suit by Fear of God, the California label by Jerry Lorenzo. During the past four years, Lorenzo, a Black designer, has renegotiated the stringent confines of the men's suit for several generations of fashion-fanatic men.

Kelce wore the double-breasted blazer perfectly: boxy and big, and with the confidence to pull off something that still looks unusual, even new. But his pants — my God, what happened? They were as clingy as stretch chinos, pulling at his legs instead of draping them. That's fine if the rest of the suit were fitted that way, but the oversize jacket with the too-small, and perhaps too-short, pants looked like an oddball style statement when it could have been a proposal of a new kind of soft and subtle masculinity. We shouldn't be able to see his iPhone in his suit pants pocket.

Since Hedi Slimane introduced ultra-skinny suits at Dior Homme in the early 2000s, men's clothes, especially pants, have shrunk and shrunk. It may sound crazy that a then-obscure European designer, creating clothes for an outlandishly niche audience, could change the fit of the everyday American man's pants, and, to be sure, Slimane's interpretation was channeling femme-curious 1960s rock stars. But with the debut of “Mad Men” in 2007, we came to understand that a closely tailored suit was not borrowing from the ladies, but a kind of machismo. And when, the following year, J. Crew debuted its Ludlow Suit — a \$600ish ticket

SEE FASHION ON C2

## Q&A

# ‘Acolyte’ stars don’t take Jedi roles lightly

BY HERB SCRIBNER

The new Star Wars show “The Acolyte” does something that the Skywalker-centric saga hasn't been done in a while — it puts the focus on the Jedi in their prime.

The Disney Plus series, which premieres on Tuesday, features dozens of Jedi at the peak of the order's powers. Two of those Jedi include Yord Fandar (Charlie Barnett) and his Padawan apprentice, Jecki Lon (Dafne Keen), who seek to learn the truth behind a mysterious Jedi assassin.

These Jedi look different from the ones who've starred in Star Wars films up until now. Instead of muted tunics and monk-like vibes, these are Jedi of their time, decades before the events of the 1999 prequel “The Phantom Menace.” They wear bright yellow tunics and large thick leather belts while sporting green, yellow, blue and orange lightsabers. At the same time, they're of the same visual and narrative lineage as past Jedis portrayed by Mark Hamill, Liam Neeson, Daisy Ridley and Sir Alec Guinness.

Add Keen and Barnett to that

SEE Q&A ON C8

**Star Wars, expanded:** “Acolyte” offers earlier entree into saga. **C8**

## BOOK WORLD

# A memoir's revelatory look at the elusive May

BY DONALD LIEBENSON

Elaine May tends to shy away from accepting awards, but when she does, she gives great acceptance speeches. It is a testament to her prolific creativity and tireless work ethic that when she received the Governors Award for lifetime achievement at the 2022 Oscars, the then-90-year-old said, “I do believe that for this award, you should add the words ‘for now’ at the end of it. Because it's really scary if you don't.”

Just three years earlier, she became the second-oldest recipient of a Tony Award for acting for her performance in Kenneth Lonergan's play “The Waverly Gallery.” How May was lured back to Broadway as an actor, decades after her triumphant 1960-1961 run of “An Evening With Mike Nichols and



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SEE BOOK WORLD ON C3



# How do I pick an engagement ring when I earn so much less than girlfriend?



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

**Dear Carolyn:** I am planning to propose to my girlfriend in a few weeks. She knows it's coming, we've discussed it, no real surprises. I think a ring would be sweet and meaningful, and she loves jewelry. The problem is she outearns me significantly, and there is nothing within my price range that's anywhere near as good as what she could buy for herself. I know that's not the point, and she would NOT care, but the gesture loses something if the ring is subpar. Is there a simple ring that's worth buying even if it's not impressive to the recipient? Having creative block is making the anticipation a little less buzzy.

— *Proposing*

**Proposing:** Having a ring custom made can be so much more precious than generic-expensive. The materials can be as humble or fine as your budget allows. A girlfriend who loves jewelry has favorite things you can photograph, right? Share them with an artisan to get design ideas. You can include or not include your girlfriend in the design process — there are advantages to both.

Or: Go vintage (again, bring photos to show the salesperson) or resale. Traditional engagement rings sell for way less used than new; it's just one extra little kick in the chops for people going through a divorce, but good news for ring shoppers like you.

**Re: Ring:** If you have already discussed marriage, what's to propose? You ARE engaged.



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

— *Anonymous*

**Anonymous:** Oh, let them do their thing.

**Re: Ring:** Another option for a ring is a lab-grown diamond ring. Less expensive and ethically sourced and also very beautiful!

— *Anotheranonymous*

**Anotheranonymous:** I want one as big as a Ring Pop.

**Re: Ring:** For our entire relationship, I've always outearned my husband, often by a 2:1 ratio. He bought me an engagement ring he could

afford. It's perfect, and I love it. It matters that it's from him, and what matters even more is that we've been married over 13 years and have survived two cross-country moves, pandemic lockdown with two small kids and irreconcilable agreements over which "Pride and Prejudice" adaptation is better, and we still make each other laugh every day.

— *Laughing*

**Laughing:** BBC. Duh.

Other readers' suggestions:

- Use a silly toy ring, and you can look for your wedding bands together, and maybe work with an artisan on them together. I so rarely wear my engagement ring — even though it's small, it kind of gets in the way and requires cleaning — but I keep my band on while doing everything, including cooking, pottery, etc.

- Girlfriend who outearns her partner here. What would make an engagement ring meaningful and significant to me is that it is the ring that my partner picked out for me and proposed to me with. Money comes easily to me, so something being expensive doesn't add to its emotional weight.
- I know there are women who care more about the price tag than the ring, but who wants to marry one of them? Pretty sure, from the tone of your post, your intended doesn't fall into that category. Choose from your heart, and the ring will speak to hers.

Write to Carolyn Hax at [tellme@washpost.com](mailto:tellme@washpost.com). Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at [wapo.st/gethax](http://wapo.st/gethax).

● Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at [washingtontpost.com/live-chats](http://washingtontpost.com/live-chats).

## FASHION FROM C1

to looking cool and at home in the complicated and pricey world of men's tailoring — the skinny fit officially, and quickly, became the standard millennial pant. (If you've attended a wedding in the past 15 years, a Ludlow Suit was probably also in attendance.)

Lorenzo's suiting was not the first pivot away from the skinny fit, but it has been the most potent. Fear of God's tailoring, especially since Lorenzo collaborated with Italian giant Zegna in 2020, recalls the humble but expressive ease of Armani, and the oversize suiting (often in beige) favored by athletes in the 1990s.

He is the foremost Black designer in the world making clothes that could be described as quiet luxury — an irrepressible term embraced by designers and customers alike that is loaded with classist and even racist notions about taste and refinement, and that, in a certain light, exploded as a conservative reaction to the dominance of the streetwear movement, which put the direction of fashion firmly in the hands of Black designers and consumers for the first time. Lorenzo's suiting is a righteous challenge to that narrative: It is a Black designer's concept of understated tailoring, a world dominated by White men. In other words, to wear a Lorenzo silhouette isn't just to wear a fashion-forward look — it's a badge of honor.

The odd thing is that Kelce knows better. He has worn better pants before, including many wide ones. He has even worn a Fear of God suit in the correct proportions. And Kelce is a great example of the modern men's dresser: He has *fun* with his clothes. He's not afraid to look outrageous. He loves prints and matching sets. His sartorial joy is infectious. Unlike many top athletes, he does not work with a stylist — this is all him. All the more reason for him to go (literally) big on the pants: He can show guys that relaxed trousers look very, very good.

Over the past few years, football players, maybe the last holdouts in the merger between sports and designer clothes, have embraced some of the clothes-horse habits that basketball players have made into a second competition.

Perhaps Kelce felt that, in appearing at the White House — certainly one of the most high-profile events for which he is not in uniform — he needed to home in on American norms about pants. (You also wonder whether Kelce, who has a mischievous sense of humor, was trolling Barack Obama's infamously panned beige suit.) And yet there is nothing normal about American men's pants. In their quest to become fitted and hip, they have devolved from tailored and crisp



JEAN-PIERRE MULLER/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



MADDIE MEYER/GETTY IMAGES



JASON HANNA/GETTY IMAGES

Chiefs tight end Travis Kelce, above left in December before a game in Foxborough, Mass., and above right on the red carpet at the Kansas City Chiefs' ring ceremony in Kansas City, Mo., in June, is a great example of the modern men's dresser. At top, an army of skinny suits on Hedi Slimane's runway for Dior Homme in 2004. The designer introduced narrow tailoring into the zeitgeist.

to a second skin, almost like a fungus.

Rather than skim the body to lengthen the leg or simply provide comfort through looseness, men's pants cling to the thighs and hips, focusing an ungainly amount of attention on the middle part of one's body. (Combined with ever-shortening shirting, this has been a disaster for men's lower backs. You are not imagining things: Clothing is indeed shrinking.)

The chino, which remains the menswear office and wedding staple, is almost uniformly made with some kind of stretch material — which is to say that brands aren't just allowing this to happen, but *encouraging* men to wear their pants this way. That stretch — 2 percent Lycra at the Gap, 3 percent Spandex at Brooks Brothers, and one pair of Bonobos has a whopping 8 percent Lycra — makes the fabric softer. But at what cost? Don Draper

*There is nothing normal about American men's pants. In their quest to become fitted and hip, they have devolved from tailored and crisp to a second skin, almost like a fungus.*

wanted to look modern. You don't look cool sipping whiskey in pants that look like they came from the Lululemon yoga section. I see men on the subway and feel for them, the way men have probably felt about women wearing high heels. Even worse, these synthetic fabric blends, which do not biodegrade, are bad for the environment.

Most designers have moved on from the fit they wrought: Mike Amiri, who made the skinny jeans beloved by rappers and Los Angeles creatives, is making wide-legged silhouettes. J. Crew menswear guru Brendon Babenzien introduced a wide-cut khaki, the "Giant Fit chino," as well as a wider-leg alternative to the Ludlow. (The Ludlow, when tailored correctly, which is to say not so tight that you look like a molting insect, still looks fantastic. As for jeans, there are no rules.)

Until men finally relent and wear pants that fit, we may have to look to the ladies. Late last week, Chicago Sky player Kysre Gondrezick arrived for her game in a black suit over an open white shirt and a bra. Her pants were cropped but blousy, even bouncy. She looked like a winner.

# Reader who has endured orthopedic surgeries bristles at 'Bionic Woman' quips



Miss Manners

**Dear Miss Manners:** How do I respond when people call me "the Bionic Woman"? I have had my hips, knees and ankles replaced, and have had four back surgeries, all due to an orthopedic disease. I sometimes have braces on my hands to help me tolerate the pain. I know they believe they are being humorous, but I feel like a freak of nature when I am introduced to someone as a

fictional character. I am never sure what to say, so I clam up. I would especially like to know what to say on physically painful days, when I am feeling bad already. I am sure others with much worse conditions probably hear comments that sting, too.

Also, one family member makes it a point to share all their fun activities that require physical strength, like hiking and gardening. I feel like it is saying to someone in a wheelchair, "Too bad you are missing out on all the enjoyment."

**Perhaps the "bionic" reference** is intended to make your situation seem empowering. It is still inexcusable and not funny. As it is being repeated, you would be justified in saying, "Please retire that joke. I'm actually in pain."

However, you would not be justified in censoring others' talk about their own activities. Trust Miss Manners, it would hurt you more in the end to have everyone tiptoeing around you, afraid to refer to anything physical. Given that they do not sound like subtle people, they would forever be saying "On my morning run —

oh, I'm not supposed to say that, am I?"

**Dear Miss Manners:** When you are involved in a friendly, random conversation with a stranger while traveling, what is a polite way to end it? I am a friendly person, and I have no problem with the stranger sitting next to me striking up a conversation — though I rarely initiate it. I've had some very interesting conversations in these circumstances, and on a couple of occasions, I've made a valuable contact.

But after several hours, any

conversation gets old. So how do I politely say, "I'm finished talking now?"

**Time was when you** had to bring a book in order to say, "Nice talking to you, but I'm going to catch up on my reading" or a briefcase for "... but I'd better get back to work." Now, Miss Manners notes, you have a device enabling you to say either one.

**Dear Miss Manners:** Is it right to be invited to a restaurant to celebrate someone's birthday or special occasion, and the first thing out of the host's mouth is

"separate checks?" Even the host's parents have to pay for their own meals!

**Only if the birthday** celebrant has already reimbursed the parents for all those childhood birthday parties they gave.

New Miss Manners columns are posted Monday through Saturday on [washingtontpost.com/advice](http://washingtontpost.com/advice). You can send questions to Miss Manners at her website, [missmanners.com](http://missmanners.com). You can also follow her @RealMissManners.

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# Lack of input from Elaine May doesn’t detract from biography

BOOK WORLD FROM C1

Elaine May” is one of the exceedingly entertaining stories that Carrie Courogen chronicles in her splendid book, “Miss May Does Not Exist.”

The first thing readers may want to know is whether the author had access to the legendarily elusive multi-hyphenate whose name still commands hushed and reverent tones in comedy circles. There have been rare sightings. In 2012, May agreed to be interviewed by Vanity Fair alongside Nichols. A decade later, she made her one and (thus far) only podcast appearance on Phil Rosenthal and David Wild’s “Naked Lunch.” This year, she co-hosted an evening of her films on Turner Classic Movies.

But as Courogen writes, “No one, and nothing, can convince her to do anything she doesn’t want to do,” and she did not want to cooperate on a biography of her life. Not that Courogen didn’t try: In an amusing prologue, she writes that she “mailed her postcards, messengered her cookies, established regular contact with her de facto consigliere, talked to some of her best friends. I spent \$200 printing and mailing her 341 pages of museum scans of old family documents she hadn’t known existed, sent emails that bounced, cold-called numbers that rang endlessly, walked by her building hoping I’d happen to see her coming out of it, attended events she RSVP’d to, then ghosted at the last possible moment.”

An eventual offer from May to answer four questions in writing — with characteristic stipulations — was made and withdrawn.

But “Miss May Does Not Exist” is revelatory scholarship that gives full measure to this artist who despite obstacles and setbacks (some self-inflicted) is an exalted figure in the comedy pantheon, a distinct voice whose outlier creative life Courogen captures through original re-

search, archival material and scores of interviews with those in the privileged orbit of the May-verse (the book contains 44 pages of footnotes).

Very little in May’s life, career and comedy is conventional. She had, Courogen writes, an erratic upbringing and eccentric family. She was born in 1932, the daughter of an itinerant player in Yiddish theater. It was at the University of Chicago where she found the best expression of her voice with improv pioneers the Compass Players, the forerunner to Second City. She also found Nichols, with whom she would collaborate on and off the stage until his death in 2014. But were they lovers or not? May’s response to that question: “We were lovers or not.”

Courogen does an excellent job of contextualizing May’s work with Compass and Nichols to convey just how game-changing it was. At a time when mostly male stand-up comedians were boffo with the wife and mother-in-law one-liners, May and her generation found comedy in fraught mother-son relationships, sex, adultery, sexual harassment in the workplace, corporate bureaucracy and other thoroughly modern foibles.

A refrain throughout the book is May being told, “You can’t do that.” Refuse to cut an overlong third act that would keep Broadway theatergoers in their seats till 1 a.m.? Write an ultimately censored sketch about network censors that contained the word “breast” for “The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour”? Quit the act when she and Nichols were the toast of Broadway?

Well, in some cases, “they” might have been right, but her refusal to back down to protect the integrity of her work is part and parcel of what makes Elaine Elaine, and her creative battles comprise the most compelling portions of the book. “With every movie I have done,” she said, “I may just be a pain the ass.”

May directed a mere four: “A New Leaf” and “The Heartbreak Kid” were commercial and critical hits; the gritty “Mikey and Nicky” is an underseen critic’s darling; and “Ishtar” was an infam-



Elaine May found success in the early 1960s with Mike Nichols, but she is coy about whether they were romantically involved.

mous fiasco. Had she been a male director, she would have been given an opportunity to bounce back.

But she was not a male director. When she made “A New Leaf” for Paramount in 1971, it was, Courogen notes, the first major studio film to be directed by a woman since Ida Lupino’s 1966 Hayley Mills comedy, “The Trouble with Angels” (that’s *major* studio; save your emails, Stephanie Rothman cultists), and the first made at Paramount since Dorothy Arzner’s “Merrily We Go to Hell” in 1932.

So, there would be no “second chances” for May as a director following the ill-received buddy comedy that has enjoyed something of a critical reassessment in recent years.

The stories behind “Ishtar’s” runaway production alone could fill a book, and Courogen separates truth from legend, such as the story about May supposedly ordering underlings to flatten desert dunes. When a friend asked her to confirm that piece of “Ishtar” folklore, May asked him: “Do you believe that?” To which he responded: “Well, no, but it’s such a great story.”

This book has a lot of them! One of the most famous of May at work concerns “Mikey and Nicky,” when the cameraman yelled cut after stars John Casavetes and Peter Falk walked out of frame to end a scene. “Don’t ever cut,” May told him. “They may come back.”

May enjoyed greater success as an Oscar-nominated screenwriter (“Heaven Can Wait,” “Primary Colors”) and script doctor, who, uncredited, came to the rescue of such films as “Reds” and “Tootsie.”

“Miss May Does Not Exist,” like its subject, contains multitudes, and it captures the complexities and contradictions of the fiendishly funny and fiercely independent artist who once said, “The only safe thing is to take a chance.”

**Donald Liebenson** is an entertainment writer. His work has been published in the Chicago Tribune, the Los Angeles Times and Vulture, among other publications.

TELEVISION											
6/4/24	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00		
4.1 WRC (NBC)	• <b>NBCNe.</b>	• <b>Hollywo..</b>	• <b>America's Got Talent</b>				• <b>Password</b>		• <b>News</b>		
4.2 WRC (IND)	Roseanne	Roseanne	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Nanny		
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	• <b>Fox 5</b>	• <b>TMZ</b>	• <b>Beat Shazam</b>		• <b>The Quiz With Balls</b>		• <b>Fox 5 at 10</b>		• <b>Fox 5</b>		
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• <b>Wheel</b>	• <b>Jeopardy!</b>	• Celebrity Wheel		• Celebrity Jeopardy!		• Pyramid		• <b>News</b>		
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	• <b>InsideEd.</b>	• <b>ET</b>	• FBI		• FBI: International		• FBI: Most Wanted		• <b>9 News</b>		
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	• Rosa		• <b>Golpe de suerte</b>				• <b>El amor no tien</b>		• Noticias		
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	• FamFeud	• FamFeud	• <b>Fox 5 News</b>		• FamFeud	• FamFeud	• FamFeud	• <b>Puzzler</b>	• Chi. Fire		
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	• Farm	• Outdoors	• GOSPEL Live!				• Simon & Garfunkel		• EltonJo.		
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• <b>PBS NewsHour</b>		• Ken Burns: The Civil War				• Elton John				
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	• At Howard		• Johnny Mathis				• Nature		• BBCNe.		
50.1 WDCW (CW)	• Neighbor	• Neighbor	• <b>Police 24/7</b>		• <b>Hostage Rescue</b>		• <b>DC News Now</b>		• Seinfeld		
66.1 WPXW (ION)	• Chicago Fire		• Chicago Fire		• Chicago Fire		• Chicago Fire		• Chi. Fire		
A&E	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	• <b>Customer</b>	Neighbor.	Neighbor.		
AMC	(4:00) Movie: The Green Mile (1999)		Movie: Tombstone ★★★ (1993) Wyatt Earp and Doc Holliday battle the Clanton gang.								Movie: Book of ...
Animal Planet	Lone Star Law		Yellowstone Wardens		Yellowstone Wardens		Yellowstone Wardens		Wardens		
BET	Celebrity Family Feud		Celebrity Family Feud		• <b>Celebrity Fam</b>		• <b>Election Roun.</b>		Movie		
Bravo	The Valley		The Valley		• <b>The Valley</b>		(:15) The Real Housewives of Dubai		(:15) The Valley		
Cartoon Network	King/Hill	King/Hill	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	American	American	American	American		
CNN	• <b>E. B. OutFront</b> (Live)		• <b>Cooper 360</b> (Live)		• <b>The Source</b> (Live)		• <b>CNN</b> (Live)		• <b>Laura</b>		
Comedy Central	The Office		The Office		The Office		Office		Office		
Discovery	Deadliest Catch		• <b>Deadliest Catch</b>		(:05) Deadliest Catch		(:05) Homestead Rescue				
Disney	(6:10) Movie: Zootopi...		Big City		Big City		Big City		Big City		
E!	(5:30) Movie: Fast Five		(2011)		Movie: The Fast and the Furious ★★ (2001)				• <b>E! News</b>		
ESPN	• <b>SportsCe nter</b> (Live)	Movie: I'm Just Here for the Riot (2022)		• <b>E60</b>		• <b>The Ultimate Fighter</b>		• <b>SportsC.</b> (Live)			
ESPN2	• <b>Around the Horn</b>	• <b>Pardon/In terruption</b>	NFL Live		The Ultimate Fighter		Movie: I'm Just Here for the Riot (2022)				
Food Network	Chopped		• <b>Chopped</b>		• <b>Supermark. Stakeout</b>		Supermark. Stakeout		Chopped		
Fox News	• <b>Ingraham</b> (Live)		• <b>Jesse Watters</b> (Live)		• <b>Hannity</b> (Live)		• <b>Gutfeld!</b>		• <b>Fox News</b>		
Freeform	(6:30) Movie: Toy Story 3 ★★★ (2010)				Movie: Toy Story 4 ★★★ (2019)				The 700 Club		
FX	Movie: Black Widow ★★★ (2021) A conspiracy forces Black Widow to confront her past.						The Bear		(:35) The Bear	(:15) Movie: ...	
Hallmark	Movie: Field Day (2023) Three moms work together to plan their kids' field day.				Movie: Two Tickets to Paradise (2022)				Golden Girls		
Hallmark M&M	Crossword Mysteries				Crossword Mysteries				Murder ...		
HBO	Real Time With Bill Maher		Movie: Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon ★★★ (2000) (P)			(:05) Ren Faire		(:05) Movie: A...			
HGTV	No Demo Reno		Farmhouse Fixer		• <b>Farmhouse Fixer</b>		• <b>Hunt Intl</b>		• <b>Hunt Intl</b>		
History	Skinwalker Ranch		Skinwalker Ranch		• <b>Skinwalker Ranch</b>		(:05) • <b>Beyond</b>		Skinwalker		
Lifetime	Castle		Castle		Castle		(:05) Castle		Castle		
MASN	(6:30) • <b>Baseball</b>		New York Mets at Washington Nationals		• <b>Nats Xtra</b>		Bensinger		Sports		
Monumental	• <b>WNBA Basketball</b>				• <b>Mystics</b>		WNBA Basketball				
MSNBC	• <b>The ReidOut</b> (Live)		• <b>All In With</b> (Live)		• <b>Wagner</b> (Live)		• <b>Last Word</b> (Live)		• <b>11th Hour</b>		
MTV	Catfish: The TV Show		• <b>Catfish: The TV Show</b>		• <b>Help! I'm In</b>		Help! I'm In		Help!		
Nat'l Geographic	Life Below Zero		Life Below Zero		• <b>Life Below Zero</b>		• <b>Fiennes: Return</b>		Life Below		
Nickelodeon	• <b>LoudHouse</b>		• <b>LoudHouse</b>		SpongeB..		Friends		Friends		
NWSN	• <b>On Balance</b> (Live)		• <b>Cuomo</b> (Live)		• <b>Dan Abrams</b> (Live)		• <b>Banfield</b> (Live)		Cuomo		
Paramount	Two and a Half Men		Movie: The Dark Knight Rises ★★★ (2012) Batman (Christian Bale) faces a masked villain named Bane.								
Paramount+Sho	(5:50) Movie: Mission: Impossible II (2000)		Fellow Travelers		(:05) Movie: The Inspection ★★★ (2022)		(:40) The Chi				
Syfy	(3:55) Movie: 2...	Movie: Escape Room: Tournament of Champions ★★ (2021) (P)				Movie: The Core ★★ (2003) Scientists travel to the center of the Earth.					
TBS	• <b>MLB Baseball</b>				Minnesota Twins at New York Yankees (Live)			• <b>MLBClose</b>	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	
TCM	(6:00) Movie: The Velvet Touch (1948)		Movie: Bright Eyes ★★ (1934)			(:45) Movie: Moon Over Miami ★★★ (1941)					
TLC	Doubling Down		• <b>Doubling Down</b>		• <b>OutDaughtered</b>		• <b>7 Little Johnstons</b>		Unexpect..		
TNT	(5:00) Movie: Pi...	• <b>Pregame</b> (Live)	• <b>Women's International Soccer Friendlies</b>				• <b>Postgame</b> (Live)		The Lazarus Project		
Travel	Par. Nightmare		Par. Nightmare		Par. Nightmare		Par. Nightmare		Nightmare		
TruTV	• <b>TNT Sports</b>		• <b>Pregame</b>		• <b>Friendlies</b>		Korea Republic at United States		• <b>Postgame</b>		
TV Land	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	(:20) Raymond		Raymond	Raymond	(:05) King		
TV One	CosbySh..	CosbySh..	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	
USA Network	Law & Order: SVU		• <b>WWE NXT</b> (Live)				(:10) Movie: Tag ★★ (2018) (P)				
VH1	Martin	Martin	Movie: Juice ★★ (1992)				• <b>Election Roun.</b>		Movie		
WNCN	Paid Prog.		2 Ovens		Fed Gov		7News at..		• <b>SportsTalk</b>	• <b>WorldNe..</b>	
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 Taylor Johnson

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CARATNEPALDIP  
SLIPSORATEETS



# New Post editors bring decades of editorial decision-making

Matt Murray, Robert Winnett have played pivotal role in ambitious, award-winning investigations

BY JEREMY BARR,  
KARLA ADAM  
AND LAURA WAGNER

The two new editors tapped by Washington Post publisher and CEO William Lewis to oversee a restructuring of the news organization have decades of experience overseeing ambitious, aggressive journalism.

Matt Murray, 58, is the better known in U.S. media circles, having spent 29 years at the Wall Street Journal, the last five as editor in chief before leaving in 2023.

Robert Winnett, 47, deputy editor of Telegraph Media Group, has spent his career in Britain and remains relatively unknown in the United States.

Murray, in particular, was hailed by former Journal colleagues for his deep involvement in stories.

“He always had our back in investigations, and he was one of our biggest champions,” said James V. Grimaldi, an investigative reporter for the Journal (and former Post reporter). “He’s a smart, thoughtful, brilliant editor with superb judgment when it comes to making tough calls on important stories, and has impec-

cable ethics and standards.”

A native of Bethesda, Md., Murray edited his high school newspaper before studying journalism at Northwestern University. He was a copy editor in Virginia and covered crime in Chicago before joining the Journal’s Pittsburgh bureau in 1994. After reporting on the banking industry, he rose through the managerial ranks.

“He will circulate through the room and want to know what you’re working on,” said one Journal staffer, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to comment. “He wants to get to the point.”

Gerald F. Seib, who worked closely with Murray as the Journal’s Washington bureau chief, described him as “a calming influence” during tumultuous periods in the newsroom.

“He’s a genuinely nice person. He asks about your family, he asks about your kids,” Seib added. “He’s not a yeller, he’s not a thrower, he’s a surprisingly normal person.”

In 1999, Murray published a memoir about his father’s decision to retire from his government career to enter a Benedictine monastery. “I really felt like my family imploded in many



Robert Winnett, 47, deputy editor of Telegraph Media Group, will become editor of The Washington Post following the November election.

ways,” he said in a 2020 interview. But “writing the book helped me think more deeply about the history and patterns of my family.”

After the Journal published a successful 2021 investigation that found widespread conflicts of interest among federal judges, Murray urged the staff to survey the financial disclosures of all federal employees. The resulting series, “Capital Assets,” won a Pulitzer Prize in 2023.

“He’s willing to propose, initiate, back and fund very ambitious journalism,” Grimaldi said. “You

can’t ask for more in an editor.”

Under Murray, the Journal also attracted attention for its reporting on the origins of the coronavirus, including questions about whether it leaked out of a Chinese laboratory. “Our goal was and always is to simply ask questions and see what we can find out and follow the facts,” Murray told The Post in 2021. “We were always open-minded in trying to follow the thread on the origins of the virus.”

He added that journalists can sometimes be too reliant on experts. “You always as a journalist have to be open to new evidence, open to new voices, and open to things you think might contradict what you think is the truth,” Murray said.

Though he comes from a traditional reporting background, he has embraced new mediums and new technologies since leaving the Journal — experiences that could serve him well as he oversees The Post’s efforts to find new ways of reaching readers and subscribers. He served as a senior consultant to the publication’s parent company, focusing mostly on AI technologies. In a recent post for a Substack newsletter, Murray wrote that all corporate reporters should be asking companies how they plan to invest in and incorporate AI.

“A million stories are waiting to

be told beyond AI speculation and novelty,” he wrote.

Winnett has worked for nearly 17 years at the Daily Telegraph — the last decade as deputy editor — where he was initially hired from the Sunday Times by Lewis, who was then the newspaper’s editor.

In interviews with several colleagues at the Telegraph, Winnett — known as “Rob” — was described as a casual dresser with a cheeky smile, a sometimes shy character who nonetheless could be a “terrier” on a story.

Post employees “have nothing to be frightened of,” said one journalist who has worked with Winnett. “Everyone will enjoy having him as a boss and see his qualities very quickly.”

At the Sunday Times, Winnett earned kudos for his role in an investigation into the “cash for honors” scandal — a story about the connections between political donations and “life peerages” that gave individuals the right to sit in the House of Lords. He also played a pivotal role in the Telegraph’s investigation into the misuse of expense accounts by members of Parliament, a series that rocked Britain’s political establishment.

The latter scoop drew some criticism as “checkbook journalism” — the paper reportedly paid more than \$100,000 for a computer disk taken from a parliamentary fees office. But the investiga-

tion, based on analysis of millions of data entries, was a blockbuster that prompted the resignation of several officials.

More recently, Winnett has overseen a leak to the Telegraph of more than 100,000 private WhatsApp messages between government ministers at the height of the covid-19 pandemic.

Tom Rowley, a former journalist who worked for Winnett at the Telegraph, called him a “Zen-like figure” who was “quiet, quite shy and unflappable — there were definitely louder voices in the newsroom. I never in my years there heard Rob raise his voice or anything. He always seemed calm and collected.” But that calmness, Rowley said, coexisted with “a great impatience and drive.”

“I don’t think it matters what the area of coverage is,” Rowley said. “He will want it to be splashy, have impact, be the best it can be.”

While other senior editors came and went with high frequency, “Rob was the constant, marshaling troops, turning out daily news.”

Rowley said his abiding memory of Winnett was him sitting in the center of the newsroom, “leaning way back in his chair, circling the 10th paragraph of a story in the Financial Times to follow up on. He’s very detailed, the power behind the throne, rather than the frontman.”

## Leadership changes at Post come in tandem with newsroom restructuring

POST FROM C1

have gone on for longer, but it couldn’t. And I don’t think it’s appropriate to take that bit of the conversation any further.”

He apologized for the manner of the announcement. The news “began to leak out, which is why we had to scramble.”

Buzbee, the first woman to head the news operations of The Post, has not responded to requests for comment.

She had been hired in 2021 by The Post’s previous publisher, Fred Ryan, after the retirement of former executive editor Martin Baron. Buzbee spent most of her career at the Associated Press, most recently as its top editor. Ryan stepped down as publisher in 2023, and since Lewis has stepped into the role, he has made several executive-level hires.

As recently as this weekend, Buzbee had given no indication that she would be leaving. On Saturday night, she attended the White House News Photographers Association award dinner, where she chatted with Post journalists and sat next to White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre.

And less than two weeks ago, Buzbee participated in a companywide presentation to discuss a plan by Lewis to revamp core elements of the business, including new subscription offerings.

She told Post department heads late Sunday in a brief call that she had been presented with a reorganization plan that she didn’t want to be a part of, according to three people familiar with her remarks who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they are not authorized to speak.

The publisher and his top editor had discussed Lewis’s restructuring plans over several weeks, and Buzbee had hoped to persuade him not to execute his plan until after the election, according to a person familiar with their conversations.

But Lewis — who has acknowledged that The Post has lost \$77 million over the past year — was eager to accelerate the timing of his plan. He offered Buzbee oversight of a new division of the company, which he described Sunday evening as being focused on “service and social media journalism.”

But Buzbee was uncomfortable with the structure and did not believe she could be effective in the role, the person familiar with their conversations said. That left her with no real place in the organization and the two agreed that she needed to step aside.

For weeks before the announcement of her departure, though, Lewis had made inquiries to potential candidates to succeed Buzbee, according to people familiar with his discussions, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to protect confidential communications.

Buzbee was not present for the staff meeting Monday but received a healthy round of applause from Post colleagues, who questioned her treatment by company leaders.

Murray was replaced as the top editor of the Journal in early 2023 after nearly five years but remained at parent company News Corp in an advisory role. He had been in discussions for another



PHOTOS BY ROBERT MILLER/THE WASHINGTON POST



ABOVE: Matt Murray, the new top editor of The Washington Post, talks with the staff of the newspaper on Monday. He was previously the top editor at the Wall Street Journal for nearly five years until 2023. LEFT: William Lewis, publisher of The Post, fielded some critical questions at the meeting.

During Monday’s meeting, one staff member highlighted these connections, as well as Lewis’s past remarks about his commitment to diversity.

“The most cynical interpretation sort of feels like you chose two of your buddies to come in and help run The Post,” she said. “And we now have four White men running three newsrooms.”

Lewis reaffirmed his commitment to diversity while acknowledging that “I’ve got to do better, and you’ll see that going forward.”

Lewis has referred to the new division that Murray will oversee as a “third newsroom” — distinct from the news operations that will eventually be helmed by Winnett, and distinct from The Post’s opinions section, which has always operated separately from news and which will still be overseen by David Shipley, its leader since 2022.

Yet a lack of detail about what the new division will entail — and how it will intersect with the rest of the news organization — prompted questions in the staff meeting.

In one heated exchange with a Post staffer, Lewis warned that the newsroom cannot afford to be resistant to change, saying that “decisive, urgent” actions are needed for the company to survive upheaval within the media industry and a recent loss of

subscribers and revenue.

“We are going to turn this thing around, but let’s not sugarcoat it. It needs turning around,” he said. “We are losing large amounts of money. Your audience has halved in recent years. People are not reading your stuff. Right. I can’t sugarcoat it anymore.”

In his brief remarks, Murray did not share his specific editorial priorities, though he mentioned a few specific stories that will be top priorities for The Post, including the presidential election, Donald Trump and the trial facing Hunter Biden.

“The Post has such a great legacy, a history and tradition of great journalism in the past and right until this morning,” he said. “There’s so much outstanding work that comes out of this newsroom. I’m humbled and proud to be a part of it.”

The decision to change editorial leadership and create a new division was part of Lewis’s new strategy for The Post, which focuses on reaching new audiences and rejecting a “one-size-fits-all” strategy for serving readers and attracting new customers.

But, Murray said there are no plans to blow things up for the sake of doing so. Going forward, Murray said the mission at The Post “will be to take what we do and really translate it the right way.”

job opportunity, but as those deliberations wore on, he decided to accept Lewis’s invitation to join The Post, one of those people said.

In his own remarks, Murray, who spent 29 years at the Journal, focused on the future, which he said will meld the legacy of The Post with a forward-looking approach to news.

A native of the Washington, D.C., area, Murray said he doesn’t plan to remake The Post in the Journal’s image — and that The Post is the newspaper that made

him want to work in journalism.

“I’ve been in the business long enough, and I’ve done enough things that I’m not interested at this point in managing decline,” Murray said. “I’m interested in the future and growth. ... This is going to be an exciting time. We’re going to have a lot of new opportunities and new things.”

Murray will serve only temporarily as Buzbee’s replacement, Lewis has said. After Election Day, he will hand over the reins of leadership for the newsroom’s

core reporting areas — including politics, investigations, business, technology, sports and features — to Robert Winnett, a British journalist who is currently the deputy editor of Telegraph Media Group.

At that point, Murray will shift over to serve as the leader of the new company division.

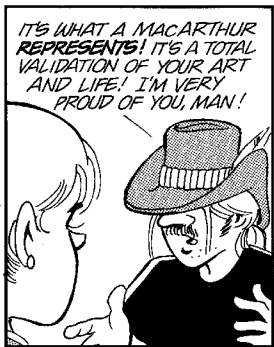
Lewis previously worked alongside both Murray and Winnett — the former when he was publisher of the Journal, the latter when he was the editor of the Daily Telegraph.



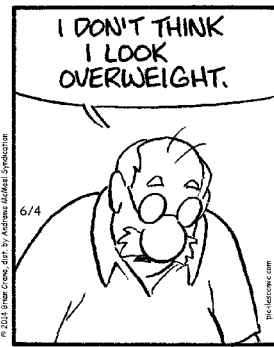




CLASSIC DOONESBURY



PICKLES



**BRIDGE**

N-S VULNERABLE

**NORTH**

- ♠ A 5
- ♥ A 3 2
- ♦ K J 10 9 4
- ♣ 8 3 2

**WEST**

- ♠ Q 10 6 2
- ♥ Q 10 4
- ♦ 8 6 5
- ♣ A Q 7

**EAST**

- ♠ K 8 7 4
- ♥ 7 6
- ♦ 7 3 2
- ♣ J 10 9 4

**SOUTH (D)**

- ♠ J 9 3
- ♥ K J 9 8 5
- ♦ A Q
- ♣ K 6 5

**The bidding:**

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
1 ♠	Pass	2 ♦	Pass
2 ♥	Pass	4 ♥	All Pass

Opening lead — ♠ 2

Like many of us, Cy the Cynic thinks he deserves a perfect partner.

"Some days," Cy told me, "I'm convinced that my partners don't have a clue. On other days, I'm convinced that it's not just some days."

Cy was today's North. When South opened and rebid in hearts, Cy raised to game — and then had to watch his partner try to make it. West led a spade, and declarer took dummy's ace, cashed the ace of trumps and led a trump to his jack. West took the queen and led another spade, and when East won and led the jack of clubs, the result was down two.

"Thank you, partner," the Cynic growled.

"So two key honors were in the wrong place," South growled back.

There are no perfect partners, but South's play wasn't best. After South wins the first trick, he should take the A-K of trumps.

No queen falls, but South is still alive. He runs the diamonds and pitches two clubs as West ruffs. Then the defense can take one spade and one club, but South wins the rest.

DAILY QUESTION

You hold:

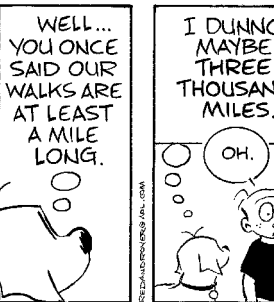
- ♠ K 8 7 4 ♥ 7 6
- ♦ 7 3 2 ♣ J 10 9 4

The dealer, at your left, opens one diamond. Your partner doubles, you bid one spade and he raises to three spades. What do you say?

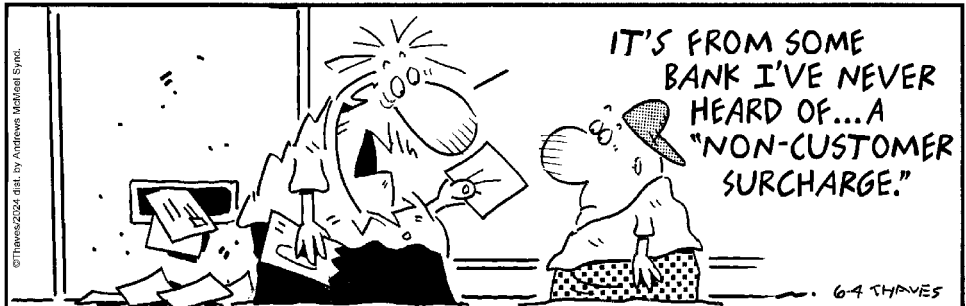
**ANSWER:** You must remember that your hand could have been worse, yet your partner is willing to undertake a nine-trick contract. Since you have a king and good intermediates in clubs that may produce tricks, bid four spades. Partner's hand may be A Q 10 3, A Q 8 2, 4, A Q 7 6.

— Frank Stewart  
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RED AND ROVER



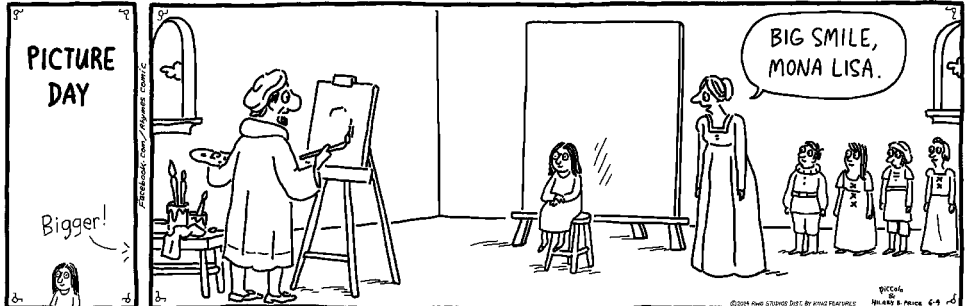
FRANK AND ERNEST



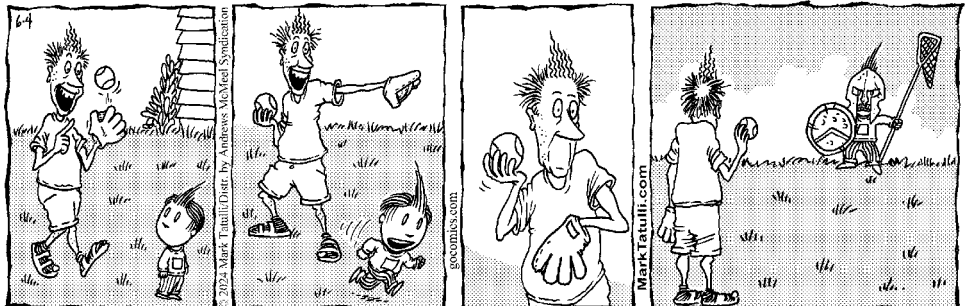
CLASSIC PEANUTS



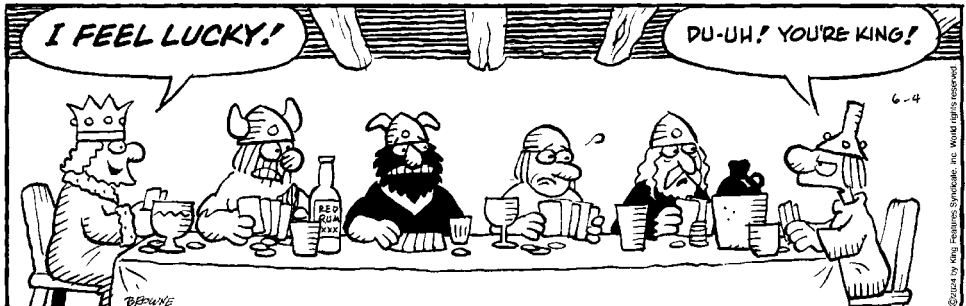
RHYMES WITH ORANGE



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.

	1	5		2	3		6	7
		8		4				
		6		5	1	8		3
								1
	8		2	3	6		7	
5								
2		1	4	6		7		
				7		2		
8	6		1	9		4	3	

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★☆☆☆

**SCRABBLE GRAMS**

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Triple Word Score

RACK 1

RACK 2

RACK 3

RACK 4

3rd Letter Double

PAR SCORE 150-160  
BEST SCORE 236

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 NASH - North American SCRABBLE Players Association info@scrabbleplayers.org. Visit our website - www.scrabbleplayers.org. For puzzle inquiries contact scrgram@gmail.com

06-04

SHERMAN'S LAGOON



CURTIS



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



**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.

**ACROSS**

1. Cold season

5. Large work boat

6. Modify

7. Capital

**DOWN**

1. Shaky

2. Describe, detail

3. Essential feature

4. Andean

**ANSWER**

ETRNIW

EBGRA

DEANM

ELTRTE

**ANSWER**

BYBWOL

RRTNAAE

EETENAM

DNROOC

**BONUS**

**CLUE:** He has sold more than 85 million records worldwide as a solo artist.

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MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL



ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN



HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | JUNE 4

You're constantly curious. You want to learn and perfect yourself. You want to improve the lives of others. This year is the final year of a nine-year cycle for you. It's time to take inventory and let go of people, places and things that have held you back.

Moon Alert: There are no restrictions to shopping or important decisions today. The Moon is in Taurus.

**ARIES** (MARCH 21-APRIL 19). Today you're upbeat and enthusiastic! It's a wonderful day to schmooze with relatives, siblings and neighbors. You will also enjoy short trips, plus appointments and errands, because you're in such a positive frame of mind.

**TAURUS** (APRIL 20-MAY 20). This is an excellent day for moneymaking ideas and financial negotiations. You're thinking like a winner! You can expect a positive outcome because your ideas will be ambitious and expansive.

**GEMINI** (MAY 21-JUNE 20). Today your ruler Mercury is lined up with lucky Jupiter in your sign, which is an extremely useful influence. This will broaden your comprehension of issues and make you more tolerant. In addition, it will favor business and will help you get better organized.

**CANCER** (JUNE 21-JULY 22). Your ability to do research is excellent today because you're happy to dig for facts and look for information. However, some of you might be involved in a secret love affair or some kind of secret diversion.

**LEO** (JULY 23-AUG. 22). It's a popular day for you! This is the perfect day to hang out with groups, clubs and organizations, because you have something to say. You're enthusiastic about achieving future goals. You also might help a creative organization or an artistic individual.

**VIRGO** (AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). It's easy to think big today, which is why your discussions with parents, bosses, teachers and VIPs will be ambitious. You're enthusiastic about your ideas, and your enthusiasm will be contagious.

**LIBRA** (SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). This is the perfect day to study anything that will broaden your comprehension of issues, especially politics, religion or controversial matters. You'll find it easy today to take a larger view of things.

**SCORPIO** (OCT. 23-NOV. 21). Discussions about how to divide or share something will go well today, because it's a good day to discuss inheritances and shared property, plus issues related to taxes and debt.

**SAGITTARIUS** (NOV. 22-DEC. 21). You'll enjoy warm relations with partners, spouses and close friends today. Your conversations will be upbeat and friendly. However, avoid going overboard and being self-righteous.

**CAPRICORN** (DEC. 22-JAN. 19). You will be productive today. This is an excellent day to work and get better organized. It's also a great day to finish projects. Work-related travel is likely. Discussions with co-workers will be positive, and joint efforts will be successful.

**AQUARIUS** (JAN. 20-FEB. 18). This is a playful, lighthearted day! People are in a good mood. This can also be a productive day, especially for business related to the hospitality industry or anything to do with the entertainment world or show business. Your creative vibes are hot.

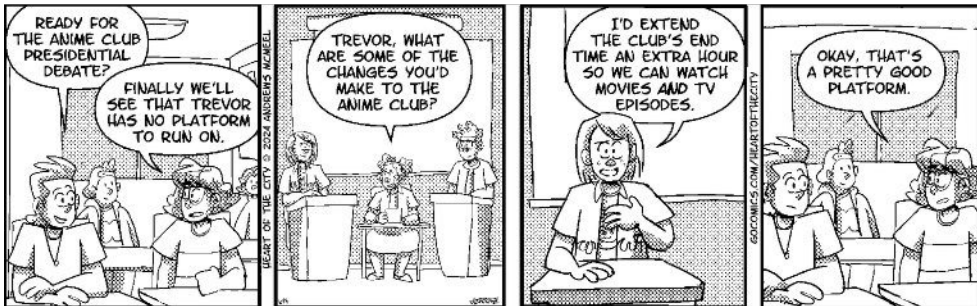
**PISCES** (FEB. 19-MARCH 20). Family discussions will go well today. In fact, this is an excellent day to explore real estate opportunities or to discuss how to improve or expand your home. Discussions also might include expanding the family. It's the perfect day to redecorate and entertain, so invite the gang over for good food and drink!

— Georgia Nicols

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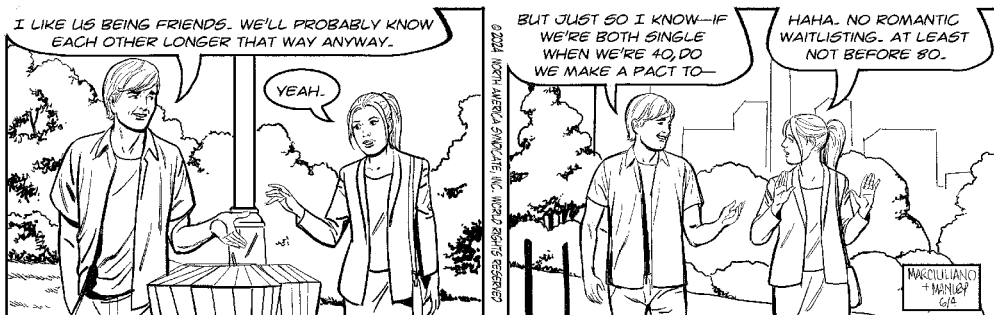
HEART OF THE CITY

STEENZ



JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY



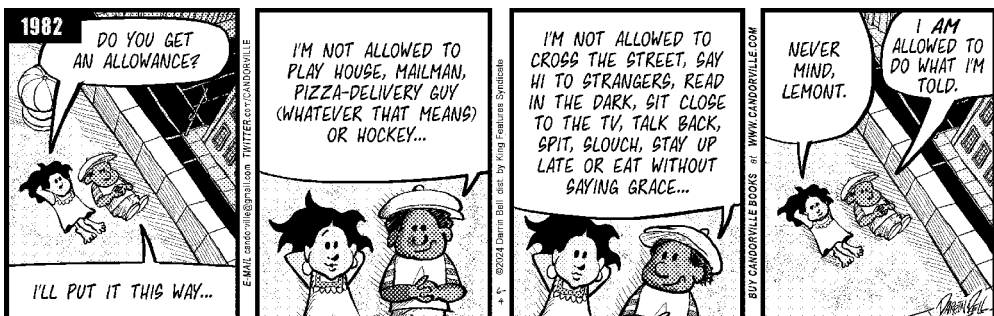
FRAZZ

JEFF MALLET



CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL



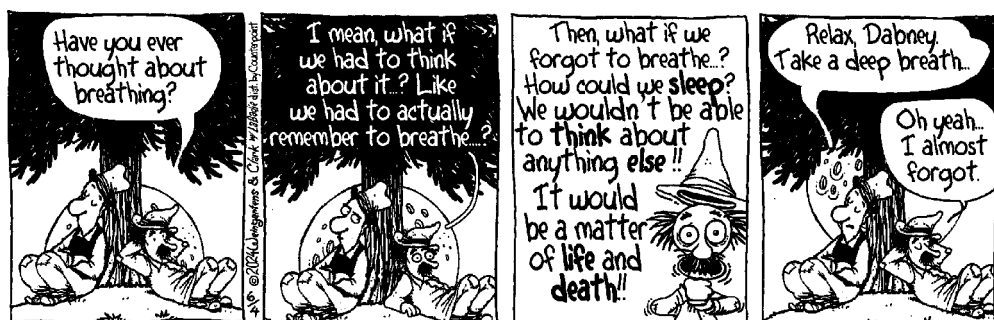
GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS



BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK



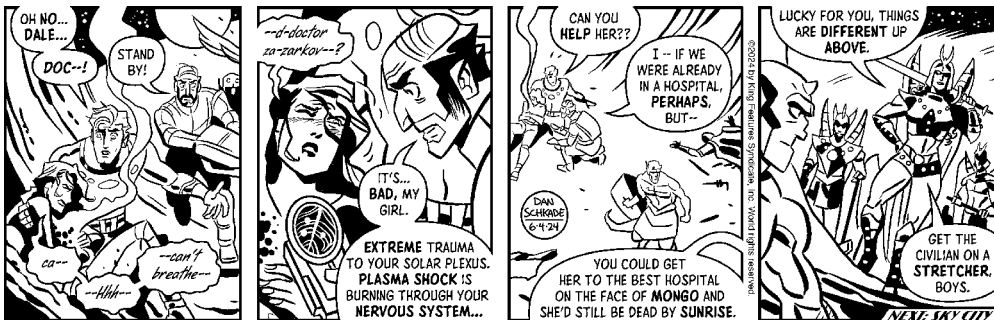
DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER



FLASH GORDON

DAN SCHKADE



PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS



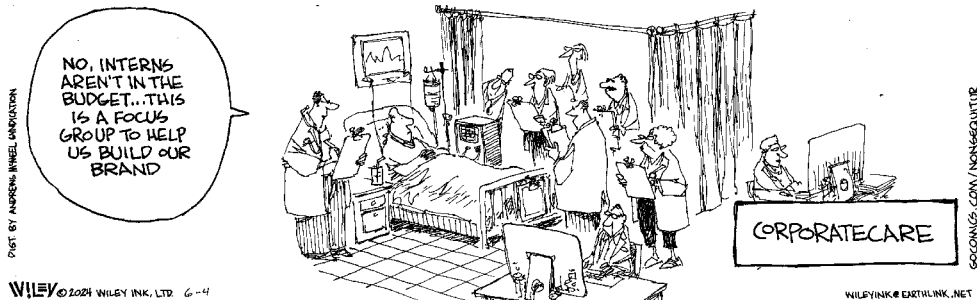
LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK



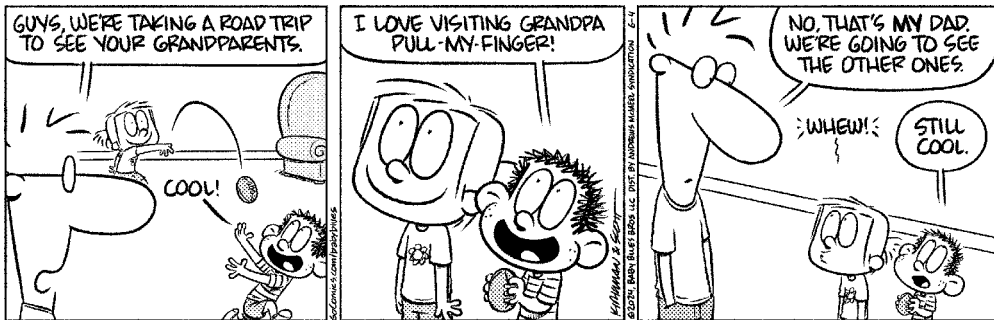
NON SEQUITUR

WILEY



BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT



BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE



ON THE FASTTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK



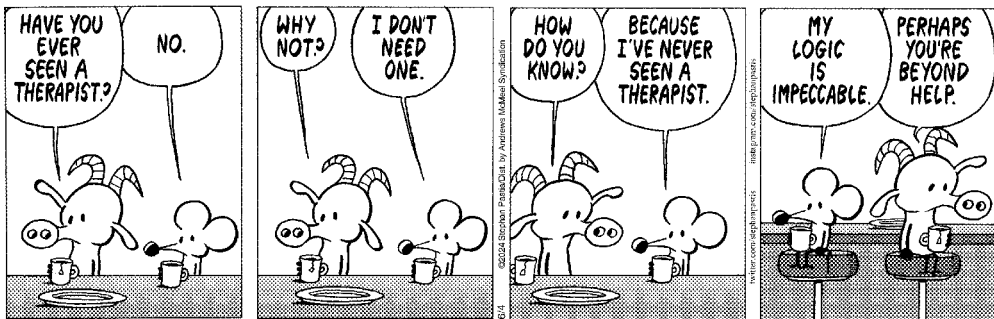
BEETLE BAILEY

GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS



PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

9	6	7	5	2	1	4	8	3
1	4	3	7	8	9	5	2	6
2	5	8	6	3	4	7	9	1
4	7	1	2	6	5	9	3	8
5	8	9	4	1	3	2	6	7
3	2	6	9	7	8	1	5	4
7	9	2	8	4	6	3	1	5
8	3	4	1	5	2	6	7	9
6	1	5	3	9	7	8	4	2

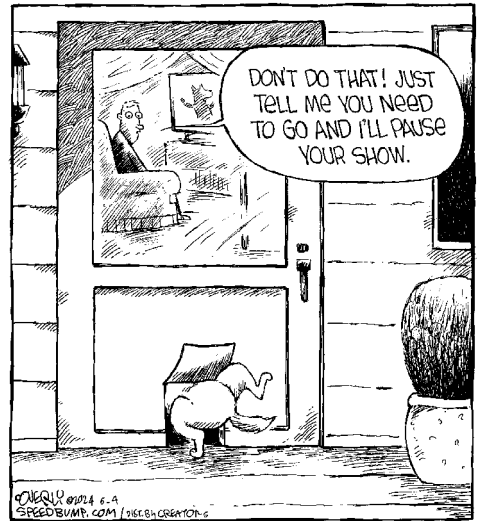
PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

R	I	B	A	L	I
R	E	L	E	N	O
P	A	Y	O	F	F
K	E	Y	N	O	T

PAR SCORE 155-165 TOTAL 228

SPEED BUMP

DAVE COVERLY



DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM

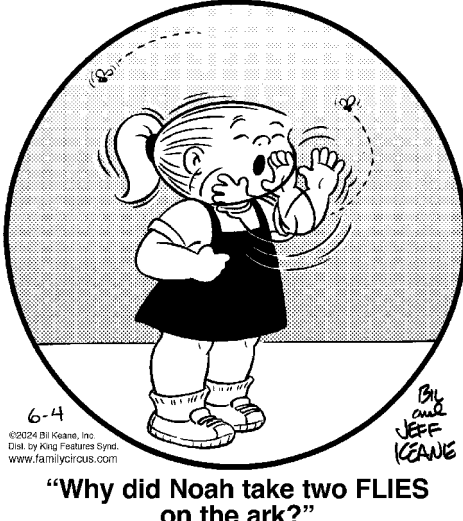


FAMILY CIRCUS

BIL KEANE

REPLY ALL LITE

DONNA A. LEWIS





# ‘The Acolyte’ goes back in time to expand Star Wars saga

BY HERB SCRIBNER

*This article contains brief spoilers for “The Acolyte.”*

The proper viewing order for the Star Wars franchise has been a source of contention among fans (and new parents) for decades. Do you watch everything in release order, starting with the originals, then the prequels and then the sequels? Or do you watch chronologically, starting with Anakin Skywalker’s downfall through Luke Skywalker’s hopeful defeat of the Empire and on to the most recent trilogy? Or perhaps a more exotic agenda, such as the “flashback order” that crams parts one, two and three in between parts five and six?

However you do it, it’s about to get a bit more complicated thanks to “The Acolyte,” a new Star Wars television series that premieres on Disney Plus on Tuesday. The hook? It takes place before anything we’ve seen in Star Wars live-action history. 1999’s “Star Wars: The Phantom Menace” is no longer the beginning of the story. “The Acolyte” is.

The eight-episode series centers on the hunt for an assassin who is creeping her way across a galaxy far, far away with the intention of murdering a specific set of Jedi. To make matters worse, this assassin might have ties to the Sith, the dark-side enthusiasts who have supposedly been dead for a millennium.

The show is packed with the usual Star Wars tropes — lightsaber battles, bar fights, philosophical questions about the Force and even some Force-sensitive twins. But it also shuffles the deck of what we know Star Wars to be. Since “The Acolyte” takes place decades before “The Phantom Menace,” it pulls the Star Wars franchise even further away from being largely a family story about the Skywalkers and their fated role in saving the galaxy. Along with the other newish installments in the Star Wars myths (“Rogue One,” “Andor,” “The Mandalorian” and much more), “The Acolyte” deepens a saga containing a galaxy’s worth of heroes and villains.

On the other hand, Star Wars has always been in the process of rewriting itself.

Since George Lucas put pen to paper, the timeline has always been a little confusing. The original films, released in the ‘70s and ‘80s, are episodes four, five and six of a nine-episode saga. The late-’90s/early-2000s prequels were parts one, two and three. Disney acquired the franchise in 2012, and its newer animated shows, spinoff projects, comics, novels and movies have all worked to reshuffle the timeline.



PHOTOS BY CHRISTIAN BLACK / LUCASFILM



**CLOCKWISE FROM TOP:** The cast of “The Acolyte” includes Dafne Keen as Jedi Padawan Jecki Lon; Rebecca Henderson as Vernestra Rwoh and Lee Jung-jae as Master Sol; and Jodie Turner-Smith as Mother Aniseya. The eight-episode series on Disney Plus is set about 100 years before the events covered in “The Phantom Menace,” previously the earliest chapter on the Star Wars timeline.

It gets confusing faster than you can say “midi-chlorians.” So here’s what to expect from “The Acolyte,” and a rundown of its changes to a story that keeps expanding in every direction.

#### What is ‘The Acolyte’ about?

“Before the Empire. Before the Menace. There was an acolyte.”

That’s the tagline for the new Disney Plus show, which depicts the Jedi at the peak of their powers.

The series focuses on a former Jedi named Osha, who has been framed for killing a slew of Jedi. (It’ll turn out she has something in common with the murderer.) The show centers on the order’s investigation into the deaths.

You can bet it has something to do with the Sith, the evil cohort to which Darth Vader, Emperor Palpatine and other Star Wars bad-

dies belong. The assassin serves an unidentified and (in true Star Wars fashion) masked “master” who seems to embrace the dark side and carries a red lightsaber. That’s about all we know.

In general, the show attempts to show what the Jedi were like in their prime and how they tackled threats before the likes of Anakin Skywalker came along.

#### When does ‘The Acolyte’ take place?

“The Acolyte” happens roughly 100 years before the prequel trilogy begins. This is the “High Republic” era, when the Star Wars galaxy was relatively chill. No Death Stars here!

“We’re looking at a time period where there is peace throughout the galaxy,” showrunner Leslye Headland told Entertainment

Weekly in July 2023. “It was very challenging and interesting to make a Star Wars with no war in it.”

#### How does ‘The Acolyte’ connect to the Star Wars movies?

We don’t really know. Yet. Headland told Den of Geek that the greater Star Wars lore plays a role in the show. She mentioned that some Sith who have appeared in video games and books influenced the show’s villains.

“I really toyed with utilizing Darth Bane or mentioning Bane. We do not do it in the first season,” she said, referring to a legacy Star Wars character known by fans as the creator of the master-apprentice “rule of two.”

There is one scene in “The Phantom Menace” that inspired

some of the show, according to Headland. In that movie, when Qui-Gon Jinn (Liam Neeson) told the Jedi council about a Sith attack, the wise Master Ki-Adi-Mundi replied, “The Sith have been extinct for a millennium.” Mace Windu agreed, adding, “I do not believe the Sith could have returned without our knowing.”

Headland told Den of Geek that that specific moment implied that there was some recent knowledge and history with the Sith, an idea that’s being explored in “The Acolyte.”

#### Are there any comics or books to read first?

Yes, if you’re trying to be a superfan. When Disney bought the franchise, it wiped away the Star Wars “expanded universe” stories (novels, comic books)

from the official canon. But it has since filled in the High Republic era in novels, comics, manga, audiobooks and animated projects. “The Acolyte” is the first time that a live-action show will explore the characters and concepts from that time period. In fact, a Jedi named Vernestra Rwoh (Rebecca Henderson), who first appears in the 2021 High Republic novel “Light of the Jedi,” shows up in “The Acolyte’s” opening four episodes. And Kelnacca, a Wookiee Jedi, is reportedly getting his own Marvel comic this fall.

Some general familiarity with that time frame certainly will offer die-hards some additional context. It’s a mostly peaceful time in the galaxy, save for tensions between the Republic and a group of villainous space pirates called the Nihil and the nightmarish Drengrir, an amorphous alien species. You can get all this from the early High Republic novels like “The High Republic,” “The Rising Storm” and “The Fallen Star,” as well as comic book series like “Eye of the Storm” and “The High Republic Adventures.” Audiobooks like “Tempest Runner” and “The Battle of Jedha” provide even more context.

But for the most part, you’re good and won’t need extended knowledge of the High Republic era going into “The Acolyte.”

“I would say this is a fresh entry point,” Headland told the Holo Files, a Star Wars-centric news outlet. “It can definitely elevate the show if you have had the experience of immersing yourself in that beautiful world, but you certainly don’t need to have read anything or know any references to it.”

#### Okay, so what’s the new Star Wars viewing order?

To paraphrase a certain Force guru: Order matters not. Feel free to watch Episodes IV, V, VI, and then I, II, III, followed by the sequels and whatever Disney Plus marathon binge you want. You do you. (Although that *would* ruin “machete order.”)

But if you’re going to embrace “The Acolyte” as a full-on Star Wars show and project, then you’d watch this show before “The Phantom Menace.” That means the story of Jar-Jar Binks, Qui-Gon Jinn, Obi-Wan Kenobi, Padme, Anakin, Watto — all of that — is no longer the kickoff point for Star Wars. Instead, your *first step into the larger world* begins with high-level Jedi being attacked by a Force-sensitive assassin.

Chronologically, you’d move from this to the prequel trilogy, then some animated shows, followed by “Andor,” “Rogue One” and “Solo,” before you hit the originals. After a brief break in the Mando-verse (“The Mandalorian,” “Ahsoka” and “The Book of Boba Fett”), it’s time for the sequel trilogy. However you felt about it.

## Lightsabers and robes are tricky, actors say

Q&A FROM CI

cosmic club. The 19-year-old Keen isn’t new to big-budget genre productions, having co-starred in the highly acclaimed X-Men spinoff film “Logan” and starred in the world-hopping fantasy show “His Dark Materials.” The 36-year-old Barnett is well-known for his role as Alan Zaveri in “Russian Doll,” the Netflix series co-created by “The Acolyte” creator Leslye Headland. Theirs are confident Jedi — not outcasts searching for their place in the universe, but dutiful warriors who assume their order will survive forever.

How do you become a space knight? What’s it like to put on the robe and don the lightsaber? What’s on a Jedi’s playlist? Keen and Barnett recently chatted about the making of “The Acolyte.”

*This interview has been edited for clarity and length.*

#### How does it feel playing a Jedi? How does it feel to take on that role?

**Charlie Barnett:** It’s an honor. Just a blanket of honor.

**Dafne Keen:** It felt immense, like just such a huge thing.

**Barnett:** Almost all our fathers brought us or showed it to us. That’s what makes it an honor — to be living up to my father’s dreams of me being a Jedi. It’s few and far between to get an opportunity like this.



CHRISTIAN BLACK/LUCASFILM

**From left, Charlie Barnett, Dafne Keen and Lee Jung-jae as Jedi in the Disney Plus series “The Acolyte.” Barnett and Keen say there is no deep reason why his character got a yellow lightsaber and hers got a green one. “It’s purely aesthetic,” Keen says.**

#### What does it feel like to wear the robes and become a Padawan or a Master?

**Barnett:** I wanted the braid more than the robes. I was like, man, I’m not a Padawan and I lose my braid.

**Keen:** I was pretty happy with my braid. I loved my robes.

**Barnett:** I’m sure any fan that’s out there who’s put on a robe and tried to swing any kind of lightsaber around knows it’s difficult.

**Keen:** The saber gets caught in there. You might trip on the robe. It’s not graceful.

**Barnett:** I’m incredibly

claustrophobic too. I don’t know if everybody knows, but it’s like four layers of wool we’re wearing on top of cinch belt.

**Keen:** It’s like hard leather.

**Barnett:** And then throw a robe on top of that. And my robe was, I think, 14 pounds or something like that. It was like ridiculously heavy wool. I would freak out. I was like, “I don’t know if I can breathe.” It’s just weird little details you don’t really think about, but, you know, I’m going to wear anything that they want me to wear as a Jedi.

**Keen:** You want me to wear a trash bag? I will work that trash

bag like it’s Armani Privé. I will work it.

#### With the robes being 14 pounds of wool, they must keep the sets pretty cold?

**Barnett:** When you’re in the middle of Wales in a snowstorm, it’s like, “I like this costume. Brilliant!”

**Keen:** Without saying too much, I take my robe off at one point because I’m fighting. And then I wanted to shoot myself because it was freezing. It wasn’t that they kept it cold. It’s all practical. We were in like this freezing forest, which was a

soundstage, but it was a freezing cold forest.

#### Okay, so Dafne, you have a green lightsaber?

**Keen:** Yeah, it’s green.

**And Charlie, yours is yellow?**

**Barnett:** Yes, and they give it to us. I was given green first and then they were like, “No, no, no, no. You’re yellow, sorry.”

**Keen:** They gave it to me. It’s purely aesthetic.

**Barnett:** Totally aesthetic. It kind of broke my heart. Because I fight specific people, they were like, “We don’t want the same colors hitting.” You know what

I’m saying?

**Keen:** But if *we’re* in a fight together, if we both had green, it would be weird.

**Barnett:** But we would never fight each other. We love each other.

**Keen:** I said together, not each other.

**Barnett:** Just fighting alongside each other.

**Keen:** Why are you making it weird?

#### Well, all of that stems from my original question: Did you have any say in your lightsaber colors? But it sounds like it was just, “you’re yellow, you’re green.”

**Barnett:** After doing the research of whether it’s canon, I was really happy to have yellow because, learning what people do think of that [color], it is the balance of you have a little bit of the force wielding, you’re a really good saber wielder. I love that idea for him.

**Keen:** I was very happy with green. It’s pretty cool.

#### How do you convince yourself as an actor that you’re in the Star Wars galaxy?

**Keen:** It was “Alice” from “Bodies Bodies Bodies.” It was a lot of David Bowie. It was “Space Oddity,” “Starman.” She’s cool. She has some cool music.



Fifty years ago, a 10-Cent Beer Night promotion in Cleveland caused a forfeit. It also caused a riot.



PHOTOS FROM PAUL TEPLY COLLECTION/DIAMOND IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

RETROPOLIS

# The game turned on a dime

BY FREDERIC J. FROMMER

A half-century ago Tuesday, the Cleveland Indians offered fans beer for a dime, with a generous limit of six at a time, for a home game against the Texas Rangers. What could go wrong?

Not much, except for streaking, drunk and stoned fans; beer cups, golf balls, rocks and batteries raining down on the field; and firecrackers popping throughout the stands, filling the ballpark with smoke. Oh, and players from both teams on the field, fending off some of the more adventurous fans. The infamous 10-Cent Beer Night ended with the umpires declaring a Cleveland forfeit, but that was the least of it.

To fully understand the chaos of June 4, 1974, you have to go back a few days, when the teams met in the Rangers' home ballpark in Arlington, Tex., on May 29. In the eighth inning, Texas second baseman Lenny Randle, angered that the previous pitch had nearly hit him, laid down a drag bunt, and as pitcher Milt Wilcox charged to field it, Randle ran out of the baseline and clotheslined him.

Cleveland first baseman John Ellis tackled Randle, sparking a benches-



Rangers players took matters into their own hands, while umpire Larry McCoy was nearly hit by a bottle.

clearing brawl. "It was kind of a masterful attempt to get back at the pitcher," Tom Grieve, who was the Rangers' designated hitter that game, said in an interview last month.

In the Baseball-Reference.com box score, the play is listed as "Bunt Groundout: P unassisted," proving the adage that some of the game's little things just don't show up in the box score.

The brew was flowing freely at Texas's own beer promotional night — including on the heads of Cleveland players, courtesy of Rangers fans. A video of the incident shows an irate Dave Duncan — the Cleveland catcher who would go on to become one of the game's best pitching coaches — scaling the dugout roof to go after a fan who had hit him with a full can of beer before teammates drag him back down.

After the game, Texas Manager Billy Martin was already dreading his team's upcoming visit to Cleveland for 10-Cent Beer Night.

"Oh, Lord, that's just what we need," Martin said, adding that he expected Cleveland fans would be angry at him for the brawl, the Associated Press

SEE BEER ON D5

## After Gore wobbles, Nats' rally falls short

METS 8,  
NATIONALS 7

BY SPENCER NUSBAUM

Sometimes your ace has an off night. Sometimes you strand runners in pivotal situations. Sometimes you trail by three runs in the ninth inning. In those circumstances, you don't escape. Or you aren't supposed to, at least.

On Monday night, the Washington Nationals almost did in an 8-7 loss to the New York Mets. The dugout stirred as the Nationals put two runners on with no outs in the ninth. The Nationals Park crowd chanted Jesse Winker's name, and he delivered a one-out single to cut the deficit to 8-6 before Ildemaro Vargas loaded the bases with a single of his own.

A game that stretched beyond three hours waited patiently as the Mets replaced reliever Adam Ottavino with Jake Diekmann and the Nationals had Joey Meneses pinch-hit for Joey Gallo. And then it waited for Drew Millas, who was called up from Class AAA the day before, after Meneses made it a one-run game with a sacrifice fly that pushed the tying run to third base.

But Millas struck out looking,

SEE NATIONALS ON D3

Mets at Nationals  
6:45 p.m., MASN

## Orioles trying to stay course as injuries hit pitching staff

BY CHELSEA JANES

BALTIMORE — Mike Elias, like so many general managers around Major League Baseball, has a reluctant routine for afternoons such as this, when he will share the news that pitchers John Means and Tyler Wells both needed surgery to repair the ulnar collateral ligaments in their throwing elbows.

He knows the reporters huddled around him anticipate what is coming, so he doesn't waste time with pleasantries. He knows the players involved are devastated, which means being careful not to forget the personal impact while worrying about the baseball side.

"This is tough news for both of these guys," he said Friday. "They've got a lot of time and work ahead of them now. Rehab is very lonely. It's a lot different than playing up here every day. It's not something you want to see anybody who plays this game go through. But unfortunately,

SEE ORIOLES ON D3

## When Lee's vault went awry, Biles could relate — and help

BY EMILY GIAMBALVO

FORT WORTH — Just as Sunisa Lee lunged toward the vault, her coach could tell something was off. He noticed a slight stumble that led to Lee's feet landing a bit too far back on the springboard. And in a sport defined by tiny margins and split-second decisions, Jess Graba hoped his star pupil would follow her instincts forged by years of training and find a way to land safely.

Lee was supposed to push off the vault with her hands and complete two twists as she flipped through the air. But with the early mishap, the double twist didn't go as planned. Lee performed just 1½ twists instead

and then "I just put it to my butt," she said.

Simone Biles saw what happened during Lee's first performance of the evening and immediately could relate. Lee headed to an arena tunnel to compose herself and figure out her next steps. Biles joined her.

"I've been in her shoes," Biles said. "I've done that exact thing. And I know how traumatizing it is, especially on a big stage like this."

Biles, of course, is referencing her own vault that went wrong during the team final at the Tokyo Olympics. Biles blamed a mental block known as "the twisties," a disorienting

SEE U.S. GYMNASTICS ON D5

## On chalky day in Paris, chatter shifts to clay courts

BY AVA WALLACE

Alex de Minaur has a problem. He used to have an out with his team, this sprightly 25-year-old from Sydney, an excuse to shrug it off and vow to get 'em next time if a clay-court match went poorly. He just wasn't made for the red stuff, he figured, and his record at the French Open showed it. He's ranked 11th in the world — and was inside the top 10 earlier this year — even though he had never been past the second round at Roland Garros.

But now he has gone and raised expectations by upsetting fifth-seeded Daniil Medvedev, 4-6, 6-2, 6-1, 6-3, on Monday to advance to the quarterfinals in Paris.

"I always thought that, to me, to play well on the clay I needed hot, lively conditions," said de Minaur, whose best Grand Slam results have come on bouncy, quick hard courts. "But, you know, this whole tournament has

SEE FRENCH OPEN ON D5



JEAN-FRANCOIS BADIAS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Taylor Fritz, the last American man left in the French Open singles draw, lost Monday to Casper Ruud.

SOCCER

The long-awaited move is official: Kylian Mbappé will leave Paris Saint-Germain and join Real Madrid. D2

BASEBALL

San Diego Padres infielder Tucupita Marcano could face a lifetime ban for betting on MLB games. D4

French Open quarterfinals  
5 a.m. and 2 p.m., Tennis Channel



# THE DAY IN SPORTS

## HORSE RACING

### Seize the Grey draws No. 1 post for Belmont

Preakness Stakes winner **Seize the Grey** drew post position No. 1 and Kentucky Derby champion **Mystik Dan** will start in post No. 3 for the 156th Belmont Stakes that takes place Saturday at Saratoga Race Course in New York.

**Kenny McPeek**-trained Mystik Dan, who finished second in the Preakness, is the only horse in the field for all three Triple Crown races. At 5-1 and being ridden again by **Brian Hernandez Jr.**, he is the third choice behind favorite **Sierra Leone**, who opened at 9-5, and **Mindframe** at 7-2.

McPeek favored his inside post position, and Mystik Dan co-owner **Lance Gasaway** had his eye on the No. 3 post.

“Lance Gasaway sent me a message this morning, ‘Go there and get post No. 3.’” McPeek said. “He said it’s his lucky number, I guess.”

Hall of Fame trainer **D. Wayne Lukas**’s Seize the Grey comes in right behind Mystik Dan with 8-1 odds after a wire-to-wire win in the second leg of the Triple Crown.

Sierra Leone, who drew the No. 9 post position in the 10-horse field, was second in the Derby, losing to Mystik Dan by a nose. Trainer **Chad Brown** hopes to get a similar run out of the horse this time, with a jockey change to **Flavien Prat**.

Trainer **Todd Pletcher** is saddling the most horses in the 1¼-mile race at Saratoga. His trio of colts are led by undefeated Mindframe, who will start from the outside No. 10 post. Pletcher also has No. 5 **Antiquarian** (12-1) and No. 7 **Protective** (20-1).

## PRO FOOTBALL

### Ex-Cowboy Allen dies on vacation in Mexico

**Larry Allen**, one of the most dominant offensive linemen in the NFL during a 12-year career spent mostly with the Dallas Cowboys, died. He was 52.

Allen died Sunday while on vacation with his family in Mexico, the Cowboys said.

A six-time all-pro who was inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 2013, Allen said few words but let his blocking do the talking.

“Larry, known for his great athleticism and incredible strength, was one of the most respected, accomplished offensive linemen to ever play in the NFL,” the Cowboys said in statement. “His versatility and dependability were also signature parts of his career. Through that, he continued to serve as inspiration for many other players, defining what it meant to be a great teammate, competitor and winner.” . . .

San Francisco agreed to a contract with free agent tight end **Logan Thomas**, giving the 49ers a proven backup to all-pro **George Kittle**, according to a person who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the contract hasn’t been announced by the team.

Thomas, who turns 33 in July, had 55 catches for 496 yards and four touchdowns last season for the Commanders, his fourth productive season with Washington.

## PRO BASKETBALL

### Mourning was treated for prostate cancer

Basketball Hall of Famer **Alonzo Mourning** told ESPN he was diagnosed with prostate cancer and had his prostate removed earlier this year.

Mourning, now an executive with the Miami Heat, said his prostate was removed in March and that he is now cancer-free.

Mourning had a kidney transplant in 2003, then returned to the NBA and helped the Heat win a championship in 2006. . . .

The Boston Celtics are favored to defeat the Dallas Mavericks in the NBA Finals and hoist their record 18th championship banner, according to BetMGM Sportsbook.

Boston is a -225 favorite to win it all, meaning someone would need to wager \$225 to win \$100.

Game 1 of the series is Thursday night in Boston. . . .

The Cleveland Cavaliers will interview Minnesota Timberwolves assistant **Micah Nori** for their coaching vacancy in the next few days, a person familiar with the meeting told the Associated Press.

**J.B. Bickerstaff** was fired one week after Cleveland’s postseason ended with a second-round loss to Boston.



PAUL ELLIS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

## Dolled up

An England fan holds dolls of Kieran Trippier and Jude Bellingham ahead of a soccer friendly vs. Bosnia. England won, 3-0.

## SPOTLIGHT: SOCCER

# It’s official: Mbappé is joining Real Madrid

BY MATT BONESTEEL

As long expected, star striker Kylian Mbappé will join Spanish titan Real Madrid next season after his star-making turn with French club Paris Saint-Germain, the La Liga team announced Monday.

Mbappé, 25, helped PSG win the Ligue 1 title in six of his seven seasons with the club and was PSG’s leading goal scorer in each of the past six seasons, including the one that recently concluded. (His 256 career goals set a club record.) But ultimate success in the Champions League proved elusive, with PSG never winning the European club championship even though Mbappé played alongside fellow icons Edinson Cavani, Lionel Messi and Neymar. PSG came closest in 2020, falling to Germany’s Bayern Munich in the final, but otherwise bowed out in the round of 16 in four of Mbappé’s seven seasons.

PSG advanced to the Champions League semifinals this season but fell to Borussia Dortmund in the semifinals, failing to score in the two-leg tie. Mbappé had announced his intention to leave PSG

Move to the team he rooted for as a boy is a ‘dream come true’ for the longtime PSG star

before the team’s Ligue 1 finale last month.

On social media, Mbappé called the move a “dream come true” and said he was “so happy and proud to join the club of my dream.”

“Nobody can understand how excited I am right now,” he continued. “Can’t wait to see you, Madridistas, and thanks for your unbelievable support.”

The post was illustrated by photos of a young Mbappé wearing a Real Madrid jacket.

Mbappé will sign a five-year deal with Real Madrid that reportedly comes with a \$160 million signing bonus, paid out over the length of the contract, and will earn more than \$16 million per year in salary. He will keep a percentage of his image rights as well.

During his time in Paris, Mbappé blossomed into perhaps the most dangerous goal scorer in the world and, on the international stage, helped lead France to the World Cup title in 2018 and the final in 2022, when he became only the second player to record a hat trick in the World Cup championship game. But as the goals and accolades piled up, there came a growing sense that Mbappé had accomplished all that he could in a French league that is considered second-tier, even after PSG began giving him a say in the club’s personnel decisions and allowed him nearly free rein on the pitch. Mbappé nearly left PSG for Real Madrid after the 2021-22 season but ended up signing a two-year contract extension, with a player option for a third year that he declined.

Mbappé has long desired to play for Real Madrid, going back to his childhood, and his presence will merely fortify an already potent attack that features Jude Bellingham and Vinícius Júnior. On Saturday, Real Madrid won the Champions League for a record 15th time with a 2-0 win over Borussia Dortmund.

TELEVISION AND RADIO	
<b>MLB</b>	
6:45 p.m.	<b>New York Mets at Washington</b> » MASN, WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)
7 p.m.	<b>Baltimore at Toronto</b> » MASN2, WYYY (97.9 FM), WBSN (630 AM)
7 p.m.	<b>Minnesota at New York Yankees</b> » TBS
9:30 p.m.	<b>San Francisco at Arizona</b> » MLB Network
<b>WNBA</b>	
7 p.m.	<b>Washington at Connecticut</b> » Monumental Sports Network
8 p.m.	<b>New York at Chicago</b> » NBA TV
10 p.m.	<b>Phoenix at Seattle</b> » CBS Sports Network
<b>SOCCER</b>	
Noon	<b>Men’s friendly: Armenia at Slovenia</b> » Fox Sports 2
2:45 p.m.	<b>Men’s friendly: Finland at Portugal</b> » Fox Sports 2
3 p.m.	<b>Women’s Euro 2025 qualifying, Group A: England at France</b> » CBS Sports Network
7:30 p.m.	<b>Women’s friendly: Mexico at Canada</b> » Fox Sports 2
8 p.m.	<b>Copa Libertadores, Group C: Grêmio at Huachipato</b> » BeIN Sports
8 p.m.	<b>Women’s friendly: South Korea at United States</b> » TNT, Universo
<b>TENNIS</b>	
5 a.m.	<b>French Open, quarterfinals</b> » Tennis Channel
2:30 p.m.	<b>French Open, quarterfinals</b> » Tennis Channel
<b>COLLEGE SOFTBALL – WORLD SERIES</b>	
2 p.m.	<b>Oklahoma vs. Florida</b> » ESPN
<b>AMERICAN HOCKEY LEAGUE – CALDER CUP PLAYOFFS</b>	
7 p.m.	<b>Eastern Conference finals, Game 3: Hershey at Cleveland</b> » Monumental Sports Network 2

of three consecutive trips when Tanner was the baseball coach. South Carolina won the national title in 2010 and 2011. . . .

**Nick Saban** and **Urban Meyer**, both winners of multiple national championships as coaches, are up for election to the College Football Hall of Fame for the first time.

The ballot for the Hall of Fame class to be announced in January was released by the National Football Foundation. It includes 77 players and nine coaches from the Football Bowl Subdivision and 101 players and 34 coaches from the divisional ranks, which include the Championship Subdivision and Divisions II and III.

Among the players who are holdovers on this year’s ballot are former Virginia Tech quarterback **Michael Vick**, former Syracuse wide receiver **Marvin Harrison** and the late **Sean Taylor**, who played defensive back for Miami before starring for Washington’s NFL team.

## SOCCER

### Chelsea hires Maresca to replace Pochettino

**Enzo Maresca**, a former assistant to Manchester City Coach **Pep Guardiola**, was hired as Chelsea’s coach just weeks after leading Leicester back to the English Premier League.

The 44-year-old Italian signed a five-year deal as the replacement for **Mauricio Pochettino**, who left by mutual consent at the end of the season, and is Chelsea’s fourth permanent manager since the club came under American ownership midway through 2022. . . .

Bochum hired **Peter Zeidler** as its coach after surviving relegation from the Bundesliga only in a penalty shootout.

Zeidler is a 61-year-old German who hasn’t worked as a head coach in his home country since the 2007-08 season and never in the Bundesliga. . . .

Italy’s crisis in defense deepened when **Giorgio Scalvini** was ruled out of the European Championship after he tore an ACL on Sunday in Atlanta’s last match of the Serie A season.

Inter Milan defender — and Euro 2020 champion — **Francesco Acerbi** had to pull out with a groin injury last week. Italy begins its title defense in less than two weeks. . . .

Atlanta United fired coach **Gonzalo Pineda** less than 24 hours after another loss dropped the team further from playoff contention in MLS.

The team is 1-6-4 over its past 11 games, dropping to 13th in the Eastern Conference and 24th overall. Assistant coach **Rob Valentino** will take over as interim coach.

## MISC.

### Scott’s major streak in doubt for U.S. Open

**Adam Scott**, who has played in ever golf major starting with the 2001 British Open, ended his longest day in golf with a playoff loss against **Cam Davis** in a U.S. Open qualifier in Springfield, Ohio, and now Scott has to wait a week to see whether his alternate status will allow him to extend the longest active streak of playing the majors.

Davis gave his fellow Australian a second chance by making a bogey on the final hole, sending them to a playoff for the fourth and final spot. The U.S. Open will be played June 13-16 at Pinehurst No. 2.

LIV Golf players had a rough time at five of the qualifying sites.

Only two of the 17 players from the Saudi-funded league reached the U.S. Open — **Dean Burmester** in Florida and **David Puig** in San Francisco. . . .

Track and field announced a new biennial global championships and promised \$150,000 prizes — three times its recent cash pledge to champions at the Paris Olympics — for gold medalists.

World Athletics said the first Ultimate Championships will be hosted in Budapest from Sept. 11 to 13, 2026, showcasing Olympic, world and Diamond League champions over three evening sessions.

Eight or 16 athletes in each event will compete for a total prize fund of \$10 million that is the sport’s richest ever. . . .

**Esteban Ocon** is leaving Alpine at the end of the season after a troubled start to the season in Formula One for him and the French-owned team.

His contract is expiring at the end of the season.

— From news services



# Noisy winter put Nats’ García on track for a loud summer

BY ANDREW GOLDEN

There’s a level of pressure that comes with being a big leaguer. Washington Nationals second baseman Luis García Jr. is familiar with that feeling. But it doesn’t compare with the pressure he felt this past offseason, when he played winter ball in the Dominican Republic, his home country.

His family and friends were in the stands, watching his every move. Instruments clanged throughout the ballpark. Jeers rained down from the opposing fans — and those who supported him, too.

“It’s one of those places where it’s just interesting how the fans, you can be 15 for 15, but if you miss that 16th at-bat and now you’re 15 for 16, they start saying that you’re no good,” García said through an interpreter. “You learn to let it come in on one side and come out the other because, obviously, if you do listen to it, it’s not a good thing. So you learn to just focus, concentrate on what you’re doing and not listen to the noise.”

It was through that noise that García forged a new level of focus that has served him well this season. García has been one of Washington’s best hitters, tied for second on the team in RBI (26) and second in OPS (.727) going

into Monday night’s game against the New York Mets. He has improved his range at second base after losing weight. He’s slowly becoming the player the Nationals believe he can be.

The noise he heard wasn’t exclusive to the Dominican Winter League. During spring training, Nationals Manager Dave Martinez made it clear García’s job wasn’t secure. That noise only heightened as García made familiar mental mistakes during the early stages of camp. But García was with the Nationals on Opening Day and has only gotten better.

“I really believe his overall focus throughout the whole game has been better,” Martinez said. “These are conversations we had throughout spring training with him about what he needs to do and how I perceived things with him. He’s been on top of everything. I credit him for making changes.”

In previous offseasons, García would return to his hometown — San Francisco de Macoris — to train on a field his dad built not too far from García’s childhood home. He would play in the Dominican Winter League for a week or two.

But this past offseason, García played for Gigantes del Cibao for a month and a half, believing the environment would help him



JOHN MCDONNELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**After playing winter ball in the Dominican Republic, Luis García Jr. has developed into one of the Nationals’ best hitters this season.**

grow. García admitted that, in those previous brief stints, the insults from fans would get in his head. This time, he learned to concentrate through it.

Catcher Keibert Ruiz understands the feeling. He remembers playing in the Venezuelan winter leagues earlier in his career and experiencing a cold spell at the plate. He was benched. When he came home, he joked that his friends told him he was no good.

“That’s how it is. If you don’t do the job good, especially where

your family’s from,” Ruiz paused, then smiled. “You just got to do the job good. . . . After that year that I played winter ball was my best year in baseball. So I think [García] has a little bit more confidence.”

García said Dominican Winter League pitching was different from that in the majors. He wasn’t facing young pitchers who were prone to make mistakes. Instead, he faced veterans who knew how to attack hitters’ weaknesses.

## NATIONALS ON DECK

### vs. New York Mets

Tuesday	6:45	MASN
Wednesday	4:05	MASN

### vs. Atlanta Braves

Thursday	6:45	MASN
Friday	6:45	MASN
Saturday	4:05	MASN
Sunday	1:35	MASN

### at Detroit Tigers

June 11	6:40	MASN2
June 12	6:40	MASN2
June 13	1:10	MASN2

Radio: *WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)*

“I didn’t see any fastballs in the Dominican,” García said before laughing.

García is still chasing more than a season ago — his weakness always has been breaking pitches below the strike zone. But he said he has learned how to work longer at-bats until he gets his pitch instead of panicking, altering his mechanics and swinging at pitches he couldn’t drive.

“I think, at times last year, we had situations where he’d get to two strikes but then it’d be more

of an emergency swing,” hitting coach Darnell Coles said. “. . . We’re well beyond that. He’s made an adjustment, that consistency of him being able to allow the ball to travel and make good decisions.”

García entered Monday with a .579 slugging percentage on breaking balls, the highest of his career. He credits that improvement to his newfound focus and his dad, who helped him adjust. García explained that he always has had a flat swing. That’s why, especially against breaking balls, he would hit the top of the baseball and frequently ground out.

But this offseason, García made a slight swing adjustment with his elbow so he can stay below the baseball and elevate more pitches. For his career, García has a groundball rate of 53.7 percent. This season, it’s down to 45.7 percent, closer to the MLB average.

García was a defensive liability at times a season ago but has shown improvement there, too. He previously struggled to make routine plays. García’s outs above average, which measure a player’s defensive range, in his first four MLB seasons: minus-7, minus-12, minus-13, minus-4. This season: 1.

“This game is all about focus,” García said. “If you’re lacking focus, it’s hard to be successful.”

## Orioles are arm injury epidemic’s latest victim

ORIOLES FROM D1

it’s a big part of being a pitcher right now.”

Reporters, too, know this routine well. Ten years ago, ulnar collateral ligament injuries meant Tommy John surgery, and no one really pried for more specifics. But now, when these surgeries are so frequent — so frequent, in fact, that both Means and Wells have had UCL repair surgeries before — the questions are more specific. Is it an internal brace procedure? Is it a full tear? Did either of them try the platelet-rich plasma injections that saved their teammate, Kyle Bradish, from elbow surgery when he sprained his UCL earlier this year?

In this case, Elias said, doctors wouldn’t know exactly what repairs are required until they perform surgeries. (Means underwent his surgery Monday.) But, no, neither player received PRP injections. And neither player will be back this year, though everyone knew that, too.

The 12- to 18-month recovery time is the part of this that everyone dreads, the part that siphons off months and years of pitchers’ brief primes — the part that kills a year of World Series hopes just as they are forming.

At a time when elbows are blowing out at an alarming rate, the Orioles provide an example of just how the frequency of those injuries affects the futures of even the most successful franchises.

Some teams show the effects of the epidemic more clearly: The defending World Series champion Texas Rangers have yet to see Max Scherzer or Jacob deGrom throw an inning, were without Nathan Eovaldi for a substantial period and have been toiling below .500 as a result. Elbow injuries to key rotation pieces have the Houston Astros and Tampa Bay Rays staring down disappointing years after recent runs of regular season dominance.

Other teams, such as the surging Cleveland Guardians, have absorbed blows more gracefully: When Shane Bieber went down with a UCL injury this year, it did not seem to slow Cleveland much. The Los Angeles Dodgers seem to lose one or two starters a year to UCL trouble but always seem to build the depth to absorb it.

“It’s something you always plan for. I think, usually, baseball teams try to go into the season with eight or nine starting pitching options,” Elias said. “Now we’re down a couple.”

Fortunately for Baltimore, Elias and his staff have a knack for finding promising arms on the scrap heap and shining them up. This year’s prize is Albert Suárez, who pitched in the Korea Baseball Organization last year and has a 1.57 ERA in 12 outings. The Orioles also have benefited from some injury luck: When Grayson Rodriguez dealt with



DILIP VISHWANAT/GETTY IMAGES

**The Orioles announced last week that John Means, above, and Tyler Wells both needed elbow surgery.**



NICK WASS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**For Wells, above, and Means, this will be the second time they have had surgery on their ulnar collateral ligaments, a trend in MLB.**

shoulder inflammation this year, he missed only a few starts. Dean Kremer, who now has a similar issue, is expected to return this month. When Bradish, a 2023 Cy Young candidate, sprained his UCL this winter, he was able to avoid surgery and work his way back to what appears to be full strength. Bradish has a 3.18 ERA in six starts since returning.

Because of that and because of the deal they made to add steady Corbin Burnes to solidify the top of their rotation, the Orioles entered Monday 17 games over .500, three behind the New York Yankees for the American League East lead, firmly in control of a wild-card spot if things ended here. Their chances of reaching the World Series are not, on paper, devastated by the loss of Means or Wells.

Means is a treasured holdover from the bleakest Orioles days, a fan favorite coming back from another elbow surgery that meant the lefty missed the good days for which he toiled so long. Now, with an expiring contract and a twice-repaired elbow, he might not pitch for the Orioles again. He would have helped their rotation but not made or broken it. The same is true for Wells, a right-hander who bounced between the bullpen and the rotation in recent years. His presence would have helped the big league roster, but his absence will not devastate it.

But the off-field effects can be costly. About nine months ago, Elias sat here, in this dugout, to

announce his untouchable closer, Félix Bautista, would miss the end of an otherwise magical 2023 season because of Tommy John surgery.

That injury meant that instead of pairing the most dominant closer in baseball with an elite young lineup in its prime, the Orioles needed to find a new one. To do that, they committed more to a single player than they have in years when they spent \$13 million on Craig Kimbrel this offseason. For a team with the 27th-largest payroll in the sport, that amounts to a seventh of its entire financial commitment to the roster.

And the injuries to Means and Wells probably mean the Orioles will need to pursue starting pitching depth at the trade deadline, though Elias said they were doing that already. The Orioles are well positioned to handle injuries that way, too: If anything, they have too many elite position-playing prospects for too few major league spots, so trades are as palatable as they are helpful. But if another starter goes down, they probably will have to reach more, which could mean spending more in prospect or financial capital than they might like.

“We’re in contact with other teams, clearly, and monitoring what’s going on in the standings in the rest of the league,” Elias said. “. . . So we have to see how the whole market evolves. And then we’re also monitoring our own developments internally.”

Those developments include

trying to decide whether Cade Povich, Baltimore’s top pitching prospect, is ready to make the jump to the majors. The 24-year-old lefty is pitching to a 3.18 ERA in 11 Class AAA starts, and Elias said that places him “on the tip of our tongues” for a big league call-up.

But holes in the big league rotation might force more urgency on the cautious Orioles than they would like. And more holes might emerge with Means and Wells down than they would have otherwise.

Consider this: The Orioles planned to navigate June — a month in which they play such juggernauts as the Guardians, Yankees, Atlanta Braves and Philadelphia Phillies with just one day off — with a six-man rotation. They cannot do that now, which is not necessarily catastrophic.

But it could be significant: Instead of giving a little extra rest to young, recently injured arms such as Bradish and Rodriguez, they will need them more than ever. Instead of shaving a few innings off their summer totals with an eye toward October, they will have to test them.

“It’s sort of a common sense thing to manage innings and manage pitch counts and manage rest to go to a six-man for an extra day of rest, but there’s not really science behind this. You see pitchers get hurt that are handled very, very, very carefully by organizations,” Elias said. “. . . I think what I’m saying is, at this point, it’s more art than science, and we aren’t really sure about the impact that it has.”

Few general managers are as candid about those unknowns as Elias, who has not been particularly aggressive at trade deadlines when it comes to adding pitching. Then again, he has not seen injuries potentially ruin a season in his promising young team’s prime.

“As we just saw, you’ve always got to be paranoid about injuries when we talk about pitching. What I just described, unfortunately, can change very quickly because of bad luck,” Elias said. “So we’ll keep scouring [the major leagues]. We’ll keep trying to develop guys we have in-house. But this group, if they stay healthy, is a group that is capable of doing what we need them to do.”

## Gore has a rare rough night, then Nats’ rally is not enough

NATIONALS FROM D1

ending Washington’s chance to avoid a loss that had seemed inevitable.

“Trying to get a pitch that I could do something with, and unfortunately it didn’t work out tonight,” Millas said. “No excuses — got to get it done next time.”

Before all of that, the MacKenzie Gore that the Nationals got Monday night wasn’t the one they have grown accustomed to. Gore entered as one of just 10 major leaguers with at least 10 starts, an ERA below 3.00 and a lights-out strikeout rate above 25 percent. He exited in the fifth inning with his lips pursed and the bases loaded, tepidly clutching a streak — 11 starts to begin the season without allowing more than three earned runs — that marked his next step toward ace status.

Before Monday, the three biggest strides he had made were the three areas that pitching coach Jim Hickey said in spring training would help make him the top-10 pitcher he could be: He had minimized the wreckage of bad innings, he had limited blowup outings, and he had cut back on non-competitive pitches.

On Monday, for the first time, he struggled in all three facets. Within minutes of his exit, his streak was over: Dylan Floro allowed all three inherited runners to score and had one more run charged to his own tally, leaving Gore with a line of 4½ innings, seven hits and six earned runs. His ERA rose to 3.57. Washington’s 4-3 lead became a 7-4 deficit from which it could not claw all the way back.

“I just didn’t execute. It just was not good,” Gore said. “. . . I wasn’t able to make pitches when I needed to get out of that traffic. So it’s frustrating.”

As Washington (27-32) faced New York (25-35) for the first time, command issues got the left-hander in trouble. A season-high 18.5 percent of his pitches were in non-competitive locations, per the website TruMedia, and he finished with a season-low two strikeouts. The Mets tagged him for a run on Harrison Bader’s sacrifice fly in the second and added two more in the fourth on a leadoff homer by Mark Vientos and Francisco Lindor’s RBI single. A pair of fifth-inning walks ended Gore’s night before Floro struggled, and New York pushed across an eighth run in the sixth.

The Nationals did capitalize on a few early opportunities — progress for a team that fell to 4-10 in

one-run games.

In the second, Nick Senzel hit a ball to the warning track in center field that popped out of Bader’s glove for a two-base error. Winker singled him home to tie it at 1.

In the fourth, trailing by two, the Nationals challenged what would have been an inning-ending double play when Vargas slid into first base to try to beat Lindor’s throw. The call was overturned, which not only sent Senzel home from third but extended the inning for Gallo to hit the ball he was signed to hit (a 96-mph fastball down the middle) where he was signed to hit it (398 feet into the right field stands). A 3-1 deficit was suddenly a 4-3 lead.

“A lot of fight with our team in our clubhouse,” Winker said. “We always feel like we’re in it. We almost got the job done.”

Another close call benefited Washington in the fifth: First base umpire Ryan Wills said Senzel didn’t go around on a check swing, setting up Winker’s bases-loaded walk that cut the Nationals’ deficit to 7-5.

After that, the Mets’ beleaguered pitching staff cleaned up its mistakes for a while, stranding three in the fifth, two in the sixth and two in the eighth before finally closing the door in the ninth.

“One little thing, one block, one ball falls, for us it’s a different game,” Manager Dave Martinez said. “Today just wasn’t our day.”

**Notes:** Shortstop CJ Abrams (left shoulder) and outfielder Jacob Young (right hand soreness) were out of the lineup and remain day-to-day.

Young tried to hit before the game but was still sore after exiting Saturday’s loss at Cleveland. Abrams, who last played Friday, also felt better, but Martinez said his shoulder still bothers him when he swings. . . .

Right-hander Josiah Gray will throw around 50 pitches in a live bullpen session Tuesday. If all goes well, Martinez said, the Nationals would like him to begin a rehab assignment. The Opening Day starter has not pitched since April 4 after straining the right flexor muscle near his forearm. . . .

Right-hander Cade Cavalli was at Nationals Park, where he will remain for a few days so Martinez and Hickey can “put eyes on him,” the manager said.

In his rehab from Tommy John surgery in March 2023, Washington’s top pitching prospect last pitched Thursday, conceding two earned runs with five strikeouts and three walks in 2½ innings with high Class A Wilmington.



JESS RAPPOGEL/GETTY IMAGES

**MacKenzie Gore didn’t make it out of the fifth inning Monday vs. the Mets. “I just didn’t execute. It just was not good,” Gore said.**



BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10 STR
Philadelphia	42	19	.689	—	5-5 W-1
Atlanta	33	24	.579	7 4-6	W-1
Washington	27	32	.458	14 5-5	L-1
New York	25	35	.417	16½ 4-6	W-1
Miami	21	39	.350	20½ 5-5	L-2

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10 STR
Milwaukee	36	24	.600	—	7-3 L-1
Chicago	29	31	.483	7 2-8	L-1
St. Louis	28	30	.483	7 6-4	L-1
Pittsburgh	27	32	.458	8½ 4-6	L-1
Cincinnati	27	33	.450	9 7-3	W-2

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10 STR
Los Angeles	38	23	.623	—	5-5 W-2
x-San Diego	32	30	.516	6½ 6-4	L-1
x-San Francisco	29	31	.483	8½ 5-5	L-4
x-Arizona	27	32	.458	10 4-6	W-2
Colorado	21	38	.356	16 5-5	L-3

x-Late game

American League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10 STR
New York	42	19	.689	—	8-2 W-5
Baltimore	38	20	.655	2½ 8-2	W-1
Boston	30	30	.500	11½ 4-6	L-1
Tampa Bay	29	31	.483	12½ 4-6	W-1
Toronto	28	31	.475	13 5-5	L-1

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10 STR
Cleveland	39	20	.661	—	7-3 L-1
Kansas City	36	25	.590	4 4-6	W-1
Minnesota	33	26	.559	6 7-3	W-1
Detroit	30	30	.500	9½ 7-3	W-2
Chicago	15	45	.250	24½ 0-10	L-11

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10 STR
Seattle	34	27	.557	—	7-3 W-3
Texas	29	31	.483	4½ 5-5	L-1
Houston	27	34	.443	7 4-6	W-1
Oakland	24	37	.393	10 4-6	L-1
x-Los Angeles	21	38	.356	12 2-8	L-5

x-Late game

Mets 8, Nationals 7

METS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Lindor ss.....	3	1	1	0	0	2	.228
Alonso 1b.....	5	0	0	0	0	2	.234
Nimmo lf.....	5	0	2	0	0	0	.216
Martinez dh.....	4	2	1	0	1	1	.278
Marte rf.....	5	3	3	0	0	0	.275
Vientos 3b.....	3	2	2	1	2	0	.339
Bader cf.....	3	0	0	2	0	0	.265
Iglesias 2b.....	5	2	3	1	0	0	.455
Torrens c.....	4	0	1	2	0	3	.167
TOTALS	37	8	13	7	4	6	—

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Thomas cf.....	5	0	2	0	0	0	.218
Rosario rf.....	4	1	2	0	1	1	.184
Garcia 2b.....	4	1	0	0	1	1	.267
Ruiz dh.....	4	1	1	0	0	2	.204
Senzel 3b.....	4	2	1	0	1	0	.244
Winker lf.....	4	0	3	3	1	0	.241
Vargas ss.....	5	1	1	1	0	0	.204
Gallo 1b.....	3	1	1	2	1	1	.156
Meneses ph.....	0	0	0	1	0	0	.240
Millas c.....	4	0	0	0	1	1	.100
TOTALS	37	7	11	7	6	6	—

NEW YORK..... 010 241 000 — 8 13 2  
WASHINGTON 010 310 002 — 7 11 1

E: Iglesias (2), Bader (2), Barnes (1).  
LOB: New York 9, Washington 11. 2B: Nimmo (10), Torrens (1). HR: Vientos (5), off Gore: Gallo (5), off Megill. RBI: Bader 2 (18), Vientos (10), Lindor (30), Iglesias (2), Torrens 2 (2), Winker 3 (28), Vargas (9), Gallo 2 (9), Meneses (30).  
SB: Marte (10), Iglesias (1), Lindor (9).  
CS: Winker (2). SF: Bader 2, Meneses.

NEW YORK	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NPERA
Megill.....	5	7	5	4	3	4	873.00
Houser.....	2½	2	0	2	0	4	496.65
Smith.....	¾	0	0	0	1	1	102.53
Ottavino.....	¾	2	2	1	0	0	135.96
Diekman.....	¾	0	0	0	1	1	94.12

NATIONALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NPERA
Gore.....	4½	7	6	4	2	9	923.57
Floro.....	¾	2	1	1	0	0	141.23
Barnes.....	2	1	0	0	1	2	125.09
Weems.....	2	1	0	0	1	3	245.24
Rainey.....	1	1	0	0	0	0	219.00

WP: Megill (1-2); LP: Gore (4-5); S: Diekman (2). Inherited runners-scored: Smith 2-0, Diekman 3-1, Floro 3-3. HBP: Gore (Lindor), Ottavino (Ruiz). WP: Smith, Gore (2). T: 3:18. A: 26,375 (41,376).

HOW THEY SCORED

**METS SECOND**  
Starling Marte singles. Mark Vientos walks. Starling Marte to third. Harrison Bader out on a sacrifice fly. Starling Marte scores. Jose Iglesias singles. Mark Vientos to second. Luis Torrens strikes out swinging. Francisco Lindor hit by pitch. Jose Iglesias to second. Mark Vientos to third. Pete Alonso flies out.

**Mets 1, Nationals 0**  
**NATIONALS SECOND**  
Nick Senzel reaches on error, advances to 2nd. Fielding error by Harrison Bader. Jesse Winker singles. Nick Senzel scores. Idemaro Vargas lines out. Joey Gallo strikes out swinging.

**Mets 1, Nationals 1**  
**METS FOURTH**  
Mark Vientos homers. Harrison Bader flies out. Jose Iglesias singles. Luis Torrens strikes out swinging. Jose Iglesias steals second. Francisco Lindor singles. Jose Iglesias scores. Pete Alonso grounds out.

**Mets 3, Nationals 1**  
**NATIONALS FOURTH**  
Keibert Ruiz strikes out swinging. Nick Senzel singles. Jesse Winker singles. Nick Senzel to third. Idemaro Vargas hits into a force out. Jesse Winker out at second. Nick Senzel scores. Joey Gallo homers. Idemaro Vargas scores. Drew Millas grounds out.

**Nationals 4, Mets 3**  
**METS FIFTH**  
Brandon Nimmo flies out. J.D. Martinez walks. Starling Marte singles. J.D. Martinez to second. Mark Vientos walks. Harrison Bader out on a sacrifice fly. Mark Vientos to second. Starling Marte to third. J.D. Martinez scores. Jose Iglesias singles. Mark Vientos to third. Starling Marte scores. Luis Torrens doubles. Jose Iglesias scores. Mark Vientos scores. Francisco Lindor lines out.

**Mets 7, Nationals 4**  
**NATIONALS FIFTH**  
Lane Thomas lines out. Eddie Rosario singles. Luis Garcia lines out. Keibert Ruiz singles. Eddie Rosario to third. Nick Senzel walks. Keibert Ruiz to second. Jesse Winker walks. Nick Senzel to second. Keibert Ruiz to third. Eddie Rosario scores. Idemaro Vargas lines out.

**Mets 7, Nationals 5**  
**METS SIXTH**  
Pete Alonso strikes out swinging. Brandon Nimmo flies out. J.D. Martinez singles. Starling Marte singles, advances to 2nd. J.D. Martinez scores. Throwing error by Jacob Barnes. Mark Vientos grounds out.

**Mets 8, Nationals 5**  
**NATIONALS NINTH**  
Luis Garcia walks. Keibert Ruiz hit by pitch. Luis Garcia to second. Nick Senzel flies out. Luis Garcia to third. Jesse Winker singles. Keibert Ruiz to second. Luis Garcia scores. Idemaro Vargas singles. Jesse Winker to third. Keibert Ruiz to third. Joey Meneses pinch-hitting for Joey Gallo. Joey Meneses out on a sacrifice fly. Nasim Nunes to third. Keibert Ruiz scores. Drew Millas called out on strikes.

**Mets 8, Nationals 7**

NL leaders

Entering Monday's games.

BATTING	
Arreaza, SD.....	340
Proffar, SD.....	325
Ohtani, LA.....	322
Betts, LA.....	318
Contreras, Mil.....	316

HOME RUNS

Ozuna, Atl.....	17
Harper, Phi.....	14
Ohtani, LA.....	14
Alonso, NY.....	13
Walker, Ari.....	12
Hernandez, LA.....	12
Marte, Ari.....	12

RBI

Ozuna, Atl.....	53
Bohm, Phi.....	49
Harper, Phi.....	44
Contreras, Mil.....	44
Adames, Mil.....	42

ERA

Suarez, Atl.....	1.70
Lopez, Phi.....	1.73
Assad, Chi.....	2.27
Wheeler, Phi.....	2.32
Hicks, SF.....	2.70
Sanchez, Phi.....	2.83

AL leaders

Entering Monday's games.

BATTING	
Soto, NY.....	322
Perez, KC.....	315
Witt, KC.....	313
Rutschman, Bal.....	304
Peña, Hou.....	296
Vierling, Det.....	294

HOME RUNS

Tucker, Hou.....	21
Judge, NY.....	19
Henderson, Bal.....	19
Soto, NY.....	17
Ramirez, Cle.....	16
Naylor, Cle.....	15

RBI

Ramirez, Cle.....	57
Soto, NY.....	53
Judge, NY.....	47
Naylor, Cle.....	47
Henderson, Bal.....	42
Witt, KC.....	42

ERA

Lugo, KC.....	1.72
Houck, Bos.....	1.85
Gil, NY.....	1.99
Skubal, Det.....	2.02
Burnes, Bal.....	2.35



CHRIS SZAGOLA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Look who’s back

Rhys Hoskins, a Phillies fan favorite, returned to Citizens Bank Park on Monday night and homered for the Brewers. Philadelphia won the game, 3-1.

Padres player could face lifetime ban

BY CHELSEA JANES

Mere months after a sports betting scandal enveloped Shohei Ohtani and his now-former interpreter, Major League Baseball has another on its hands.

This one involves Tucupita Marcano, an infielder with the San Diego Padres whom MLB is investigating for betting on baseball, a person familiar with the situation said Monday, confirming a Wall Street Journal report. MLB rules explicitly prohibit betting on baseball, which means Marcano, a 24-year-old from Venezuela, could face a lifetime ban and become the first since Pete Rose to face such consequences for betting on his sport.

Marcano allegedly bet on Pittsburgh Pirates games while a member of that organization last year, according to the Wall Street Journal, which alleged the betting occurred while he was sidelined with a torn ACL. There are no concerns that Marcano influenced Pirates games to help make good on his bets, according to a person familiar with the investigation.

“We are aware of the matter that’s under investigation and are fully cooperating,” the Pirates said in a statement Monday. “We will refrain from further comment at this time.”

“We are aware of an active

MLB is investigating whether Marcano bet on games while with Pirates

investigation by Major League Baseball regarding a matter that occurred when the player in question was a member of another organization and not affiliated with the San Diego Padres,” the Padres said in a statement. “We will not have any further comment until the investigative process has been completed.”

MLB declined to comment, and Marcano’s agency did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Marcano began his MLB career with San Diego in 2021. After two seasons with Pittsburgh, he rejoined the Padres this past offseason but has yet to appear in a game while on the injured list. In his MLB career, he has played in 149 games with a .217 batting average and five home runs.

The Marcano investigation is just baseball’s latest concern amid the widespread legalization of sports gambling in the United States. The issue exploded into public view in March when news broke that Ohtani’s interpreter, Ipeei Mizuhara, had siphoned millions away from the Los Ange-

les Dodgers superstar to pay off gambling debts. Mizuhara has since agreed to plead guilty to one count of bank fraud and one count of subscribing to a false tax return.

An investigation of the alleged bookie, Mathew Bowyer, who purportedly took Mizuhara’s bets led to MLB opening an investigation of former Los Angeles Angels infielder David Fletcher, currently a minor leaguer in the Atlanta Braves organization. MLB allows players to bet on other sports, but betting with an illegal bookie is punishable by a suspension.

Rose, MLB’s all-time hits leader, was blacklisted in 1989 when he was managing the Cincinnati Reds. He remains the most high-profile example of a person with- in the game handed that fate in recent decades, and he has been kept out of the Hall of Fame because of it.

Though MLB plasters clubhouse doors with warnings against betting on baseball and ensures teams spend spring training mornings drilling that rule into the players’ heads, it has never been easier to bet on a game. And MLB has never put betting on its games more front and center than it is now, when odds, prop bets and ads for sportsbooks saturate every broadcast.

Astros 7, Cardinals 4

Alex Bregman and Yainer Diaz homered in the eighth inning, helping Houston top St. Louis.

Yordan Alvarez hit a two-run homer and, Cincinnati crushed Colorado.

ASTROS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Altuve 2b.....	5	0	1	1	0	1	.289
Tucker rf.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	.266
Dubin ph-If.....	3	1	0	1	0	0	.298
Alvarez dh.....	2	2	2	1	0	1	.287
Bregman 3b.....	4	1	1	0	1	0	.229
Meyers cf.....	4	1	2	1	0	1	.281
Peña ss.....	3	0	1	0	0	0	.296
Singleton 2b.....	2	0	0	1	0	1	.217
J.Abreu ph-1b.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	.115
Diaz.....	4	1	1	0	2	0	.249
McCormick lf-rf.....	4	1	0	0	0	0	.200
TOTALS	34	7	9	7	3	11	—

ST. LOUIS	201	010	000	—	4	8	2
HOUSTON.....	002	001	04X	—	7	9	1

E: Gorman (5), Winn (10), Bregman (5).  
LOB: St. Louis 7, Houston 7. 2B: Goldschmidt (9), Alvarez (12), Altuve (12).  
HR: Burleson (7), off Verlander; Gorman 2 (13), off Verlander; Alvarez (12), off Gibson; Bregman (9), off Romero; Diaz (4), off Romero.

CARDINALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NPERA
Gibson.....	5½	5	3	3	3	8	83.69
Kittredge.....	1	0	0	0	0	1	12.88
Romero.....	1	3	4	3	0	2	22.10
Loutos.....	¾	1	0	0	0	0	0.00

ASTROS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NPERA
Verlander.....	5	7	4	2	4	2	43.63
Musinski.....	1	0	0	0	1	0	15.23
Martinez.....	1	0	0	0	0	1	11.95
Montero.....	1	1	0	1	0	1	22.81
Hader.....	1	0	0	0	0	1	13.54

WP: Montero (1-1); LP: Romero (2-1); S: Hader (9). Inherited runners-scored: Kittredge 3-0, Romero 1-0, Loutos 1-1. T: 2:56. A: 33,638 (41,000).

Reds 13, Rockies 3

Will Benson drove in three runs, Jeimer Candelario and Tyler Stephenson each hit a two-run home run, and Cincinnati crushed Colorado.

The 13 runs were a season high for the Reds, who have won seven of their past 10 after starting the season 20-30. Jonathan India and Spencer Steer had three hits apiece.

REDS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Friedl cf.....	4	1	2	1	0	0	.200
Hurtubise lf.....	1	0	1	0	0	0	.243
De La Cruz ss.....	4	1	1	1	0	0	.233
Candelario 3b.....	5	2	2	2	0	0	.233
O’Hearn dh.....	3	1	1	0	1	0	.229
Fraley rf.....	5	1	1	0	0	0	.291
Stephenson c.....	5	2	2	0	0	0	.253
Martini dh.....	5	1	0	1	0	1	.200
India 2b.....	4	2	3	0	1	0	.229
Benson lf-cf.....	3	2	2	0	0	0	.205
TOTALS	41	13	18	12	0	3	—

ROCKIES	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Tovar ss .....	5	0	1	0	0	1	.295
Rodgers 2b.....	4	2	2	1	0	0	.270
E.Diaz c .....	4	0	0	0	0	1	.294
Montero 1b.....	3	1	1	1	1	0	.218
Doyle cf.....	4	0	3	0	0	0	.270
Stallings dh.....	4	0	1	1	0	2	.316
Bouchard lf.....	4	0	1	0	0	2	.208
Goodman rf.....	3	0	0	0	0	1	.179
Trejo 3b.....	4	0	0	0	0	0	.098



# When Lee’s vault went awry, Biles stepped in with support

U.S. GYMNASTICS FROM D1

sensation that leaves gymnasts feeling lost in the air. Biles had attempted to perform 2½ twists before stalling midair and completing just 1½. Lee’s trouble Sunday night at the national championships wasn’t quite the same. Because of the funky approach to the springboard, Lee described it as a “fluke, weird incident.” Still, the outcome was eerily familiar.

“I just knew that she needed some encouragement and somebody to trust her gymnastics for her and to believe in her,” Biles said.

The two Olympians had a short conversation. Biles asked whether Lee had become lost in the air and encouraged her not to overthink her skills. (When Lee later explained what happened, she noted the mishap during her run and said, “I didn’t know where I was [in the air], but I knew exactly where I was, if that makes sense.”)

Lee recalled Biles “checking to see if I was okay mentally before I went out there, and she said if I was getting lost on my dismount, then to just be done and let it be.” Lee then asked Biles to stand nearby while she performed on bars, her next event.

The timing worked out well. Lee was up second on bars in the second rotation, while Biles was last on floor. So Biles headed to the other side of the arena to cheer on Lee as she worked through her routine on her signature event. Lee was fantastic. She floated through the air on four consecutive release elements, each one with the superb execution for which she’s known, and she capped the routine with a full-twisting double tuck dismount.

“I don’t think I could have done it without her,” Lee said.

Lee earned a 14.500 and still has room to improve her difficulty score ahead of the Olympic trials. After the vault, she just



ELSA/GETTY IMAGES

**Simone Biles, right, offered words of encouragement Sunday after Sunisa Lee struggled on vault. “I’ve been in her shoes,” Biles said.**

needed a confidence boost, citing Biles, her coaches and the medical staff as the people who lifted her out of the rut.

Lee is the reigning Olympic all-around champion, but that doesn’t make her invincible. She has had a difficult past year

because of kidney-related health issues. This meet was her first competing on all four apparatuses at the elite level since the Tokyo Games three years ago. So when her vault went awry in the first rotation — a one-point deduction for the fall in addition to the mental setback — she benefited from some reassurance.

“Normally I can just watch and make sure that the music’s working and stuff like that, which is the most stressful part of the day,” Graba said. “But days like today, you have to actually coach. You have to know your athlete. They have to trust you. And you better be right. Then they trust you the next time.”

Lee knows bars and beam are the most critical events in her quest to make it to a second Olympics. That’s where she can help the U.S. team the most. So after Lee rallied on bars with an assist from Biles, she needed another strong showing on beam.

In the next rotation, Lee sailed through her beam routine like a veteran. Her precision elevates her performance, and the 14.900 she earned Sunday was the best beam score of the competition. (Biles had the higher two-day combined score to win the apparatus title, while Lee took home the silver medal.) Each successful bars and beam routine brings Lee a bit closer to a spot on the team heading to Paris.

After that excellent beam routine, Graba told Lee, “That’s who you are.”

Graba said he was never overly nervous. He knew Lee just needed to calm down after vault. Lee still doubts herself sometimes. But despite her recent health trouble, limited preparation and the mishap on vault, she finished fourth in the all-around, with the early mistake making her rebound even more impressive.

“Everything can be stacked against you,” Graba said. “And I always put my money on her.”

## On chalky day at French Open, Fritz falls and Djokovic rallies

FRENCH OPEN FROM D1

proven otherwise, right? It’s been a complete shock to the system, to everything I ever believed in. Now the toughest thing is dealing with my team because obviously they’ve got bragging rights and they give me a lot of slack for me complaining all these years of my level on the clay.”

De Minaur grinned at that, and he earned his giddiness Monday. He was the lone gate crasher on a chalky day that saw the last American man standing, 12th-seeded Taylor Fritz, fall to No. 7 seed Casper Ruud, 7-6 (8-6), 3-6, 6-4, 6-2. The quarterfinals will bring Ruud a rematch of last year’s final against defending champion and top seed Novak Djokovic.

Fritz was the first American man to reach the fourth round at Roland Garros since 2020 and was seeking his first quarterfinal appearance at the French Open. But Ruud, a two-time finalist at Roland Garros with an ATP Tour-leading 21 wins on clay this season, rallied from 1-5 down in the first-set tiebreaker to show he wouldn’t fold easily.

Even after Fritz took the second set, Ruud was moving so well and pinning Fritz in the corners so often that he battled back and won a messy third set after Fritz broke his serve early.

“I just told myself, ‘Time to step up.’ [I was] going to do my best to just get into the zone and stay there,” Ruud said.

Djokovic might have been telling himself the same thing when he won his second five-set match in a row, this one a 6-1, 5-7, 3-6, 7-5, 6-3 victory over Argentina’s Francisco Cerundolo that left him with an injured right knee and a sliver of doubt as to whether he will be able to keep playing.

“Good thing about the Slam is that you have a day between that will allow hopefully the healing process to happen more efficiently for me,” Djokovic said. “That’s it. I don’t know what will happen tomorrow or after tomorrow if I’ll be able to step out on the court and play. You know, I hope so. Let’s see what happens.”

If he is able to face Ruud, the 37-year-old Serb will do so as the record holder for match wins at Grand Slams: He reached 370 on Monday. Roger Federer retired with 369.

Djokovic said his knee has been irking him for some time, but he tweaked it significantly enough early in the second set Monday that he needed anti-inflammatory medication to finish the match.

“I was not able to change directions the way I wanted. I was not able to run on many of the drop shots he played. And he saw it,” he said. “Francisco saw it, and so he played a lot of drop shots where most of them, I just looked at and that’s it. Didn’t move.”

It took about 45 minutes for the

medicine to kick in, after which Djokovic looked like his old self — or, rather, his young self — and pulled some stupendous stuff out of his suffering. With Cerundolo serving in the fifth set, the Argentine hit a passing shot so far to Djokovic’s left that he had to extend into near splits while sliding to reach it, then ended up splayed on his belly, legs and arms flung wide. Djokovic had just one thing to do then, naturally: He smiled and mimicked a swimming motion with his arms on the clay as Cerundolo clapped.

For the moment, it was all fun and games. But Djokovic dedicated a good amount of time after the match to talking about court conditions — the same discussion de Minaur was having — following a week of rain in Paris and how that may have contributed to his injury. He said he has requested that groundskeepers sweep the courts more often than at every set break but has been denied.

“Because of the drier conditions and sun and warmer conditions, it affects the clay in such a way that, you know, it becomes very slippery,” Djokovic said. “So the injury that I had today with the knee happened exactly because of that, because I slipped, and I slide a lot. I mean, everyone slides on clay, but I slipped way too many times.”

The women’s quarterfinals will feature familiar faces as well.

Second-seeded Aryna Sabalenka beat No. 22 seed Emma Navarro, 6-2, 6-3, and fourth-seeded Elena Rybakina defeated No. 15 seed Elina Svitolina, 6-4, 6-3, to join top-seeded Iga Swiatek and No. 3 seed Coco Gauff in the final eight.

That means the top four women’s seeds will compete in the French Open quarterfinals for the first time since 2013.

Sabalenka plays unseeded Mira Andreeva next for a shot at her seventh consecutive Grand Slam semifinal appearance. Andreeva, a Russian who turned 17 in April, defeated the last French player standing, Varvara Gracheva, 7-5, 6-2.

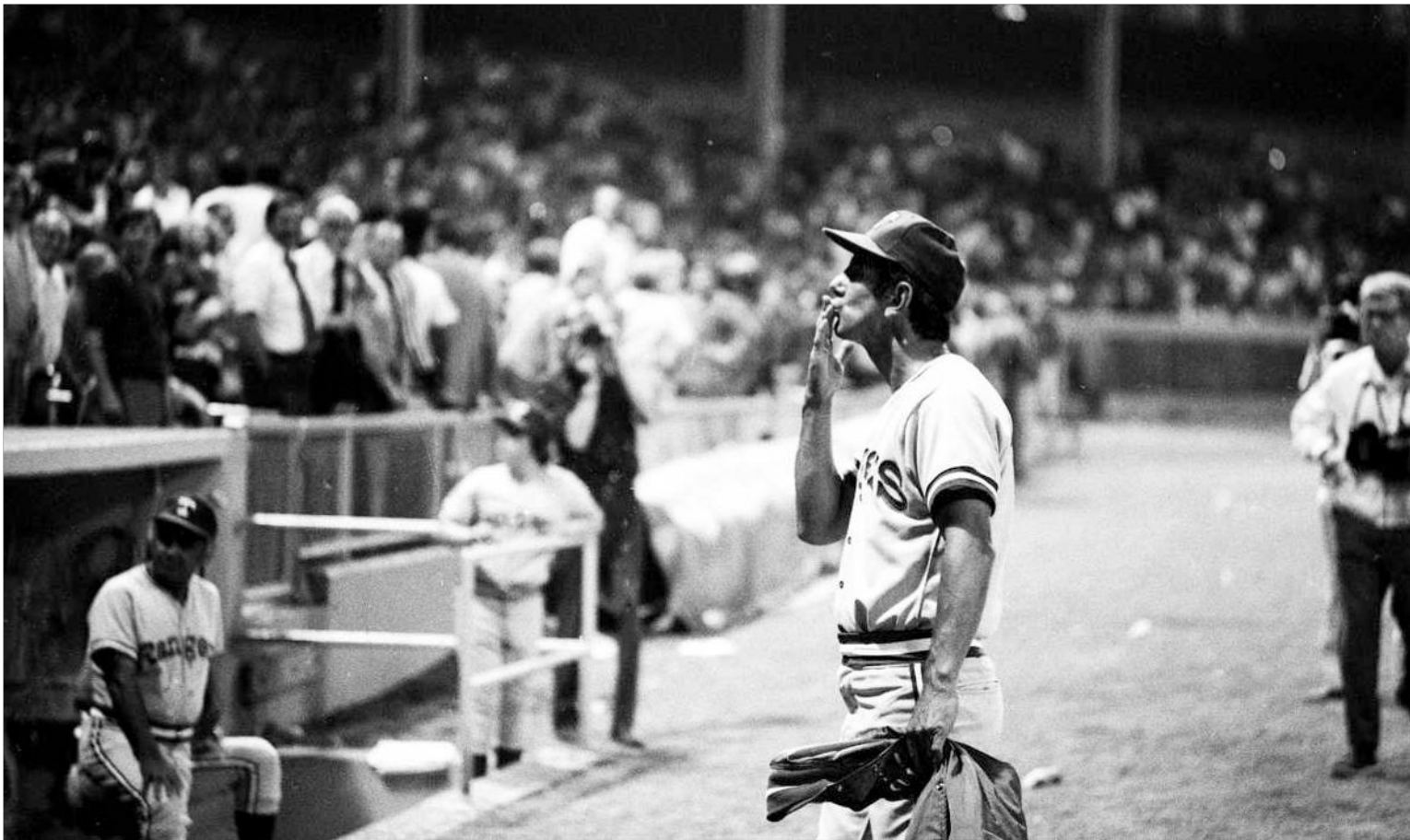
Andreeva joined Gauff (in 2021) and Amanda Anisimova (in 2019) as the only women’s players since 2006 to reach the quarterfinals of a Grand Slam before turning 18. She goes, as a young prodigy might, by feel — perhaps to the chagrin of her coach, 1994 Wimbledon champion Conchita Martínez.

“I’m just playing, kind of. Even when, for example, we talk about the match, about the plan, about tactics, I listen, but honestly I don’t remember anything after,” Andreeva said. “I don’t have anything in my head when we start playing the match. So I just go there and I’m like: ‘Well, we’ll see. I’ll figure it out.’ That’s how I always play.”



CLIVE MASON/GETTY IMAGES

**Top-seeded Novak Djokovic won his second straight five-set match but cast doubt on his status going forward because of a knee injury.**



PAUL TEPLEY COLLECTION/DIAMOND IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

**Billy Martin, then the manager of the Texas Rangers, blew a kiss to a Cleveland fan during a game his team ended up winning by forfeit.**

RETROPOLIS

## The beer was cheap, and Cleveland paid the price

BEER FROM D1

reported. “I’m not exactly looking forward to it. . . I’ll get the blame on 10-Cent Beer Night — you can bet on that.”

But he also poked Cleveland’s fan base when a reporter asked him about the possibility of payback.

“They don’t have enough fans there to worry about,” Martin said, and there was some truth to the taunt. Cleveland’s team, which is now known as the Guardians, averaged fewer than 14,000 fans at Cleveland Stadium that season. But it would draw 25,000 for the beer-soaked rematch.

“There was a little bit of bad blood brewing between the Indians and the Rangers,” Grieve said. “And then you have 10-Cent Beer Night? It couldn’t get any worse than that.”

**A toxic environment**

Cleveland wasn’t breaking new ground with its promotion. Minor and major league ballparks had staged similar ones throughout the early 1970s.

But several factors made Cleveland’s promotion backfire spectacularly in addition to the, well, 10-cent beer. The previous week’s brawl and Martin’s mockery helped raise the temperature ahead of the series — as did the provocative broadcasts of Cleveland radio host Pete Franklin.

“All week before that game, Pete Franklin kept up a steady drumbeat with listeners about how we needed to get even with the Rangers for the brawl the previous week,” Dan Coughlin, who covered the game for the Cleveland Plain Dealer, said in a 2012 interview with the paper. “He was priming the pump for an incident like the one that took place.”

It also was a chaotic era in American sports, with athletes often subjected to abuse from fans, sometimes in the face of undermanned security powerless to do anything about it. At the National League Championship Series the previous October, angry New York Mets fans at Shea Stadium threw everything they could get their hands on at Cincinnati Reds left fielder Pete Rose, including beer cans, hot dogs, hamburgers and even a whiskey bottle. The series ended in near-riot two days later when fans stormed the field after

the final out.

Such misbehavior continued into the 1974 season. When Houston Astros outfielder Bob Watson crashed into the left field wall at Cincinnati’s Riverfront Stadium in May, the broken glass from his shattered sunglasses led to gashes in his face. As he lay stunned against the fence, a group of fans pelted him with beer, ice cubes and paper cups, according to a June 1974 Sports Illustrated story, which reported that the fans challenged Watson’s teammates to come into the stands and fight them.

“It seems like everybody in the outfield stands is either young kids or drunk old men. It’s unbelievable what we put up with,” Astros outfielder Bob Gallagher told the magazine.

It was in this cauldron that young fans flocked to the Cleveland ballpark June 4 to take advantage of the cheap beer, many putting a down payment on the fun before the game. In his book about the 1973-75 Rangers, “Seasons in Hell,” beat reporter Mike Shropshire recounted what he saw on the train to the game:

“It was my educated guess that most of these fans were already loaded on Wild Turkey and whatever medicine it is that truck drivers take to stay awake on long hauls. Their condition suggested that they might be on their way home from, and not on their way to, a 10-cent Beer Night game.”

**‘Uncontrolled beasts’**

Cleveland pitcher Dick Bosman had the unique perspective of having been traded the previous year from the Rangers. He pitched the 2½ innings out of the bullpen on 10-Cent Beer Night.

“You knew something was going to happen,” Bosman recalled in an interview last month. “Everything leading up to the game, you just knew that something really bizarre was going to happen. The home bullpen in those days was down the left field line and it was right up against the stands, and all you have to do is breathe deep and you’re going to get high because everybody was stoned.”

In the second inning, a woman came onto the field, exposed her breasts as fans hollered their approval and tried to kiss umpire Nestor Chylak, who rebuffed her advances. Although the promotion was clearly not designed to

draw families to the ballpark, a father-and-son duo engaged in some 1970s-style familial bonding, jumping onto the field and mooning the players in the fifth inning.

“They mooned the stadium from second base and then raced through the outfield, jumped over the center field fence and disappeared,” Grieve said. He added that the players thought some of these high jinks were funny until they started to add up.

As night fell, the drunken antics turned darker. In the seventh inning, Rangers relievers relocated from the bullpen to the dugout after being assaulted by fireworks, smoke bombs and empty beer cups.

Few fans appeared to be paying attention to the game, which Cleveland had rallied to tie at 5 with two runs in the ninth inning. Then a fan ran onto the field and yanked the cap off Texas’s star right fielder, Jeff Burroughs. That fan, 19-year-old Terry Yerkic, told ESPN in 2014 that Burroughs turned around and kicked him in the thigh, then stumbled. Fans started pouring onto the field, and in the Rangers’ dugout, the pugnacious Martin rallied his men, grabbing a bat and reportedly exhorting, “Let’s go get ‘em, boys.”

“To me, the most embarrassing picture is people coming out of the dugout,” Grieve said. “It looks like the charge of the Light Brigade.”

The Rangers soon found themselves encircled and outnumbered.

“What had been a largely congenial gathering turned combative,” Shropshire wrote in his book. “Woodstock had become Kent State.”

Fans on the field threw beer bottles, firecrackers and chairs, and some sported knives, according to a wire service story. Now Cleveland players came out of their dugout.

“We had to go out there and help the Rangers,” Cleveland pitcher Steve Kline said after the game, UPI reported. “We couldn’t leave them hanging.”

Cleveland pitcher Tom Hilgendorf got hit in the head with a steel chair, and Chylak, the umpire, also got smacked on the head.

“I figured as long as they’re not shooting or anything like that, we’ll get it done,” Chylak later told Cleveland announcer Joe Tait, as

Tait recalled. “All of a sudden, I felt some pressure behind the left heel of my shoe. I turned around, looked down and there was a hunting knife sticking in the ground right behind my shoe. That’s when I said: ‘Game. Set. Match. We’re out of here!’”

He declared a forfeit against Cleveland, meaning a 9-0 win for Texas. It was the first MLB forfeit since 1971, when the Senators gave up a victory to the Yankees in their final game in Washington as fans stormed RFK Stadium in another scene of mayhem.

“It’s just disgraceful,” Cleveland Manager Ken Aspromonte said after the 1974 game. “

“It’s not just baseball. It’s the society we live in. Nobody seems to care about anything.”

Chylak was even angrier. “They were just uncontrollable beasts,” he said.

James T. Carney, Cleveland’s safety director, said the cheap beer turned young guys into “wild men” who didn’t know what they were doing. “They just went berserk. It’s just an act of God that nobody was killed.”

Still, Cleveland blamed the umpiring crew for the debacle and protested the forfeit, which the American League didn’t overturn.

“While we deplore the incidents which led to the forfeiture, we also feel that there was no warning given to the fans during the course of the game by the umpires that any continuation of interruption of play would lead to a declaration of a forfeiture of the game,” Cleveland General Manager Phil Seghi wrote in a telegram to AL President Lee MacPhail. The team also argued Martin had provoked the fans by marching his players on the field. Martin, meanwhile, said the umps should have called the game a forfeit earlier.

“They blamed Martin. They blamed the umpires. They even blamed the full moon,” William Barry Furlong wrote in a June 7 column in The Washington Post. “They blamed everybody but themselves. And the beer they sold.”

Frederic J. Frommer, a writer and a sports and politics historian, is the author of several books, including “You Gotta Have Heart: Washington Baseball from Walter Johnson to the 2019 World Series Champion Nationals.”



# Vikings' Jefferson gets record extension

Four-year contract worth \$140 million is new mark for non-quarterbacks

BY MARK MASKE

The Minnesota Vikings are keeping standout wide receiver Justin Jefferson with a record-setting contract extension that makes him the NFL's highest-paid non-quarterback.

Jefferson, a three-time Pro Bowl selection who has established himself as one of the NFL's most spectacular players, agreed to a four-year, \$140 million deal with the Vikings that runs through the 2028 season.

"The time has finally come, the deal I've been waiting for since I was a little kid," Jefferson said in a video posted Monday to social media. "Being doubted my whole career, not being highly recruited, not being the first receiver off the draft board — this whole journey wasn't easy for me."

The Vikings and Jefferson confirmed the agreement Monday without announcing the financial terms. The Vikings acknowledged that Jefferson, who turns 25 this month, will now be under contract for the next five seasons and that the deal makes him the highest-paid non-quarterback in NFL history.

The financial terms were confirmed by a person familiar with the deal. According to that person, the amount of guaranteed money in the deal was not yet set because Jefferson's representatives and the Vikings still were working through some issues. But that figure is expected to be around \$110 million.

"Over the first four seasons of his career, Justin entrenched himself as the best wide receiver and one of the most electric players in the NFL," Vikings owners Mark and Zygi Wilf said in a statement released by the team. "He is a special talent, a committed teammate and an excellent representative of the Vikings. Justin has earned this contract, and we are thrilled he will remain a Minnesota Viking for a very long time."

The extension averages \$35 million per season. Jefferson's original rookie contract was to have expired following the 2024 season after the Vikings previously exercised the fifth-year option in the deal for \$19.743 million.

"From the moment I arrived in Minnesota, Justin has consistently proven to be one of the best players in the NFL on and off the field, and we are excited about having him as a cornerstone of our team for a long time to come," Vikings General Manager Kwesi Adofo-Mensah said in a statement.

There had been trade speculation about Jefferson, although the Vikings had said they were intent upon retaining him and signing him to an extension.

Jefferson was named the NFL's offensive player of the year in 2022. He must play the 2024 season without quarterback Kirk Cousins, who left the Vikings in free agency in March to sign a four-year, \$180 million contract with the Atlanta Falcons. The Vikings signed veteran quarterback Sam Darnold in free agency and used the No. 10 pick in the NFL draft in April on J.J. McCarthy.

"Justin is an exceptionally talented player and an incredible person that I am honored to coach and have as a team captain," Coach Kevin O'Connell said in a statement.

Jefferson has totaled 392 catches for 5,899 yards and 30 touchdowns in his four NFL seasons. His 128 catches in 2022 were the eighth most in an NFL season. His 1,809 receiving yards that season were the sixth most in a season in league history.

"You all set the tone," Jefferson said while thanking Vikings fans in the video. "You all set the mood. You all set the energy. And I'm definitely excited to set that energy for five more years. . . . This is the start of it, but we ain't done yet. Just wait."

## PRO BASKETBALL

### NBA playoffs

#### FIRST ROUND

Best of seven

#### EASTERN CONFERENCE

##### Celtics eliminated Heat, 4-1

Game 1: at Boston 114, Miami 94  
Game 2: Miami 111, at Boston 101  
Game 3: Boston 104, at Miami 84  
Game 4: Boston 102, at Miami 88  
Game 5: at Boston 118, Miami 94

##### Knicks eliminated 76ers, 4-2

Game 1: at New York 111, Philadelphia 104  
Game 2: at New York 104, Philadelphia 101  
Game 3: at Philadelphia 125, New Orleans 92  
Game 4: New York 97, at Philadelphia 92  
Game 5: Philadelphia 112, at New York 106 (OT)  
Game 6: New York 118, at Philadelphia 115

##### Pacers eliminated Bucks, 4-2

Game 1: at Milwaukee 109, Indiana 94  
Game 2: Indiana 125, at Milwaukee 108  
Game 3: at Indiana 121, Milwaukee 119 (OT)  
Game 4: at Indiana 126, Milwaukee 113  
Game 5: at Milwaukee 115, Indiana 92  
Game 6: at Indiana 120, Milwaukee 98

##### Cavaliers eliminated Magic, 4-3

Game 1: at Cleveland 97, Orlando 83  
Game 2: at Cleveland 96, Orlando 96  
Game 3: at Orlando 121, Cleveland 83  
Game 4: at Orlando 112, Cleveland 89  
Game 5: at Cleveland 104, Orlando 103  
Game 6: at Orlando 105, Cleveland 93  
Game 7: at Cleveland 106, Orlando 94

#### WESTERN CONFERENCE

##### Thunder eliminated Pelicans, 4-0

Game 1: at Oklahoma City 94, New Orleans 92  
Game 2: at Oklahoma City 124, New Orleans 92  
Game 3: Oklahoma City 106, at New Orleans 85  
Game 4: Oklahoma City 97, at New Orleans 89

##### Nuggets eliminated Lakers, 4-1

Game 1: at Denver 114, Los Angeles 103  
Game 2: at Denver 101, Los Angeles 99  
Game 3: Denver 112, at Los Angeles 105  
Game 4: Los Angeles 112, at Los Angeles 93  
Game 5: at Denver 108, Los Angeles 106

##### Timberwolves eliminated Suns, 4-0

Game 1: at Minnesota 120, Phoenix 93  
Game 2: at Minnesota 105, Phoenix 93  
Game 3: Minnesota 126, at Phoenix 109  
Game 4: Minnesota 112, at Phoenix 116

##### Mavericks eliminated Clippers, 4-2

Game 1: at Los Angeles 109, Dallas 97  
Game 2: Dallas 96 at Los Angeles 93  
Game 3: at Dallas 101, Los Angeles 90  
Game 4: Los Angeles 116 at Dallas 111  
Game 5: Dallas 123, at Los Angeles 93  
Game 6: at Dallas 114, Los Angeles 101

#### SECOND ROUND

Best of seven

#### EASTERN CONFERENCE

##### Celtics eliminated Cavaliers, 4-1

Game 1: at Boston 120, Cleveland 95  
Game 2: Cleveland 118, at Boston 94  
Game 3: Boston 106, at Cleveland 93  
Game 4: Boston 109, at Cleveland 102  
Game 5: at Boston 113, Cleveland 98

##### Pacers eliminated Knicks, 4-3

Game 1: at New York 121, Indiana 117  
Game 2: at New York 130, Indiana 121  
Game 3: at Indiana 111, New York 106  
Game 4: at Indiana 116, New York 89  
Game 5: at New York 121, Indiana 91  
Game 6: at Indiana 116, New York 103  
Game 7: Indiana 130, at New York 109

#### WESTERN CONFERENCE

##### Timberwolves eliminated Nuggets, 4-3

Game 1: Minnesota 106, at Denver 79  
Game 2: Minnesota 116, at Denver 80  
Game 3: Denver 117, at Minnesota 90  
Game 4: Denver 115, at Minnesota 107  
Game 5: at Denver 112, Minnesota 97  
Game 6: at Minnesota 115, Denver 70  
Game 7: Minnesota 98, at Denver 90

##### Mavericks eliminated Thunder, 4-2

Game 1: at Oklahoma City 117, Dallas 95  
Game 2: Dallas 119, at Oklahoma City 110  
Game 3: Dallas 105, Oklahoma City 101  
Game 4: Oklahoma City 100, at Dallas 96  
Game 5: Dallas 104, at Oklahoma City 92  
Game 6: at Dallas 117, Oklahoma City 116

#### CONFERENCE FINALS

Best of seven

#### EASTERN CONFERENCE

##### Celtics eliminated Pacers, 4-0

Game 1: at Boston 133, Indiana 128 (OT)  
Game 2: at Boston 114, Indiana 111  
Game 3: Boston 115, at Indiana 102

#### WESTERN CONFERENCE

##### Mavericks eliminated Timberwolves, 4-1

Game 1: Dallas 108, at Minnesota 105  
Game 2: Dallas 109, at Minnesota 108  
Game 3: at Dallas 116, Minnesota 107  
Game 4: Minnesota 105, at Dallas 108  
Game 5: Dallas 124, at Minnesota 103

#### NBA FINALS

Best of seven; x-If necessary; All games on ABC

#### Celtics vs. Mavericks

Thursday's game: Dallas at Boston, 8:30  
Sunday's game: Dallas at Boston, 8:30  
Wednesday, June 12: Boston at Dallas, 8:30  
Friday, June 14: Boston at Dallas, 8:30  
x-Monday, June 17: Dallas at Boston, TBA  
x-Thursday, June 20: Boston at Dallas, TBA  
x-Sunday, June 23: Dallas at Boston, TBA

#### PLAYOFF LEADERS

Through Sunday.

SCORING	G	FG	FT	Pts	AVG
Embiid, PHI.....	6	59	67	198	33.0
Brunson, NY.....	13	151	93	421	32.4
Giannis-Alexander, OKC 10	111	64	202	30.2	
Maxey, PHI.....	6	66	25	179	29.8
Mitchell, CLE.....	10	107	53	296	29.6
Doncic, DAL.....	17	166	100	489	28.8
Jokic, DEN.....	12	133	64	344	28.7
James, LAL.....	5	56	17	139	27.8
Davis, LAL.....	5	59	21	139	27.8
Edwards, MIN.....	16	156	83	441	27.6
Booker, PHO.....	4	32	39	110	27.5
Banchero, ORL.....	7	68	37	189	27.0
Durant, PHO.....	4	37	28	107	26.8
Tatum, BOS.....	14	121	93	364	26.0
Brown, BOS.....	13	138	46	350	25.0
Middleton, MIL.....	6	55	27	148	24.7
Irving, DAL.....	17	145	53	388	22.8
Adebayo, MIA.....	5	48	15	113	22.6
Siakam, IND.....	17	157	39	367	21.6
Harden, LAC.....	6	40	29	127	21.2

ASSISTS	G	AST	AVG
James, LAL.....	17	150	8.8
Doncic, DAL.....	12	104	8.7
Jokic, DEN.....	15	123	8.2
Harden, LAC.....	8	48	8.0
Brunson, NY.....	13	97	7.5
Maxey, PHI.....	6	41	6.8
Edwards, MIN.....	16	104	6.5
Giannis-Alexander, OKC.....	10	64	6.4
Booker, PHO.....	4	24	6.0

#### WNBA

EAST	W	L	Pct	GB
Connecticut.....	8	1,000	—	—
New York.....	7	2,778	1½	
Atlanta.....	4	3,571	3½	
Chicago.....	2	4,429	4½	
Indiana.....	2	9,182	7½	
Washington.....	0	8,000	8	

WEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Minnesota.....	6	2,750	—	—
Las Vegas.....	4	467	1	
Seattle.....	5	3,625	1	
Phoenix.....	4	5,444	2½	
Dallas.....	3	429	2½	
Los Angeles.....	2	6,250	4	

#### SUNDAY'S RESULTS

Connecticut 66, at Atlanta 50  
at Phoenix 87, Los Angeles 68  
at New York 104, Indiana 68  
at Minnesota 87, Dallas 76

#### TUESDAY'S GAMES

Washington at Connecticut, 7  
New York at Chicago, 8  
Phoenix at Seattle, 10

#### WEDNESDAY'S GAMES

Las Vegas at Dallas, 8  
Minnesota at Los Angeles, 10

#### THURSDAY'S GAMES

Chicago at Washington, 7  
New York at Atlanta, 7:30

## HOCKEY

### Stanley Cup playoffs

#### FIRST ROUND

Best of seven

#### EASTERN CONFERENCE

##### Rangers eliminated Capitals, 4-0

Game 1: at New York 4, Washington 1  
Game 2: at New York 4, Washington 3  
Game 3: New York 3, at Washington 1  
Game 4: New York 4, Washington 2

##### Hurricanes eliminated Islanders, 4-1

Game 1: at Carolina 3, New York 1  
Game 2: at Carolina 3, New York 2  
Game 3: New York 3, Carolina 2 (2OT)  
Game 4: at Carolina 6, New York 3

##### Panthers eliminated Lightning, 4-1

Game 1: at Florida 3, Tampa Bay 2  
Game 2: at Florida 3, Tampa Bay 2  
Game 3: Florida 5, at Tampa Bay 3  
Game 4: at Tampa Bay 6, Florida 3  
Game 5: at Florida 6, Tampa Bay 1

##### Bruins eliminated Maple Leafs, 4-3

Game 1: at Boston 5, Toronto 2  
Game 2: Toronto 3, at Boston 1  
Game 3: Boston 4, at Toronto 1  
Game 4: Toronto 2, at Boston 1 (OT)  
Game 5: at Toronto 2, Boston 1  
Game 6: at Toronto 2, Boston 1 (OT)  
Game 7: at Boston 2, Toronto 1 (OT)

#### WESTERN CONFERENCE

##### Avanche eliminated Jets, 4-1

Game 1: at Winnipeg 7, Colorado 6  
Game 2: Colorado 5, at Winnipeg 2  
Game 3: at Colorado 6, Winnipeg 2  
Game 4: at Colorado 5, Winnipeg 3  
Game 5: Colorado 6, at Winnipeg 3

##### Oilers eliminated Kings, 4-1

Game 1: at Edmonton 7, Los Angeles 4  
Game 2: Los Angeles 5, at Edmonton 4 (OT)  
Game 3: Edmonton 6, at Los Angeles 1  
Game 4: Edmonton 1, at Los Angeles 0  
Game 5: at Edmonton 4, Los Angeles 3

##### Canucks eliminated Predators, 4-2

Game 1: at Vancouver 4, Nashville 2  
Game 2: Nashville 4, at Vancouver 1  
Game 3: Vancouver 2, at Nashville 1  
Game 4: Vancouver 4, at Nashville 3 (OT)  
Game 5: Nashville 2, at Vancouver 1  
Game 6: Vancouver 3, at Nashville 0

##### Stars eliminated Golden Knights, 4-3

Game 1: Vegas 4, at Dallas 3  
Game 2: Vegas 3, at Dallas 1  
Game 3: Dallas 3, at Vegas 2  
Game 4: Dallas 4, at Vegas 2  
Game 5: at Dallas 3, Vegas 2  
Game 6: at Vegas 2, Dallas 0  
Game 7: at Dallas 2, Vegas 1

#### SECOND ROUND

Best of seven

#### EASTERN CONFERENCE

##### Rangers eliminated Hurricanes, 4-2

Game 1: at New York 4, Carolina 3  
Game 2: at New York 4, Carolina 3 (2OT)  
Game 3: New York 3, at Carolina 2 (OT)  
Game 4: at Carolina 3, New York 3  
Game 5: Carolina 4, at New York 1  
Game 6: New York 5, at Carolina 3

##### Panthers eliminated Bruins, 4-2

Game 1: Boston 5, at Florida 1  
Game 2: at Florida 6, Panthers 2  
Game 3: Florida 6, at Boston 2  
Game 4: Florida 3, at Boston 2  
Game 5: Boston 2, at Florida 1  
Game 6: Florida 2, at Boston 1

#### WESTERN CONFERENCE

##### Stars eliminated Avanche, 4-2

Game 1: Colorado 4, at Dallas 3 (OT)  
Game 2: at Dallas 5, Colorado 4  
Game 3: Dallas 4, at Colorado 1  
Game 4: Dallas 5, at Colorado 1  
Game 5: Colorado 5, at Dallas 3  
Game 6: Dallas 2, at Colorado 1 (2OT)

##### Oilers eliminated Canucks, 4-3

Game 1: at Vancouver 5, Edmonton 4  
Game 2: Edmonton 4, at Vancouver 3 (OT)  
Game 3: Vancouver 4, at Edmonton 3  
Game 4: at Edmonton 3, Vancouver 2  
Game 5: at Vancouver 3, Edmonton 2  
Game 6: at Edmonton 5, Vancouver 1  
Game 7: Edmonton 3, at Vancouver 2

#### CONFERENCE FINALS

Best of seven

#### EASTERN CONFERENCE

##### Panthers eliminated Rangers, 4-2

Game 1: Florida 3, at N.Y. Rangers 0  
Game 2: at N.Y. Rangers 2, Florida 1 (OT)  
Game 3: N.Y. Rangers 5, at Florida 4 (OT)  
Game 4: at Florida 3, N.Y. Rangers 2 (OT)  
Game 5: Florida 3, at N.Y. Rangers 2  
Game 6: at Florida 2, N.Y. Rangers 1

#### WESTERN CONFERENCE

##### Oilers eliminated Stars, 4-2

Game 1: Edmonton 3, at Dallas 3 (2OT)  
Game 2: at Dallas 3, Edmonton 1  
Game 3: Dallas 5, at Edmonton 3  
Game 4: at Edmonton 5, Dallas 2  
Game 5: Dallas 1, at Edmonton 1  
Game 6: at Edmonton 2, Dallas 1

#### STANLEY CUP FINALS

Best of seven; x-If necessary; All games on ABC

#### Panthers vs. Oilers

Saturday's game: Oilers at Panthers, 8  
Monday's game: Oilers at Panthers, 8  
Thursday, June 13: Panthers at Oilers, 8  
Saturday, June 15: Panthers at Oilers, 8  
x-Tuesday, June 18: Oilers at Panthers, 8  
x-Friday, June 21: Panthers at Oilers, 8  
x-Monday, June 24: Oilers at Panthers, 8

## PRO FOOTBALL

### United Football League

xFL	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
y-St. Louis.....	7	3	0	.700	260	202
y-San Antonio.....	7	3	0	.700	192	153
Arlington.....	3	7	0	.300	247	249

### USFL

y-Birmingham	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA
y-Michigan.....	9	1	0	.900	265	180
Memphis.....	2	8	0	.200	188	290
Houston.....	1	9	0	.100	158	233

y-Clinedplaf playoff berth

#### WEEK 7

##### SATURDAY, MAY 11

at Arlington 47, Memphis 23  
at Birmingham 30, St. Louis 26

##### SUNDAY, MAY 12

Michigan 22, at D.C. 9  
San Antonio 15, at Houston 12

#### WEEK 8

##### SATURDAY, MAY 18

at Michigan 24, Memphis 18  
at Birmingham 35, Houston 28

##### SUNDAY, MAY 19

at St. Louis 26, D.C. 21  
at San Antonio 20, Arlington 15

#### WEEK 9

##### SATURDAY, MAY 25

at Arlington 36, St. Louis 22  
at San Antonio 18, Birmingham 9

##### SUNDAY, MAY 26

D.C. 36, at Memphis 21  
Michigan 26, at Houston 22

#### WEEK 10

##### SATURDAY'S RESULTS

at Birmingham 20, Michigan 19  
at St. Louis 13, San Antonio 12

##### SUNDAY'S RESULTS

Arlington 32, at D.C. 31  
at Memphis 19, Houston 12

#### END OF REGULAR SEASON

#### PLAYOFFS

##### USFL CHAMPIONSHIP

##### SATURDAY'S GAME

Michigan at Birmingham, 3, ABC

##### XFL CHAMPIONSHIP

##### SUNDAY, JUNE 9

San Antonio at St. Louis, 7, Fox

##### UFL CHAMPIONSHIP



washingtonpost.com/classifieds

TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 2024

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washingtonpost.com/  
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homes for sale,  
commercial real estate

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rentals

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merchandise, garage  
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merchandise



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Trustee Sales  
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For Recruitment advertisements, go to  
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202-334-4100 (toll free 1-800-765-3675)

To place an ad, go to  
**washingtonpostads.com** or call 202-334-6200  
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Legal Notices: 202-334-7007  
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**1405 Cars**

**HONDA**  
HONDA 2022 ACCORD  
Dark gray, 5k miles, like new,  
vinyl upholstery, 527-hp, like new,  
Call 717-253-3733

**1447 Autos Wanted**  
DONATE YOUR CAR/TRUCK/RV  
Lutheran Mission Society of MD  
Compassion Place  
help local families with food,  
clothing, counseling, tax deductible.  
NVA, licensed #WJ0404,  
410-228-8437  
www.CompassionPlace.org

**875 Legal Notices**  
Michael J. Damiano, M.D., an-  
nounces the closing of his office  
effective August 31, 2024. If ei-  
ther you or your new physician  
desires a copy of your medical  
chart, it will be furnished upon  
request, and providing a written  
authorization and payment of  
any applicable and permitted  
copying/administrative fees.  
Your chart can be retrieved by  
sending your request to  
J.Damiano, M.D., P.O. Box 4681,  
Silver Spring, MD 20914.

**820 Official Notices**

**PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY  
BOARD OF COUNTY SUPERVISORS  
ONE COUNTY COMPLEX COURT  
PRINCE WILLIAM, VA 22192**

**June 11, 2024  
Public Hearings  
7:00 p.m.**

**1. Rezoning #REZ2023-00026, Stoneview Rezoning:** This is a request to rezone a 12.37 acres from A-1, Agricultural, to M-2, Light Industrial to allow for the development of light industrial uses, allow the existing residential use to remain until future redevelopment, and includes associated development waivers and modifications. The properties are located on the north side of Wellington Road, approx- imately 400 feet northwest from the intersection of Freedom Center Blvd. and Wellington Rd. The properties are addressed as 8623, 8671, 8685, 8693, and 8699 Wellington Rd. and are identified on County maps as 7696-23-8023, 7696-23-2189, 7696-23-2501, 7696-23-3084 and 7696-23-6714. The site is designated I-3, Industrial with a Tractsect 3, that recommends a range of 0.23 to 0.57 FAR, and within the Inno- vation Park Small Area Plan of the Comprehensive Plan, and is located within the Technology Overlay District, Data Center Overlay District, Environmental Protection Overlay District, Airport Safety Overlay Dis- trict - Brentsville Magisterial District

**2. Proffer Amendment #REZ2024-00008, 8765 and 8819 Wellington Road PRA:** This is a request to amend the proffers associated with #REZ2020-00018 to better align the approved proffers with the rezoned district center uses, specifically to increase the permitted FAR and height, and includes associated development waivers and modifications. The subject property is a 68.104-acre, zoned I-2, Light Industrial, and is located northeast of the intersection of Wellington Road and Freedom Center Boulevard and addressed as 8765 and 8819 Wellington Road, identified as CPNs 7696-23-8070 and 7696-42-2384, respectively. The site is designated I-3, Industrial with a Tractsect 3, that recommends a range of 0.23 to 0.57 FAR, and within the Inno- vation Park Small Area Plan of the Comprehensive Plan, and is located within the Airport Safety Overlay District, Data Center Opportunity Zone Overlay District, Technology Overlay District - Brentsville Mag- isterial District

For additional information regarding the Board meeting, please con- tact the Clerk to the Board at (703) 792-6600. All meeting materials are posted online when the agenda is published, and at that time a copy of all staff reports, proposed resolutions and ordinances, and other documentation will be available for review by the public in the office of the Clerk of the Board at One County Complex Court, Prince William, Virginia, 22192.

Members of the public may appear at the Board of County Super- visors' Chamber in the McCoart Building, One County Complex Court, Prince William, Virginia, at the designated time to express their views.

**ACCESSIBILITY TO PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES:** The hearings are being held at a public facility believed to be accessible to persons with disabilities. Anyone with questions on the accessibility of the facility should contact the Clerk to the Board at One County Complex Court, Prince William, Virginia, at the designated time to express their views, or notify the Clerk to the Board no later than 12:00 p.m. on Tuesday, June 4, 2024.

**840 Trustees Sale - DC**

**BARNES & THORNBURG LLP  
555 12TH STREET, NW  
SUITE 1200  
WASHINGTON, DC 20004  
202-371-6351**

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE  
NEWLY CONSTRUCTED 20-UNIT APARTMENT BUILDING  
WITH A FIRST FLOOR COMMERCIAL UNIT  
KNOWN AS  
"THE V AT GEORGIA AVENUE"  
3557 -- 3559 GEORGIA AVENUE, NW  
WASHINGTON, DC 20010**

By virtue of a certain Construction Deed of Trust, Security Agreement, Assignment of Rents and Fixture Filing (the "Deed of Trust"), duly recorded February 28, 2020 as Instrument No. 202028612 among the Land Records of the District of Columbia (the "Land Records"), which Deed of Trust also constitutes a security agreement and creates a security interest in all fixtures and personal property described in the Deed of Trust, a default having occurred in the payment of the indebtedness secured thereby and the covenants contained therein, and at the request of the party secured thereby (the "Noteholder"), and following mailing of a Notice of Foreclosure Sale recorded with the Recorder on May 21, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024047234 and Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure recorded with the Recorder on November 15, 2022 as Instrument No. 2022112985, and the recordation of a Deed of Removal of Substitute Trustee and Appointment of New Substitute Trustee recorded with the Recorder on March 22, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024026421 and at the request of the party secured thereby (the "Noteholder"), the undersigned Substitute Trustee, will sell, at public auction, within the office of ALEX COOPER AUCTIONEERS, INC., 4910 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 100, WASHINGTON, D.C. on

**THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 2024 AT 11:30 AM**

All that certain lot or parcel of land located and being in the City of Washington in the District of Columbia and being more particularly described as follows:

Lot numbered Eighty-nine (0089) in Square numbered Three Thousand Thirty-Three (3033) in the subdivision made by Miriam E. Ochoa and Rafael Rodriguez, Jr. as per plat recorded in the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia in Book 196 at page 107.

Property description: The property is improved by a newly constructed 6-story corner building containing 10 one-bedroom and 10 two-bedroom units. The first floor has a commercial unit. There is storage in the lower level.

TOGETHER WITH any and all buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances now erected on the above-described land, including, without limitation, all equipment, apparatus, machinery and fixtures of any kind or character forming a part of said buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances, and any furniture, furnishings, equipment, machinery and other personal property owned and located in, upon or about the above-described land and any buildings thereon all as more particularly described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust (collectively, the "Property").

**TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE PROPERTY  
PERSONAL PROPERTY**

Pursuant to the Construction Deed of Trust, Security Agreement, Assignment of Rents and Fixture Filing as evidenced by UCC Financing Statement duly recorded February 27, 2020 as U.C.C. Initial Filing No. 2020 1421132, Service Request No. 20201609227 among the Delaware Department of State and upon occurrence of a default thereunder, the Noteholder, Parkview Financial REIT, LP as the holder of a security interest and lien on all of the tangible and intangible assets of the Debtor, will sell at public auction on the same date and at the same time and place, ALL OF THE FIXTURES AND TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE PROPERTY, ETC. of the Debtor located on or about the Real Estate (that is subject to the security interest and lien of Parkview Financial REIT, LP and not owned by any third party).

**840 Trustees Sale - DC**

**BARNES & THORNBURG LLP  
555 12TH STREET, NW  
SUITE 1200  
WASHINGTON, DC 20004  
202-371-6351**

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF  
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY  
KNOWN AS  
13770 Palmetto Circle  
Germantown, MD 20874**

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to ANTONIO F. MARQUEZ, Trustee(s), dated November 28, 2017, and recorded among the Land Records of MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 55500, folio 8, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustee, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE MONTGOMERY COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 50 MARYLAND AVENUE, ROCKVILLE, MD 20850 ON,

**JUNE 12, 2024 at 11:00 AM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

CONDOMINIUM UNIT NUMBERED 13770, PHASE 1, BUILDING 1, IN A CONDOMINIUM STYLED "KINGSVIEW RIDGE CONDOMINIUM" AS PER PLAT RECORDED IN CONDOMINIUM PLAT BOOK 74 AT PLATS 7423 THROUGH AND INCLUDING 7245, AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND AS FROM TIME TO TIME AMENDED OR SUPPLEMENTED, SAID UNIT BEING PART OF THE LAND AND PREMISES SUBJECTED TO A CONDOMINIUM REGIME BY A CERTAIN DECLARATION OF CONDOMINIUM DATED JANUARY 9, 1998 IN LIBER 15489, FOLIO 376, AMONG THE AFORESAID LAND RECORDS AS FROM TIME TO TIME AMENDED, TOGETHER WITH AN UNDIVIDED INTEREST IN THE COMMON ELEMENTS, FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES ONLY THE PROPERTY ADDRESS IS 13770 PALMETTO CIRCLE GERMANTOWN, MD 20874.

**850 Montgomery County**

**Brock and Scott, PLLC  
5431 Oleander Drive  
Wilmington NC, 28403**

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF  
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY  
KNOWN AS  
13770 Palmetto Circle  
Germantown, MD 20874**

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to ALEXANDER RUYGROK, Trustee(s), dated February 19, 2004, and recorded among the Land Records of MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 25974, folio 745, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustee, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE MONTGOMERY COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 50 MARYLAND AVENUE, ROCKVILLE, MD 20850 ON,

**JUNE 12, 2024 at 11:00 AM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

UNIT NO. 3832/10 IN CONDOMINIUM STYLED "GRAND BELL MANOR CONDOMINIUM" AS PER PLAT THEREOF RECORDED IN CONDOMINIUM PLAT BOOK 16, PLAT 1629 THROUGH AND INCLUDING PLAT 1640, AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND, BEING PART OF THE LAND AND PREMISES DECLARED TO BE SUBJECT TO A CONDOMINIUM REGIME BY A CERTAIN DECLARATION DATED THE 24TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1979 AND RECORDED THE 30TH DAY OF DECEMBER 1975 IN LIBER 4733 AT FOLIO 82 AND AMENDMENT TO THE CONDOMINIUM DECLARATION RECORDED IN LIBER 4741 AT FOLIO 694, AMONG THE AFORESAID LAND RECORDS.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

**850 Montgomery County**

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR  
MONTGOMERY COUNTY,  
MARYLAND**

**CARRIE M. WARD, et al.  
6003 Executive Blvd, Suite 101  
Rockville, MD 20852  
Substitute Trustees/Plaintiffs,**

**vs.  
LEWIS AARON CHABOT  
(DECEASED)  
404 Girard Street  
Unit 201  
Gaithersburg, MD 20877  
Defendants).**

**Case No. C-15-CV-23-00382S**

**NOTICE**  
Notice is hereby given this 22 day of May, 2024, by the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, Maryland, that the sale of the property mentioned in these proceedings and described as 404 Girard Street, Unit 201, Gaithersburg, MD 20877, made and reported by the Substitute Trustee, will be RATIFIED AND CONFIRMED, unless cause to the contrary thereof be shown on or before the 24 day of June, 2024, provided a copy of this NOTICE be inserted in some daily newspaper printed in said County, once in each of three successive weeks before the 24 day of June, 2024, and the report states the purchase price at the Fore- closure sale to be \$147,000.00.

**KAREN A. BUSHELL  
Clerk, Circuit Court for  
Montgomery County, Maryland  
BWW#MD-355891  
May 28,Jun 4,11 2024 0012461710**

**851 Prince Georges County**

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR  
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY,  
MARYLAND**

**WILLIAM M. SAVAGE, et al.  
Trustees,  
Plaintiff(s)**

**vs.  
THOMAS B STEPHENSON, JR  
A/K/A  
THOMAS B STEPHENSON  
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY  
Mortgagor(s)**

**CIVIL NO. C-16-CV-24-000174**

**NOTICE**  
Notice is hereby given, this 16 day of May, 2024, by the Circuit Court for the County of Prince George's County, Maryland, that the sale of the property mentioned in these proceedings and described as 1647-C Carriage House Terrace, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904, reported by the Substitute Trustee, will be RATIFIED AND CONFIRMED, unless cause to the contrary thereof be shown on or before the 24 day of June, 2024, provided a copy of this NOTICE be inserted in some daily newspaper printed in said County, once in each of three successive weeks before the 24 day of June, 2024, and the report states the amount of sale to be \$152,000.00.

**Mahasin El Amin  
Clerk, Circuit Court for  
Prince George's County, Maryland  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013461276**

**851 Prince Georges County**

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR  
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY,  
MARYLAND**

**KEITH YACKO, et al,  
Substitute Trustee,  
Plaintiff,**

**v.  
JANET YVONNE ADAMSON-  
BELCHER et al,  
Defendants.**

**Case No. C-16-CV-23-003243**

**NOTICE**  
Notice is hereby issued this 16th day of May, 2024, that the sale of the property in this case, 11332 CHERRY HILL RD 301 BELTSVILLE, MD 20705, reported by Jennifer Deardorff, Attorney for the Substitute Trustee, be ratified and confirmed, unless cause to the contrary be shown on or before the 17th day of June, 2024, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in the Prince Georges County Post, a newspaper published in PRINCE GEORGE'S County, Mary- land, once in each of three (3) successive weeks on or before the 17th day of June, 2024. The report states the amount of sale to be \$152,000.00.

**Mahasin El Amin  
Clerk  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013461276**

**855 Charles County**

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR  
CHARLES COUNTY,  
MARYLAND**

**KEITH YACKO, et al,  
Substitute Trustee,  
Plaintiff,**

**v.  
TAMARIS RAMBERT, et al,  
Defendants.**

**Case No. C-08-CV-22-000824**

**NOTICE**  
Notice is hereby issued this 15 day of May, 2024, that the sale of the property in this case, 4586 SCOTTSDALE PL, PLAC- E WARDORF, MD 20602, reported by Jennifer Deardorff, Attorney for the Substitute Trustee, be ratified and confirmed, unless cause to the contrary be shown on or before the 18th day of June, 2024, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in the Prince Georges County Post, a newspaper published in CHARLES County, Maryland, once in each of three (3) successive weeks on or before the 17th day of June, 2024. The report states the amount of sale to be \$321,000.00.

**Lisa E. Yates  
Clerk  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013461277**

**855 Charles County**

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR  
CHARLES COUNTY,  
MARYLAND**

**KEITH YACKO, et al,  
Substitute Trustee,  
Plaintiff,**

**v.  
TAMARIS RAMBERT, et al,  
Defendants.**

**Case No. C-08-CV-22-000824**

**NOTICE**  
Notice is hereby issued this 15 day of May, 2024, that the sale of the property in this case, 4586 SCOTTSDALE PL, PLAC- E WARDORF, MD 20602, reported by Jennifer Deardorff, Attorney for the Substitute Trustee, be ratified and confirmed, unless cause to the contrary be shown on or before the 18th day of June, 2024, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in the Prince Georges County Post, a newspaper published in CHARLES County, Maryland, once in each of three (3) successive weeks on or before the 17th day of June, 2024. The report states the amount of sale to be \$321,000.00.

**Lisa E. Yates  
Clerk  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013461277**

**851 Prince Georges County**

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR  
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY,  
MARYLAND**

**RUSSELL S. DRAZIN, Trustee  
4400 Jennifer Street, NW, Suite 2  
Washington, DC 20015  
Plaintiff,**

**v.  
NATION HOME BUYERS LLC,  
a Maryland limited liability  
company  
c/o 9501 Badger Ave LLC,  
Resident Agent,  
12138 Central Avenue, Unit 573  
Mitchellville, MD 20721  
Defendant.**

**Case No. C-16-CV-24-001134**

**Action Involving Real Property**  
**6109 Addison Road  
Capitol Heights, MD 20743  
Account ID: 18-20116174**

**NOTICE**  
Notice is hereby issued by the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, Maryland, this 17 day of May, 2024, that the sale of the property mentioned in these proceedings and commonly known as 6109 Addison Road, Capitol Heights, MD 20743, made and reported by Russell S. Drazin, Substitute Trustee, be ratified and confirmed unless cause to the contrary thereof be shown on or before the 17 day of June, 2024, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in Washing- ton Post, once in each for three successive weeks, before the 17 day of June, 2024. The Report of Sale states the amount of sale to be \$160,000.00.

**Mahasin El Amin  
Clerk, Circuit Court for  
Prince George's County,  
Maryland  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0012461299**

**851 Prince Georges County**

**IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR  
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY,  
MARYLAND**

**RUSSELL S. DRAZIN, Trustee  
4400 Jennifer Street, NW, Suite 2  
Washington, DC 20015  
Plaintiff,**

**v.  
NATION HOME BUYERS LLC,  
a Maryland limited liability  
company  
c/o 9501 Badger Ave LLC,  
Resident Agent,  
12138 Central Avenue, Unit 573  
Mitchellville, MD 20721  
Defendant.**

**Case No. C-16-CV-24-001134**

**Action Involving Real Property**  
**6109 Addison Road  
Capitol Heights, MD 20743  
Account ID: 18-20116174**

**NOTICE**  
Notice is hereby issued by the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, Maryland, this 17 day of May, 2024, that the sale of the property mentioned in these proceedings and commonly known as 6109 Addison Road, Capitol Heights, MD 20743, made and reported by Russell S. Drazin, Substitute Trustee, be ratified and confirmed unless cause to the contrary thereof be shown on or before the 17 day of June, 2024, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in Washing- ton Post, once in each for three successive weeks, before the 17 day of June, 2024. The Report of Sale states the amount of sale to be \$160,000.00.

**Mahasin El Amin  
Clerk, Circuit Court for  
Prince George's County,  
Maryland  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0012461299**

**856 Frederick County**

**CIRCUIT COURT  
FOR  
FREDERICK COUNTY,  
MARYLAND  
100 West Patrick Street  
Frederick, Maryland 21701  
Clerk of the Court: 301-600-1976  
Assignment Office:  
301-600-2015**

**KEITH YACKO  
VS.  
AMBER HOLMES**

**Case Number:  
C-10-CV-23-000818  
Other Reference Numbers:  
Date: 5/14/2024**

**NOTICE OF SALE**  
Notice is hereby issued by the Circuit Court for Frederick County, this 14th day of May 2024, that the sale made and recorded by Jennifer Deardorff for the sale of the property described in these proceedings

**6 East G St,  
Brunswick, MD 21716**

be ratified and confirmed thirty (30) days from the date of this Notice, unless cause to the contrary be shown, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in this County once in each of three (3) successive weeks. The report states the amount of the sale to be \$216,392.00.

**Mahasin El Amin#723  
Clerk of the Circuit Court  
Prince George's County, MD  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013460779**

**Sandra K. Dalton  
Clerk of the Circuit Court  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013461149**

**856 Frederick County**

**CIRCUIT COURT  
FOR  
FREDERICK COUNTY,  
MARYLAND  
100 West Patrick Street  
Frederick, Maryland 21701  
Clerk of the Court: 301-600-1976  
Assignment Office:  
301-600-2015**

**KEITH YACKO  
VS.  
AMBER HOLMES**

**Case Number:  
C-10-CV-23-000818  
Other Reference Numbers:  
Date: 5/14/2024**

**NOTICE OF SALE**  
Notice is hereby issued by the Circuit Court for Frederick County, this 14th day of May 2024, that the sale made and recorded by Jennifer Deardorff for the sale of the property described in these proceedings

**6 East G St,  
Brunswick, MD 21716**

be ratified and confirmed thirty (30) days from the date of this Notice, unless cause to the contrary be shown, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in this County once in each of three (3) successive weeks. The report states the amount of the sale to be \$216,392.00.

**Mahasin El Amin#723  
Clerk of the Circuit Court  
Prince George's County, MD  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013460779**

**Sandra K. Dalton  
Clerk of the Circuit Court  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013461149**

**856 Frederick County**

**CIRCUIT COURT  
FOR  
FREDERICK COUNTY,  
MARYLAND  
100 West Patrick Street  
Frederick, Maryland 21701  
Clerk of the Court: 301-600-1976  
Assignment Office:  
301-600-2015**

**KEITH YACKO  
VS.  
AMBER HOLMES**

**Case Number:  
C-10-CV-23-000818  
Other Reference Numbers:  
Date: 5/14/2024**

**NOTICE OF SALE**  
Notice is hereby issued by the Circuit Court for Frederick County, this 14th day of May 2024, that the sale made and recorded by Jennifer Deardorff for the sale of the property described in these proceedings

**6 East G St,  
Brunswick, MD 21716**

be ratified and confirmed thirty (30) days from the date of this Notice, unless cause to the contrary be shown, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in this County once in each of three (3) successive weeks. The report states the amount of the sale to be \$216,392.00.

**Mahasin El Amin#723  
Clerk of the Circuit Court  
Prince George's County, MD  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013460779**

**Sandra K. Dalton  
Clerk of the Circuit Court  
May 21,28,Jun 4 2024 0013461149**

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**856 Frederick County**

**CIRCUIT COURT  
FOR  
FREDERICK COUNTY,  
MARYLAND  
100 West Patrick Street  
Frederick, Maryland 21701  
Clerk of the Court: 301-600-1976  
Assignment Office:  
301-600-2015**

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TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 2024

840

Trustees Sale - DC

840

Trustees Sale - DC

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Trustees Sale - DC

COURT APPOINTED TRUSTEE  
FORECLOSURE SALE OF REAL PROPERTY  
3900 14th Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20011  
Various Units to be sold at this Property

In execution of the Superior Court for District of Columbia's ("Court") Order/Decree in Case #2018-CA-007937-B ("Case"), the below identified Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction the specific units of real property described in a Deed of Trust dated September 26, 2007, recorded as Instrument No. 2007126177 among the D.C. Land Records, located at 3900 14th Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20011, including the various specific units as further identified herein (the "Property"), at the office of HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS INC., 5335 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 440, Washington, DC, 20015, 410-769-9797 on

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12, 2024, AT 11:00 A.M.

The Property legal description and the specific units being sold are more particularly described as follows:

Parcel 83/74, being part of the tract of land called "Padsworth" and known as part of Lot 5-B as shown on plat recorded in Liber L.C. Carberry at folio 24 of the Records of the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia as described as follows:

BEGINNING on the North line of said Lot, 85.25 feet West line of Fourteenth Street, said point being at the Northwest corner of Lot 32 in Square 2693, and running thence South 157.44 feet to the Southwest corner of Lot 39 in Square 2693; thence East, 85 feet to Fourteenth Street; thence South with West line of said Street, 79.63 feet to the South line of said Lot 5-B; thence North 84 degrees 07' 30" West, 430.24 feet to the Southeast corner of the land conveyed to United States of America by deed recorded in Liber 7456 at folio 13 among the Land Records of the District of Columbia; thence North with the East line of said conveyance 219.46 feet to the North line of said Lot 5-B; and thence with said North line South 96 degrees 36' 30" East 343.99 feet to the point of beginning.

Said specific units of the Property being sold being now known for assessment and taxation purposes by the following Square and Lot numbers.

- Square: 2693 Lot: 2001
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2002
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2005
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2007
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2008
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2014
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2016
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2026
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2031
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2034
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2041
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2053
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2054
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2064
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2081
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2085
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2097
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2113
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2130
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2139
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2140
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2141
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2143
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2147
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2149
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2153
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2156
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2159
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2160
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2167
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2174
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2177
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2178
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2180
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2182
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2183
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2187
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2192
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2201
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2205
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2207
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2208
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2210
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2212
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2221
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2226
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2232
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2233
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2234
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2240
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2241
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2244
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2246
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2254
- Square: 2693 Lot: 2255

The Property also includes the parking spaces identified as parking spaces 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 11, 15, 18, 21, and 22.

The specific units of the Property will be sold by Trustee's Deed "as is" without any covenant, expressed or implied, in fee simple, subject to conditions, restrictions, easements, and all other recorded instruments superior to the Deed of Trust referenced above, and subject to ratification by the Court.

TERMS OF SALE: In addition to, and without limiting the foregoing, the Property will be sold subject to a senior deed of trust, the amount to be announced at the time of sale if available to the Trustee. The Property will also be sold subject to the Court's determination of those certain movants' rights to be determined in the motion seeking rescission of certain agreements to restore movants to the status of tenants, said movants having filed the motion in the Case and their units being identified in the motion as:

Occupants of unit 714 (Square: 2693 Lot: 2130);  
Occupants of unit 109 (Square: 2693 Lot: 2008); and  
Occupants of unit 118 (Square: 2693 Lot: 2014).

All of the identified units in the Property will be sold in the aggregate. A deposit of ten percent (10%) of the winning bid amount will be required at time of sale, such deposit to be in the form of a certified check, or in such other form as the Trustee may determine, in his sole discretion. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for the Noteholder and any of its successors or assigns. The Noteholder may bid up to the amount owed on the Note plus all costs and expenses of sale on credit and may submit a written bid to the Trustee which shall be announced at sale. The Balance of the purchase price to be paid in certified funds within sixty (60) days of final ratification of the sale by the Court. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. If Purchaser fails to settle within the aforesaid sixty (60) days of the ratification, the Purchaser agrees to pay the Trustee's reasonable attorney fees as ordered by the Court, plus all costs incurred, if the Trustee has filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the Property. Purchaser waives personal service of any paper filed with the Court in connection with such motion and any Show Cause Order issued by the Court and expressly agrees to accept service of any such paper or Order by certified mail and regular mail sent to the address provided by the Purchaser and as recorded on the documents executed by the Purchaser at the time of the sale. Service shall be deemed effective upon the Purchaser 3 days after postmarked by the United States Post Office. It is expressly agreed by the Purchaser that actual receipt of the certified mail is not required for service to be effective. If the Purchaser fails to go to settlement the deposit shall be forfeited to the Trustee and all expenses of this sale (including attorney fees and full commission on the gross sales price of the sale) shall be charged against and paid from the forfeited deposit. In the event of resale the defaulting Purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the Property regardless of any improvements made to the Property. Interest is to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate of 9.5% per annum from the date of sale to the date the funds are received in the office of the Trustee. In the event that the settlement is delayed for ANY REASON WHATSOEVER, there shall be no abatement of interest. Taxes, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, to be adjusted for the current year to date of sale and assumed thereafter by the Purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for the costs of all transfer taxes, documentary stamps and all other costs incident to settlement. Purchaser shall be responsible for physical possession of the Property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss from the date of sale forward. If the Trustee is unable to convey good and marketable title, the Purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the deposit to the Purchaser. The sale is subject to post sale audit by the Noteholder to determine whether the borrower filed bankruptcy, entered into any repayment/forbearance agreement, reinstated or paid off prior to the sale. In any such event the Purchaser agrees that upon notification by the Trustee of such event the sale is null and void and of no legal effect and the deposit returned without interest.

Benjamin P. Smith, Trustee



May 14, 21, 28, Jun 4 2024 0012457719

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Rockville, MD 20852  
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

14806 SADDLE CREEK DRIVE  
BURTONSVILLE, MD 20866

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated October 31, 2019, recorded in Liber 58602, Folio 254 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$625,969.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JUNE 21, 2024 AT 11:50 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$62,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 366209-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,  
Substitute Trustees

908 York Road • Towson, MD 21204 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com

Jun 4, 11, 18 2024 0012462112

BWV Law Group, LLC  
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101  
Rockville, MD 20852  
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

5804 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE  
BETHESDA, MD 20816

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated March 23, 2010, recorded in Liber 39100, Folio 271 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$400,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JUNE 21, 2024 AT 11:52 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$7,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 367672-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,  
Substitute Trustees

Jun 4, 11, 18 2024 0012462113

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Montgomery County

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Montgomery County

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Montgomery County

BWV Law Group, LLC  
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101  
Rockville, MD 20852  
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

709 BRANDON GREEN DRIVE  
SILVER SPRING, MD 20904

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated July 15, 1998, recorded in Liber 16071, Folio 563 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$243,750.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JUNE 7, 2024 AT 3:55 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$21,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 333423-3)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,  
Substitute Trustees

908 York Road • Towson, MD 21204 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com

May 21, 28, Jun 4 2024 0012460739

McCabe, Weisberg & Conway, LLC  
312 Marshall Avenue, Suite 800  
Laurel, MD 20707  
www.mwc-law.com

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

3201 GOLD MINE ROAD  
BROOKVILLE, MD 20833

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from William Jonathan Bugg and Johanna Elizabeth Bugg, dated July 24, 2000 and recorded in Liber 18272, Folio 365 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, default having occurred under the terms thereof and at the request of the parties secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustees will offer for sale at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JUNE 7, 2024 AT 4:00 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND AND THE IMPROVEMENTS THEREON situated in Montgomery County, Maryland and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property is improved by a dwelling.

The property, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions, easements, encumbrances and agreements of record affecting the subject property, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit in the form of cashier's or certified check, or in such other form as the Substitute Trustees may determine, at their sole discretion, for \$32,000 at the time of sale. If the noteholder and/or servicer is the successful bidder, the deposit requirement is waived. Balance of the purchase price is to be paid within ten (10) days of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, Maryland. Interest is to be paid on the unpaid purchase price at the rate of 5% per annum from date of sale to the date the funds are received in the office of the Substitute Trustees, if the property is purchased by an entity other than the noteholder and/or servicer. If payment of the balance does not occur within ten (10) days of ratification, the deposit will be forfeited as liquidated damages. The purchaser agrees that the property may be resold pursuant to an order of court, waives personal service upon themselves and/or any principal or corporate designees of any documents filed regarding the failure to pay the purchase price within ten (10) days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail of said documents at the address provided by the purchaser in the Memorandum of Sale. The purchaser will not be entitled to any surplus or profits arising from the resale even if they are the result of improvements made by the purchaser. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event settlement is delayed for any reason. Taxes, water rent, and all other public charges and assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges to be adjusted for the current year to the date of sale, and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Cost of all documentary stamps, transfer taxes (including agricultural transfer taxes, if applicable), and all settlement charges shall be borne by the purchaser. The sale is subject to a post sale audit of the loan, including but not limited to an analysis of whether the borrower entered into a loan modification agreement and bankruptcy, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. The Substitute Trustees will convey either insurable or marketable title. If the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey insurable or marketable title or, the post sale audit concludes that the sale should not have occurred, or the sale is not ratified by the court for any reason, the purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the deposit without interest even if the purchaser has made improvements to the property. Upon refund of the deposit, the sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Substitute Trustees. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. The purchaser at the foreclosure sale shall assume the risk of loss for the property immediately after the sale. (Matter #2012-27938).

The property will be sold subject to a 120 day right of redemption by the Internal Revenue Service.

Laura H. G. O'Sullivan, et al., Substitute Trustees

May 21, 28, Jun 4 2024 0012460155

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Montgomery County

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Montgomery County

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Montgomery County

Robertson, Anschutz, Schneid & Crane, LLC  
11350 McCormick Road, EP 1, Suite 302  
Hunt Valley, MD 21031  
470-321-7112

TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS  
8208 FLOWER AVE  
TAKOMA PARK, MD 20912

Under a power of sale contained in that Deed of Trust dated May 17, 2013, and recorded in Liber 47165, folio 411, of the land records of MONTGOMERY COUNTY , with an original principal balance of \$113,473.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the appointed Substitute Trustees will offer for sale at public auction at the MONTGOMERY COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 50 MARYLAND AVENUE, ROCKVILLE, MD 20850 ON,

JUNE 12, 2024 at 1:00 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND together with any buildings or improvements thereon situated in MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD, located at the above address and more fully described in the aforementioned Deed of Trust.

TAX-ID# - 13-01061856

The property and improvements will be sold in an "AS IS" physical condition without warranty of any kind and subject to all conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, including any condominium or homeowners association assessments pursuant to MD Real Property Article A§11-110 and A§118-117.

TERMS OF SALE: A non-refundable bidder's deposit of \$6,500.00 by cashier's/certified check or such other form as the Substitute Trustee may determine, in their sole discretion, required at time of sale except for the party secured by the Deed of Trust. Risk of loss on purchaser from date and time of auction. The balance of the purchase price together with interest thereon at 4.000% per annum from date of sale to receipt of purchase price by Substitute Trustees must be paid by cashier's check within 10 days after final ratification of sale. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event that additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. All real estate taxes and other public charges and/or assessments to be adjusted as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. If applicable, any condominium and/or homeowners association dues and assessments that may become due after the date of sale shall be purchaser's responsibility. Purchaser shall pay all transfer, documentary and recording taxes/fees and all other settlement costs. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining possession of the property. Time is of the essence for the purchaser. If purchaser defaults, deposit will be forfeited and property resold at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser who shall be liable for any deficiency in the purchase price and all costs, expenses and attorney's fees of both sales. If Substitute Trustees do not convey title for any reason, purchaser's sole remedy is return of deposit without interest. This sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan secured by the Deed of Trust including but not limited to determining whether prior to sale a bankruptcy was filed; forbearance, repayment or other agreement was entered into; or loan was reinstated or paid off. In any such event this sale shall be null and void and purchaser's sole remedy shall be return of deposit without interest. File No. (23-151787)

Keith Yacko, David Williamson, Bryson Stephen,  
Substitute Trustees

300 E. Joppa Road  
Hunt Valley, MD 21031  
410-769-9797

May 28, Jun 4, 11 2024 0012459294

TERMS OF SALE: A non-refundable bidder's deposit of \$6,500.00 by cashier's/certified check or such other form as the Substitute Trustee may determine, in their sole discretion, required at time of sale except for the party secured by the Deed of Trust. Risk of loss on purchaser from date and time of auction. The balance of the purchase price together with interest thereon at 4.000% per annum from date of sale to receipt of purchase price by Substitute Trustees must be paid by cashier's check within 10 days after final ratification of sale. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event that additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. All real estate taxes and other public charges and/or assessments to be adjusted as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. If applicable, any condominium and/or homeowners association dues and assessments that may become due after the date of sale shall be purchaser's responsibility. Purchaser shall pay all transfer, documentary and recording taxes/fees and all other settlement costs. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining possession of the property. Time is of the essence for the purchaser. If purchaser defaults, deposit will be forfeited and property resold at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser who shall be liable for any deficiency in the purchase price and all costs, expenses and attorney's fees of both sales. If Substitute Trustees do not convey title for any reason, purchaser's sole remedy is return of deposit without interest. This sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan secured by the Deed of Trust including but not limited to determining whether prior to sale a bankruptcy was filed; forbearance, repayment or other agreement was entered into; or loan was reinstated or paid off. In any such event this sale shall be null and void and purchaser's sole remedy shall be return of deposit without interest. File No. (23-151787)

Keith Yacko, David Williamson, Bryson Stephen,  
Substitute Trustees

May 28, Jun 4, 11 2024 0012459294

Robertson, Anschutz, Schneid & Crane, LLC  
11350 McCormick Road, EP 1, Suite 302  
Hunt Valley, MD 21031  
470-321-7112

TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS  
15101 INTERLACHEN DRIVE UNIT 1-920  
SILVER SPRING, MD 20906

Under a power of sale contained in that Deed of Trust dated September 7, 2007, and recorded in Liber 34877, folio 453, of the land records of MONTGOMERY COUNTY , with an original principal balance of \$200,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the appointed Substitute Trustees will offer for sale at public auction at the MONTGOMERY COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 50 MARYLAND AVENUE, ROCKVILLE, MD 20850 ON,

JUNE 12, 2024 at 1:00 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND together with any buildings or improvements thereon situated in MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD, located at the above address and more fully described in the aforementioned Deed of Trust.

TAX-ID# - 13-02408326

The property and improvements will be sold in an "AS IS" physical condition without warranty of any kind and subject to all conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, including any condominium or homeowners association assessments pursuant to MD Real Property Article A§11-110 and A§118-117.

TERMS OF SALE: A non-refundable bidder's deposit of \$14,500.00 by cashier's/certified check or such other form as the Substitute Trustee may determine, in their sole discretion, required at time of sale except for the party secured by the Deed of Trust. Risk of loss on purchaser from date and time of auction. The balance of the purchase price together with interest thereon at 7.500% per annum from date of sale to receipt of purchase price by Substitute Trustees must be paid by cashier's check within 10 days after final ratification of sale. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event that additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. All real estate taxes and other public charges and/or assessments to be adjusted as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. If applicable, any condominium and/or homeowners association dues and assessments that may become due after the date of sale shall be purchaser's responsibility. Purchaser shall pay all transfer, documentary and recording taxes/fees and all other settlement costs. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining possession of the property. Time is of the essence for the purchaser. If purchaser defaults, deposit will be forfeited and property resold at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser who shall be liable for any deficiency in the purchase price and all costs, expenses and attorney's fees of both sales. If Substitute Trustees do not convey title for any reason, purchaser's sole remedy is return of deposit without interest. This sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan secured by the Deed of Trust including but not limited to determining whether prior to sale a bankruptcy was filed; forbearance, repayment or other agreement was entered into; or loan was reinstated or paid off. In any such event this sale shall be null and void and purchaser's sole remedy shall be return of deposit without interest. File No. (23-146497)

Keith Yacko, David Williamson, Bryson Stephen,  
Substitute Trustees

May 28, Jun 4, 11 2024 0012459320

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TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 2024

EZ

851 Prince Georges County

851 Prince Georges County

Samuel I. White, P.C.  
448 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 350  
VIRIGINA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY  
KNOWN AS  
6500 Grafton Street  
District Heights, MD 20747

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to ECHOLS PURSER AND GLENN, PLLC, Trustee(s), dated July 15, 2009, and recorded among the Land Records of **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND** in Liber 30869, folio 554, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 ON,

JUNE 6, 2024 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NUMBERED FOURTEEN (14) IN BLOCK LETTERED TWO (2), SECTION ONE, IN THE SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "BERKSHIRE SUBDIVISION", AS PER PLAT BOOK BB 15, PLAT NUMBER 12, AS RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 2.875% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest for any reason. Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. There will be no abatement of taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments for any reason. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited, and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser and the purchaser agrees to pay reasonable attorneys' fees for the Substitute trustees, plus all cost incurred, if the Substitute Trustee's have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit.

The sale is subject to post-sale confirmation and audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into a repayment agreement, reinstated, or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sol remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Trustee's File No. (86485)

Robert A. Jones, et al SUBSTITUE TRUSTEES



May 21,28,Jun 4 2024

0012458558

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448 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 350  
VIRIGINA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY  
KNOWN AS  
1406 Pacific Avenue  
Capitol Heights, MD 20743

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to CAROL LEET, Trustee(s), dated April 11, 2006, and recorded among the Land Records of **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND** in Liber 25649, folio 600, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 ON,

JUNE 6, 2024 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

LOTS NUMBERED SIXTEEN (16), SEVENTEEN (17), ONE HUNDRED TEN (110) AND ONE HUNDRED ELEVEN (111), IN BLOCK TWO (2) IN A SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "SPAULDING HEIGHTS", AS PER PLAT THEREOF RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND IN PLAT BOOK A AT FOLIO 81 SAVING AND EXCEPTING THEREFROM, ALL THOSE PORTIONS THEREOF CONTAINING 5,075 SQUARE FEET ACQUIRED BY THE STATE OF MARYLAND TO THE USE OF THE STATE ROADS COMMISSION OF MARYLAND BY INSTRUMENTS DATED FEBRUARY 24, 1951 AND RECORDED IN LIBER 1332 AT FOLIO 428 AND LIBER 1332 AT FOLIO 429 OF THE AFORESAID LAND RECORDS AND SHOWN ON STATE ROADS COMMISSION PLATS NO. 9001 AND 9002.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 7.24% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest for any reason. Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. There will be no abatement of taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments for any reason. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited, and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser and the purchaser agrees to pay reasonable attorneys' fees for the Substitute trustees, plus all cost incurred, if the Substitute Trustee's have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit.

The sale is subject to post-sale confirmation and audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into a repayment agreement, reinstated, or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sol remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Trustee's File No. (80556)

Robert A. Jones, et al SUBSTITUE TRUSTEES



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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY  
5561 Wordsworth Place  
White Plains, MD 20695

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from TYRELL EMMANUEL MCRAE, dated November 27, 2019 and recorded in Liber 10914, folio 509 MODIFIED ON MARCH 24, 2022 IN LIBER 12468 FOLIO 58; among the Land Records of **CHARLES COUNTY, MD**, default having occurred the pending Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-08-CV-23-000291; Tax ID No.08-357494 ) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET ( IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS ), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on

JUNE 5, 2024 at 12:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$30,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK, CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for CHARLES COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 23-001907)

JAMES E. CLARKE,  
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE



May 21,28,Jun 4 2024

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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

3531 WINTHROP LANE  
FREDERICK, MD 21704

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated January 19, 2007, recorded in Liber 6436, Folio 519 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$358,200.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

JUNE 21, 2024 at 10:40 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$33,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 356315-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,  
Substitute Trustees



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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

9551 WOODBLOCK ROW  
COLUMBIA, MD 21045

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Jesse Ardon and Sandra J. Ardon dated October 12, 2006 and recorded in Liber 10336, folio 8 among the Land Records of Howard County, MD, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Howard County, at the Court House Door, 9250 Judicial Way, Ellicott City, MD 21043, on

JUNE 7, 2024 at 12:20 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with the buildings and improvements thereon situated in Howard County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. Tax ID #16-102563.

The property, which is improved by a dwelling, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$34,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for Howard County. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received in the office of the Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. There will be no reduction of interest due to overpayment of deposit. Adjustment of all real property taxes (excluding recapture of previously reduced or exempt taxes) and any other public charges or assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer charges, and ground rent to be adjusted to date of sale and paid at execution of the deed, except where the secured party is the purchaser, and thereafter assumed by the purchaser. All due and/or unpaid private utility, water and sewer facilities charges, condo/HOA assessments and Columbia Assoc. assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, are payable by the purchaser without adjustment. Cost of all documentary stamps, transfer taxes, recaptured taxes (including but not limited to agricultural taxes), and settlement expenses shall be borne by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. Additional terms to be announced at the time of sale.

If the Trustees are unable to convey good and marketable title, the purchaser's sole remedy in law and equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit without interest. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement, the deposit shall be forfeited, to the Trustees for application against all expenses, attorney's fees and the full commission on the sale price of the above-scheduled foreclosure sale. In the event of default, all expenses of this sale (including attorney's fees and the full commission on the gross sale price of this sale) shall be charged against and paid out of the forfeited deposit. The Trustees may then re-advertise and resell the property at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser or may avail themselves of any legal or equitable remedies against the defaulting purchaser without reselling the property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive the surplus, if any, even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulting purchaser and the defaulting purchaser shall be liable to the Trustees and secured party for reasonable attorney's fees and expenses incurred in connection with all litigation involving the Property or the proceeds of the resale. Defaulting purchaser waives personal service of any document filed in connection with such a motion on him/ herself and/or any principal or corporate designee, and expressly agrees to accept service of any such document by regular mail directed to the address provided by said purchaser at the time of the foreclosure auction. Trustees' file number 22-001274-MD-F-1.

Diane S. Rosenberg, Mark D. Meyer, et al., Trustees



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BY BARBARA S. MOFFET  
IN SARASOTA, FLA.

The research vessel Martha Jane glided slowly across the teal waters of Sarasota Bay on Florida's Gulf Coast under a cloudless sky tailor-made for tourists on a recent day. "There's 2094!" one of the scientists on the boat called out. "She's still with us!"

The bottlenose dolphin known to researchers as 2094 had poked her dorsal fin out of the water for only a few seconds, but that was enough to identify her as a young female that had been the focus of a dramatic rescue from a fishing line a year ago.

No. 2094 is one of thousands of dolphins registered in the Sarasota Dolphin Research Program's database, each individual identified by the nicks and notches on their dorsal — or back — fins.

The world's longest-running study of a wild dolphin population, the Sarasota effort has sighted and recorded more than 5,750 dolphins and made the shallow waters of Sarasota Bay a living laboratory for 53 years.

Among the program's key findings: The individual dolphins here live in specific "neighborhoods" generation after generation, forming a mosaic of adjacent communities along Florida's west coast. Many males forge buddy pairs for protection and stay together for life. And hetero- and same-sex

SEE DOLPHINS ON E2



SAUL MARTINEZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**TOP:** Two long-term resident dolphins in Florida's Sarasota Bay.  
**ABOVE:** Sarasota Dolphin Research Program Director Randy Wells.

WELL+BEING

## Don't let one tiny tick ruin your summer

BY MARLENE CIMONS

When Neal Nemhauser, 76, a retired accountant from Portland, Ore., visited a friend in Pennsylvania a few years ago, his friend's part-time outdoor cat curled in his lap. He didn't notice that a tiny tick had made its way onto his body through an opening in his shirt.

Several days later, an inflamed bulls'-eye rash appeared on his stomach where the arachnid had landed. Two weeks later, he was ill with Lyme disease. (He fully recovered after taking antibiotics.) "I was sicker than I have ever been," he said, with chills, fever, night sweats, coughing, appetite loss, headache, extreme fatigue and bloody urine. "I was sleeping for most of the first week and unable to eat. The coughing was painful and scary when I couldn't take a breath. Even the energy to get to the bathroom

SEE TICKS ON E4

## A writer says it's time to reinvent midlife

BY LISA J. WISE

Midlife desperately needs a makeover. Too few of us dream of glory and glamour in our second half. But best-selling author Chip Conley, a hospitality entrepreneur who co-founded the Modern Elder Academy, thinks differently.

In his book "Learning to Love Midlife: 12 Reasons Why Life Gets Better With Age," Conley, 63, asks: "What if we could reframe our thinking about the natural transition of midlife not as a crisis, but as a chrysalis — a time when something profound awakens in us, as we shed our skin, spread our wings, and pollinate our wisdom to the world?"

With the American population rapidly aging, there's a new urgency for refram-

We should see the transition to our second half 'not as a crisis, but as a chrysalis'



ISTOCK

ing midlife as a promising time of positive transformation. Conley shared his thoughts on how to achieve this with The Washington Post.

*The following conversation with Conley — which was conducted via email — has been edited for brevity and clarity.*

### Who was your role model for midlife transformation?

My father. He is a bit of a rebel but took the safe path in corporate America. Both his father and my mom's dad only worked for one company in their 40-year careers.

At a time when my parents had two kids at Stanford and another one about to go to [the University of California at

SEE MIDLIFE ON E4

### ARCHAEOLOGY

Skull reveals ancient Egyptian effort to treat brain cancer. **E2**

### AGING

Strategies for improving your stability as you get older. **E3**



COURTESY OF TONDINI, ISIDRO, CAMARÓS, 2024

### REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

New research suggests girls are getting their periods earlier. **E3**

### RELATIONSHIPS

Science-based tips for managing conflicts effectively. **E5**

WELL+BEING

## In-person friends are good for you

BY MARTA ZARASKA

María Branyas, who, at 117, is the oldest known living person on Earth, believes that one of the secrets to a long and healthy life lies in having "a good connection with friends and family."

A growing body of research shows the "supercentenarian" might be onto something. It's long been known that people who enjoy high-quality friendships have better health — the effect is so strong it's comparable to the longevity benefit of eating a Mediterranean diet.

But simply having good friends and feeling connected isn't enough. Research suggests that for our health to truly thrive, we need to physically meet with our friends on a regular basis.

A recent study analyzed data from nearly 13,000 volunteers, examining not only their number of friends but also

SEE FRIENDSHIP ON E5





SAUL MARTINEZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



BROOKFIELD ZOO CHICAGO'S SARASOTA DOLPHIN RESEARCH PROGRAM UNDER NMFS/MMPA SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PERMITS



BROOKFIELD ZOO CHICAGO'S SARASOTA DOLPHIN RESEARCH PROGRAM UNDER NMFS/MMPA SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PERMITS



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BROOKFIELD ZOO CHICAGO'S SARASOTA DOLPHIN RESEARCH PROGRAM UNDER NMFS/MMPA SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PERMITS

# Fla. team makes leaps in dolphin research

DOLPHINS FROM E1

interactions are used to establish and maintain social bonds over dolphin life spans that can stretch well past the age of 60.

## Not ‘humans in wet suits’

In 1970, when the Sarasota Dolphin Research Program launched, dolphins were the subject of numerous romantic myths, including that they were intelligent and kind — animals that could be friends and even movie stars.

People viewed them as “humans in wet suits,” said Randy Wells, the director of the program, which is administered by the Brookfield Zoo Chicago.

But research has shown that, while they are highly intelligent, they have sensory systems very different from those of humans and a complex and unique means of communication. Listening stations the program installed around Sarasota Bay have recorded thousands of hours of dolphin vocalizations, and the team’s work with collaborators has shown that each dolphin has its own whistle, used for life like a name.

*The team has shown that each dolphin has its own whistle, used for life like a name.*

People also once believed that dolphins liked being near humans and benefited from food hand-outs. But the researchers have found that interactions with people can have dire consequences — including raising risks of the marine mammals ingesting inappropriate food, being exposed to spinning boat propellers and becoming entangled in fishing gear.

When the program started, no one knew whether dolphins generally ranged widely or stayed local — key information for wildlife managers. Using radio tracking devices and other tools, the researchers found that the roughly 170 dolphins that live in Sarasota Bay are organized in a definable range that is their home for life.

Generation after generation also stay in the same area and raise families. One 67-year-old female has given birth in a particular neighborhood at least 12 times, the program says. Before the study began, scientists had no idea bottlenose dolphins could live into

their 60s in the wild.

## A dolphin’s day

A day in the life of a Sarasota Bay dolphin is one of constant motion in which they feed on a variety of fish, travel, socialize with others and, finally, rest. Program scientists have observed the dolphins moving fluidly in and out of groups, depending on whom they encounter.

Nurseries made up of mothers and their youngest calves will swim together for a while, and independent juveniles join up with each other to practice skills needed later in life. During these activities, the dolphins are seeking prey while also keeping an eye out for predatory sharks and boat traffic as well as other disruptive human activities.

Sarasota Bay dolphins dine on a wide variety of fish, the data shows. They use their superb hearing to target prey fish such as toadfish and sea trout, which produce sounds.

Wells said that over the years, the team consistently documented pairs of the same males surfacing together, in a sort of buddy system that begins around the age of 10 and can last a lifetime. The pairs — which are unusual among mammals — protect the animals from predators when they’re resting. And during mating, one dolphin often stands guard while the other spends time with a female. When temporarily separated, the dolphins sometimes call to each other, apparently to maintain contact.

Bottlenose dolphins are very active sexually, Wells says. Both heterosexual and homosexual interactions are used to create social bonds, he says, not just for procreation.

## The greatest threats

The Sarasota Bay study animals are urban dolphins, living among a burgeoning human population and nearly constant exposure to boat traffic.

Fifty thousand boats are registered in the dolphins’ home range within the bay, and boats pass within 100 yards of a dolphin an average of every six minutes during the day. Program staff were among the first to document the threats of death and serious injury to the dolphins caused by interactions with recreational fishing.

“Interaction with fisheries is the most common cause of death,” said Gretchen Lovewell, program manager of Mote Marine Laboratory’s Stranding Investigations Program, based in Sarasota. Lovewell works closely with Wells’s team to help fill in the

dolphins’ life story, studying the animals’ skeletons to determine cause of death — and how they lived.

The bones sometimes reflect a darker side of dolphin behavior, one that belies the smiling caricature perpetuated by sympathetic images. The animals have powerful tails and beaks and use them against each other during conflicts. With males reaching more than nine feet in length and weighing as much as 660 pounds, such conflicts can be lethal.

Some of the bones of calves that Lovewell has examined show signs of being bashed by adult dolphins — deep teeth marks, broken bones and bruising around the babies’ jaws where adults apparently rammed them.

*The skeletons of dolphins sometimes reflect a darker side of their behavior.*

“Dolphins can be big, mean jerks,” Lovewell says.

Besides tangling with recreational fishing, the dolphins increasingly grapple with other threats. After recent severe outbreaks of a harmful algal bloom known as red tide, the dolphins altered their ranging and social patterns, interacting with anglers and boaters more often, with sometimes fatal results.

Dolphin encounters with sharks also rose, probably because red tide’s lethal effects on the fish that sharks normally consume caused them to prey on dolphins instead. However, researchers have documented more healed shark bite marks on paired males than single males, leading scientists to believe wounded paired dolphins survive attacks more often.

## Climate change and blubber

Climate change has scientists concerned for the dolphins’ future. The animals’ blubber thickness and lipid content go up and down in response to seasonal temperature changes, the program team has found. “With climate change, rising water temperatures in areas where they live come close to the dolphins’ body temperature, and there’s a limit to how much blubber they can shed to adapt,” Wells said.

In some ways, dolphins can

serve as canaries in a global ocean coal mine.

“Understanding dolphin health, behavior and biology helps us conserve dolphins in the wild and better protect their populations,” said Michael Adkesson, president and CEO of the Brookfield Zoo Chicago, which oversees animal conservation projects around the world, including the Sarasota program. “It also provides valuable information on the overall health of the oceans and marine landscapes that impact countless other species, including humans.”

Techniques developed by the team in Sarasota Bay have been used to help other scientists unravel the structure of dolphin populations and conserve them across the country and around the world, including endangered bottlenose dolphins in Greece and Mekong River dolphins in Cambodia.

Small franciscana dolphins that were dying in local fishermen’s nets in two Argentina bays were tracked in collaboration with Argentine scientists using the program’s satellite-linked transmitters, determining that the animals’ range closely matched the fishing zone. The findings have been used by the fishermen and the Argentine government to help protect the dolphins.

Data gathered by the program over the years has contributed to National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration management plans for the species and has guided officials’ handling of environmental disasters such as the 2010 Deepwater Horizon oil spill.

The Sarasota-based method of temporarily restraining wild dolphins for health assessments was central to understanding the impact of the spill in Louisiana’s Barataria Bay, which was heavily oiled by the spill. The dolphins were found to have significant levels of adrenal toxicity and lung disease, among other disorders related to petroleum hydrocarbon exposure and toxicity.

“The techniques and long-term data coming from Sarasota served as the baseline for the data obtained in Barataria Bay,” said Michael Moore, senior scientist at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in Massachusetts.

“Teams and tools developed by the Sarasota Dolphin Research Program were deployed in the spill area and led to a whole new understanding of how these disasters impact marine mammals,” Moore added. “None of this would have happened without the tools Randy Wells and his team developed.”

## ARCHAEOLOGY

# Ancient skull reveals ‘milestone in the history of medicine’ and cancer

BY BEN BRASCH

Edgard Camarós and his team were looking at a screen connected to a powerful camera aimed at an Egyptian skull from about 4,500 years ago. What they saw changed the previously understood timeline of when humans may have tried to treat cancer.

The image on the screen was definitive, he said — “It was clear that we were looking at a milestone in the history of medicine” — but nobody spoke for a few seconds.

“That was one of those eureka moments,” he told The Washington Post.

Camarós, a professor of archaeology at the University of Santiago de Compostela in Spain, and his team say they found proof that moves forward our understanding of when humans tried to treat cancer by 1,000 years. He and his team published a report Wednesday in the *Frontiers in Medicine* journal, detailing how they found markings indicating that ancient scientists were trying to remove cancer from a skull.

Cancer was the second-leading cause of death in 2022 in the United States, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, with 608,000.

Any multicellular life form is at risk of cancer, Camarós said. Even the dinosaurs were prone to cancer.

“If we understand how cancer evolves, we may understand about ourselves,” he said. And if researchers can find out how certain cancers changed or vanished, maybe they can better tackle modern-day forms of the disease.

To Camarós, oncology isn’t just about the past 20 years of successful innovation but also about thousands of years of scientific curiosity and trying to understand the disease to improve human lives. And this skull discovery

moves everything forward just a bit, he said.

“It’s like witnessing the starting point of something,” he said.

The team was studying the skull to get a better sense of cancer in antiquity when they came across a cut mark from a metallic object near where a tumor had been. It meant that scientists about 4,500 years ago were either trying to treat cancer or were conducting a medical autopsy, both of which are news to historians.

The skull, No. 236, had been in the Duckworth Collection at Cambridge University for years after being found in 20th-century Giza, Egypt. The skull was last studied in the 1960s, when a professor confirmed that the skull had contained cancer, which Camarós said was an advanced discovery at the time.

But technology has changed a lot in six decades.

Camarós, who said he has a passion for oncology and archaeology, instantly wanted to look at the skull in 2021 when he came upon the box that was marked with “cancer” on the outside.

“It was like a magnet for me,” he said.

He and his fellow scientists placed the skull in front of the camera in October 2021.

Camarós said the microscopic technology available in the 1960s didn’t compare with modern digital cameras.

It would “have been absolutely impossible for us not to see the cut marks,” he said.

Camarós now wants to study the genetics of ancient cancers at the molecular level to answer questions about how the disease may have changed. A big part of that is finding other samples that contain DNA and identifying whether there was cancer present.

“If there is any other case in the future, it will come out because of the technology,” he said.



COURTESY OF TONDINI, ISIDRO, CAMARÓS, 2024

Skull and mandible 236, dating from between 2687 and 2345 B.C., belonged to a male age 30 to 35.

## SCIENCE SCAN

## CLIMATE CHANGE

# Thinking about purchasing flood insurance? Your social network might be influencing you.

BY ERIN BLAKEMORE

Social connections can influence people’s perceptions about climate change and even drive them to spend more protecting themselves from the risks of natural disaster, a new analysis suggests.

The research, published in the journal *Economic Inquiry*, looked at flood insurance sign-ups after Hurricanes Harvey and Irma, which triggered catastrophic flooding in Texas and Florida in 2017.

Researchers compared new and renewed flood insurance policies in the wake of the storms, both in areas that experienced active flooding and those unaffected by the hurricanes. They relied on the Facebook Social Connectedness Index, which measures the probability that two individuals across two locations are connected on Facebook, to estimate “social learning” about the floods.

People in areas with stronger social ties to flooded areas purchased more new flood insurance policies in the three years after Harvey and Irma, they found. The researchers estimated an additional 250,000 policies in areas where flood emergencies were declared after the hurricanes and 81,000 more in unflooded areas in the wake of the disasters, with six times as many new policies as renewals.

“Our evidence of social learning suggests that a short episode of a regional climate disaster can stimulate persistent adaptation

## Social learning about climate risks

Economic Inquiry

behavior in the entire social network up to 3 years after the disaster,” they write. As a result, they suggest, disaster awareness and climate mitigation efforts should take social learning into account, leveraging people’s tendency to learn about climate change risks from their friends’ experiences.

Social learning could be particularly important when it comes to climate change, Yilan Xu, a professor of agricultural and consumer economics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and a co-author of the study, said in a news release.

“It’s a very politically fraught issue for some people,” Xu said. “Even though it can be really difficult for you to convince someone else that climate change is real, if they see their friends and family experiencing its negative consequences, that’s a prime opportunity for the skeptics to update their thinking about climate change.”

Flooding is likely to increase along with climate change, climate researchers project. According to the U.N. Development Program, coastal flooding will increase fivefold this century, while National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration scientists predict “rapid intensification” in tropical cyclones in the coming years.

## HEALTH & SCIENCE

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BIG NUMBER

23 percent

Some 23 percent of parents of teenagers said caffeine is a regular part of their child's life, according to a nationally representative poll on children's health. Nearly 1,100 parents with children ages 13 through 18 took part in the C.S. Mott Children's Hospital National Poll on Children's Health. They said their children's most common caffeine sources were soda, tea, coffee and energy drinks. The parents reported that their teens most frequently consumed caffeine at home (81 percent) followed by dining out (43 percent). Consumption differed by age group. More parents of 16-to-18-year-olds than 13-to-15-year-olds reported daily caffeine consumption — 14 percent vs. 6 percent. And the parents who said their children drank caffeinated beverages zero to three days a week (74 percent) attributed that to not usually having caffeinated drinks at home or their teen trying to be healthy or not wanting their sleep disrupted. Two-thirds of parents said they believe they know whether their child is consuming too much caffeine. Experts suggest a limit of 100 milligrams per day, or less, for teens, which is about the amount of caffeine in one eight-ounce cup of coffee or a little over two 12-ounce soft drinks. One in 3 parents in the poll thought the limit was higher than that. Caffeine is a stimulant that can help with alertness, focus and energy. However, long-term use, especially among teenagers, can cause problems. "Excessive caffeine consumption in teens can affect their mood, sleep and school performance, along with side effects like headache, upset stomach or heart palpitations," according to a C.S. Mott Children's Hospital news release. It is also possible for teens to become dependent on caffeine. "Parents may enlist the teen's healthcare provider in explaining the risks of caffeine and suggesting strategies to cut back," the authors write. "In addition, parents can involve their teen in selecting non-caffeinated options to have at home."

— Hannah Docter-Loeb

HEALTH NEWS

Nicotine-alternative chemicals in U.S. vapes may be more potent than nicotine, FDA says

BY EMMA RUMNEY

Nicotine alternatives in vapes being launched in the United States and abroad, such as 6-methyl nicotine, may be more potent and addictive than nicotine, though the scientific data remains incomplete, according to the Food and Drug Administration and independent researchers.

The synthetic substances — which have a chemical structure similar to that of nicotine — are not subject to U.S. tobacco and vaping regulations that are designed to control traditional nicotine, an addictive drug.

That means manufacturers can sell vapes containing synthetic nicotine analogs such as 6-methyl nicotine in the United States without seeking authorization from the FDA.

Big tobacco firms like Altria Group and British American Tobacco have already lost substantial U.S. sales to an influx of disposable vapes containing traditional nicotine that are being illegally sold without FDA authorization.

Altria, the maker of Marlboro cigarettes in the United States, highlighted the emerging use of 6-methyl nicotine in vapes and other smoking alternatives in a May 9 letter to the FDA, according to a copy of the correspondence posted on its website.

It urged the agency to evaluate the compounds and establish what authority it had over them, warning they posed a "new threat" to regulation of the sector. It cited Spree Bar, a vape launched in October by Charlie's Holdings that uses 6-methyl nicotine.

The FDA does not comment on its correspondence with individual firms. In response to questions

about 6-methyl nicotine and other nicotine alternatives, the FDA said in a statement: "Although more research is needed, some emerging data show these nicotine analogs may be more potent than nicotine — which is already highly addictive, can alter adolescent brain development and have long-term effects on youth's attention, learning and memory."

Traditional nicotine found in many vapes and pouches is extracted from tobacco leaves. In contrast, 6-methyl nicotine is made entirely in the lab using chemicals.

The FDA said it was considering the use of such synthetic compounds from an "agency-wide perspective" and would use resources to protect youths from products that may harm their health.

Three academic researchers told the news agency that current studies of 6-methyl nicotine are too limited to draw definite conclusions on the health impact or to what degree it is addictive.

Imad Damaj, a professor in the Department of Pharmacology and Toxicology at Virginia Commonwealth University, said his research showed 6-methyl nicotine may be more potent than nicotine, but more tests were needed.

The limitations of existing research included that some papers were industry funded, while others were insufficient to understand 6-methyl nicotine's effects on human bodies, researchers said.

Charlie's Holdings co-founder Ryan Stump told Reuters that the company only targets adults, adding that flavors playing an important role in its mission to help smokers quit cigarettes.

— Reuters

HEALTH SCAN

INFECTIOUS DISEASE

Body lice may have helped spread bubonic plague in 14th-century Europe, scientists say

BY ERIN BLAKEMORE

The bubonic plague pandemic of the 14th century gained infamy as much for its death toll — 25 million in Europe alone — as for the horror of the disease itself. Scientists have long blamed rat-transmitted fleas for the plague's swift spread. But recent research points the finger at an additional culprit: body lice.

A study in the journal PLOS Biology suggests that body lice are capable of transmitting *Yersinia pestis*, the bacterium that causes plague, more effectively than previously thought. Past research has focused on rodent-borne fleas as a plague vector. However, body lice's role in plague transmission has remained murky, despite a growing body of evidence that rodents were only partly responsible for past pandemics.

Unlike head lice, which live and breed on human scalps, body lice live and multiply in the seams of human clothing and bedding, hopping onto their human hosts to feed on their blood several times a day.

Using an artificial, skinlike membrane, the researchers simulated how likely it was that plague-infected lice were able to transmit the disease to humans. In one scenario, lice were fed infected human blood, then put on the "skin" to feed, simulating an outbreak in which infected lice hopped from human to hu-

***Yersinia pestis* can infect the Pawlowsky glands of human body lice and be transmitted by louse bite**

PLOS Biology

man. In another, lice were fed infected blood, then isolated for 18 hours before being allowed to feed again, similar to a scenario in which infected lice might jump from clothing or bedding onto a human.

Up to 60 percent of lice in both groups remained infected for a week, and all could transmit disease. Direct-transfer lice became infectious within just 24 hours of feeding on plague-infected blood.

Unexpectedly, even lice whose fleas showed no evidence of plague proved infectious, too. This finding led to other experiments that showed that lice with infected Pawlowsky glands — glands in their heads thought to play a role in saliva secretion — "routinely" transmit plague at levels sufficient to infect human beings.

Body lice consume more blood than fleas, the researchers note, and humans tend to scratch when infested. Given these factors and the tendency of body lice with infected Pawlowsky glands to transmit enough bacteria to infect humans, the researchers conclude, the tiny creatures are likely "better vectors of plague bacilli than previously appreciated."

FROM CONSUMER REPORTS

Improve your stability as you get older

BY HALLIE LEVINE

Although you can slip and fall at any point in life, it's more common with age. More than 1 out of 4 older adults take a tumble each year, and about 20 percent of these falls lead to injuries such as broken bones, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

A host of aging-related changes may be at fault. "We lose muscle strength and flexibility, and our senses become less sharp," says Anne Vanderbilt, a nurse practitioner at the Cleveland Clinic's Center for Geriatric Medicine. Vision and hearing can become less sharp, reducing awareness of fall hazards. Chronic conditions such as arthritis can affect balance, as can certain meds, says Audrey Chun, vice chair of geriatrics and palliative medicine outpatient services with the Mount Sinai Health System in New York City.

Age also affects your vestibular system, the area of your inner ear that helps you maintain balance, says Greg Hartley, an associate professor of physical therapy at the University of Miami Miller School of Medicine in Coral Gables, Fla.

But there's plenty that you can do to reduce the risk of falls.

Four quick tests at home can help you gauge your balance, says Richard Marottoli, medical director of the Dorothy Adler Geriatric Assessment Center at the Yale-New Haven Hospital. Have a sturdy chair or person nearby to hold on to if you need some support.

1. Stand in place with your feet together.
2. Move one foot forward so that the instep is next to the other foot's toes.
3. Return to the original position, then place the toes of one foot behind the heel of the other foot.
4. When back in the original position, stand in place on one leg, then the other.

Ideally, you should be able to hold each move for 10 seconds. If not, or if you have any concerns, tell your doctor. They may refer you to physical therapy or screen you for conditions such as diabetes, stroke or Parkinson's disease. And note that your doctor should inquire about balance at annual wellness visits.

Doctors suggest the following to improve your stability.

**Review your meds annually.** "The most common offenders are those that affect your level of alertness or your blood pressure when standing up," Marottoli says. These include some medications for high blood pressure; anxiety, such as diazepam (Valium); an overactive bladder, such as oxybutynin (Ditropan); and antihistamines such as diphen-



ISTOCK

hydramine (Benadryl).

Your best bet is to follow the CDC's advice and go over everything you take regularly — prescription and over-the-counter products, including supplements — with your doctor or pharmacist each year. In addition, "if you feel foggy/groggy or off-balance after starting a new medicine [or increasing a dose] or dizzy or unsteady on standing up, make sure to let your clinician know," Marottoli says.

**Get your eyes and ears checked.** Research suggests that poor vision doubles the risk of falls for older adults. And a 2020 study published in JAMA Otolaryngology-Head & Neck Surgery found that hearing problems, especially among older people, impair balance.

"When you have vision or hearing loss, your brain has to work harder to compensate, which means you have less cognitive reserve to focus on balance," says Debra Rose, director emerita of the Center for Successful Aging at California State University at Fullerton. The American Academy of Ophthalmology recommends that all adults over age 65 see an eye doctor every year or two. And the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association says that people should be screened by an audiologist every three years after age 50.

**Improve your strength.** Our muscles typically shrink about 3 to 8 percent per decade after age 30, and weakening accelerates after age 60. Strength, endurance and flexibility are key for good balance, Chun says. So older adults should do exercises that target one or more of those every

day, Hartley says.

Strength training that includes squats, lunges or standing exercises can help by challenging muscles in your legs, back and abdomen that are important for stability. Research shows that simply getting out and walking is helpful. Yoga is also a good option. A 2023 review published in the Annals of Internal Medicine found that older adults who did yoga were stronger and had better balance — as well as more endurance and a faster walking pace — than those who didn't. Another 2023 review found that the mind-body practice of tai chi improved balance and reduced fall risks in older adults, too.

**Get the right footwear.** It's important because it provides a stable base for your feet, legs and body. To help your toes grip the ground more firmly, Marottoli recommends shoes with a wide toe box. He suggests footwear with soft but supportive insoles, a closed back, and laces or a fabric-fastener closure like Velcro, for added stability. Avoid heels higher than an inch or two, sandals and flip-flops.

**Build your confidence.** Up to 60 percent of older adults are concerned about falls even if they've never had one. But this can limit your activities significantly, according to a study published in BMC Geriatrics in 2021. "Unfortunately, this creates a vicious cycle: People are afraid to move, so they lose even more muscle strength and their balance worsens, which makes them even more fearful," Hartley says.

If you're experiencing something similar, take walks only where you're familiar with the terrain for the time being. And

consider doing exercises that carry little risk of falling, like swimming, pool aerobics and stationary cycling. These can increase lower-body strength, which aids balance. If you still feel apprehensive after a month, a physical therapist can screen you for problems that may be affecting your balance (and confidence) and work with you on a plan to get you moving with more ease.

**Fall-proof your home.** Nearly 80 percent of emergency room visits for falls by older adults are the result of accidents that happen at home, according to a 2021 study published in the American Journal of Lifestyle Medicine.

To ensure that your home is as safe as possible, the CDC recommends the following steps.

- Keep your floors clutter-free.
- Get rid of throw rugs.
- Add grab bars in the bathroom.
- Install handrails on all staircases.
- Make sure that your home is well lit.

This includes adding lights at the top and bottom of all your staircases and night lights in hallways, especially those that lead to bathrooms.



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WELL+BEING

Girls seem to be starting their periods earlier than past generations

BY TARA PARKER-POPE

The question:

Is it true that girls in the United States, particularly girls of color, are getting their periods earlier than past generations?

The science:

A new study of 71,341 women supports the growing concern that the age at which girls start menstruating is getting younger, and the trends are even more pronounced for some racial and ethnic groups. The findings also suggest that many girls and young women are experiencing irregular cycles for years, a risk factor for a variety of health concerns, including cardiovascular disease, metabolic diseases such as diabetes, and certain types of cancers.

The data were collected as part of the Apple Women's Health Study, which was developed by the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health with the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences (NIEHS) and Apple. The study used cycle tracking data from iPhones and Apple Watches as well as surveys to learn more about menstrual cycles, health risks and gynecologic conditions.

The findings aren't generalizable to the overall U.S. population because the data were collected from app users recruited on social media rather than a random sample. And the study noted the data overrepresented White

women and those with higher socioeconomic status.

But the findings, published in JAMA Network Open, mirror other research, including a 50-year look at menstruation age among White and Black women based on data from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, a government report on health trends.

The new JAMA study showed that the average age of first menstruation in the Apple cohort dropped to 11.9 years among those born between 2000 and 2005, compared with 12.5 years for those born between 1950 and 1969. Participants who self-identified as Asian, non-Hispanic Black or multiracial consistently reported earlier average ages of first periods than participants who were White.

Researchers said the data are important because Hispanic and Asian groups have been understudied in previous research looking at age of first period. The study also focused on what it called a new "vital sign" — the time between first period and regular menstrual cycles.

"We found that children are experiencing longer time to regularity," said Zifan Wang, the study's lead author and a post-doctoral research fellow at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. "This is also very concerning because irregular cycles are an important indicator of later-in-life adverse health events. It alarms us. We need to do more early counseling and



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intervention on irregular cycles among children and adolescents."

The data also showed that the proportion of girls in the cohort who begin having periods before the age of 11, or very early periods, before the age of 9, was higher in the latest birth year group compared with the earliest group.

Girls who start periods at very young ages face more challenging health issues later in life, said Shruthi Mahalingaiah, the study's senior author and assistant professor of environmental, reproductive and women's health at the Harvard School of Public Health. Mahalingaiah said that early periods can be a marker for future health conditions and help physicians make decisions about care. She noted that a healthy diet, exercise and adequate sleep are important for girls of all ages.

"I'm going to point back to awareness and education so parents and providers are aware of these trends," she said. "We need to consider the health-promoting factors that we can implement to impact not only age of menarche but time to cycle regularity."

What else you should know:

Researchers offered several ex-

planations for the trend toward earlier periods. Childhood obesity is a risk factor for early puberty and appears to be a contributing factor in the trends. But the decrease in age of first period began before the obesity epidemic, suggesting other factors are at play.

One major concern is "forever chemicals," a class of nearly 15,000 man-made chemicals used in a variety of consumer products and found in many food and water sources. These endocrine-disrupting chemicals, as well as heavy metals and air pollutants, all may play a role in early puberty.

And importantly, poor diet including high intake of sugary foods, stress and adverse childhood experience can also affect onset of puberty. Some studies have shown that very early puberty rose during the pandemic, possibly because of the stress and disruption it caused in the lives of young children.

The bottom line:

Research suggests that in general, girls are getting their periods earlier than previous generations, and cycle irregularity also appears to be on the rise.



# Midlife is both a time of transition and a time to transform

MIDLIFE FROM E1

Berkeley], Dad decided to start his own business in his late 40s. His perspective on both society and politics started to soften and he sprouted a newfound curiosity about purpose and meaning. ... He's a great example of someone [whose] life — as he now knows it at 86 — began at 50.

**You wrote, “When we resist a transition, we are actually resisting one or more of its three phases.”**  
There are typically three stages to a transition: the ending, the messy middle and the beginning. If I were to summarize what people with high TQ (transitional intelligence) do in each phase, they tend to ritualize the ending of something, they seek social support and look for the through-line or thread when going through the messy middle, and they apply a growth mindset to becoming a beginner, no matter how silly they look.

**To blossom after retirement, do we need to be part of a community?**  
We need to retire “to” something, not just “from” something.  
We are so well prepared to plan and curate our career early in adulthood that it's rather surprising that most retirees don't develop an engagement plan that will distract them from the 47 hours per week that the typical American retiree watches TV. Dr. Phil Pizzo, who used to run Stanford medical [school], has shown that the three foundational parts of a healthy retirement are finding community, cultivating purpose and investing in one's wellness.  
And, I believe that wellness isn't just personal wellness, but it's also “social wellness,” as Harvard's Robert Walddinger [a



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psychiatrist and the director of the Harvard Study of Adult Development] has shown that the most common variable of healthy, happy 80- and 90-year-olds is being invested in their social relationships in their 50s.

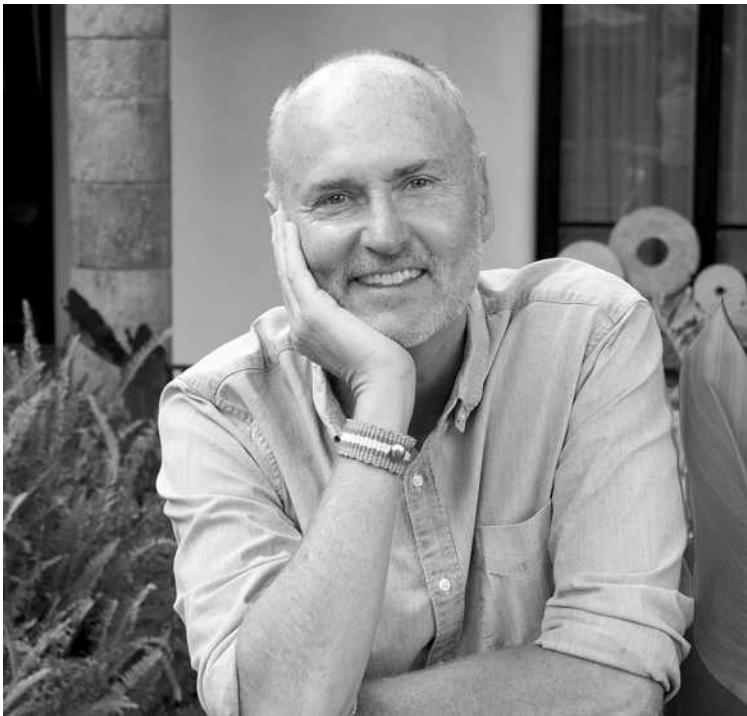
**Would you share a bit about your personal experiences with cancer? [Conley, 63, has had prostate cancer for six years and has faced multiple recurrences.]**  
I've learned four lessons:  
a. Emotional: I've realized that willpower alone — which has served me so well in my career — can't beat this. I've read Rumi's “The Guest House” poem once a week for the past year to remind myself that all these emotions that are coming through me are just visitors who will “check out” as long as I don't dwell on them (an apt metaphor for a hotelier).  
b. Physical: Nausea.

Incontinence. Fatigue. Body aches. Weight gain. Brain fog. No libido. This experience has been more inconvenient than impossible. I've come to realize my body is a rental vehicle I was issued at birth and, as I've put on more and more miles, I need to maintain this vehicle even more, not for short-term vanity, but for long-term health.  
c. Relational: What a gift to be able to spend quality time with my parents late in their lives. I've also had to ask for extra love from my partner, Oren, which has tested my non-neediness ethos.  
d. Spiritual: In this time that has felt somewhat existential for me, rather than fearing the mystery, I've been trying to embrace it with faith that I'm going to become a better human as a result of this experience.

**As a cancer patient, I can relate**

**to hearing unhelpful war stories from well-meaning folks. What question should people ask themselves before speaking when trying to offer wisdom?**  
Before trying to show how smart and empathetic you are with your advice, try to understand the state of mind and heart of the person who you're trying to help. Context and timing are everything.

**Does the need to be adored fade away naturally in midlife or must it be chiseled out of us with hard work and intentionality?**  
This depends upon the person. ... By the second half of our lives, we've learned not to personalize everything and to care less about what other people think of us (because they're not thinking about us nearly as much as we think they are).



COOKIE KINKHEAD

Chip Conley, author of “Learning to Love Midlife.”

*“We are so well prepared to plan and curate our career early in adulthood that it's rather surprising that most retirees don't develop an engagement plan.”*  
Chip Conley

**What is your message to anyone who might be feeling stuck, lost or alone?**  
[As Conley wrote in “Learning to Love Midlife”] Albert Schweitzer wrote, “In everyone's life, at some time, our inner fire goes out. It is then burst into flame by an encounter with another human being. We should all be thankful for those people who rekindle the inner spirit.”  
UC-Berkeley professor Dacher Keltner (on our MEA faculty) wrote in his book “Awe” that the two most common ways we feel awe are through experiencing collective effervescence and witnessing moral beauty — courage, kindness, equanimity — the best that humans have to offer. So, at the time when you most want to hide under the covers, that's when you're supposed to seek out people to become your “emotional insurance.”

## Lyme disease is but one of the many maladies ticks can transmit to humans

TICKS FROM E1

was a major effort.”  
As temperatures rise and people begin spending more time outdoors, the risk of tick exposure also increases. “This is the time of year,” said Kiersten Kugeler, an epidemiologist who specializes in vector-borne diseases with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. “It's important to raise awareness and remind people of the steps they can take to protect themselves.”  
We asked experts how people can keep themselves and their pets safe from ticks. Here's what they had to say.

**What diseases do ticks carry?**  
The answer depends on where you live. Ticks can be found in every state. However, in the United States, some places have more disease than others.  
**Lyme disease:** Transmitted by the bite of an infected blacklegged tick, early symptoms (three to 30 days after a bite) may include fever, chills, headache, fatigue, muscle aches and, in 70 to 80 percent of cases, a characteristic bull's-eye skin rash. Most cases can be treated successfully with a few weeks of antibiotics. Symptoms of untreated Lyme may include severe headaches and neck stiffness, joint swelling and pain, irregular heartbeat, dizziness, and numbness or tingling in the hands and feet. The CDC estimates that 476,000 Americans probably develop the disease annually. It is most common in the Northeast, Mid-Atlantic and Upper Midwest. Almost all Lyme disease cases occur in 14 states: Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia and Wisconsin.  
**Southern tick-associated rash illness (STARI):** The rash caused by STARI develops after a lone star tick bite and is similar to the Lyme disease rash. Symptoms may include fatigue, fever, headache, and muscle and joint pains. Although it's similar to Lyme disease, the cause isn't known. Because it resembles Lyme disease, some doctors prescribe oral antibiotics. It occurs most often in the southern United States, where Lyme disease is rare. Lone star ticks can be found from Central Texas and Oklahoma eastward across the South and along the Atlantic coast as far north as Maine. The adult female is distinguished by a white dot or “lone star” on her back.  
**Anaplasmosis:** Symptoms of this bacterial disease, spread by the blacklegged tick, typically begin one to two weeks after being bitten. They include fever, head-



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ache, chills, nausea, vomiting, diarrhea and muscle aches. Left untreated, the disease can cause respiratory failure, organ failure and bleeding problems, even death. Those at higher risk for severe illness include people older than 65 and those with weakened immune systems. The antibiotic doxycycline is the usual treatment. The disease is most common in the Upper Midwest and Northeast, although it also can be carried by the western black-legged tick on the West Coast.

*Ticks usually don't transmit bacteria for 36 to 48 hours, so the sooner you remove it, the better.*

**Babesiosis:** This is caused by a parasite that infects red blood cells and is transmitted by black-legged ticks. Some people are asymptomatic, while others have flu-like symptoms, including fever, chills, sweating, headache, body aches, fatigue, nausea, loss of appetite and muscle aches. Because the parasite affects red

blood cells, it can result in hemolytic anemia, a potentially life-threatening illness for those who are over 50 or immunocompromised. It's treated with anti-parasitic drugs and antibiotics. It occurs primarily in the Northeast and Midwest, with the highest risk in New England (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont), New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin and Minnesota.  
**Rocky Mountain spotted fever:** It's spread by several species of ticks, including the American dog tick, the brown dog tick and the Rocky Mountain wood tick. Symptoms include fever, rash and headache and can progress rapidly to a life-threatening illness if not treated quickly with the antibiotic doxycycline. Some infected people who recover can be left with permanent disability, including hearing loss, damage to blood vessels that may require amputation of limbs, fingers or toes, and mental problems. Most cases occur in the southeastern and south central United States. It's most common in North Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma.  
**Other spotted fevers:** Spotted fever rickettsioses are a group of diseases caused by closely related bacteria. The first symptom is usually a dark scab at the site of

tick bite, known as an eschar. Eschars usually develop a few days to a week after the bite of an infected tick. Several days later, symptoms include fever, headache, rash and muscle aches. All are treated with the antibiotic doxycycline. One form, *Rickettsia parkeri* rickettsiosis, is spread by the Gulf Coast tick, found in the southeastern United States. Pacific Coast tick fever is spread by infected ticks along the western coastline in California, Oregon and Washington.  
**Powassan virus:** This rare illness is spread by three types of deer ticks that become infected when they feed on squirrels, mice or other rodents that have the virus in their blood. Symptoms include fever, headache, vomiting and weakness, but if the diseases progresses, it can cause confusion, loss of coordination, trouble speaking and seizures. There is no vaccine to prevent Powassan or medicines to treat it. Treatment usually involves supportive care, that is, rest, fluids and pain medications. Most cases occur in the northeast and Great Lakes regions from late spring through mid-fall.  
**Ehrlichiosis:** This bacterial infection is spread by the lone star and blacklegged ticks. It causes fever, chills, headache, muscle aches and sometimes upset stom-

ach. It's treated with antibiotics and can become more serious if treatment is delayed. Cases are most frequently found in the southeastern and south-central United States, from the East Coast to Texas.

*Treat clothing with products that contain 0.5 percent permethrin, which can last through several washings.*

**Alpha-gal syndrome:** Unlike tick-related bacterial illnesses, alpha-gal is an allergic reaction to red meat that may be triggered by the bite of lone star ticks and possibly other tick species. The symptoms can include cough, hives or itchy rash, nausea or vomiting, difficulty breathing, and other allergic reactions. Most reported cases occur in the southern, eastern and central states. States with the highest incidence of people testing positive for antibodies are Arkansas, Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Missouri. There is no treatment for the syndrome, although specific

allergy symptoms can be treated as needed.

**What should you do if you find a tick on your body?**  
Use a tick removal device or a fine-tipped pair of tweezers. The CDC has instructions. Ticks usually don't transmit bacteria for 36 to 48 hours, so the sooner you remove it, the better. Take a picture of the tick with your phone in case you develop symptoms and need to discuss the bite with your doctor in the future.  
**How can you stop ticks from biting you?**  
Wear repellent, walk in the middle of trails, and avoid brushy areas if you can. When you get home, do tick checks on yourself and your dog and take a shower. Comb your dog. You can learn more about stopping mosquitoes and ticks here.  
Treat clothing and gear with products that contain 0.5 percent permethrin, which can last through several washings, or buy already treated clothing. You also can use EPA-registered products containing DEET, picaridin, IR3535, para-menthane-diol (PMD) or 2-undecanone. You also can use oil of lemon eucalyptus, a natural tick repellent, but not on young children.

**What should you do to protect your pets?**  
If you find a tick on your dog, you should remove it promptly. The best areas to look on your dog for ticks are in and around the ears, around the tail, between the back legs, under the front legs, between the toes, under the collar and around the eyelids.  
“Ticks can be difficult to find on dogs; they may be small and difficult to find in a dog's coat, particularly on dogs with darker coat colors,” said Ann Carpenter, a veterinary epidemiologist and officer with the CDC's Epidemic Intelligence Service.  
Use a tick preventive on your dog once a month and vaccinate your dog against Lyme disease if you live in a vulnerable state.  
**What tick-borne diseases can pets get?**  
In dogs, Lyme disease symptoms include fever, lethargy, lack of appetite, difficulty walking, and, in rare cases, kidney problems, Carpenter said. Treatment for dogs usually involves antibiotics.  
In addition to Lyme disease, they can contract tularemia, ehrlichiosis, anaplasmosis, babesiosis, Rocky Mountain spotted fever, hepatozoonosis and others. In addition to these, cats can also develop hemobartonellosis and cytauxzoonosis following tick bites, Carpenter said.



WELL+BEING

The secret’s in our senses: In-person friends boost health

FRIENDSHIP FROM E1

whether they saw each other. Having face-to-face contact with friends at least once per week was a strong predictor of better physical and mental health. Calling or texting didn’t bring similar benefits, says Eric Kim, professor of psychology at the University of British Columbia and the study’s lead author.

Data collected from a gerontological study in Japan showed that men who spent little time with their friends — less than a few times per year — had a 30 percent higher mortality risk than those who enjoyed more frequent contact.

While these studies show only an association — it could be that healthy people have more energy to spend time with friends — researchers believe the relationship between in-person friendships and better health is worth thinking about. The findings come as more people increasingly opt out of traditional, in-person socializing. According to data from the American Time Use Survey, the average time spent with friends decreased from 60 minutes per day in 2003 to a mere 34 minutes in 2019.

“In the U.S., there’s a friendship recession,” Kim says.

Why in-person friendships are good for you

Humans are social animals, and being surrounded by friendly others lowers our risk of coronary heart disease, stroke, Type 2 diabetes, Alzheimer’s disease, even cancer. “Pretty much any way you cut it, any way you measure it, being more socially connected is associated with better health,” says Julianne Holt-Lunstad, a neuroscientist at Brigham Young University.

One reason friendship is so vital for health is rather straightforward. Friends, Kim says, are “checking up on people and en-



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couraging people to exercise or eat healthy.” They can also, he says, provide important information, such as “where can I get a flu shot?”

Studies have found that people who are socially isolated produce more cortisol throughout the day, which has been associated with cardiovascular disease and a higher overall mortality risk. “We are social species, we’re just primed to connect to others,” says Oliver Huxhold, developmental psychologist at the German Center of Gerontology.

Your nose knows friendship

The benefits of face-to-face interactions may be related to smell. When our noses pick up the body odor of other people, for example, we tend to pick up their emotions, too: from anxiety and

fear to happiness.

In one experiment, researchers applied electrodes to the faces of volunteers and asked them to sniff samples of sweat of people who had previously watched either happy videos (“The Jungle Book”) or neutral videos (the weather forecast). After inhaling the body odor of cheerful people, the volunteers’ facial muscles twitched in a way that suggested they felt happier, too.

Communication via body odor happens mostly on a subconscious level, and as such it may sometimes be more honest than words, says Jasper de Groot, behavioral scientist at Radboud University in the Netherlands and the study’s author. “It may help you empathize with the other person,” he says.

This role of scents in feeling the

emotions of others, he says, may help explain why people with more sensitive noses tend to have larger circles of friends and suffer less loneliness — both important predictors of health and longevity. For one study, researchers tested volunteers’ sense of smell with the “Sniffin’ Sticks” test. Using a set of penlike tubes containing various aromas and typically used for olfactory testing, they found that those who had the most sensitive noses also had larger social networks. Brain scans of the volunteers also suggested a link between olfactory sensitivity and social network size.

Smelling the body odor of a loved one can help reduce stress. When European researchers submitted a group of volunteers to weak electric shocks, those who could sniff T-shirts previously

“Pretty much any way you cut it, any way you measure it, being more socially connected is associated with better health.”

Julianne Holt-Lunstad, neuroscientist at Brigham Young University

worn by their romantic partners stayed calmer — this was reflected by their skin’s electrical conductivity, an indicator of stress. We also sleep better when we can take a whiff of a friendly body odor: Simply putting a partner’s used shirt under the pillow causes people to have more restful sleep, an effect comparable to popping a melatonin pill, de Groot says.

Seeing and touching friends makes a difference

When we spend time with friends and relatives face-to-face, we may get on the same brain wave — literally. According to a 2023 study, as soon as we look each other in the eyes, the neural activity in our brains may become synchronized: On an electroencephalography reading of two synchronized brains, the lines

representing each person’s neural activity fluctuate up and down together. Such neural synchrony has been linked with more kindness toward others, better communication and cooperation. However, if we text or chat over video, neural synchrony between our brains almost disappears.

A 2024 review found that holding hands, hugs and other friendly skin-to-skin contact can also help us sleep better, as well as reduce stress. A daily dose of hugs improves the functioning of the hypothalamic pituitary adrenal axis, the stress pathway. It also lowers the levels of pro-inflammatory cytokines, molecules involved in the development of diabetes and heart disease. Friendly touch can be a powerful painkiller, too. C-tactile fibers, a type of nerve fibers in human skin, respond to slow, stroking touches by sending signals to the brain that reduce the feelings of pain. Such effects have been found for both painful medical procedures and chronic diseases, such as Parkinson’s disease. The relief, research shows, is immediate.

Face-to-face interactions may also influence immune health. One study conducted during the coronavirus pandemic, and based on an analysis of blood samples from 142 adults, revealed that meeting friends in person improves the functioning of genes linked to the immune system. Such benefits, however, didn’t materialize for those who only interacted with their friends online.

And while texting our friends or sending them Snapchat photos is certainly one way to keep the relationship going, for a deep connection we need more than seeing a friend’s two-dimensional image on a screen. You also need other senses, like smell, de Groot says, even if you don’t realize it. “It makes all the difference,” de Groot says.

When properly managed, conflict can lead to positive change in relationships



Brain Matters

RICHARD SIMA

Conflicts are inevitable even in the most loving of relationships.

Goals, needs and interests will differ on matters great and small — parenting styles, delegation of chores, whether the toilet seat

should be up.

Contrary to popular belief, though, conflicts in and of themselves are not a sign that there’s something wrong with the relationship, experts say.

If managed well, conflicts provide “the opportunity to enhance and grow in our relationships,” said Nickola Overall, a professor of psychology at the University of Auckland specializing in the science of relationships.

“It’s not about conflict resolution,” since many problems that couples fight about may never fully go away, but about “conflict management,” said Julie Gottman, who researches relationships along with her husband, John Gottman.

But if conflicts are not properly managed or are avoided, they can result in negative consequences for the health of both partners and their relationship. Research shows that while partners in satisfying relationships live longer and have fewer health problems than their single or dissatisfied counterparts, strain and conflict are common. Conflict is especially potent in romantic relationships and associated with worse mental health symptoms, unhealthier patterns of the stress hormone, cortisol, and diminished immune and cardiovascular health.

Avoiding or withdrawing from conflict deprives partners of the opportunity to improve the situation and potentially signals a lack of engagement in the relationship, leading to reduced satisfaction. “You can really use conflict to understand your partner at a much deeper level than you may already know your partner,” Julie Gottman said.

But both partners need the motivation to address the problem and the ability to take their partner’s perspective, Overall said.

And perhaps the most difficult thing: “I think we have to be brave enough to really communicate how we feel and what the underlying issues are,”

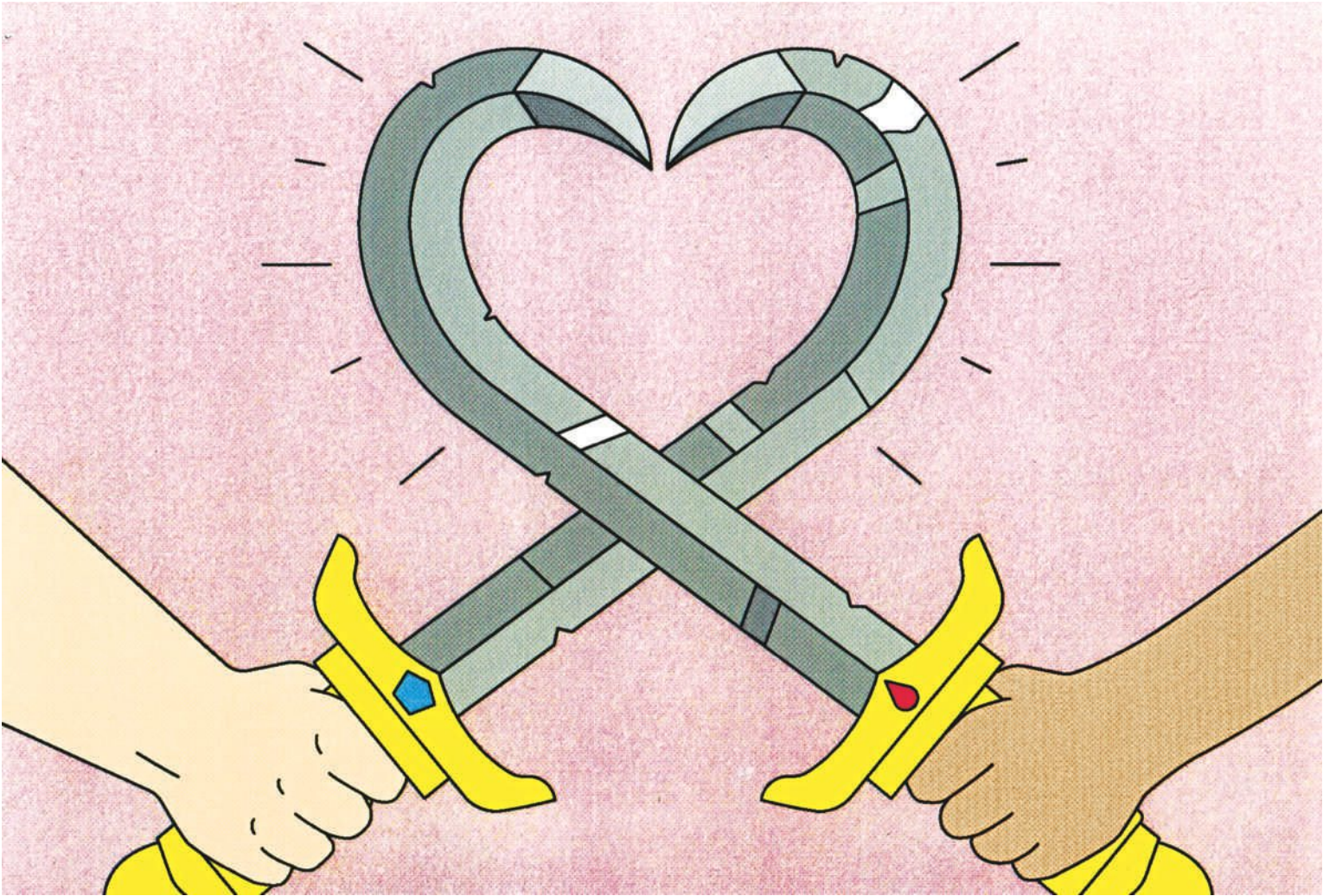


ILLUSTRATION BY GEORGE WYLESOL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

she said.

Direct communication is key to conflict management

Relationship researchers and clinicians study how conflicts affect relationships by bringing couples into a laboratory, videotaping their interactions while they discuss an intractable problem and analyzing those interactions. They consistently find that unhappy couples are more likely to express greater disagreement, hostility and criticism while happy couples are more likely to express greater validation, affection and humor.

But surprisingly, relationship research has also shown that couples expressing anger and hostility toward one another during arguments could sometimes be predictive of positive relationship outcomes over time.

Conversely, more positive interactions during conflicts — such as agreement and use of humor — could help the relationship in the short term but fail to produce change for the underlying problem in the

Contrary to popular belief, conflicts in and of themselves are not a sign that there’s something wrong with the relationship, experts say.

long run.

These counterintuitive findings suggest that whether interactions are more positive or negative is just one factor in how conflicts turn out. How direct we are in our communication of the issues also matters.

In one study of recorded interactions of 61 romantic couples, Overall and her colleagues found that more direct communication strategies — both negative and positive — were associated with greater success in addressing the problem 12 months later and predicted increased relationship satisfaction even if they were initially perceived as relatively unsuccessful.

By contrast, indirect strategies — positive or negative — did not predict later change in the underlying problem.

Emotions such as anger and hostility can be useful to a conflict and to the relationship, Overall said. They can help convey “that a problem is serious and that the problem needs to be changed, and that the partner needs to do something about helping to resolve this problem,” she said. It also indicates an investment in the relationship.

But these emotions need to match the context of the situation.

In a 2020 longitudinal study of 268 couples, Overall found that while an increase in average levels of hostility and criticism is associated with worsening problems and decreasing satisfaction, it was associated with better outcomes if this expression of hostility was more variable.

But if someone gets upset

about everything, “then the information signal gets lost and instead you’re just informing the partner that you’re negative all the time,” Overall said. Then “the potential benefits of expressing negativity and anger and hostility lose its power because it becomes nondiagnostic of the problem,” she said

Cooperative, constructive problem-solving

Constructive problem-solving — through reasoning, negotiations and solution-oriented discussions — can convey the salient pieces of information needed to manage an ongoing conflict: that the issue is important, that the partners are committed to resolving it and that they care about the relationship.

Direct communication is “good for minor problems. It’s good for serious problems,” Overall said. And it doesn’t carry the negative side effects of the negative emotions.

In their recent book, “Fight Right: How Successful Couples Turn Conflict Into Connection,”

the Gottmans recommend an intervention they call the “Dreams Within Conflict,” which postpones solving the problem and instead has each partner ask the other questions about their values about the issue, why it is important, their feelings about the issue and what their ideal dream is for it.

“The goal is mutual understanding,” John Gottman said. In their couples workshops, the Gottmans have found that this strategy helps 87 percent of couples “move from gridlock on an issue to dialogue,” he said.

How we initiate these difficult conversations also matters because it can predict not only how the conversation will go, but also indicate how the relationship will go, Julie Gottman said.

The Gottmans recommend what they call a softened start-up: First, describe yourself and the situation, not your partner, and then a positive need “that gives your partner a chance to shine for you,” Julie Gottman said. For example: “I’m really worried. There’s the feeling that the bills haven’t been paid on time. Would you please pay the bills tonight?”

Remaining flexible in how we respond to our partner’s specific needs is important since becoming overly strategic in solving problems can have some costs, Overall said. “When the emotions are completely taken out and you’re just trying to be very rational and reasoning, you’re actually taking away the emotional connection and what makes us human,” she said. The emotion — be it anger, warmth or sadness — also conveys important information about how much we care about our partner and the relationship, she said.

Expressing gratitude or laughing about yourself or together can also be very powerful in a relationship and in a conflict, John Gottman said.

These strategies for more effective conflict management may help to clearly communicate what matters — our partner, our relationship and our facing challenges together.

“It’s about how can I express, how can I be brave enough to engage in constructive ways when it matters,” Overall said.

Do you have a question about human behavior or neuroscience? Email BrainMatters@washpost.com and we may answer it in a future column.