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Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 2024 • \$3

## Biden to clear way for legal residency

Plans to waive penalties for undocumented spouses of U.S. citizens

BY MARIA SACCHETTI

President Biden on Tuesday will clear the way for hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants married to U.S. citizens to apply for legal residency in one of the most expansive immigration programs of his presidency, according to two federal officials with knowledge of the plans, administration officials said.

The policy shift is a bold move for the Democratic president months before the November elections, and a rebuke to congressional Republicans who have ignored his calls to expand border security and to create a path to citizenship for the 11 million undocumented immigrants living in the United States, many for decades.

Biden will unveil the policies at a celebration at the White House to mark the 12-year anniversary of another executive action taken to aid immigrants when he was vice president. On June 15, 2012, President Barack Obama said he would allow undocumented immigrants who arrived in the United States as children to apply for work permits, a program that transformed hundreds of thousands of lives.

The White House had no immediate comment on Tuesday's announcement.

Marrying an American citizen is typically a fast track to U.S. citizenship, but immigrants who cross the border illegally are sub-

SEE SPOUSES ON A6

## Rate hikes just a part of plunging inflation

Events out of Fed's control have been vital to slowing price increases

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

Since beginning its war against inflation two years ago, the Federal Reserve has hiked interest rates 11 times, raising borrowing costs at the fastest pace in 40 years.

But an economy warped by the pandemic has not responded in the usual ways. Employers kept hiring at a robust pace, confounding predictions that the jobless rate would soar. Consumers did not step up their savings to capitalize on higher rates, and sales of big-ticket items like automobiles stayed strong.

Yet inflation fell anyway, as snarled supply chains healed and more workers joined the labor force, developments that the Fed did not control. Consumer prices are now rising at an annual rate of 3.3 percent, down from a mid-2022 peak of more than 9 percent.

The central bank's campaign against the runaway prices that pose perhaps the greatest threat to President Biden's reelection

SEE INFLATION ON A14



OKSANA PARAFENIUK FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## Ukraine enlists a Russian tactic: Freeing criminals to fight

BY SIOBHÁN O'GRADY, SERHII KOROLCHUK AND ANASTASIA GALOUCHKA IN KYIV

To fill a critical shortage of infantry on the front line, Ukraine has embraced one of Russia's most cynical tactics: releasing convicted — even violent — felons who agree to fight in high-risk assault brigades.

More than 2,750 men have been released from Ukrainian prisons since the parliament adopted a law in May authorizing certain convicts to enlist, including those jailed for dealing drugs, stealing phones and committing armed assaults and murders, among other serious crimes.

Now — seeking revenge against Russia, or in pursuit of personal redemption and freedom — they are trading their prison jumpsuits for Ukrainian army uniforms and deploying to the front lines.

Senya Shcherbyna, 24, who is serving six years for dealing drugs, is waiting to be interviewed by military recruiters and hopes to deploy as soon as possible. "I think I can redeem myself," Shcherbyna said in an interview, "and seem more useful to my

society than if I'm just sitting here."

Fellow prisoner Serhii Lytvynenko, who has served 11 years of a 14-year sentence for deadly assault, said he was still deliberating. "I'm not sure they're really going to treat us as normal fighters," he said. "We don't know right now if they're going to take you and just throw you in like meat."

Recruiting criminals — a common practice in Russia, where tens of thousands were freed to fight in Ukraine — is the latest sign of Kyiv's struggle to replenish its forces, which are depleted and exhausted after more than two years of virtually nonstop fighting.

Although the Ukrainian parliament approved a new mobilization law aimed at widening the draft pool, the legislation has yet to yield enough new troops. In the meantime, the Ukrainian general staff is trying to find able-bodied fighters where-

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Key talks?: Putin heads to Pyongyang. A11

Inmates walk in a prison yard in Ukraine during a media event last month related to a new law allowing the recruitment of some convicts for the military.

## Beaten by police, and skeptical of reform

Throughout Jaleel Stallings's ordeal, hope collided with reality. It still does.

BY JAMILES LARTEY

MINNEAPOLIS — In his mug shot, Jaleel Stallings is smiling.

Not his usual wide, easy grin. The situation was far too serious for that: The 27-year-old truck driver faced attempted-murder charges and possibly decades behind bars. And the broken eye socket, where Minneapolis police officers had kneed and punched him over and over, made it painful to move his face.

Nevertheless, Stallings smiled. For one thing, he was alive. He was a Black man who had shot at the police, and he was still breathing to plead his case. In Minneapolis, just a few days after the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, this felt to him like a minor miracle. Stallings was also smiling because he believed that once all the facts were out, he'd be released and this would feel like a bad dream. Surely the justice system, flawed as it is, would see that this was all just a misunderstanding.

Instead, officers wrote reports that differed substantially from

SEE POLICE ON A18



JAMILES LARTEY/MARSHALL PROJECT

Jaleel Stallings visits George Floyd Square in Minneapolis in October. Later that morning, the former police officer who had pleaded guilty to assaulting Stallings would be sentenced.

## Israel's leader ends war cabinet

NETANYAHU TO HOLD 'SMALLER FORUMS'

Far-right ministers would remain sidelined

BY SHIRA RUBIN, KYLE MELNICK AND MIRIAM BERGER

TEL AVIV — Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced Monday that he had dissolved his government's war cabinet — the emergency panel convened to manage the war in Gaza — a week after two of its centrist members resigned in protest.

Netanyahu is expected to hold "smaller forums for sensitive matters" that will exclude the far-right ministers of his governing coalition, just as the war cabinet did, according to Israeli officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak to the media. The exclusion of his extremist coalition members from the war cabinet was a way for Netanyahu to gain public support for the war effort.

Over the past nearly nine months of combat in Gaza, Netanyahu has rebuffed several attempts by the extremist members of his coalition, including National Security Minister Itamar Ben Gvir and Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich, to join the discussions, according to Israeli media reports.

The "smaller forums" are expected to be held in the coming days. SEE ISRAEL ON A12

## A call for warnings on social media apps

Surgeon general wants sites to alert users to mental harms for kids

BY CRISTIANO LIMA-STRONG AND AARON GREGG

U.S. Surgeon General Vivek H. Murthy called Monday for placing tobacco-style warning labels on social media to alert users that the platforms can harm children's mental health, escalating his warnings about the effects of online services such as Facebook, Instagram and TikTok.

Writing in a New York Times opinion essay, Murthy urged Congress to enact legislation requiring that social media platforms include a surgeon general's warning to "regularly remind parents and adolescents that social media has not been proved safe."

He cited evidence that adolescents who spend significant time on social media are at greater risk of experiencing anxiety and depression and that many young people say the platforms have worsened their body image. Murthy said warning labels, like those on cigarettes, could help. SEE SOCIAL MEDIA ON A14

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# Probe says 2 schools failed to protect Jewish, Muslim students

BY LAURA MECKLER

The federal Education Department said Monday that two universities failed to adequately protect both Jewish and Muslim students in the heated days after the Oct. 7 Hamas attack on Israel and during the war in Gaza that followed.

Both the University of Michigan and the City University of New York (CUNY) and several of its affiliated colleges agreed to reexamine some past cases and to conduct training, among other actions, to resolve federal investigations into student complaints amid the Middle East conflict. Jewish and Palestinian students have described harassment and other incidents of discrimination, with reports of hostile language, disrupted classes, vandalism and more.

“Hate has no place on our college campuses — ever,” Education Secretary Miguel Cardona said in a statement. He called the resolutions a positive step forward but said, “Sadly, we have witnessed a series of deeply concerning incidents in recent months.”

The cases are the first since Oct. 7 to be resolved by the Education Department. Some department investigations related to antisemitism and Islamophobia were pending before the war, but the number has spiked as campuses across the country have become engulfed by pro-Palestinian protests. An additional 106 cases are pending at the Office for Civil Rights in the Education Department, involving both universities and K-12 school districts, a



NIC ANTAYA/GETTY IMAGES

**A student wears a graduation cap with the Israeli flag during the University of Michigan's spring commencement ceremony May 4.**

spokeswoman said.

CUNY Chancellor Félix V. Matos Rodríguez said the university was grateful to the Office for Civil Rights for collaborating on a holistic plan to ensure that all students are safe on its campuses. “CUNY is committed to providing an environment that is free from discrimination and hate, and these new steps will ensure that there is consistency and transparency in how complaints are investigated and resolved,” he said.

University of Michigan President Santa J. Ono said in a statement that the university condemns “all forms of discrimination, racism and bias.” He added: “Since October 7, we have been deeply troubled by the statements and actions of some members of our community.” The uni-

versity is required to uphold free-speech principles, including reprehensible speech, but it works to ensure that “debate does not tip over into targeted harassment or bullying,” Ono said.

In its investigation of the University of Michigan, the Office for Civil Rights reviewed 75 reports of harassment and discrimination since the 2022-23 school year and found the university did virtually no investigations. There was also “no evidence” that the university complied with its legal requirements under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, the report said. The provision bars discrimination based on shared ancestry, including against those who are Jewish or Muslim.

The details of the investigation highlight the struggle univer-

# Ban imitates art: Fla. district bans book about banned books

BY PRAVEENA SOMASUNDARAM

Alan Gratz’s “Ban This Book” tells the tale of a fourth-grader’s quest to bring her favorite book back to the school library after officials had it removed.

Late last month, a Florida school district banned “Ban This Book.”

A parent involved in Moms for Liberty, a right-wing parents-rights group, submitted a complaint about the book in February, alleging that it depicted sexual conduct and was “teaching children to be social justice warriors.” Though a school district committee recommended that “Ban This Book” be kept on shelves, the Indian River County school board voted to ban it last month.

Gratz told The Washington Post last week that “Ban This Book” and some of his other titles had been challenged in the past, but he couldn’t recall a ban of this scale. He learned about the restriction from an advocacy group, he said. The Tallahassee Democrat first reported on the ban.

“The overwhelming irony of banning a book about book ban-

ning has been enough to keep people from banning it for a little while,” Gratz, 52, told The Post.

The school board and its five members did not respond to requests for comment.

Jennifer Pippin, the chair of the Indian River, Fla., chapter of Moms for Liberty who filed the complaint about “Ban This Book,” told The Post in text messages that she wanted titles with “sexually explicit content” removed from schools. She said she complained about “Ban This Book” because it referenced other banned books with sexual content. Pippin added that parents could still access the book through public libraries and online bookstores.

Gratz said he wrote the book in 2017 to call attention to challenges against books, an issue he said was “relatively unseen” at the time. He recalled religious objections to the Harry Potter series’ portrayal of witchcraft and challenges to the Junie B. Jones books because their titular 5-year-old character had poor grammar.

“Ban This Book” was meant to push back on that phenomenon, Gratz said.

“Nobody has the right to tell you

what you can and can’t read, except your parents, and they shouldn’t have the ability to tell other parents what books their kids can and can’t read,” he told The Post. “And that’s the core message.”

Books have been swept up in the culture wars in recent years as school officials and lawmakers have tussled over how to teach about race, history and sexuality in classrooms. Last year, 4,240 titles in U.S. schools and libraries were challenged, a 65 percent jump from the previous year, according to the American Library Association. Seventeen states attempted to restrict more than 100 titles each — including Florida, where Republican Gov. Ron DeSantis signed legislation making it easier for residents to challenge books, before limiting who could file challenges in April.

Pippin’s complaint about “Ban This Book,” which follows a girl as she creates a locker library of banned titles, said the story was “inappropriate for unaccompanied minor children in schools.” In the complaint, Pippin cited pages in the book where the characters mention other materials that refer-

ence sex.

The complaint was one of 245 book challenges Pippin has submitted on behalf of the local Moms for Liberty chapter, she wrote to The Post. She files complaints on behalf of the group’s members to protect their safety, she said.

Two middle schools and one elementary school in Indian River County had “Ban This Book” on their shelves, according to Pippin’s complaint.

After Pippin complained, a district committee reviewed “Ban This Book.” Most of the committee’s members recommended that it stay in schools, but the school board on May 20 voted 3-2 to remove the book from shelves.

School board member Kevin McDonald said during the meeting that he disagreed with the review committee’s recommendation to keep the book. He said “Ban This Book” encouraged undermining district officials and promoted “inappropriate books.”

“I thought it was ironic that this book is intentionally and overtly saying that school boards shouldn’t matter, only 9-year-olds and librarians should matter,” he said.

# Sanders calls for investigation into insurance charges for contraception

BY DAN DIAMOND

Women are still being charged for contraception even though federal law dictates it should be free. The chair of the Senate health committee wants a government watchdog to investigate why.

Under the Affordable Care Act, health plans are required to provide birth control to patients as a preventive service. Repeated probes have found that plans flout the law and patients are asked to pay, Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) said in a letter being sent Monday to the Government Accountability Office and shared with The Washington Post.

“It is completely unacceptable that plans consistently defy mandated coverage and that there is little enforcement or accountability,” Sanders wrote to GAO leader Gene L. Dodaro, asking him to open an investigation.

Democrats have pushed to ensure access to contraception amid broader challenges to reproductive health services.

Senate leaders last week held a vote intended to enshrine contraception as a federal right; the measure failed amid Republican opposition. Far-right conservatives have attacked birth control by inaccurately characterizing various methods as causing abortion, and contraception access has faced funding challenges at the state level.

“I’m extremely worried, honestly,” said Rachel Fey, vice president of policy and strategic partnerships at Power to Decide, a non-

profit group focused on reproductive health, saying she fears contraception access is facing “death by 1,000 cuts” and that plans’ failure to comply with federal law is making it worse.

“There’s nothing more frustrating than hearing that this is still happening more than a decade after this provision went into effect,” Fey said. “If people are still not getting the contraceptive coverage they’re entitled to, this becomes ... an enforcement issue.”

In his letter to GAO, Sanders cites a recent investigation by the state of Vermont that found three insurers wrongly charged residents more than \$1.5 million for contraception.

A 2022 investigation by the House Oversight Committee found that health insurers persistently denied their members’ requests for no-cost contraceptives. Some insurers deny coverage for certain brand-name contraceptives, saying they cover generic versions that are therapeutically equivalent. But insurers are required to offer a process for women to access contraceptives that physicians deem medically necessary.

Sixteen percent of privately insured contraceptive users were still paying out of pocket in 2022, according to polling by KFF, a nonpartisan health research organization.

“The intention of the policy is full coverage for women’s contraceptives, but the implementation has been complicated, just because there are so many contra-

alternative to discipline in which those involved are encouraged to apologize, but it did not take further action. This was also listed among cases in which there were inadequate responses.

“Everyone has a right to learn in an environment free from discriminatory harassment based on who they are,” Catherine E. Lhamon, assistant secretary for civil rights at the Education Department, said in a statement.

At the City University of New York and its affiliated colleges, there were nine pending complaints from both Jewish and Muslim students, and the resolution agreement announced Monday covers them all.

In the earliest case, the investigation found that in 2021, students and faculty members at Hunter College commandeered a required college course in a call for what they described as the decolonization of Palestinian territories. When Jewish students tried to speak, they were told to listen and not talk, investigators found. The federal investigation concluded that Hunter’s response to the incident was inadequate.

To resolve these complaints, both universities agreed, among other things, to review or reopen previously filed complaints; report the results to the federal government; train employees regarding the university’s legal obligations to respond to alleged discrimination; and administer climate surveys to evaluate the extent to which students and employees experience or witness discrimination and harassment based on race, color or national origin, including shared ancestry.

In motioning for the vote to remove “Ban This Book,” McDonald said the title was “offensive to a large segment of our parents.”

Gratz, the author, said the ban felt “inevitable” after years of following the stories of other books removed or nearly removed across the country.

“It doesn’t mean that I want to accept it,” he said. “It doesn’t mean that I won’t fight back against it.”

Some of his titles have faced challenges before, Gratz said. Last year, a middle school in Pennsylvania canceled a reading of “Two Degrees,” a book he wrote about climate change, after district officials questioned whether it was appropriate for students.

But the spectacle of banning a book about banned books brought new attention to Gratz and his work, he said. He’s spent the week fielding calls about the ban, he said.

With his and other books being removed from school shelves, he said he worries the message he was trying to share about bans will be lost.

“I wish that ‘Ban This Book’ didn’t need to exist as a book,” he said. “I would happily take it back.”

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# POLITICS & THE NATION

## Johnson’s choices for Intelligence Committee anger some GOP lawmakers

BY MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR,  
THEODORIC MEYER  
AND LEIGH ANN CALDWELL

The quiet announcement that Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) earlier this month tapped two controversial members to serve on the House Intelligence Committee set off alarms among some House Republicans. Lawmakers’ phones were suddenly buzzing with texts from shocked colleagues and calls were made to the highest echelons of leadership asking for an explanation.

One call Johnson received was from former speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.), who felt it imperative to understand the new speaker’s rationale for appointing Rep. Scott Perry (R-Pa.) to the critical panel, according to two people familiar with the conversation, who, like others, spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private conversations.

The appointment of Rep. Ronny Jackson (R-Tex.) to Intelligence also drew unease from some House Republicans, but not as much as Perry, because he is not a member of the hard-line House Freedom Caucus and does not often buck GOP leadership.

The moves were especially surprising because McCarthy had worked in tandem with Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.) and top leaders of the Intelligence Committee — Chairman Michael R. Turner (R-Ohio) and ranking Democrat Jim Himes (Conn.) — to depoliticize the panel after members of both parties contributed to increased partisanship over the years.

In calls with McCarthy and other Republicans last week, Johnson justified his decision by saying he appointed Perry and Jackson partly because former president Donald Trump urged him to do so, according to two other people with direct knowledge of the matter. Trump repeatedly and unusually vilified the intelligence community as president, insisting that it had unfairly targeted him during the 2016 campaign, most recently describing the Justice Department at a gathering last week with House Republicans as “dirty, no-good bastards.”

“[Johnson] has reversed course on this committee, and has now made it political again. He has reversed all the advances, which could harm America’s preparedness,” one high-ranking Republican said. “This is not a place to play games. This is not a place to appease somebody. This is where you got to do the real work.”

Johnson briefly explained his decision, telling The Washington Post that it is “important to have a broad spectrum of perspectives on that committee” and that he believes both members are “going to do a good job.”

The appointments came before Trump rallied House Republicans on Capitol Hill last week to unite lawmakers behind a political and policy message aimed at establishing a GOP lock on Washington in the November elections. The move demonstrates that Trump’s influence with the House Republican leadership is already being felt in ways that could embolden the far right to make demands of the speaker, especial-



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) recently named some controversial Republicans to the House Intelligence Committee.

ly as Johnson tries to shore up his support to continue leading the fractious House GOP.

Johnson and Trump are relatively close. The former president has praised the speaker in the past several months and tried to stop hard-liners from ousting him. After Trump last month became the first former president to be convicted of a crime, Johnson said the House would ramp up its oversight of the Justice Department.

“I think we’re letting the executive branch, in this case, compel the speaker of the House and legislative branch to fill two critical spots that we have, frankly, more qualified people for,” one House Republican on the intelligence panel said.

The Intelligence Committee regularly receives highly classified briefings on sensitive national security matters affecting the country. Johnson has said his perspective changed on sending more aid to Ukraine after receiving the highest level of intelligence briefings as speaker, and he has often encouraged skeptical Republicans to do the same. Turner and Himes urged Johnson to pass more aid to Ukraine in April after a classified committee briefing on the war.

“I think we’ve seen decade after decade, even with presidential candidates, once you get down in the [sensitive compartmented information facility] and you read the volume and the seriousness of the threats that face this country, and the ill intent that our adversaries truly have for us and our way of life, it’s often a game-changing experience. So no concerns here,” said Rep. Michael Waltz (R-Fla.), a member of the committee.

Rep. Steve Womack (R-Ark.), a conservative who says he respects the House as an institution, brought up his worries with Johnson and said the speaker

now “knows how I feel” about the decision. After hearing that Rep. David Joyce also had reservations, Johnson tried to assuage the moderate Ohio Republican by telling him that multiple perspectives are necessary on committees and that the former president wanted those lawmakers to be heard.

Joyce wasn’t convinced. “You appease those people, what gives everybody else the reason to do the right thing by encouraging bad behavior?” he said.

Not even Turner knew of Johnson’s decision before the news broke in the media. Republicans on the Intelligence Committee took an extra step, requesting a sit-down meeting with Johnson to voice concerns over how Jackson and Perry could harm efforts to make the committee less partisan. Tensions appear to have cooled since the meeting, according to multiple people in attendance, with Republicans on the committee hoping the seriousness of the job will change new members’ perspectives.

“We have six months left until the end of the year, and then we’ll see what the committee looks like in January,” said Rep. Austin Scott (R-Ga.), another member of the panel. “Both of those members are qualified to be on the Intelligence Committee.”

While the speaker has the ultimate say over who gets appointed to a special or select committee, a decision is often made in consultation with the chairman or ranking minority-party member. Members are assigned to permanent committees based on each party’s steering committee, often filled with allies of leadership.

Reps. Laurel Lee (R-Fla.) and Stephanie Bice (R-Okla.) are said to have sought an appointment to the committee after GOP Reps. Chris Stewart (Utah) and Mike Gallagher (Wis.) retired.

Perry, a former chairman of the

Freedom Caucus and a chief Trump loyalist, has drawn the most fire from colleagues for his appointment. He was one of about 20 House Republicans who last year refused to support McCarthy for speaker in an effort to extract concessions from him. Some of those demands included putting more hard-liners on Intelligence and removing Turner as chair, which McCarthy avoided as he sought to appoint serious legislators to the panel, according to two people familiar with his thinking. He has voted against rules on the House floor several times since Johnson became speaker.

Perry also played a role in Trump’s efforts to overturn the 2020 election, according to witnesses who testified before the House Jan. 6 panel. The FBI seized Perry’s phone in 2022 as part of the Justice Department’s investigation into the effort to reverse the election results.

Intelligence members consider Perry’s comportment more problematic than his ties to Jan. 6. Three lawmakers pointed to a statement Perry made after Johnson named him to Intelligence: that he looked forward “to providing not only a fresh perspective, but conducting actual oversight — not blind obedience to some facets of our Intel Community that all too often abuse their powers, resources, and authority to spy on the American People.” He added in a video that he thought Johnson “wanted some different viewpoints on the committee.”

“I’m looking forward to seeing what their definition of real oversight looks like compared to what

we’ve been doing,” one of those lawmakers said.

In contrast, Jackson’s statement was more complimentary of the committee and he applauded Turner’s role in helping “restore the American people’s complete faith in our intelligence community.”

Jackson, who was White House physician under President Barack Obama and Trump, has not challenged House leadership as Perry has. But the U.S. Navy demoted him in 2022 from retired rear admiral to retired captain after a Pentagon inspector general’s report found he had bullied staff, among other misdeeds.

During the Intelligence Committee’s first meeting with the two new members Tuesday, multiple lawmakers described Perry and Jackson as silent and unengaged. While other lawmakers walked out together, Perry left by himself and described his first meeting as “informative.”

Throughout the week, Perry “had it out with a few people,” one Intelligence member recounted, but has since “tried to make amends and let us yell at him for it, which is good.”

Perry said in a brief interview that he just wants “to do the job” and is “excited to work and to keep the country safe.” He was aware that he was limited in what he could say given the tight-lipped nature of the committee, noting, “I have to be careful what I say here.”

Trump and the congressional MAGA faithful have been seeking greater influence on top committees, including Intelligence, which oversees the CIA, the FBI

and other agencies and whose members are briefed on top-secret intelligence matters. Hard-line lawmakers, including Perry, recently voted against reauthorizing a part of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, claiming the intelligence community is actively spying on Americans, though the law forbids it.

Some House Republicans remain cautiously optimistic about the speaker’s decision.

“It’s unquestionable that there’s lawfare being practiced against Donald Trump by the agencies and by the Department of Justice, so I don’t blame him for issuing one of his faithful on the Intelligence Committee,” Rep. John Duarte (R-Calif.) said, suggesting that the legal system and government institutions are being used by the Biden administration to attack Trump. “I think there are many faithful in the party, and that we should be putting the most qualified people in there.”

But the Intelligence appointments, and the naming of Rep. Clay Higgins (R-La.), a Freedom Caucus member, to the House Armed Services Committee, have greatly rankled the faction of Republicans who want the House to function better, known as the governing wing. Many fear that the inclusion of hard-line perspectives could block key legislation from reaching the floor for a vote, causing the House to grind to a halt, as the far right has done before.

Pragmatic conservatives, many of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity to talk freely, worry that placing hard-line colleagues on Intelligence will follow a pattern that has played out on other key panels. Freedom Caucus members on the House Appropriations Committee filled funding bills with extreme provisions that moderates could not support on the floor last year, while three hard-liners on the House Rules Committee blocked a border security bill from getting a floor vote in protest of Johnson’s leadership on a foreign aid package earlier this year.

Yet far-right members and many rank-and-file conservatives aren’t concerned.

“My overall reaction to colleagues who are frustrated: So? It’s not your decision,” said Rep. Byron Donalds (R-Fla.), a member of the Freedom Caucus, who noted that Johnson’s decision-making style is deliberative.

For over a decade, Freedom Caucus members have been demanding that their perspective be better reflected on House committees. Their obstructionism and all-or-nothing negotiation style have often influenced GOP leaders to bend their way on multiple fronts, especially as they aligned closer to Trump.

“I feel that I’ll have an important voice within a committee, respectful of every other, but I’m coming from a background that’s not commonly found on that committee,” Higgins said. “I think it will be a beautiful marriage.”

### EDUCATION

#### Judge blocks Title IX rule in six more states

The Biden administration’s effort to expand protections for LGBTQ+ students hit another roadblock Monday, when a federal judge in Kentucky temporarily blocked the new Title IX rule in six additional states.

U.S. District Judge Danny C. Reeves referred to the regulation as “arbitrary in the truest sense of the word” in granting a preliminary injunction blocking it in Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia. His ruling comes days after a different federal judge temporarily blocked the new rule from taking effect in Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi and Montana.

Attorneys general in more than 20 Republican-led states have filed at least seven legal challenges to President Biden’s new policy. Republicans argue the policy is a ruse to allow transgender girls to play on girls athletic teams. The Biden administration said the rule does not apply to athletics.

Still under consideration is a request for a preliminary injunction filed by the

Republican attorneys general of Arkansas, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota.

Set to take hold in August, the rule expands Title IX civil rights protections to LGBTQ+ students, expands the definition of sexual harassment at schools and colleges, and adds safeguards for victims. Title IX, passed in 1972, is a law that bars sex discrimination in education.

— Associated Press

### NEW YORK

#### Brooklyn preacher gets nine years for fraud

A flashy Brooklyn preacher who has played up connections to New York City’s mayor was sentenced Monday to nine years in prison for multiple frauds.

Lamor Miller-Whitehead, 45, of Paramus, N.J., was sentenced in Manhattan federal court by Judge Lorna G. Schofield, who said she didn’t see meaningful remorse from the Rolls-Royce-driving bishop convicted of fleecing one parishioner out of \$90,000 in retirement savings, among other scams.

In March, a jury convicted Miller-Whitehead of all charges, including wire fraud, attempted

extortion and making false statements.

She said a significant prison sentence was necessary because there was a high probability that Miller-Whitehead would commit crimes in the future, particularly because previous convictions for similar crimes did not deter him from committing more crimes.

Miller-Whitehead also was ordered to pay \$85,000 in restitution and to forfeit \$95,000.

Miller-Whitehead developed a friendship with Mayor Eric Adams while Adams served as Brooklyn’s borough president before his election to the city’s top job. Prosecutors contended that Miller-Whitehead used the name of Adams to commit fraud and attempted extortion.

Miller-Whitehead became a religious figure in 2013 when he formed the Leaders of Tomorrow International Ministries. He was also known to wear designer clothing and was once the victim of a robbery in which \$1 million in jewelry was stolen from him by gunmen who surprised him during a church service.

Although he preached primarily in Brooklyn, he owned a \$1.6 million home in Paramus and an apartment in Hartford, Conn.

— Associated Press



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ELECTION 2024

# As tight races loom, electric vehicles power partisan culture war

Senate Democrats seek distance from Biden’s pro-EV policy push

BY LIZ GOODWIN

Just two years ago, Senate Democrats banded together to push through sweeping legislation aimed at combating climate change in part by speeding the transition to electric vehicles with tax credits and other incentives.

But now, facing a tough reelection climate in November, some Senate Democrats who are fighting for their political lives in red states are distancing themselves from aspects of President Biden’s EV policies as Republicans go on offense against Biden’s environmental agenda.

Presumptive GOP presidential nominee Donald Trump has made bashing EVs a cornerstone of his campaign, effectively turning them into culture war fodder in an election year. Meanwhile, a fossil fuel industry group is pouring millions of dollars in ads in swing states tying Democratic senators to Biden’s EV push.

Trump has vowed to roll back Biden’s electric vehicle efforts and warned “you’re not going to be able to sell those cars” if he becomes president.

Biden required automakers to ramp up sales of EVs while slashing carbon emissions from gasoline-powered models, which account for about one-fifth of America’s contribution to global warming, in tough new emissions standards. Automakers will not need to dramatically boost EVs sales until after 2030, a concession to car manufacturers who worried about a faster timeline initially proposed by Biden.

The electric vehicle, or EV, issue combines several potent political ingredients — China, class warfare and what the GOP will probably describe as a spending spree by Congress. The policy’s defenders point out the EV transition is crucial to slowing the worst effects of climate change and note the tens of millions of dollars of investment in EV-related factories in the United States, which should create high-paying manufacturing jobs.

It is an easy attack line for Trump, however, who called the Biden regulations “ridiculous” in a recent meeting with oil industry executives who he brazenly asked to raise \$1 billion for his campaign.

At a rally in Las Vegas earlier this month, Trump went on a lengthy rant against electric-powered boats, saying he would have trouble knowing what to do if the boat was sinking in shark-infested waters. “Do I get electrocuted if the boat is sinking, water goes over the battery, the boat is sinking? Do I stay on top of the boat and get electrocuted, or do I jump over by the shark and not get electrocuted?” he asked.

“I’ll take electrocution every single time,” he said. “I’m not getting near the shark.”

Last week, Trump told Senate Republicans behind closed doors he would “get rid of” Biden’s “disastrous” EV policy if he’s elected president, according to Sen. Josh Hawley (R-Mo).

Some Democrats in particularly tough races are distancing themselves from aspects of Biden’s policies. The issue has become so politicized that data shows more Democrats than Re-



EVAN VUCCI/AP

President Biden sits in a Cadillac Lyriq electric vehicle at the Detroit Auto Show in 2022. Former president Donald Trump has bashed EVs in recent campaign appearances.

publicans are buying EVs.

In May, Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio) introduced a bipartisan Congressional Review Act resolution to overturn the Biden administration’s decision to allow components of EV batteries to be made in China, putting an exclamation point on his weeks of criticism of the Biden administration’s stance toward EVs.

“The U.S. must ban Chinese electric vehicles now, and stop a flood of Chinese government-subsidized cars that threaten Ohio auto jobs, and our national and economic security,” Brown wrote in an April letter to Biden.

Earlier in May, the Biden administration announced steep new tariffs on Chinese-made electric vehicles.

Both Brown and Sen. Jon Tester (D-Mont.) unsuccessfully voted to roll back Biden’s emissions standards, and also voted with Republicans to scrap a Biden rule that would exempt EV charging stations from “Buy America” rules. Biden later vetoed the chargers measure.

“There is a lot of concern about electric vehicles out of the state of Ohio that’s probably bad for Sherrod Brown overall, but the silver lining is it provides him an opportunity to draw some contrasts to Joe Biden,” said Christopher Devine, a political science professor at the University of Dayton.

In Ohio, an auto manufacturing state where cars are core to politics, Brown’s GOP rival, Bernie Moreno, has criticized the “manic” move to EVs, saying it could destroy the auto industry. Brown allies have gone after Moreno for previously selling Chinese-made Buicks in his car dealership.

Ohio is home to auto manufacturing plants, including some owned by General Motors, who have signed on to the Biden

administration’s EV push. After the Environmental Protection Agency adjusted its initial emissions standards and slowed the pace to electrification in its latest regulation, most of the auto industry has signed on to the policy. The powerful United Auto Workers union endorsed Biden as well, after the president assuaged concerns about his commitment to promoting union jobs in electric vehicle-related factories.

Tester said he believes there needs to be more research and development of EV car batteries before more consumers will want to purchase the vehicles. “I’m an internal combustion guy,” Tester said. “The truth is if you’re going to make it competitive we’ve got to get batteries to a point where they’re more affordable and longer lasting and work at colder weather conditions.”

According to Tester’s memoir, published in 2020, he bought a used Prius to drive while in D.C.

But it’s hard to make nuanced arguments during a campaign year.

Both men are facing ads funded by a fuel industry group in their states claiming that Biden will soon ban most gas-powered cars — a reference to the president’s stringent new emissions standards that experts say is misleading.

One new ad that will begin running this week as part of a broader \$6.6 million buy shows Tester’s image photoshopped into the back seat of a car with Biden. “President Biden is banning most new gas cars,” a narrator intones in the background. “Putting our freedom to choose what to drive in the rearview mirror. And Senator Jon Tester couldn’t stop him.” The ad urges voters to call Tester to tell him to keep working to stop the “ban.” Similar ads featuring Brown and Sen. Jacky Rosen

(D-Nev.) will run in their states, where both senators face tough reelection bids, as well as in six other states.

American Fuel & Petrochemical Manufacturers President and CEO Chet Thompson said he is “agnostic” on who wins the Senate races in the swing states where his group is running ads but believes the Biden administration’s EV policies are “wildly unpopular” with voters.

Thompson defended his ads’ use of the word “ban,” which experts say is inaccurate, because the new emissions standards will require auto manufacturers to make dramatically more EVs and fewer gas-powered vehicles to comply. That transition will be gradual, however.

The EPA says EVs would account for approximately “30 percent to 56 percent of new light-duty vehicle sales” and “20 percent to 32 percent of new medium-duty vehicle sales” in 2030. That’s below Biden’s initial stated desire to have EVs account for half of all new car sales by 2030. And neither constitutes a ban.

“It’s just Republican propaganda and fearmongering,” said Sen. Gary Peters (D-Mich.), the chair of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

But the political challenges remain.

Many of the EV tax credits passed in the Inflation Reduction Act have gone to buyers in California and on the coasts, furthering the difficulty of selling the move in red states. Republicans and some Democrats have also argued that the Biden administration has been too permissive of China-made battery parts making up the vehicles, while Republicans plan to argue that lawmakers authorized billions in spending in the legislation without meaningfully lowering inflation.

Some liberal groups are arguing that Democrats should work harder to sell the benefits of the investment in EVs — including factories being built in red states — and explain to voters the economic benefits.

“The mistake for Democrats would be trying to run away from this and not owning the real achievements of the Inflation Reduction Act,” said Stevie O’Hanlon, a spokesperson for liberal climate change group the Sunrise Movement. O’Hanlon said Democratic candidates should go on “offense” even in red states and explain the investments and jobs the legislation is leading to there.

O’Hanlon said that Republicans campaigned against the Green New Deal proposal in 2019, arguing that liberals wanted to take away people’s hamburgers, and it didn’t result in election-year gains. “This is the classic playbook from Big Oil,” she said.

Rep. Elissa Slotkin (D-Mich.) — who is running for that state’s open Senate seat and is facing heat for opposing a measure to halt efforts in states to limit gas-powered cars in the House in 2023 — has taken a more offensive tack. “I know Donald Trump has made electric vehicles his new ‘woke’ culture war,” she said in a statement after her vote. “Those vehicles are going to be made. And I am always going to pick Team America over Team China making those damn vehicles.”

But Trump’s constant demonization of the vehicles — “MAY THEY ROT IN HELL,” he wrote of EV supporters in a Truth Social post last Christmas — have only served to make EVs more unpopular among Republicans.

And adoption of EVs is not high in most red states. In Ohio for example, just about 3.25 percent of new vehicle purchases are

electric vehicles, according to the Toledo Blade newspaper. In 2022, just 3,300 EVs were registered in Montana, amounting to less than half a percentage point of all vehicles.

Republican strategist Mike Murphy, who is leading an effort to encourage more EV adoption among conservatives, said the gap between Democrats and Republicans on EVs is staggering. More than 61 percent of Democrats said they believed their friends would think it was a “smart move” if they bought an EV, compared with just 19 percent of Republicans who said the same in polling commissioned by Murphy.

“They marketed EVs as environmental, I’m-a-good-person-mobiles,” Murphy said, which alienated Republicans who tend to be more skeptical of climate change.

Murphy believes there’s an opportunity to change that trend in part by emphasizing the massive investment in swing states that are producing jobs. Michigan, Georgia, Nevada and Arizona have all announced tens of millions of dollars in EV investments, including \$31.5 million in Georgia.

Blue state consumers are responsible for a disproportionate share of EV purchases, but these cars are increasingly being made in swing states.

“If the GOP wants to declare war on the largest source of new manufacturing jobs in the most important electoral states, they do so at their peril,” Murphy said.

Murphy’s fear is that a narrative will solidify after 2024 that running against EVs helped win the election, which he believes could roll back progress on the issue. “I don’t want Washington to decide the EV bashing worked.”

# Biden campaign launches advertising attack on ‘convicted criminal’ Trump

Spot brings attention to ex-president’s felonies and civil judgments

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

The Biden campaign released a new ad Monday that directly attacks former president Donald Trump for his 34 felony convictions in New York and earlier verdicts by civil juries that found he committed sexual assault and business fraud.

“In the courtroom we see Donald Trump for who he is,” the voice-over in the ad begins, before recounting Trump’s recent legal setbacks as black-and-white photos appear on the screen. The ad then displays Trump’s Georgia mug shot taken following his indictment for alleged attempts to overturn the results of the 2020 election.

“This election is between a convicted criminal who is only out for himself and a president who is fighting for your family,” the ad concludes, after describing efforts by Biden to lower healthcare costs and take on corporate power.

Biden’s campaign also announced plans Monday to spend \$50 million on advertising in June, including more than \$1 million targeting non-White voters. Those include spots targeting Asian American voters on healthcare issues, an ad that seeks to demonstrate Biden’s empathy for voters struggling with higher prices and a radio ad targeting Black voters with descriptions of Biden’s accomplishments. The Trump campaign has yet to run a general election ad on television, as it seeks to catch up in fundraising.

Trump was convicted last month of 34 felonies related to an effort to conceal payments to an adult-film star to cover up an

alleged extramarital affair. A New York jury found in 2023 that Trump had sexually abused and defamed a woman who said he assaulted her in a department store in the mid-1990s. A New York judge fined Trump in February after finding in a second civil trial that he engaged in business fraud to borrow money at lower rates.

Trump has denied wrongdoing in all of those cases. He still faces trials in three other criminal cases related to his handling of classified records and his efforts to disrupt the transfer of power after the 2020 election.

“Crooked Joe Biden and the Democrats weaponized the justice system against President Trump,” Trump campaign spokeswoman Karoline Leavitt said Monday morning in a statement on social media. “[T]his new ad once again proves the sham trial was always meant to be election interference, but Americans see through it.”

The latest ad, called “Character Matters,” builds on an argument that the Biden campaign began making in May. The president and his campaign have argued that Trump has changed since he first won the nomination in 2016 and is more focused on serving himself than the American people. “Something snapped,” Biden has begun saying at campaign events, arguing that Trump’s refusal to accept the 2020 election results triggered the shift.

Biden’s aides see the argument as a way of combating polling that shows Americans have more positive feelings for Trump’s presidency than they do for Biden’s time in office, an alarming view to many Democrats. They hope that an argument based on the idea that Trump has changed will focus voters on how his personal behavior since leaving office could affect a second term in office.

Polling and focus groups by

both the campaign and independent groups supporting Biden have found that arguments about Trump’s personal aggravement and determination to get revenge are among the most persuasive ones they can make to voters.

The Biden campaign’s communications director, Michael Tyler, described Trump on Monday as someone “who will do anything and harm anyone if it means more power and vengeance for Donald Trump.”

“That’s why he was convicted, that’s why he encouraged a violent mob to storm the Capitol on January 6, and it’s why his entire campaign is an exercise in revenge and retribution,” Tyler said in a statement.

The Biden campaign has already spent nearly \$67 million on advertising through June 16, including \$53 million this year, according to the ad tracking firm AdImpact. The scale of advertising spending has been accelerat-

ing in recent weeks, rising from about \$2.2 million in spending in the week that began April 30 to \$5.3 million in the week that began June 4.

In the first of two scheduled debates, Biden and Trump plan to face off in Atlanta on June 27 in an encounter to be broadcast on CNN. Unlike recent presidential candidate meetings, there will be no studio audience for the debate, and microphones will muted throughout, except when it is time for an individual candidate to speak. Those conditions were requested by the Biden campaign and agreed to by the Trump campaign.

Monday’s announcement indicates that the pace of spending will continue to accelerate through the end of June. AdImpact records indicate that only \$12.4 million has been spent through June 16, well short of the \$50 million target for the month that the Biden campaign announced Monday.







# Closing asset loophole could add billions to tax collections, IRS says

BY JULIE ZAUZMER WEIL

The Biden administration plans to stop businesses and wealthy individuals from manipulating the value of assets in arcane ways such as using the same assets over and over to lower their taxes. High-end business partnerships like hedge funds and wealthy individuals such as real estate investors have inappropriately used labyrinthine structures to shield tens of billions of dollars from taxation, Treasury Department officials said Monday as they vowed to crack down on the practice. They announced several steps to address a tax planning strategy known as basis shifting, in which complex business partnerships can move assets from one entity to another on paper for no reason other than to avoid taxes. “These transactions don’t create any economic activity for the U.S. Their sole purpose is to reduce tax bills,” said Deputy Treasury Secretary Wally Adeyemo, adding that shutting down inappropriate basis shifting could increase tax collections from partnerships by at least \$5 billion a year over the next decade.

Robert Kovacev, a lawyer at Miller & Chevalier who represents partnerships being audited by the IRS, argued that the tax code allows changes in basis, that businesses are doing nothing wrong by taking advantage of the practice and that the new rules, if enforced, are likely to be challenged in court. “I don’t think it’s tax evasion at all,” Kovacev said of basis shifting. “That has a fraudulent tinge to it that I don’t think exists here. It’s a tax planning tool that follows what Congress said you can do.” A partnership is a “pass-through” business structure of linked entities that passes income and losses directly to investors, rather than being taxed at a corporate level. When a partnership sells assets such as land or equipment, the taxes are determined only after subtracting the asset’s original cost — the “basis” — from the proceeds. Certain rules in the tax code allow partnerships to recalculate that basis when other assets move in or out of the business. The IRS asserts that partnerships are regularly manipulating the basis of assets to avoid taxes. In some cases, the business

might repeatedly depreciate the same asset. “What you do is things like, you’ve depreciated the asset in one entity, so now the basis is zero,” said Mark Luscombe, a Wolters Kluwer tax lawyer who serves on the American Bar Association’s committee on partnerships. “If you sold it, you’d have a big gain and you don’t have any more depreciation. You instead sell it to a related party so you can start the depreciation all over again.” An existing rule requires that transactions have “economic substance” rather than merely reducing tax bills. A top IRS official mentioned the economic substance rule as the root of the agency’s belief that most of these closely related partnership transactions are illegal. “It is possible that taxpayers believe their transactions meet the literal regulation,” the official said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss the new rule before specific regulations are announced. “However, they do not have economic substance. We believe they are illegal under current law.” The tax agency will publish

guidance for accountants and lawyers meant to make clear that the federal government believes basis shifting purely to avoid taxes is illegal and will be subject to audits. It will propose regulations to require large partnerships to provide more detail to the IRS about certain transactions when they occur. And it will create teams within the IRS’s legal arm and its large-business auditing unit to focus on such partnerships, staffed by some of the hundreds of auditors the IRS has hired this year. Those new employees have already turned up many basis-shifting transactions that they believe to be illegal, IRS Commissioner Danny Werfel said in a call with reporters. “In the audits we’re doing today, we are seeing this systemic use of basis shifting where there is no economic basis to the transaction,” Werfel said. “That is not allowed.” If Adeyemo’s projection of \$50 billion in additional tax collections over the next decade comes to pass, it would go a long way toward recouping the billions in additional funding that Congress allotted to the IRS at President Biden’s urging. The Biden

administration and others have argued that the investment would more than pay for itself as new auditors hired with the money crack down on wealthy tax evaders. The Biden administration said in a statement Monday that the basis-shifting maneuvers, promoted by high-end lawyers and accountants who get paid millions of dollars to structure these businesses’ complicated tax returns, have probably soared in popularity in recent years but gone unnoticed by the IRS until recently. The 2010s saw a 70 percent increase in filings by pass-through businesses with more than \$10 million in assets, rising to nearly 300,000 in 2019. “They’re the form of business of choice for most new businesses, including businesses that get quite large and very successful,” said Michael Sardar, a partner at Kostelanetz LLP who represents firms under IRS audit. “It’s an area that has seen so much growth in terms of the value that’s sitting inside partnerships. People think of the big bad corporation; that’s maybe not the right character today. Because a lot of the money is in partnerships.”

Meanwhile, the cash-strapped IRS went from auditing 3.8 percent of those large partnerships in 2010 to auditing just 1 in 1,000 in 2019. Auditors hired by the tax agency this year noted tens of billions of dollars in assets hidden from taxation by partnerships that are currently under audit, leading to the agency’s decision to focus specifically on basis shifting, Werfel said. Kovacev argued that the IRS can’t stop basis shifting on its own without congressional authorization. “If Congress wanted to change the rules to prohibit basis shifting between related parties, they can do that, but it’s Congress’s job to do that,” he said. Congress has considered legislation to limit basis shifting but has not enacted it. Regulatory changes would allow the Biden administration to act on its own, but may be more likely to be challenged in court. But Luscombe said the IRS doesn’t need additional congressional authorization to crack down on many attempts at basis shifting because “these transactions are probably abusive” under the current system.

# President Biden to waive penalties for undocumented spouses of U.S. citizens

SPOUSES FROM A1

ject to significant bureaucratic hurdles that have left them in limbo for years. Federal law requires such immigrants to leave the United States for up to 10 years and then apply to return, but immigrants call the penalty excessive. Biden will allow undocumented spouses to apply for legal residency without having to leave the United States, a major relief for those who have jobs and are raising young children and worry that there is no guarantee they will be allowed back into the country. “It’s just too much risk for me to leave my wife, my son and everything we’ve established in the United States,” said Foday Turay, a 27-year-old immigrant from Sierra Leone who is married to a U.S. citizen and is among those invited to Biden’s announcement at the White House. Turay crossed the Mexican border unlawfully in 2003 when he was 7 to join his mother, who had earlier fled war in Sierra Leone. He is now an assistant district attorney in Philadelphia and has a work permit through Obama’s 2012 program. But he said he wants to become a citizen. About 500,000 undocumented spouses and 50,000 undocumented stepchildren of U.S. citizens are expected to be eligible to apply, according to a copy of the plan released by the White House and the Department of Homeland Security. To be eligible, immigrants must have lived in the United States for at least a decade as of Monday, have been married by that date, and meet other requirements. Their immigrant children must be under 21 to qualify, officials said. Officials said the majority of immigrants expected to benefit from the program are Mexican nationals who have lived in the United States for an average of 23 years. Applicants who are approved will have three years to apply for permanent residency, also known as a green card, and will have work permits in the meantime. Permanent resident spouses are eligible to apply for U.S. citizenship after three years, faster than the usual five-year requirement.



AL DRAGO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**President Biden plans to allow undocumented spouses of U.S. citizens to apply for legal residency without having to leave the United States. About 500,000 undocumented spouses and 50,000 undocumented stepchildren of U.S. citizens are expected to be eligible to apply.**

Biden is also expected to announce a work-visa program for current enrollees in Obama’s 2012 program, known as Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, and others who were shut out of the program after the Trump administration called it an illegal amnesty and tried to terminate it in 2017. A federal judge in Texas has ruled that DACA is unlawful, and it is limited to existing enrollees while the case is pending. Biden will allow some Dreamers to apply for work visas, which will put them on a more solid legal footing than the deferred-action program, the officials said. To apply, however, immigrants must have graduated from a U.S. college or university and have a

U.S. job offer in a high-skilled field, such as science and technology. Visa applicants will be required to leave the United States to undergo consular processing to enter the United States legally, officials said. Details for both programs are still being worked out and are expected to be made public over the summer, when an application process could begin, officials said. Anyone who applies is expected to pass criminal background checks, pay fees, and meet other requirements, in keeping with standard immigration procedures. Angela Kelley, a senior adviser at the American Immigration Lawyers Association and a former Biden administration official at

the Department of Homeland Security, called the move a “game changer” for immigrant families. “They don’t have to look over their shoulder anymore and worry about the family being separated,” she said of those related to U.S. citizens. As with DACA, advocates for immigrants expect fierce blowback to the program from Republicans who have challenged similar policies in court. But lawyers said Biden’s program for undocumented spouses should be on strong footing because the legal authority will be “parole in place,” which is already allowed in federal law and therefore potentially insulated against any court challenges. “Parole’s been around for dec-

ades and decades and used in many different contexts,” said Kerri Talbot, executive director of the Immigration Hub, an advocacy group. “I think the courts will recognize the importance of having that power.” The nonpartisan Migration Policy Institute estimates that 1.1 million to 1.3 million undocumented immigrants are married to U.S. citizens, so hundreds of thousands of immigrants will be shut out of the program because they haven’t been here for a decade, have criminal records or for other reasons. Advocates for immigrants say even the modest program for spouses will be a major relief to immigrants and millions more of their U.S. citizen relatives who

they hope will vote in the November elections. “Hopefully, it will also inspire people to not sit this one out,” said Marielena Hincapié, a scholar at Cornell Law School and a former executive director of the National Immigration Law Center. “I’m hoping it’s an indirect benefit from an announcement like this.” Some Democrats have soured on Biden as his early efforts to create a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants were eclipsed by record numbers of new migrants arriving at the U.S. southern border, spurring him to crack down on illegal crossings. This month he created new asylum restrictions because he said border apprehensions had reached emergency levels. But Biden has also deployed his executive powers to protect undocumented immigrants more broadly than any other president. The Biden administration has granted temporary protected status to more than 1 million immigrants in the United States and allowed in hundreds of thousands from other groups fleeing violence or poverty abroad. His administration has also stopped carrying out workplace raids or other enforcement that would target long-standing undocumented immigrants. Democratic lawmakers and advocacy groups have urged Biden for months to expand relief for long-term undocumented immigrants, amid threats from his Republican rival, former president Donald Trump, that he would carry out mass deportations if elected in November. Turay, a prosecutor, expressed frustration that he is the only member of his family who is not a U.S. citizen, after decades in the United States, a law degree and a job as a public servant. “She took extreme measures,” he said of his mother. “There was no way she was going to leave her only child” alone. But because of his unlawful crossing, he said, he fears he would not be allowed back into the country if he left to apply for legal residency through his wife. “It’s absurd that I’m still dealing with all this,” he said. “Instead of me focusing on victims of crime, I’m here trying to get relief to stay.”

# Key Democratic holdouts approve major arms sale to Israel, including F-15s

BY JOHN HUDSON

Two key Democratic holdouts in the House and Senate signed off on a major arms sale to Israel, including 50 F-15 fighter jets worth more than \$18 billion, after facing intense pressure from the Biden administration and pro-Israel advocates to allow the transaction to move forward, said three U.S. officials familiar with the matter. The decision, which has not been previously reported, underscores the substantial appetite in Washington to continue the flow of arms to Israel despite concerns from younger members of Congress that the United States should use its leverage to pressure Israel to reduce the intensity of the war and allow more humanitarian aid into Gaza. This spring, Rep. Gregory W. Meeks (D-N.Y.), the top Democrat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, publicly vowed to hold up the arms package unless

he received assurances from the administration about how the warplanes and munitions would be used in Gaza, where more than 37,000 Palestinians have been killed, according to local health authorities. Besides the F-15s, which are not scheduled to arrive in Israel for years, the administration sought sign-off on air-to-air missiles and Joint Direct Attack Munition kits, which retrofit unguided bombs with precision guidance. “I don’t want the kinds of weapons that Israel has to be utilized to have more deaths,” Meeks told CNN in April. “I want to make sure that humanitarian aid gets in. I don’t want people starving to death, and I want Hamas to release the hostages. And I want a two-state solution.” After months of holding up the arms sale, Meeks and Sen. Ben Cardin (D-Md.), the top Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, signed off on the transaction several weeks ago,

according to U.S. officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss arms transfers. Cardin, a staunch supporter of Israel, had been widely seen as standing with Meeks in an act of collegial solidarity. Meeks and Cardin are two of four lawmakers who can effectively veto a foreign military sale. In the case of the F-15 and munitions package, the two top Republicans on the committees — Sen. James E. Risch of Idaho and Rep. Michael McCaul of Texas — signed off on the sale months ago. The State Department can now proceed with notifying Congress of the approved sale — the next step to completing the transaction. Asked why the notification hadn’t been sent already, a State Department spokesman declined to comment on the status of the sale. If approved, the transaction would be one of the largest arms sales to Israel since the war began. The weaponry, often paid

over many years, is largely financed by the more than \$3.3 billion in U.S. taxpayer funds Washington provides Israel every year. Meeks told The Washington Post that he has been in “close touch” with the White House about the package and “repeatedly urged the administration to continue pushing Israel to make significant and concrete improvements on all fronts when it comes to humanitarian efforts and limiting civilian casualties.” He underscored that the F-15s will be delivered “years from now” and said he remained supportive of Israel’s right to defend itself against threats from Iran and Hezbollah. A spokesman for Cardin said the sale went through the “regular review processes.” “Any issues or concerns Chair Cardin had were addressed through our ongoing consultations with the Administration, and that’s why he felt it appropriate to allow this case to move

forward,” said Eric Harris, the communications director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in a statement. Liberal critics say the Biden administration has not used U.S. leverage effectively in the eight-month-old war. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has rejected U.S. requests to avoid a ground incursion into Rafah or expedite the delivery of aid to overland routes. Republicans have categorized any holdup of weapons to Israel as a “reprehensible” betrayal. “The United States must stand with Israel. Period,” said Rep. Russell Fry (R-S.C.). Sen. Tom Cotton (R-Ark.) has referred to the pause of one shipment as an “arms embargo on Israel” despite the administration’s rapid and continued shipment of weaponry since Oct. 7, when Hamas attacked Israel, killing about 1,200 and capturing more than 250 hostages. Defenders of the administra-

tion’s approach point out that Israel’s offensive in Rafah was more restrained than initially feared as a result of U.S. pressure. Despite several recent mass-casualty events involving U.S. weapons, the Biden administration is considering whether to resume the delivery of a shipment of 1,800 2,000-pound bombs and 1,700 500-pound bombs, officials familiar with the matter said. The shipment was held up in May because of U.S. concerns about civilian casualties in Rafah, where up to 1.5 million people had sheltered after fleeing fighting in the northern part of the enclave. The 2,000-pound airdropped bombs, capable of leveling city blocks, have been linked to previous mass-casualty events throughout Israel’s military campaign in Gaza. Meeks said he continued to support “the administration’s pause on certain munitions transfers due to concerns about ongoing civilian casualties in Gaza.”



ABUSED BY THE BADGE

# Ex-Indiana officer faces decertification after Post sex abuse investigation

BY JENN ABELSON  
AND JESSICA CONTRERA

Indiana law enforcement officials are planning to revoke Timothy Barber's police certification days after a Washington Post investigation revealed how the former South Bend police officer used his job to sexually abuse a teen and target other girls and young women.

Under state law, the South Bend Police Department was required to report Barber's 2022 felony convictions for child seduction and official misconduct to the Indiana Law Enforcement Academy, but failed to do so, according to the state agency.

The state's law enforcement training board, which can act on its own after learning of cases like Barber's, voted to move forward with the decertification process Monday, less than a week after The Post's investigation was published. The Indiana Law Enforcement Academy will now send a letter notifying Barber that he has a right to a hearing or can voluntarily relinquish his certification.

Asked why the police department did not seek Barber's decertification, South Bend Police Chief Scott Ruskowski said in an email, "decertification is state law." He declined to answer other questions about the case, citing pending litigation.

South Bend officials did not fire Barber after he was found guilty, as the police department had promised on Facebook when Barber was arrested.

Instead, Barber said in an April phone interview with The Post, he received a call from the city telling him to resign or he'd have to go through an internal affairs investigation.

Barber submitted a resignation letter in September 2022, days after he was sentenced to probation rather than prison by a South Bend judge, who told him, "I'm giving you a break."

Barber's victim, whom The Post is identifying by her middle name, Anne, said she is disappointed, once again, by South Bend officials after learning that they never sought Barber's decer-

tification.

"I honestly feel like the city of South Bend doesn't care about assault victims, and they just want to cover things up," Anne said. "It just upsets me and makes me feel like the justice system failed me once again."

Barber could not be reached for comment on the decertification effort. Raquel Ramirez, an attorney for the state agency, said the decertification process could take several months. There is nothing in the statute that penalizes police departments, such as South Bend, for failing to inform the state about Barber's felony convictions.

Law enforcement departments are required to alert the state when officers leave a department and give an explanation for their departure. South Bend officials noted in records that Barber had resigned after being charged and convicted of a crime in Indiana, but did not provide any details or report that he should be stripped of his certification.

Some states, including Indiana, publish the names of decertified officers to prevent them from getting hired by other departments. Brian Grisham, deputy director for the International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training, said the success of decertification systems depends heavily on self-reporting from law enforcement agencies.

"That's an area that could be strengthened uniformly is to have some repercussions if you are not fully transparent or truthful in the reason for the separation," Grisham said.

The Post's investigation, Abused by the Badge, revealed that over the past two decades, hundreds of law enforcement officers in the United States have sexually abused children while officials at every level of the criminal justice system have failed to protect children, punish abusers and prevent additional crimes.

Reporters identified at least 1,200 officers convicted of charges stemming from child sexual abuse from 2005 through 2020.



CAROLYN VAN HOUTEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Indiana's law enforcement training board is planning to revoke the police certification of a former South Bend officer after a Washington Post investigation found he used his job to sexually abuse a teen.

*"That's an area that could be strengthened uniformly is to have some repercussions if you are not fully transparent or truthful in the reason for the separation."*

**Brian Grisham,**  
deputy director for the International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training

Nearly 40 percent of those convicted officers were not sentenced to prison.

In Indiana, Anne was a 16-year-old high school student when she met Barber in the summer of 2021 working her first job at Chick-fil-A. The 36-year-old officer knew Anne wanted to be a police officer and offered her

rides home in his patrol car. He sexually abused her there multiple times, according to police and court records, and later admitted to sending her more than 1,300 messages in less than three months from his work laptop.

Barber was facing the possibility of up to 18.5 years in prison. Prosecutors reached a plea

deal with Barber that limited his maximum sentence to four years and agreed to stay silent on how or where the officer should serve his time. Barber's own lawyer had recommended home detention as a condition of probation, but the judge, Jeffrey Sanford, opted only for probation after expressing concern about the officer's safety behind bars.

"You'd be in danger the whole time you were there," Sanford said. "You might not even make it out of prison."

Sanford, who used to represent the city of South Bend as a deputy attorney and defended police accused of misconduct, refused to release an audio recording of the sentencing hearing and then did not respond to questions about his handling of the case. In a written transcript obtained by The Post, Sanford likened Barber's crimes to "hitting on a 16-year-old."

Without his police certification revoked, Barber could have been hired by another police department. The Post's investigation identified officers across the country who had been accused — or sometimes convicted — of child abuse, domestic violence and other serious crimes, but were still hired by police departments. They were then charged with additional crimes against children.

When interviewed by The Post in April, Barber said he was currently working in construction. He admitted to committing a crime and said he understands that some people, including the victim, believe he should have received a harsher punishment.

"Things could've turned worse. I could have been imprisoned and come out of prison, be on the street, never get a job," Barber said.

He said he now spends most of his free time at church or home, raising chickens and honeybees with his family.

"This has been good for me. I know that people don't want to hear that. They want to know that I'm going through pain or torture probably," Barber said. "But I'm very happy and I'm very fortunate."

Anne, meanwhile, said she is continuing her fight for accountability. She filed a lawsuit against Barber and the city of South Bend, claiming they should be held liable for what happened to her in Barber's patrol car.

In court records, the city denied "failing to investigate, discipline, or otherwise hold accountable its police officers whether on or off duty." South Bend also claimed it wasn't directly responsible for the harm that Barber caused Anne.

The teenager is also seeking a federal criminal investigation into Barber's conduct, according to a letter her attorney sent in March to the Justice Department. If the agency agrees, Barber could be prosecuted on federal charges and again face the possibility of being sent to prison.

Citing department policy, Clifford Johnson, U.S. attorney for the Northern District of Indiana, declined to comment on whether the Justice Department would open an investigation.

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# THE WORLD

## Paris tests Olympics readiness with rehearsal on the Seine

BY RICK NOACK  
IN PARIS

The plan to stage the first Summer Olympics Opening Ceremonies outside the confines of a stadium was put to the test Monday, with a technical rehearsal involving a parade of 55 boats along the Seine River.

Thierry Reboul, director of ceremonies for the Paris 2024 Organizing Committee, said the test run was a success. “The boats and their captains have improved a lot,” Reboul said. The primary objective on Monday was to make sure that boats follow the ceremonies’ schedule precisely. Another rehearsal with a larger fleet is expected to take place early next week.

The July 26 ceremonies present both logistical and security challenges. Officials canceled scheduled rehearsals in April and May, saying heavy rains had made the water too high.

Extensive rain can also affect contamination levels in the river. Paris officials have been working to get the Seine clean enough to serve as a venue for Olympic triathlon and marathon swimming. But test results published Friday by city and regional officials showed E. coli in excess of safe swimming thresholds.

Monday’s rehearsal was guarded by a heavy police presence on the riverbanks. Police boats sped along the Seine. But few spectators followed the low-key test run, which did not look too different from a typical day. The parade will include ordinary tourist boats that can frequently be seen on the Seine.

Anne Fitzgerald, a Paris resident, said watching the practice run still felt special to her. “It’s absolutely fantastic,” she said. Up until now, “it’s just been controversy, and talk, and complaining, and now all of a sudden we’re seeing this rehearsal and it puts you in the spirit of what it will be on the day.”

Fitzgerald said the burden of the preparations is increasingly being felt by locals, as roads and bridges are being closed for the construction of stands and for safety. But at least for her, the benefits of having the chance to live the Olympic Games outweigh the negatives.

“It’s almost like I’m seeing the Opening Ceremony without seeing the Opening Ceremony,” she said, adding that purchasing a ticket for the real event would have been too expensive. It’ll be much more spectacular “than doing it in a stadium,” she said.

The actual Opening Ceremonies are supposed to be more elaborate than Monday’s trial run, with up to 180 boats, 10,000 athletes and 326,000 spectators watching from the riverbanks. The plan is for the floating parade to cover more than 3½ miles through central Paris, from Austerlitz Bridge to the Eiffel Tower. USA Gymnastics CEO Li Li Leung said she expected the team’s athletes would be discouraged from attending, as the ceremonies would require them to be on their feet for nine hours.

French officials say security will be tight, with 45,000 police officers and 18,000 soldiers supported by 22,000 private contractors — though leaders in the private sector have raised concerns about a potential shortfall of qualified contractors.

The top priority will be to prevent a large-scale terrorist attack, like the coordinated suicide bombings and shootings that killed 130 people across Paris in 2015, or the truck that plowed



JULIEN DE ROSA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



THOMAS PADILLA/AP



THOMAS PADILLA/AP

**TOP:** Police boats participate in a technical navigation rehearsal Monday on the Seine River in Paris for the Opening Ceremonies of the 2024 Olympic Games. **ABOVE LEFT:** Police officers stand on a bridge as barges cruise on the Seine during the rehearsal for the Opening Ceremonies. **ABOVE RIGHT:** Barges float on the Seine during Monday’s rehearsal. The July 26 ceremonies present both logistical and security challenges. Officials also hope to get the Seine clean enough for triathlon and marathon swimming.

into a crowd in Nice, killing 86 people in 2016. French officials are also sensitive to the need to avoid a dangerous crowd crush.

The Interior Ministry said last month that it had arrested an 18-year-old from Chechnya on suspicion of planning to attack spectators and police at Olympic soccer matches in the French city of Saint-Étienne. And this month, a website linked to the Islamic State appeared to encourage “lone wolves” to carry out attacks, with an image of a drone being directed at the Eiffel Tower.

While militant groups may be responsible for some of the threats, Microsoft’s threat analysis center reported that a Russian disinformation campaign is also seeking to discredit the Paris Olympics and promote the notion that violence will break out.

Security concerns have clashed with France’s “Games

Wide Open” pledge. Originally, Interior Minister Gérald Darmanin said more than half a million spectators would be able to attend the Opening Ceremonies —

for selected residents of Paris and other French towns hosting Olympic events.

The changes reflect “the need to make it the most popular

*“It’s just been controversy, and talk, and complaining, and now all of a sudden we’re seeing this rehearsal and it puts you in the spirit of what it will be on the day.”*

Anne Fitzgerald, a Paris resident

100,000 ticket holders on the riverbanks and 500,000 fans watching for free from upper platforms. But he has reduced the total by half, with 104,000 reserved spots for paying fans and 220,000 free tickets earmarked

ceremony that we can, while managing all the details on the security and the safety side,” French Sports Minister Amélie Oudéa-Castéra told The Washington Post.

Officials say they still antici-

pate record attendance. Previous records have hovered near the 100,000 mark.

President Emmanuel Macron has acknowledged that there is a Plan B in case major security concerns emerge in the days leading up to the ceremonies. The ceremonies could be contained within the Trocadéro Square, which faces the Eiffel Tower, or they could be moved to the Stade de France stadium on the outskirts of the city.

Oudéa-Castéra on Monday said organizers continue to focus on Plan A. “There is no reason to change course,” she said.

Particularly close attention will be paid to the Israeli delegation, which may face its biggest risks since the 1972 Munich Games, when 11 Israeli athletes and coaches were killed in an attack by members of a Palestinian militant group.

Parisians living or working near the riverbanks in central Paris are among the 1 million people who will have gone through a security screening by late July, French officials say. In recent weeks, French police have practiced for potential emergencies and searched the vast network of catacombs underneath the French capital, which is connected to the Seine.

Olympic organizers have sought to reassure the public that the recently announced French elections and a potential change in government after July 7 won’t hinder plans for the Games. Jordan Bardella, who stands a chance of becoming prime minister if his far-right party posts a big enough win, said he would not make any changes that might affect the Olympics. “This event must be a great success for the Nation,” he posted on X.

### DIGEST

**YEMEN**  
**U.S., British airstrikes hit Houthi targets**

U.S. and British forces carried out at least six airstrikes on Yemen’s Hodeidah International Airport and four strikes on Kamaran Island near the port of Salif off the Red Sea, Al-Masirah TV, the main television news outlet run by Yemen’s Houthi movement, said Monday.

The strikes on Kamaran mark the first time U.S.-led coalition forces have targeted the island since airstrikes on Houthi targets began in early February.

They follow the Iranian-backed Houthis’ first successful armed maritime drone strike and other missile assaults that damaged the Tutor and Verbena cargo ships last week. Both of the vessels are abandoned and adrift, with the Tutor at risk of

sinking, military and security experts said.

The Houthis, who control Yemen’s capital and most populous areas, have attacked international shipping in the Red Sea since November in solidarity with Palestinians in Gaza. In that time, they have sunk one ship, seized another vessel and killed three sailors in separate attacks.

— Reuters

**ITALY**  
**At least 11 dead, 64 missing in sinkings**

Sixty-four people were missing after a shipwreck off the southern Italian coast Monday, while 11 were rescued and taken ashore to a Calabrian town, U.N. agencies said in a statement.

In a separate shipwreck, rescue workers found 10 bodies

of suspected migrants trapped below the deck of a wooden boat off Italy’s Lampedusa island, the German aid group Resqship wrote Monday on X.

In the first shipwreck, about 125 miles off Calabria, a boat that had set off from Turkey eight days earlier caught fire and overturned, the U.N. agencies said, citing survivors.

The boat was sailing in a border area where Greece and Italy carry out search-and-rescue operations, the Italian coast guard said.

In the second wreck, the crew aboard Resqship’s boat, the Nadir, found 61 people on the wooden boat, which was full of water. The survivors were brought to the Calabrian port of Roccella Ionica for medical treatment. One of the migrants died soon after, the coast guard said.

— Associated Press

**GREECE**  
**Report about brutality to migrants denied**

Greece on Monday denied a new report that accused its coast guard of brutally preventing migrants from reaching Greek shores. The report also alleged that the practice had resulted in dozens of deaths.

A BBC report said it had been ascertained that 43 migrants drowned — including nine who were thrown into the water — in 15 incidents off Greece’s eastern Aegean islands in 2020 to 2023. It cited witness interviews, after reports from media, charities and the Turkish coast guard.

Greek government spokesman Pavlos Marinakis insisted that there was no evidence to support the allegations.

Migrant charities and human rights groups have repeatedly

accused Greece’s coast guard and police of illegally preventing arriving migrants from seeking asylum by surreptitiously returning them to Turkish waters. Greece has angrily denied that, arguing that its border forces have saved hundreds of thousands of migrants from sinking boats.

— Associated Press

**Five people were killed early Monday** in separate events that authorities in El Salvador attributed to heavy rains that have persisted since the weekend. In Tacuba, near the country’s border with Guatemala, three people died after they were buried in a landslide provoked by heavy rains. Juan Carlos Bidegain, chief of the country’s civil defense, said two of those victims were minors. Two others died early Monday when they lost control

of their vehicle in western El Salvador. El Salvador’s government declared an emergency Sunday and opened some 100 shelters across the country as the risk of flooding increased.

**A recently elected mayor was fatally shot Monday in southern Mexico**, in the state of Guerrero, local authorities said. Salvador Villalva Flores was on a bus when he was shot in the head in the town of San Pedro las Playas, according to the Guerrero state prosecutor’s office. That beach town is nearly two hours up the coast from Copala, where Villalva was elected mayor June 2. At least 34 political candidates have been killed across Mexico in the run-up to and aftermath of the June 2 election, according to the human rights organization Data Cívica.

— Reuters



# Biden meets with NATO chief ahead of potentially rocky summit in D.C.

BY CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR.,  
MICHAEL BIRNBAUM  
AND YASMEEN ABUTALEB

President Biden met with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg on Monday afternoon as the two leaders prepared for next month's potentially rocky NATO summit in D.C., which will bring dozens of heads of state — and potentially thousands of protesters — to the nation's capital.

Biden has made buttressing international alliances such as NATO a centerpiece of his foreign policy, increasingly seeking to contrast his worldview with that of former president Donald Trump, his presumptive opponent in 2024. But as they look ahead to the summit from July 9-11, White House officials are expecting pressure from foreign leaders intent on giving Ukraine a green light to hit back at Russia more aggressively.

The NATO alliance has grown in the wake of Russia's unprovoked invasion of Ukraine, as Finland joined the alliance in 2023 and Sweden became its 32nd member in March. In a pair of European trips this month, Biden argued that, contrary to the arguments of his political adversaries, the United States would be foolish to isolate itself from major European conflicts.

“The best way to avoid these kinds of battles in the future is to stay strong with our allies,” Biden said during a trip to the Aisne-Marne American Cemetery in France while commemorating the 80th anniversary of D-Day. “I think there's a new rise and a sense of some within the country of wanting to let that slip, the idea that we become semi-isolationist now, which some are talking about. ... It's not who we are.”

His words were a not-so-subtle reference to Trump's foreign policy. Trump has said he would not protect NATO allies who spend too little on their own defense, remarks Biden has called “dangerous” and “un-American.”

At the upcoming summit, participants will celebrate NATO's 75-year history and its decades-long successes in serving as a bulwark against the Soviet Union and now Russia.

But the gathering also will



President Biden hosts NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg in the Oval Office on Monday. They sought to highlight the importance of the international alliance before the summit next month.

pose a big test for Biden, as many allies are unhappy with his reluctance to let Ukraine attack targets in Russia, while others are frustrated with his staunch backing of Israel's invasion of Gaza. The summit could also attract large-scale pro-Palestinian protests. Such demonstrations have erupted at almost every international gathering and Biden appearance in recent months, and a large summit of military powers in the U.S. capital is unlikely to be an exception.

Stoltenberg on Monday touted increased European defense spending and said the continent was a strong partner in Washington's efforts to keep the world safe. He said that 23 of NATO's 32 members are now meeting the alliance's defense spending targets of 2 percent of their nation's gross domestic product, up from seven just five years ago.

“The number has more than doubled ... since I took office,” Biden said during remarks with Stoltenberg from the Oval Office. “And we look forward to building on all of this progress next month.”

Stoltenberg, who has been sec-

retary general since 2014, has made it clear that he agrees with Biden's emphasis on the importance of the transatlantic alliance. “Twice when Europe has been at war, the USA chose isolationism — and twice it realized this didn't work,” he said at an event at the Wilson Center, a foreign affairs research group in D.C., before his meeting with Biden.

How that sentiment plays out in daily decisions as the war in Ukraine enters its third summer fighting season will be a chief topic among the leaders headed to D.C. Many NATO leaders have been frustrated at Biden's reluctance to give Ukraine more latitude to strike military targets inside Russia.

Last month, Biden signed off on letting Ukrainian commanders use U.S.-provided weaponry against limited military targets inside Russia, authorizing them to hit back against Russian forces that are attacking Ukrainian soldiers, or preparing to attack them, in and around the city of Kharkiv, near the border in northeast Ukraine.

But a set of European elections

in the days leading up to the NATO summit could weaken some countries' arguments against Biden. French President Emmanuel Macron, a leading advocate of further empowering Ukraine, could be significantly weakened by parliamentary elections. That means he would arrive in Washington not as a leader who will push NATO forward, but as a warning symbol to others about the far right's potential to swing foreign policy more toward Russia's interests.

The United Kingdom is also set to hold elections less than a week before the summit starts, and its ruling Conservative Party is expected to fare poorly. A new government is unlikely to have a dramatically different Ukraine policy, but an incoming prime minister might not be prepared to immediately pressure Biden, said Ivo Daalder, U.S. ambassador to NATO under President Barack Obama.

“The countries most likely to push hard to do more on Ukraine are going to be significantly weakened because of European elections,” Daalder said. “That changes a lot of the situation.”

Biden has also taken a number of actions to reaffirm U.S. support of Ukraine. Vice President Harris and national security adviser Jake Sullivan traveled to Switzerland last week for a Ukraine peace summit, where Harris announced more than \$1.5 billion in aid for Ukraine's energy sector and humanitarian efforts.

The United States also widened its sanctions against Russia last week to include Chinese defense companies that help Russia pursue its war against Ukraine. And when Biden was at the Group of Seven summit in Italy last week, he held a joint news conference with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky after the two leaders signed a 10-year security agreement.

Still, the White House has been clear that it wants to minimize conversations at the summit about Ukraine's prospective membership in NATO, offering general assurances but no concrete timeline.

In the coming weeks, NATO leaders are expected to take other actions to bolster the alliance against potential policy changes by Trump, should he win the 2024 election. They are planning to move the coordination of arms assistance to Ukraine, shifting it to NATO from its current role with the U.S. military, for example.

NATO allies also have sought to show that the alliance benefits the United States, in hopes of rebuffing arguments from a wing of the Republican Party that contends that NATO, and European defense in general, is a sap on U.S. resources rather than a boost.

“NATO is good for U.S. security, good for U.S. industry and good for U.S. jobs,” Stoltenberg said Monday. “Over the last two years, more than two-thirds of European defense acquisitions were made with U.S. firms. That is more than \$140 billion worth of contracts for U.S. defense companies.”

Whatever debates unfold inside the high-level meeting are likely to be matched by vociferous protests outside. International gatherings such as the NATO summit are often a magnet for demonstrators who want to ex-

press their dissatisfaction with the president's policies, and that has become even more true in recent months.

Since Hamas's attack on Israel on Oct. 7, Biden has stressed that his commitment to the country is ironclad, even as the number of civilians casualties have mounted. Critics, including American liberals and many Western leaders, have accused him of supporting a scorched-earth invasion that has left more than 37,000 Palestinians dead. Biden has faced protests over his support of Israel for months — everywhere from his childhood home in Scranton, Pa., to the streets of Paris.

D.C. leaders have not said how many demonstrators they are expecting. Last year, ahead of the summit in Vilnius, Lithuania, protests against NATO were held in several European countries. The year before, thousands of demonstrators flocked to Madrid.

Police and city leaders in Washington said they are working with federal authorities to launch a robust law enforcement response to the event, noting that they are used to hosting large summits, conferences and other events with significant security needs.

D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser will activate the city's Emergency Operations Center to help coordinate law enforcement's response to the event, officials said at a news conference last week.

Federal and local law enforcement also plan to set up a security perimeter and checkpoints around the Walter E. Washington Convention Center through the duration of the summit, probably snarling vehicular and pedestrian traffic and causing public transportation disruptions around the convention center, Carnegie Library and Mount Vernon Square.

Residents will be able to get into their homes and businesses, city leaders said, but may have to undergo security screening. Police said they plan to contact potentially affected businesses in the weeks leading up to the summit.

Jenny Gathright and Peter Hermann contributed to this report.

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PRISONERS FROM AI

ever it can, reassigning some soldiers from rear positions to combat roles and recruiting prisoners. Under the new law, prisoners qualified to join the amnesty program can be assigned only to assault brigades, which can mean face-to-face combat with Russian troops.

That restriction reflects the country's most urgent needs, said Justice Minister Denys Maliuska, adding that he expects at least 4,000 men to volunteer in this first round of recruitment. For now, the convicts will serve only in units made up entirely of former prisoners, commanded by a regular soldier.

"The motivation of our inmates is stronger than our ordinary soldiers," Maliuska said in an interview at a prison where nearly 100 have already been freed to fight. "Their release is only one part of the motive. They want to protect their country and they want to turn the page."

Ukrainian officials granted a request by The Post to interview several new soldiers freshly released from prison on the condition they be identified only by first names in keeping with military rules.

Dmytro, 28, was sentenced to 4½ years behind bars in 2021 for stealing a phone. He was married with two children when his sentence began, but was released last month with no family left: his wife and kids, ages 2 and 7, were killed in an airstrike on their apartment house in Izyum in April 2022.

The memory is still so painful that in the interview he could not bring himself to speak their names.

Avenging their deaths by fighting in the war "motivates me," Dmytro said. "The Russian Federation is responsible for this." He was released from prison several weeks ago and is now training at a military base, where he has already learned to handle a rifle.

Edward, 35, who was sentenced in 2019 to seven years and seven months for armed assault, said he dreamed of joining the military as a young boy but grew up in poverty and fell into crime.

Since Russia's invasion in 2022, Edward said, he had hoped the law would change to allow men like him to fight. He was first in line when the law passed and is now in training.

Edward's hometown knows him only as a criminal, he said. He wants to show them — and himself — that "I still have some humanity left in me."

Under Ukraine's current mobilization laws, men and women can sign up to fight of their own accord at age 18, but only men 25 and older can be drafted. President Volodymyr Zelensky has resisted lowering the draft age further — it was reduced from 27 this spring — in part because of social pressure to protect Ukraine's youngest men from the war.

Instead, to fill the ranks, draft officers stop men of fighting age on the streets to ask for their military registration papers. Recruiters offer financial perks to those

# Short on troops, Kyiv enlists prisoners

**TOP: A guard at a prison colony in Ukraine. Officials requested the location not be disclosed over concerns it could be targeted by Russia. RIGHT: Released prisoner Dmytro, 28, at a training center. He lost his wife and two children to the war. Avenging their deaths "motivates me," he said. BELOW LEFT: Serhii Ivachenko, 41, said he wants to fight but is prohibited by the nature of his crimes. BELOW RIGHT: Serhii Lytvynenko, 37, hadn't decided what to do. "I'm not sure they're really going to treat us as normal fighters," he said.**



who volunteer before they are called up. And now the military is visiting prisons to seek volunteers.

Not all criminals qualify. Those who murdered more than one person, committed acts of sexual violence or violated national security

laws are ineligible. Any prisoner signing up to fight must be physically fit, pass a psychological exam and be no older than 57, allowing him to serve at least three years before hitting the exemption age of 60.



PHOTOS BY OKSANA PARAFENIUK FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Ukrainian officials insist the prison release program is constitutional, ethical and practical during wartime, given that thousands of fighting-age men are sitting behind bars instead of filling crucial roles on the front.

Unlike in Russia, where the recruitment of criminals was pioneered by the Wagner mercenary group, Ukraine's convicts will be recruited only into the official military and will receive all the same benefits as regular soldiers.

Some commanders are eager to have them. "There is a competition between military commanders to hire" from prisons, Maliuska said. "There is a lack of manpower, so they really want to get access."

But not everyone is convinced. "No one has trust in this, but we need it," said one military official involved in the process who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the plan candidly. This official said he fears that prisoners will cause disorder on the front line or desert their positions. "They're all going to run like Forrest Gump," he said.

The official said he would prefer that Ukraine lower the draft age to 18 and allow brigades to recruit younger, fitter men rather than convicts. But he said he does not expect Zelensky to change the draft rules again any time soon, out of fear that he could lose support if young men are forced to take up arms.

"When people see young men die, it's political," the official said.

Oleh Petrenko, who is recruiting from prisons for Ukraine's 3rd Separate Assault Brigade, said he will use the "exact same ideology" when selecting applicants from prison as he does when sifting through regular civilians.

It's up to Ukrainian troops to treat the new troops equally, he said, or else word will get back to the prisons and fewer men will be motivated to join. "We need to show we're not the same as Russia," he said.

Oleksandr, 42, who heads a prison that has already released 98 inmates to join the military, said his staff briefed all the prisoners before welcoming in brigade representatives to discuss specifics and conduct interviews. Those who wanted to move forward underwent medical exams and psychological assessments.

Once brigades made their selections, prisoners' documents were prepared for court and the men were cleared for release. When they boarded buses for their training, Oleksandr bid them farewell. "I told them to stay safe, stay alive and return with victory," he said, speaking on the condition that only his first name be used for fear his facility could be targeted by Russian missiles.

Some prisoners expressed fears that the process was unclear. Others were disappointed they did not qualify.

Serhii Ivachenko, who was convicted of exploiting minors on the internet, said he wants to fight but is prohibited because of his crimes. "We're men," he said. "If women are doing it right now, we should be embarrassed of ourselves."

Valentin Solovyov, 28, said he was worried about going to war with fellow convicts. He returned home from the eastern front in 2015 deeply traumatized and later killed a man.

Now serving time for murder, Solovyov said he fears that if he goes to fight, he will be stuck in a unit with prisoners who are mentally unwell. "I don't have faith I'll be with normal people," he said. "I've lived with prisoners for a long time."



# Oil spill blackens waters in Singapore, resort beaches after ship collision

BY JENNIFER HASSAN

A Netherlands-flagged ship struck a stationary vessel in Singapore, causing an oil spill that blackened the waters of the city-state’s popular beaches and prompted a huge cleanup operation along its southern shores.

The Vox Maxima dredger reported a “sudden loss in engine and steering control before its allision” with the Singapore-flagged Marine Honour, a bunker vessel carrying fuel oil, on Friday, according to a statement Sunday by Singaporean authorities.

The allision — when a moving vessel collides with a stationary object — ruptured one of the Marine Honour’s oil cargo tanks, causing its “contents of low-sulphur fuel oil” to be released into the sea, said the statement from the Maritime and Port Authority of Singapore, the National Environment Agency, the National Parks Board and the Sentosa Development Corporation.

The strike took place around 2 p.m. local time at the Pasir Panjang port in southern Singapore, according to a statement Friday from the Maritime and Port Authority. Both vessels were “anchored safely,” and the damaged cargo tank on board the Marine Honour was “isolated” and the oil spill “contained,” the maritime authority said.

Half of the bunker vessel’s fuel — about 400 metric tons — leaked into the sea instantly, Singapore’s Straits Times newspaper reported.

Because of tidal currents, the oil spill then spread to other areas in southern Singapore, including Sentosa, Labrador Nature Reserve, Southern Islands, Marina South Pier, and East Coast Park,



Workers clean up an oil slick at Tanjong Beach in Sentosa on Monday. The Netherlands-flagged dredging boat Vox Maxima hit the bunker vessel Marine Honour at Singapore’s Pasir Panjang Terminal due to a sudden loss of engine and steering control, according to a statement.

officials said.

Authorities did not say how far the oil spill had spread, but said on Monday that some oil had been reported in Changi, eastern Singapore, about 16 miles from Sentosa. Officials shut several beaches in southern Singapore, and while Singapore kept beaches in the popular resort island of Sentosa open, it said people were not allowed to swim or take part in other sea-based activities there.

In a Monday statement to The

Washington Post, the Sentosa Development Corporation, a government agency, said its “primary focus is on the recovery efforts and the restoration of water quality along the three affected beaches” there, adding that some

ing to clean up the blackened sand and water. Hundreds of people have also volunteered to help with the cleanup operation, authorities said.

The oil spill came as locals prepared to mark a long holiday weekend for Eid al-Adha, also known by its Malaysian name, Hari Raya Haji.

Following the oil spill, responders worked to quickly spray dispersants — chemical agents that are used to break up the oil into smaller droplets — on the spill, authorities said.

They have also deployed oil skimmers — equipment used to physically remove floating spills from the water surface — and about 1,500 meters (4,921 feet) of booms — floating barriers to help contain and divert spillages — around the vessel, authorities said Monday, adding that the operation will continue for several more days.

Vox Maxima crew members are assisting with the ongoing investigation, officials added.

The environmental impact of the oil spill is not yet clear.

The Straits Times reported Sunday that “no significant wildlife casualties” were immediately reported on some southern islands but noted that longer-term consequences may take time to emerge.

Officials said they placed oil-absorbent booms across several biodiversity-sensitive areas as a preventive measure.

Andrew Dixon, who runs a sustainable resort on an island near Singapore, told Reuters that oil spills of this scale are rare in Singapore. He called on authorities to enact penalties so something like this doesn’t take place again. “It is just criminal,” he said.

## Russia’s Putin to visit North Korea amid growing military cooperation

BY MICHELLE YE HEE LEE AND ROBYN DIXON

SEOUL — Russian President Vladimir Putin will visit North Korea for talks with leader Kim Jong Un on Tuesday, furthering concerns about the growing military cooperation between the two states at a time when Moscow is hungry for munitions to use in its war against Ukraine.

The pair will probably use the visit to again pledge public support for each other, rebuffing U.S.-led efforts to isolate Putin over his invasion of Ukraine and Kim over his pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles.

The visit will also highlight the longevity of autocratic leadership in both countries: Putin last visited North Korea 24 years ago, soon after he became president for the first time, when the country was led by Kim Jong Il, the current leader’s father.

The visit was announced by Russian and North Korean media.

Putin’s trip will reciprocate Kim’s visit to Russia’s Far East in September, when the North Korean leader called his country’s relations with Russia his top priority and pledged support for Moscow’s “sacred struggle” against Ukraine.

While the two leaders have grown closer in recent years, their moves are a product of the short-term need for each other out of convenience, rather than a formal, lasting alliance — especially given their complicated bilateral history, experts say.

“There is too much mutual distrust between the two countries. The current improvement in their relations is driven by situational circumstances,” said Andrei Lankov, a longtime scholar of Russian-North Korean relations and professor of Korean studies at Kookmin University in Seoul.

The White House has repeatedly accused North Korea of sending “equipment and munitions” to Russia to replenish its dwindling supplies, including ballistic missiles with a range of roughly 550 miles and missile launchers.

North Korea is believed to have a large stockpile of dated artillery shells and rockets that would be compatible with Soviet and Russian weapons systems used in Ukraine, as well as a production capacity that would help Russia maintain its high ammunition burn rate as the Kremlin seeks to scale up domestic production.

These dynamics have given Kim a rare bargaining chip. And it’s a reversal in their relationship, given North Korea’s history of military dependence on the Soviet Union, including in its Soviet-backed invasion of the South that sparked the 1950-53 Korean War.

Since Kim’s visit in September to Russia, North Korea is believed to have exported some 5 million rounds of ammunition to Russia, the South Korean defense minis-

ter told Bloomberg News.

Russia also needs workers, whom North Korea can provide. Russia has long used North Korean workers as a cheap and reliable source of labor. As of last year, thousands of North Koreans were still thought to be in Russia in violation of U.N. sanctions requiring all the North’s workers abroad to return home by the end of 2019.

Russia used its U.N. Security Council veto in March to neuter a long-running sanctions regime designed to deter and slow Pyongyang’s development of its nuclear arsenal, with Russian officials accusing the West of trying to “strangle” North Korea.

Russia may be providing various forms of technological assistance to North Korea in response, some analysts say, although the military agreements between the two sides are opaque.

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, a Swedish think tank, reported Monday that North Korea may have enough fissile material for 90 nuclear weapons and may have 50 nuclear warheads, a “significant” increase from 2023 — although it cautioned that there was uncertainty about the number.

Samuel Ramani, an associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute, said the fears over the deepening relationship between Moscow and Pyongyang had focused on the possibility that Russia could accelerate North Korea’s capacity for producing nuclear weapons, but added there was no evidence that had happened so far.

“The biggest thing we’ve seen so far in terms of technological transfers have so far been in the space sphere, and I don’t think it’s going to lead to Russia immediately helping North Korea in the nuclear sphere because China is very wary of both Russia and North Korea becoming more escalatory in that area,” Ramani said.

Pyongyang, for its part, is seeking to boost its beleaguered economy — it is grappling with financial hardship and food insecurity following pandemic isolation and years of sanctions — and obtain access to Moscow’s advanced technology for its satellite and nuclear weapons programs.

South Korean and U.S. officials have expressed concerns about the growing military cooperation. U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Kurt Campbell and South Korea’s First Vice Foreign Minister Kim Hong-kyun spoke by phone on Friday to discuss the coming visit and agreed to continue coordinating in their responses, the South Korean Foreign Ministry said.

Russia, China, North Korea, Iran and other authoritarian states share Moscow’s eagerness for a global order and international institutions that are friendlier to autocratic regimes, and all have condemned Western sanctions.

Analysts Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Richard Fontaine, writ-

ing in Foreign Affairs magazine in April, coined the term “axis of upheaval,” saying that trade and direct or indirect military support to Russia from China, North Korea and Iran had strengthened Moscow’s position on the battlefield and undermined Western attempts to isolate Moscow.

“Cooperation among the four countries was expanding before 2022, but the war has accelerated their deepening economic, military, political, and technological ties,” they wrote.

Kirill Kotkov, the head of the St. Petersburg-based Center for the Study of Far Eastern Countries, countered that the evidence wasn’t yet there for real cooperation, adding that while China had close ties with Russia, it had never embraced a formal alliance with Moscow.

Kotkov said Russia’s use of its Security Council veto to block the renewal of sanctions against North Korea was recognition that Pyongyang had already become a nuclear power and deterrence was useless.

“Surely we know very well that North Korea has long created nuclear weapons and it has been in nuclear power for a while,” he said.

Peter Ward, a research fellow focusing on North Korea at the Sejong Institute outside Seoul, said that while it wasn’t clear whether North Korea had received weapons technology in reciprocation, there are some indications that Russian technology was used in North Korea’s most recent and failed attempt to launch a satellite, Ward said.

Kim “might use Putin’s trip to argue his case” for such technology, Ward said.

During the September trip, Putin took Kim to the Vostochny Cosmodrome, which symbolizes Moscow’s ambitions for pioneering space technology. At the time, U.S. and South Korean officials warned that North Korea might be seeking critical technologies from Russia to boost Pyongyang’s nuclear and weapons ambitions as missiles and rockets use much of the same technology.

North Korea’s space agency in November put a “space launch vehicle” — its name for what appears to be a military satellite — into orbit after two failed attempts. Kim lauded the satellite as a “space guard” that would intensify his regime’s hostile reconnaissance on enemy nations, and North Korean state media claimed that the satellite had photographed sensitive military and political sites in South Korea and the United States, although it did not release any imagery.

Still, experts said in February that the satellite was “alive” after observing maneuvers that suggested Pyongyang was controlling the spacecraft.

Dixon reported from Riga, Latvia. Lyric Li in Seoul contributed to this report.

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# Heatstroke deaths of Hajj pilgrims highlight risk of rising temperatures

BY NIHA MASIH

At least six Jordanian pilgrims have died of heatstroke while on the Hajj pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia, Jordan's Foreign Ministry said over the weekend, amid growing concern over the risks that rising temperatures pose to one of the largest gatherings in the world. Temperatures in Mecca, home to Islam's holiest site, reached 120 degrees Fahrenheit (49 degrees Celsius) on Sunday, according to the National Center for Meteorology. Jordan's Foreign Ministry later updated the toll to 14, though it was not immediately clear whether the additional deaths were also heat-related.

More than 2,700 cases of heat stress and sunstroke among pilgrims were reported, Mohammed al-Abdulaali, a spokesman for the Saudi Health Ministry, said Monday, according to the Saudi Press Agency.

The Hajj is one of the five pillars of Islam, and at least one pilgrimage in a lifetime is considered an obligation for all Muslims who are able-bodied and have the financial means. Most rituals are outdoors, including walking in circles around the cube-shaped Kaaba, the most sacred Islamic site, saying prayers facing it and tracing the footsteps of the prophet Muhammad atop the Mount of Mercy. This year's Hajj is being attended by 1.8 million people from around the world, authorities have said. The pilgrimage began on Friday and is set to culminate Wednesday. Islam follows the lunar calendar, with 354 days, so the Hajj shifts about 10 or 11 days earlier each year on the Gregorian calendar.

Increasing heat and humidity due to climate change in parts of Saudi Arabia where the Hajj takes place could make the pilgrimage dangerous for some, a study published in 2019 said. Researchers from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Loyola Mary-



SALEH SALEM/REUTERS

**Muslim pilgrims pray Sunday during the annual Hajj pilgrimage, in Mina, Saudi Arabia, while mist sprays amid high temperatures.**

mount University in Los Angeles said the risks could be serious when the Hajj occurs during the hottest summer months — from 2047 to 2052 and from 2079 to 2086.

"While this is a truly tragic situation, it unfortunately does not come as a surprise except for perhaps that such events are occurring sooner than expected," Jeremy Pal, one of the authors of the 2019 study, wrote in an email Monday, adding that the Hajj's shift earlier and earlier each year means the pilgrimage should at least be able to avoid the window of extremely dangerous conditions for the next decades. Thousands of cases of heat stress were reported during last year's Hajj, which fell in late June.

Besides protective countermeasures, the researchers recommend limiting the number of pilgrims and prioritizing those in good health during high-risk years. In 2050, Mecca will have 182 days with highly dangerous heat above 89.6 degrees in the sun and 54 days with such heat in the shade, according to a global analy-

sis by The Washington Post.

Saudi Arabia has been trying to adapt to the fast-changing situation. It hands out cold water to pilgrims, it has installed large umbrellas with mist fans, and it has set up dedicated hospitals to treat heat-related illnesses.

The country's Ministry of Hajj and Umrah has also recommended measures that pilgrims can take to avoid heatstroke, including minimizing sun exposure and drinking fluids.

Pal, now at the Euro-Mediterranean Center on Climate Change in Italy, said that these measures are required and that under certain conditions, "even those not falling in the high-risk categories" can be vulnerable.

The challenge from surging heat is global. Dozens of heat-related deaths have been reported this summer in India, where temperatures have surged to 120 degrees. In Greece, authorities are concerned as tourists have gone missing amid the high temperatures. And on Sunday, the National Weather Service issued a heat watch for parts of the United States.

# Netanyahu dissolves his war cabinet a week after resignations of centrists

ISRAEL FROM A1

pected to include Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, Strategic Affairs Minister Ron Dermer, National Security Council head Tzachi Hanegbi and the chairman of the ultra-Orthodox Shas party, Aryeh Deri, as well as representatives of the military establishment. Netanyahu may continue to discuss general matters with the wider security cabinet.

Ben Gvir and Smotrich have consistently pressured Netanyahu to oppose a cease-fire plan that would involve the release of Israel's remaining 120 hostages in Hamas captivity, dozens of whom are still believed to be alive.

They have insisted Netanyahu keep his original promise to achieve "total victory" against Hamas after the organization carried out a surprise attack against Israel on Oct. 7, killing about 1,200 people and taking about 250 hostage. They have also pushed for Israeli reoccupation of the Gaza Strip — a policy move that Israeli defense leaders staunchly oppose.

On Monday, Ben Gvir tweeted that Netanyahu's decision to implement daily pauses in fighting in Gaza, to allow for the movement of aid trucks through the enclave and potentially set the stage for the wind-down of the war, was not brought before the security cabinet and was decided by someone who is "stupid and ignorant, who must not be allowed to continue in his position."

Almost nine months of fighting, especially in the southern Rafah region of Gaza, has created a humanitarian crisis that Israel is under international pressure to address.

Ben Gvir and Smotrich's continued influence, even from outside the war cabinet, was partly the reason for the resignation of war cabinet members Benny Gantz and Gadi Eisenkot last week.

The two centrists said they joined the cabinet to ensure that the war was conducted responsibly, but have since concluded that they couldn't work with Netanyahu as long as he refused to commit to a day-after strategy for Gaza.

The departure came after a string of military leaders made rare public statements airing their grievances with Netanyahu's handling of the war in Gaza, with many saying that Israel cannot afford to continue it indefinitely, especially with tensions escalating on the Lebanese border.

**after Israeli forces announced a daily 11-hour pause of operations along an aid corridor in the region.**

The Iranian-backed Lebanese militant group Hezbollah has been launching near-daily cross-border attacks against Israel since the war began. Tens of thousands of civilian residents on both sides of the border have evacuated their homes, which have, in their absences, been transformed into unofficial war zones.

U.S. special envoy Amos Hochstein met with Netanyahu, the members of the cabinet, and the opposition on Monday, in an effort to advance a diplomatic resolution with Hezbollah.

Brig. Gen. Ephraim Sneh, a former deputy minister of defense and member of Commanders for Israel's Security, a nonpartisan advocacy group promoting a two-state solution, said that Israel has achieved its military objectives of degrading the majority of Hamas capabilities. He said Israel can afford to declare an end to the war in Gaza, get back the hostages and redirect its focus to distancing Hezbollah forces from its northern border.

"Israel is in an unacceptable situation, in which a big part of the country has been deserted," he said. He added that, while "Israel's forces are stretched thin between Gaza and the Lebanese border," Netanyahu's far-right coalition partners are exacerbating the situation by blocking hundreds of thousands of Palestinian day laborers from entering Israel and enacting punitive measures against the West Bank-based Palestinian Authority.

In Gaza, Palestinians marking Eid al-Adha, one of the biggest holidays in the Islamic calendar, found little to celebrate Monday.

"There is no hint of Eid," said Nour Abu Rukba by WhatsApp from the Jabalya refugee camp in northern Gaza, which Israeli forces pulled out of last month after a three-week offensive that sent tens of thousands of civilians fleeing and destroyed many of the city's remaining structures.

The latest offensive has left many people homeless and hopeless as the war continues with no end in sight. Much of the market is destroyed. What is for sale is unaffordable for most people.

"Today the people weren't thinking about Eid," she said. "They were thinking about how to get a tent and what to do."

**Here's what to know**

**Fighting has continued in Rafah and southern Gaza a day**

**after Israeli forces announced a daily 11-hour pause of operations along an aid corridor in the region.**

U.N. Relief and Works Agency Commissioner Philippe Lazzarini told Reuters on Monday. "For the time being, I see nothing which would qualify to the definition of a pause," he told the outlet. An Israel Defense Forces spokesperson said in a statement Monday that the military had paused fighting on the aid route between 8 a.m. and 7 p.m. but was continuing operations in other parts of southern Gaza.

**The IDF is moving closer to a larger war with Hezbollah.** Rear Adm. Daniel Hagari, a spokesman for the Israeli military, said in a video message Sunday. Fighting between Israel and Hezbollah has intensified in recent weeks at the Lebanese border. "Hezbollah's increasing aggression is bringing us to the brink of what could be a wider escalation — one that could have devastating consequences for Lebanon and the entire region," Hagari said. After an Israeli strike killed a Hezbollah commander last week, a Hezbollah official said the militant group would retaliate with increased operations "in intensity, strength, quantity and quality."

**Israel made an all-time high in defense exports last year,** raising \$13.07 billion, the country's Defense Ministry said in a statement Monday. Deals for missile, rocket and air defense systems made up 36 percent of Israel's defense exports, and the majority of the exports were sent to the Asia-Pacific region and Europe, the statement said. "Israel continues succeeding in its international cooperation and industrial defense exports even during a year marked by war," Gallant said in the statement.

**At least 37,347 people have been killed and 85,372 injured in Gaza since the war started,** according to the Gaza Health Ministry, which does not distinguish between civilians and combatants but says the majority of the dead are women and children. Israel estimates that about 1,200 people were killed in Hamas's Oct. 7 attack, including more than 300 soldiers, and it says 311 soldiers have been killed since the launch of its military operations in Gaza.

Melnick reported from London and Berger from Jerusalem. Lior Soroka and Mohamad El Chamaa contributed to this report.



# ECONOMY & BUSINESS

BY DANIELLE ABRIL

HELP DESK

## Your employer might be spying on your tech. Here’s how to check.

Your employer may be able to see everything you’re doing on your phone or computer. They might know you’re reading this article right now. (Hi!) But how can you be sure?

Companies have a growing number of ways to keep tabs on workers. They can gather details from common workplace apps and use special monitoring software to see what’s happening on the company’s WiFi. The goal may be to protect sensitive company information or track employee performance, but there are bigger privacy implications for the people being watched.

“There’s little transparency,” said Hayley Tsukayama, associate director of legislative activism at the digital rights group Electronic Frontier Foundation (EFF). “Even figuring out what is on your computer can be a huge step to figuring out how you want to deal with it.”

While there’s no foolproof way to know whether you’re being monitored, some techniques could provide insight, according to privacy and security experts.

### Know what tech is riskiest

You’re at a higher risk for spying if you’re using a company-issued device, which offers the least privacy and will ultimately return to your employer, experts say. But you also could be exposed if you downloaded work software on your personal device or use their networks. To be safe, do these checks on any device or network you use for work.

### Check your devices for tracking software

There are a few settings on your smartphones and computers that may allow for your workplace to remotely monitor you.

Check to see whether your device has mobile device management software, or MDM, installed. That allows your employer to remotely monitor your activities and take control of the devices. On an iPhone, go to Settings > General > VPN > Device Management. You should see a profile listed if your employer is using the software. On an Android, search for a setting called Device Admin Apps (the setting name may differ slightly depending on your device). On a Windows laptop, go to Settings > Accounts > Access Work or School. It’s under Privacy & Security > Profiles on a Mac.

Another way to check for software that employers use — also called “bossware” — is to review what’s running in the background on your laptop by checking your task manager or activity monitor, Tsukayama said. For quick access on PCs, press Ctrl + Alt + Delete. On a Mac, you can access the activity monitor by clicking on Utilities in your apps folder. Scroll through the list of running apps and Google the ones you don’t recognize.

Coworker.org, an organization that aims to support workers, offers a list of bossware and employment tech for which to look. Note that some programs may be invisible to you, Tsukayama said, citing EFF research.

Look for remote sharing settings, which would allow your employer to remotely control your device, including the microphone and camera, advises privacy researchers Diana Freed, a fellow at the Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, and Julio Poveda, a PhD student at the University of Maryland. On Macs, it will be under System Settings > General > Sharing. On Windows, it should be under Settings > System.

Finally, check to see whether you are the administrative account for your device. Start-up screens may ask you to log in as a

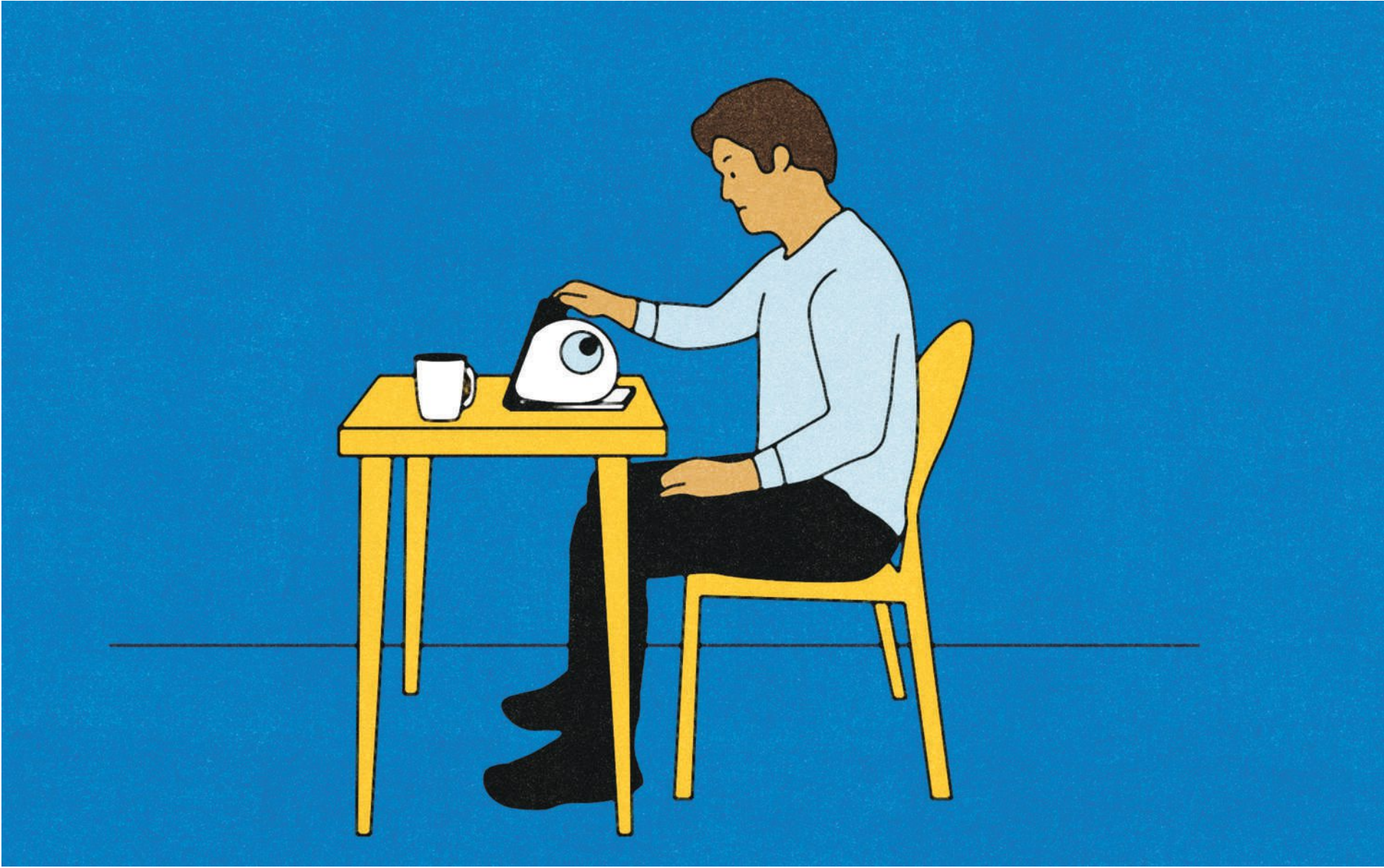
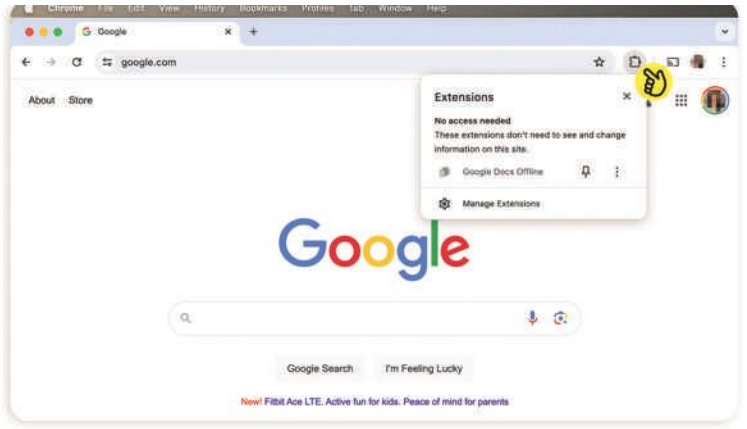
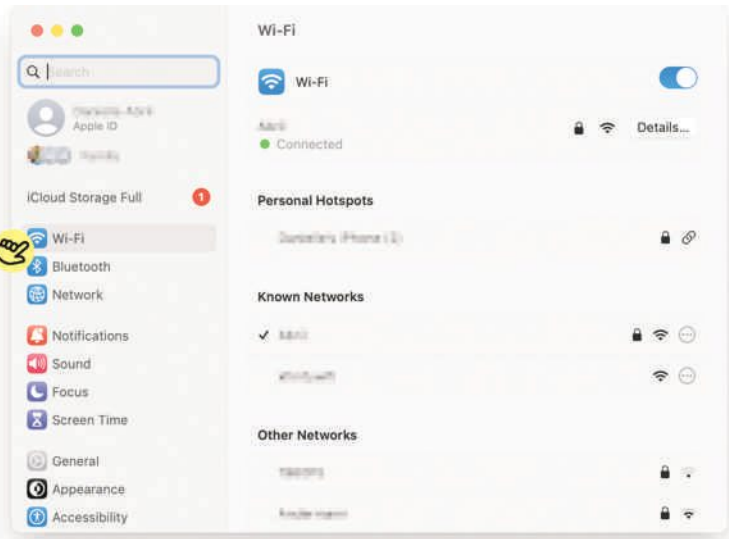


ILLUSTRATION BY ELENA LACEY/THE WASHINGTON POST



Google Chrome, above, shows which extensions are installed when you click on the puzzle piece. On a Mac, right, you can see which network you are connected to. Your iPhone, far right, can tell you if your employer has installed mobile device management software.



separate user than the administrator, or your computer may prompt you for an administrative password anytime you try to download an app. That could indicate your employer has control of your device, Tsukayama said.

### Inspect your extensions and apps

It’s not just hidden apps and settings that are tracking you. Scroll through all of the applications installed on your laptop and research any you don’t know. Which are regularly asking you to install updates? Are you familiar with what those apps do? Were you ever asked to install an app for troubleshooting with your IT department?

“Be curious,” Tsukayama advised. “Also look for the marketing material for the app you find. They will often list, as features, the things they can do.”

Check your web browser extensions, recommends Mark Ostrowski, an engineering lead at cybersecurity firm Check Point Software Technologies. If you

have browser extensions that are part of your company’s security tools, they will probably make themselves known, he added. A pop-up might warn you not to put patient information into ChatGPT, for example. Or it may say that it’s checking files you download for malicious content.

While these extensions usually monitor for security issues, things such as malware or the release of sensitive data, they can also track user habits. If the company decided to audit you, they may see that you’ve been spending half the day shopping on Amazon, Ostrowski said.

Also avoid downloading personal extensions on the same browser licensed to, he added. Don’t download the Garmin web extension to your company-provided Chrome browser if you don’t want your employer to be able to access your workout activities.

### Understand your network

Using your company’s WiFi or virtual private network (VPN)

could also leave you exposed.

Even if you’re on a personal device on a work network, your employer may be able to see activities including messages, browsing activity and social media posts, Ostrowski said. Any traffic flowing through a company VPN, which companies often use for security purposes, can also potentially be monitored, Freed and Poveda said. Use your personal hotspot over company connections for personal activities. You can also use a personal VPN on a personal laptop without company software on the work WiFi, Ostrowski said.

### Don’t trust apps you use for work

A lot of what you do is collected by your workplace apps. Even if you don’t use company devices or networks, your boss still may be able to get a sense of what you’re typing, searching or saying.

Tools like Microsoft Office, Slack, Google Workplace and Zoom often track user activity for safety, security or compliance.

But they also allow administrator accounts (that’s your employer) to retrieve information in some cases.

“If I [an employer] want to look at the content of the email that you’re sending through the corporate account, that can be done today directly between the [software provider] and the company’s security team,” Ostrowski said. “There’s no way for the employee to see that.”

That means your employer may be able to see an email you sent your doctor or a message to your colleague criticizing your boss. They could see how many meetings you attended and whether you had your camera or microphone on during them.

New AI technologies are coming that can offer companies new, more thorough opportunities for surveillance in the future.

A majority of Americans oppose the use of AI to evaluate performance (39 percent), track what people are doing on their computers (51 percent), and whether workers are at their

desks (56 percent), according to a survey from Pew Research Center.

### Know your rights

“Workers don’t have a lot of legal rights [here],” Tsukayama said. “So you don’t have much ground to push back.”

What can you do? Review your workplace policies. Not all employers will outline the surveillance they use, but some do, Tsukayama said. If you are part of a union, ask for guidance and rely on them when you have concerns. You can also ask the IT department directly.

The best protection? Keep your personal and work data separate. If you’re worried about your employer seeing your child’s baby pictures, sensitive medical information or flirtatious text messages to your partner, keep them off the devices you use for work, if possible. Even if it means carrying two phones.

“Once you put it out there, just assume it can be seen,” Ostrowski said.

### DIGEST

#### INTERNATIONAL DEBT

##### Ukraine, bondholders still don’t have deal

Ukraine has been unable to reach an agreement with bondholders over restructuring some \$20 billion of international debt during formal talks, it said Monday, raising the specter that the war-torn country might slip into default.

An agreement with holders of international bonds that allowed Ukraine to suspend payments after Russia’s 2022 invasion ends in August. Ukrainian Finance Minister Sergii Marchenko said talks will continue and that he expects the government to reach an agreement by Aug. 1.

The country’s dollar-denominated eurobonds fell by

more than 2 cents, with near-term maturities trading at deeply distressed levels between 26 and 30 cents on the dollar.

Formal talks with the ad hoc bondholder committee have been underway for nearly two weeks, as Ukraine seeks to rework its debt to retain access to international markets while meeting International Monetary Fund demands to restructure.

However, the government’s proposal and a counterproposal by bondholders showed how far apart the parties are and the uphill struggle Ukraine will face to get the debt restructuring over the line in the coming weeks.

Bondholders said the government’s proposal had demanded a write-down that was “significantly in excess” of the 20 percent expected by

markets.

Ukraine could seek to extend the payment suspension beyond August, but it prefers a more lasting solution.

— Reuters

#### ALSO IN BUSINESS

**YouTube** will soon allow users to add “notes” that provide context on some of its videos as part of a feature that will be initially rolled out in the United States, it said Monday. YouTube will invite certain users and creators, as part of the initial test, to write notes that are meant to provide “relevant, timely, and easy-to-understand context” on videos. The notes, for instance, could clarify when a song is meant to be a parody, point out when a new version of a product being

reviewed is available, or let viewers know when older footage is mistakenly portrayed as a current event. U.S. viewers will start to see notes on videos in the coming weeks and months. Social media platform X has a similar feature called Community Notes that allows some users to add context to posts including tags such as “out of context” and “misleading.”

**Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi** on Monday sued the U.S. government to block the Biden administration’s proposed rule that would require the offshore oil and gas industry to provide nearly \$7 billion in financial assurances to cover costs of dismantling old infrastructure. The rule, which would take effect later this year,

will predominantly affect smaller companies that do not have investment grade ratings or sufficient proven oil reserves. Big firms are more likely to meet the credit criteria or have large reserves. When the rule was announced in April, the Interior Department said it was intended “to protect taxpayers from covering costs that should be borne by the oil and gas industry when offshore platforms require decommissioning.”

**Goldman Sachs** raised its year-end target for the S&P 500 to 5,600 from 5,200, citing strong earnings growth by five megacap U.S. tech stocks and a higher fair value price-to-earnings ratio multiple. Microsoft, Nvidia, Google, Amazon and Meta Platforms have collectively

surged by 45 percent and now comprise 25 percent of the S&P 500 equity cap, the brokerage wrote in a note after markets closed Friday. (Amazon founder Jeff Bezos owns The Washington Post.) “The drivers of the rally include upward revisions to consensus 2024 earnings estimates for these same tech companies, and valuation expansion stemming from increased investor enthusiasm about artificial intelligence,” it added. Analysts said the presidential election “remains a key risk to the S&P 500 level.” The brokerage said during election years, index volatility increases before the election, but afterward it typically subsides and the S&P 500 rebounds to an even higher level.

— From news services



# Surgeon general calls for tobacco-style warning labels on social media

SOCIAL MEDIA FROM A1

those on tobacco and alcohol products, have been shown to change people's behaviors.

Murthy, who has grown increasingly vocal on the issue, is part of a multiagency task force set up by the Biden administration to develop recommendations for how social media companies can better protect kids.

“What we need ... is something clear that people can see regularly when they use social media that tells them, frankly, what we now know as a public health and medical establishment,” Murthy said in an interview with The Washington Post.

The surgeon general's call to action comes as regulators and legislators increasingly scrutinize links between social media use and children's mental health, ushering in a wave of proposals to expand protections for children on the internet. Lawmakers have likened tech's impact on youths to that of Big Tobacco and urged swift action to counteract what they call a driving force in the youth mental health crisis.

Yet despite the bipartisan outcry, there is still significant debate within the scientific community about the extent to which social media use may be causing mental health issues among children and teens. Researchers and public officials have pushed to increase federal funding to study the topic, and they have criticized tech companies for not making more internal data on the matter available to the public.

But Murthy and other public officials argue there is enough evidence to suggest social media can be unsafe, regardless of gaps in research.

“One of the most important lessons I learned in medical school was that in an emergency, you don't have the luxury to wait for perfect information,” he wrote Monday.

More than a dozen states have passed laws aimed at expanding guardrails around children's use of social media, with some banning young children from accessing the sites altogether and re-



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Surgeon General Vivek H. Murthy has grown increasingly vocal in arguing that social media negatively impacts children's mental health, but there is still debate in the scientific community about its effects.**

quiring parent approval for teens to use them. Others have been modeled after landmark regulations in Britain requiring that tech companies consider the “best interests of the child first” when developing products.

State laws have been challenged by tech industry groups, which argue that they are unconstitutional and violate users' free-speech rights. Several have since been halted by the courts.

On Capitol Hill, lawmakers are trying to advance a package of bills to require social platforms to vet whether their products pose harms to children and expand existing federal protections governing children's online data. But the bills have yet to pass either chamber of Congress, and lawmakers face dwindling time to act ahead of the 2024 elections.

It's not immediately clear whether the proposal will gain traction in Congress. One key lawmaker, Rep. Kathy Castor (D-

Fla.), said Monday that she will work to weave a warning label into bills under consideration on Capitol Hill. But spokespeople for Sens. Richard Blumenthal

cially to warn the public about social media's risks. In January, New York Mayor Eric Adams (D) cited Murthy's comments on the issue in designating social media

*“Parents and guardians are the most appropriately situated to handle these unique needs of their children — not the government or tech companies.”*

**Carl Szabo,**  
vice president and general counsel of the tech trade association NetChoice

(D-Conn.) and Marsha Blackburn (R-Tenn.) argued that one proposal, the Kids Online Safety Act, already includes a warning by requiring companies to disclose when products may pose a harm to children.

While Murthy would need an act of Congress to implement the labels, his remarks could galvanize efforts by government offi-

a public health hazard.

Murthy last May released a public health advisory saying that while more research was “needed to fully understand the impact of social media,” there are “ample indicators” that it can pose a “profound risk of harm” to children and teens.

Although congressional action has languished in Washington,

the European Union, Britain and other governments have stepped up oversight of children's online safety, including with the passage of the E.U.'s watershed Digital Services Act. The rules set new limits on companies targeting ads and recommending harmful content to children, in addition to broader regulations on how they police their platforms.

Murthy said his warning label proposal could serve as a model for other countries.

“The measures we take in the United States I think could be certainly ones that other countries look to as they're thinking through their strategy for addressing social media youth mental health,” he told The Post.

Carl Szabo, vice president and general counsel of the tech trade association NetChoice, said Monday in an emailed statement that Murthy's proposal “oversimplifies this issue” by not recognizing that “every child is different and struggles with their own challenges.”

“Parents and guardians are the most appropriately situated to handle these unique needs of their children — not the government or tech companies,” said Szabo, whose group counts Meta, Google and Amazon as members. (Amazon founder Jeff Bezos owns The Washington Post.)

NetChoice is leading lawsuits aimed at halting several children's online safety laws at the state level.

Shoshana Weissmann, digital director and fellow at the R Street Institute think tank, called Murthy's proposal “concerning” and argued that U.S. surgeons general have previously spoken out prematurely about the dangers of new technology, including video games, before the science was fully developed.

“That does not in itself mean that the surgeon general is wrong, just that the office has regularly raised alarms that ended up being incorrect,” Weissman said in an emailed statement.

In his essay, Murthy said the warning labels should be just one part of a broader set of stepped-up rules to track and limit social

media's effects on consumers — all of which would require the help of Congress.

Murthy said that congressional action is also needed to prevent platforms from collecting sensitive data from children, and that there should be restrictions on features such as push notifications, autoplay and infinite scroll, which he said contribute to excessive use.

In addition, social media companies should have to share data on health effects with independent researchers and the public and allow independent safety audits of their products, he wrote.

Some children's online safety advocates argued that more significant privacy and consumer protection rules are needed to grapple with social media's impact on children.

“Warning labels are illusory safeguard without serious reforms,” Jeff Chester, executive director of the Center for Digital Democracy advocacy group, said in a social media post Monday.

Murthy cited a 2019 study that found the risk of depression and anxiety doubled among adolescents who spent more than three hours a day on social media. He said statistics show daily social media use among adolescents averaging 4.8 hours.

He compared his proposal to other examples of the federal government taking action to protect consumers' health and safety, notably the grounding of Boeing airplanes in January and a recent recall of dairy products because of Listeria contamination. Rules requiring seat belts and air bags are in place because lawmakers acted to protect people from car accidents, he wrote.

“Why is it that we have failed to respond to the harms of social media when they are no less urgent or widespread than those posed by unsafe cars, planes or food?” Murthy asked. “These harms are not a failure of will-power and parenting; they are the consequence of unleashing powerful technology without adequate safety measures, transparency or accountability.”

# Recovering supply chains, availability of labor key factors in cooling inflation

INFLATION FROM A1

has effectively been a two-front war — and Fed Chair Jerome H. Powell commands only half the battlefield.

Supply chains recovering from disruptions caused by covid and the war in Ukraine have done more to lower inflation than have higher interest rates. Now the relative impact of supply-side gains and interest rate increases will shape the Fed's decision on when, and by how much, to lower borrowing costs.

“Far and away, the major thing was resolving the supply chain. I don't think you can really dispute that,” said economist Dean Baker of the Center for Economic and Policy Research.

The central bank's interest rate hikes helped cool parts of the \$28 trillion U.S. economy. Sales of single-family homes fell by a third in five months as the Fed's initial move sent 30-year mortgage rates shooting up from less than 4 percent to more than 6 percent.

But through March, improved supply chain performance, by itself or in connection with the greater availability of dockworkers and truck drivers, accounted for 86 percent of the reduction in inflation since 2022, according to calculations by the White House Council of Economic Advisers.

“I think the supply side is incredibly important,” said Lael Brainard, director of the National Economic Council.

A February study by three Federal Reserve economists agreed, identifying “a significant role for supply factors in the run-up and retreat of goods prices.”

The Fed signaled last week that it is likely to reduce rates once this year, with investors expecting it to move at its September meeting. The latest economic data has been encouraging, after an unexpected resurgence of inflation earlier this year.

On Friday, the government said import prices fell 0.4 percent in May, helped by lower fuel costs. That report came one day after the Labor Department reported that wholesale prices dropped by 0.2 percent and are up only 2.2 percent over the past year.

The supply side of the economy has driven the improvement. The labor market in recent months has cooled off, taking some pressure off wages. More than 3 million workers have entered the labor force since March 2022, driven in part by immigration.

Supply chains are operating smoothly, according to a gauge maintained by the Federal Re-



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Containers are put on trucks at TRAC Intermodal, a company that provides extra space for containers to be picked up or dropped off at the Port of Los Angeles in Long Beach, Calif. Improvements in supply chains have played a big role in helping lower inflation since mid-2022.**

serve Bank of New York. Improved readings on that index lead falling prices by about six months. In April, durable goods prices actually fell at an annual rate of 1.7 percent, which could mean less inflation ahead.

But the lower inflation rate is little comfort to millions of Americans struggling to cope with prices that have risen a cumulative 19 percent since Biden took office. On Friday, the University of Michigan's June consumer sentiment index fell for the third straight month, reaching a seven-month low. Americans' expectations of the inflation rate one year from today also ticked up to 3.3 percent from 2.9 percent in March.

The sour public mood, which is at odds with consumer spending data, is taking a political toll. In a recent Gallup poll, only 38 percent of U.S. adults reported having confidence in Biden to do the right thing for the economy, among the worst presidential

scores since 2001.

Other advanced economies, including Europe and the United Kingdom, also suffered soaring prices in recent years (and low approval ratings for political leaders). To White House officials, the similar rise-and-fall of inflation in countries with different consumer and business spending levels is further proof of the dominant role of supply considerations.

The European Central Bank and the Bank of Canada approved their first pandemic-era rate cuts last week. But Powell said he wants to see signs of additional cooling before joining them.

If the Fed waits too long to act, the economy could tumble into recession under pressure from borrowing costs. On Thursday, first-time claims for unemployment benefits hit 242,000, the highest level in 10 months, a sign the labor market may be tightening.

Sens. Elizabeth Warren (D-

Mass.), Jacky Rosen (D-Nev.) and John Hickenlooper (D-Colo.) wrote to Powell last week urging him to cut rates. Higher borrowing costs are making inflation worse by discouraging new home construction amid a housing shortage, the lawmakers said.

“You have kept interest rates too high for too long: It is time to cut rates,” they wrote.

The inflation problem that first flared in the spring of 2021 was a blend of overheated consumer demand and clogged supply lines. Stuck at home, Americans binged on home furnishings, electronics and clothing. Many of those goods, made in Chinese factories, sailed across the Pacific Ocean only to become stuck at port and rail yard bottlenecks.

Product scarcity was aggravated by one-time shocks like an unusual deep freeze in Texas that idled key petrochemical plants. The auto industry was particularly hard-hit: A shortage of semi-

conductors depressed new car production, leaving dealers short of inventory. That sent many consumers into the used car market, where prices jumped 40 percent in a year.

In some cases, the Fed's rate hikes and subsequent supply improvements have been linked. The first rate increase in March 2022 caused an immediate jump in mortgage costs and sent new housing starts plunging to fewer than 1.4 million in July from more than 1.8 million units in April.

The slowdown in starts took pressure off overwhelmed supply chains, as home builders placed fewer orders for material that needed to be shipped or trucked to a job site, allowing construction to proceed more smoothly, according to Baker. Despite the stop in starts, the number of homes completed remained steady.

It takes time for the Fed's interest rate increases to affect actions by consumers and businesses. In

recent months, as the pandemic's supply issues have faded, the Fed's rate hikes have made more of a mark.

“It's essentially been a one-two punch, where initially it was supply-driven, but increasingly it's been demand-driven,” said Greg Daco, chief economist for Ernst & Young LLP.

Retailers such as Target and Walmart have responded to consumer grumbling by reducing prices on thousands of products, fearing they would otherwise lose sales.

When the central bank finally began raising its benchmark lending rate in March 2022 — and then lifted it 10 more times — many Wall Street forecasters placed their bets on an imminent recession.

Based on previous Fed tightening cycles, the economy should have fallen into recession in the first quarter of 2023, strategists at PGIM Fixed Income told clients in December of that year.

But the pandemic era made the economy less sensitive to interest rate movements than it had been.

Millions of businesses and consumers had taken advantage of ultralow interest rates in the years before the Fed hiked to lock in low-cost credit.

As 30-year mortgage rates fell below 3 percent, 14 million homeowners refinanced their loans in 2020 and 2021, according to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. About one-third of them used the cheaper loans to withdraw \$430 billion in home equity, which supported their spending.

More than 60 percent of homeowners now carry a mortgage with a rate of 4 percent or less, up from 38 percent before the pandemic, and thus have been untouched by higher rates, according to Apollo Global Management.

The shutdown and reopening of the economy, coupled with generous government relief payments, changed spending patterns. Even as the Fed was raising rates, easing supply chains enabled cash-flush consumers to keep spending.

Government backing for new factories to produce semiconductors and clean energy products was another source of cash that was impervious to rate movements, said Martha Gimbel, executive director of the Budget Lab, a nonprofit research center.

“Today, we've got a very specific economy with all kinds of shocks we're still getting over from the pandemic,” Powell told reporters last week.



TUESDAY OPINION

SHADI HAMID

Trump has changed what it means to be evangelical

Despite an effort to overthrow an election and a bevy of criminal charges, Donald Trump has managed to solidify and even expand his support among core demographics. It remains the eternal Trump question: Who are his supporters and why are they so devoted to him?

The voters most loyal to the former president are White evangelicals. More than 80 percent backed him in the 2020 elections. And this has long presented a puzzle: How can people who prize moral rectitude and personal witness to Jesus so faithfully support the most secular president in American history, someone who seems by his behavior at best indifferent to Christianity?

Part of the answer is that Trump has been able to change the meaning of “evangelical.” This is no small feat.

It is easy to forget it now, but evangelicals initially were skeptical of Trump. During the 2016 Republican primaries, Sen. Ted Cruz (Tex.) was the preferred choice of churchgoing evangelicals, while Trump’s strongest support came from evangelicals with lower levels of church attendance. During the primary campaign, when one influential Christian magazine surveyed 100 evangelical leaders, not a single one said they planned to vote for Trump.

But Trump’s awkward relationship with evangelicals grew stronger. At first, it was transactional, a question of power. He was the Republican candidate, and the vast majority of White evangelicals were Republicans. He promised them policy victories and delivered on appointing the staunchly conservative Supreme Court justices who would overturn *Roe v. Wade*. And it wasn’t just that. As American culture became more secular and progressive on social issues, White evangelicals perceived themselves as under attack. Trump said he would protect them. He would fight not just for their preferred policies but for their very identities.

After evangelicals embraced Trump, something odd happened. As other Christian denominations hemorrhaged members, evangelicals saw their ranks grow; from 2016 to 2020, their share of the White adult population increased to 29 percent, from 25 percent, according to the Pew Research Center. The catch was many of these new evangelicals didn’t go to church. They became evangelicals because of what it meant politically, most of all because it was a way to signal support for Donald Trump. Among White Trump supporters who were not evangelicals in 2016, 16 percent began to identify as evangelical by 2020, suggesting again that politics rather than religion was the driving factor.

*It is easy to forget it now, but evangelicals initially were skeptical of this irreligious man.*

The idea of evangelicals who don’t go to church was once unusual. Now, it is surprisingly common. In 2008, only 16 percent of evangelicals said they never or seldom attended church. By 2020, 27 percent did.

Evangelicalism, in short, has become about shared political convictions. In one survey of Christian attitudes, for example, 43 percent of evangelicals said they did not believe in the divinity of Christ. But it gets even more bizarre. According to the 2022 Cooperative Election Study, 14 percent of Muslims (and 12 percent of Hindus and 5 percent of Jews) described themselves as “born-again” or evangelical Christians. This is not a joke.

If we look more closely at the numbers, what’s happening becomes clearer — and it’s fascinating. About three times more Republican Muslims and Republican Jews identify as “evangelical” than their Democratic counterparts, according to an analysis of the data by political scientist Ryan Burge. In an America that is rapidly secularizing — in just two decades, church membership has plummeted to under 50 percent, from about 70 percent — partisan commitments are replacing religious affiliation as people’s overarching source of identity.

This has unsettling implications for U.S. politics and the presidential campaign to come. It means we will see more intense political polarization around religion. Now that White evangelicals are so disproportionately and unapologetically Trump-supporting, the share of Democrats who view Christianity negatively is likely to remain high or perhaps even increase.

Democrats have had many opportunities to stem these shifts. They could have done more — and still can — but haven’t. In the pre-Trump era, Democratic presidential candidates took seriously the task of reaching out to devout Christians and presenting their party as hospitable to people of faith. The Hillary Clinton campaign, on the other hand, made a conscious decision to de-prioritize outreach to evangelicals. As Michael Wear, Barack Obama’s faith outreach director in 2012, put it, “The simple difference between Obama’s two presidential campaigns and Clinton’s 2016 campaign is that Obama asked for the votes of White evangelicals and Clinton did not.”

The transformation of American evangelicals has been a long time coming. In 1990, 40 percent of White evangelicals were Democrats. Today, this share is closer to 15 percent. As Burge told me, Democrats don’t want to alienate the rising number of nonreligious Americans who make up their ranks, so “they don’t talk about religion very much, or in a compelling way. And they sort of just ceded the ground.” This is the ground that Trump took up — a perfectly imperfect vessel for an uncertain age.

Americans are becoming less religious, but more of them are becoming evangelicals — or at least claiming the label as a badge of partisan identity. Trump’s ability to turn out evangelicals, both religious and nonreligious — including the growing ranks of Muslim, Jewish and Hindu “evangelicals” — to the same overwhelming degree that he did in 2020 could very well decide a close race. Religion matters, even when it’s not really about religion.



SAID KHATIB/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A Palestinian fruit vendor passes by a destroyed building in Rafah, in southern Gaza, on Nov. 6.

Lemons and oranges, the bitter fruit of Israel’s occupation

BY TARIQ KENNEY-SHAWA

Imagine you’re a citrus farmer. You have spent months making sure your orange trees get just the right amount of water and nutrients. You have harvested your oranges, packed them carefully into crates and sent them off to be shipped abroad. But instead of reaching international markets, your oranges are held up by authorities unaccountable to you for seemingly arbitrary “security inspections.” Days, sometimes weeks, pass as your crates sit in the blazing sun, their contents wasting away. By the time the oranges pass the checkpoints, they are rotten and unsellable.

This was life for Palestinian citrus farmers for decades under Israel’s occupation. And their story proves one thing: Israel is and has always been the biggest obstacle to Gaza’s prosperity.

You might not believe it now, but Gaza was once lush with citrus orchards. For hundreds of years, Palestinian farmers tended to expansive orange and lemon groves. By the early 1900s, citrus was the region’s main export, including the famous Jaffa oranges, named after the coastal city just north of Gaza. The industry survived the violent upheaval of 1948, and Palestinian citrus farmers got a boost when Egyptian authorities, then in control, declared the Gaza port a free-trade zone, opening further access to European markets. By the 1960s, citrus was an economic backbone for the region, employing more than 30 percent of Gaza’s workers.

But everything began to change after Israel seized control in 1967. Israel refused to rebuild Gaza’s destroyed port, blocked trade to and through Egypt, and redirected citrus and other produce through Israel. Israeli authorities made life increasingly difficult for Palestinian farmers. Export restrictions deprived them of access to lucrative European markets, limiting them to Asia and the Middle East. These trade barriers — along with rising fuel and fertilizer costs and Israeli restrictions on water usage — undermined Gaza’s citrus industry. Total output, which was around 256,000 tons in 1976,

dropped to 190,000 tons by 1983.

And that was just the beginning.

Over the decades that followed, Israeli soldiers and settlers bulldozed, torched and poisoned thousands of acres of citrus groves across Gaza. During the 1980s and ’90s, Israel claimed it was necessary to uproot and destroy citrus groves so they could not be used to shelter Palestinian resistance fighters.

Gaza’s orchards survived repeated onslaughts of Israeli soldiers and settlers, but it was Israel’s suffocating “security checks” that dealt the final blow to the industry. Today, orange and lemon trees no longer dot the countryside. An industry that could have served as a bedrock for Gaza’s economic development lies in tatters.

*Palestinians tried to make something out of the conditions under which Israel forced them to live.*

Israel’s campaign to sour Gaza’s citrus trade became a template for the decimation of countless other exports. In 2021, Israeli authorities required farmers in Gaza to remove the leafy green pedicels from their tomatoes before passing them through Israeli checkpoints to be sold in the West Bank. Without their pedicels, tomatoes spoil faster. After days of relentless Israeli security inspections, the produce would end up, like the oranges, rotten and unsellable.

When Israeli soldiers and settlers pulled out of Gaza in 2005, nearly four decades after seizing the territory, they framed it as an end to direct military occupation. Israelis often say this was Gaza’s opportunity to reach its full potential — that Palestinians could have turned Gaza into an economic powerhouse, a “Singapore of the Middle East.”

But the reality is that Israel’s occupation never

ended; it only evolved. The difference was that Israeli settlers and soldiers were now redeployed around Gaza to control it from the outside. Restrictions on the movement of people and goods — already a fact of everyday life for Palestinians in Gaza — were tightened. When Hamas rose to power in 2007, those restrictions grew into a full blockade, turning the Gaza Strip into what has long been described as the world’s largest open-air prison. It served as a cautionary tale, a lesson to other Palestinians that they must acquiesce to perpetual Israeli domination or face Gaza’s fate.

Palestinian farmers in Gaza did their part. They played by the rules, cultivating their crops in the face of Israeli land encroachment and arbitrary export restrictions. They even switched to crops such as strawberries and tomatoes, which don’t grow on trees and thus could not be accused of providing cover for resistance fighters. Palestinians tried to make something out of the conditions under which Israel forced them to live, only to be obstructed by their occupiers at every turn.

Gaza’s citrus and tomato industries are just two casualties of Israel’s efforts to dominate Palestinians or to create the necessary conditions to force them out entirely. In 2008, Israeli officials said that they “intend to keep the Gazan economy on the brink of collapse without quite pushing it over the edge.” Israel’s current assault on Gaza is but an accelerated version of a process that has been ongoing for decades.

Gaza’s plight is not the result of failed aspirations or a lack of effort on the part of its people. It is a direct consequence of Israel’s relentless project of subjugation. That is why conversations about the “day after” must recognize that there can be no future while Israeli occupation persists.

If Israel had truly wanted Palestinians to turn Gaza into a thriving economic hub, it would at least have let them export oranges.

The writer is a U.S. policy fellow at Al-Shabaka, a Palestinian think tank and policy network.

HEATHER LONG

Biden’s mistake on inflation could cost him the election

There’s a real possibility that President Biden will lose the election because of inflation. It’s not the only issue, but it’s one that voters continue to fixate on. Biden’s supporters are quick to point out that the president is wrongly blamed for inflation that was caused mainly by crazy supply chain disruptions from the pandemic — and that since the pandemic, wages have risen more than prices. That’s true. But inflation’s psychological sting is proving far more memorable than pay raises.

What can Biden do about it? His best response was to leave the Federal Reserve alone to battle inflation. He doesn’t get much credit for that. Biden has also had success touting his fight to end junk fees and his \$35-a-month cap on insulin prices for those on Medicare. (The insulin cap is such a victory that Biden’s opponent is wrongly trying to claim credit for it.)

Biden’s most effective tactic against inflation so far has been to blame it on corporate greed. There’s some evidence that in 2022, when many shoppers were willing to pay about anything to get what they wanted, companies hiked prices with little pushback (now retailers are having to slash prices).

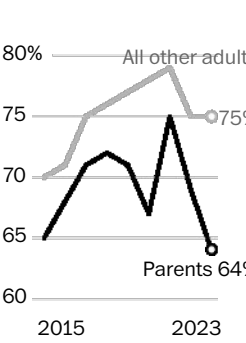
But I can’t help wondering how much stronger an inflation fighter Biden would seem today if he had enacted his “care economy” agenda.

Remember the care-economy plan? Biden campaigned on it in 2020 and included it in his Build Back Better agenda. It was going to be a big investment in affordable child care, free preschool for all 3- and 4-year-olds in America, and an expansion of home health aides to care for the elderly. These initiatives would have touched tens of millions of households — and would have tangibly lowered costs for families. But they weren’t going to be cheap.

In 2022, Biden had to choose: Should he invest in reviving U.S. manufacturing and fighting climate change — the “manly stuff,” as one administration staffer described it to me? Or was it the moment to transform the care economy — the “womanly stuff”?

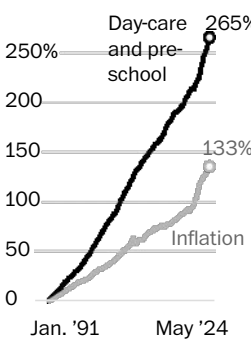
Parents in a pinch

Share of adults saying they are doing at least okay financially



Sources: Federal Reserve’s 2023 Survey of Household Economics and Decision-making; Bureau of Labor Statistics

Day-care and preschool cost increase since December 1990



The price tag was about \$5 trillion for everything the president wanted to do, and that was too high to pass the Senate. In the end, Biden and Senate Democrats went with infrastructure, semiconductors and clean energy.

That might have been the wrong choice. And Biden might be making the same mistake again this year by not campaigning on his plan to address kitchen-table economics. Lowering child-care costs should be a prominent message.

Industrial policy takes years — even decades — to bring major benefits. Yes, Biden’s investments have prompted a manufacturing investment boom, visible in places such as Phoenix and Columbus, Ohio. But in an economy with 168 million workers, the nationwide impact has so far been modest.

Meanwhile, America’s child-care crisis has been evident to everyone since the pandemic. When schools and day-care centers were closed, parents couldn’t work. The case for action was clear: Young

children would benefit from quality child-care and pre-K programs. And parents, especially moms, could join the labor force. This is a proven model. Other nations that have made big investments in child care, such as Japan and Canada, have seen a substantial boost in the number of women in the workforce.

But Biden didn’t make his investment in the care economy. Many blame Sen. Joe Manchin III, the West Virginia Democrat who, with Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (I-Ariz.), insisted on lowering costs in the final bill. The for-profit child-care industry might also have played a role by lobbying against some aspects.

“We had a lot of heartache when that ended up on the cutting-room floor,” said Jennifer M. Harris, a former National Economic Council official.

Some have tried to argue that maybe the nation doesn’t need care-economy investments. After all, women have returned to work. Labor-force participation for women ages 25 to 54 is at an all-time high. But dig a little deeper and the picture isn’t so rosy. The great return of working women has been driven almost entirely by immigrants and women with college degrees. The number of women reporting that child-care issues are forcing them to reduce hours and work part-time is far greater than in the past. Parents with children at home have reported sharp declines in financial well-being since 2021, according to Federal Reserve data. Then there’s the fact that, since 1991, child-care and preschool costs have risen at nearly double the rate of inflation, and more than half of Americans live in a “child-care desert” where it’s difficult, if not impossible, to find a licensed day care with openings nearby. A new KPMG report calls the lack of access to U.S. child care a “headwind to economic growth.”

It’s hard to know how much better the economy — or the polls — would be if the care-economy agenda had passed. But voters want relief on costs that overwhelm their budgets. The president can’t do much about gas and food prices, but he could have helped with child care, preschool and eldercare.



OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Lots of arms, too little control

RUSSIA AND China are pushing the world toward a new nuclear arms race. And it could be even more dangerous, and more difficult to brake, than the Cold War competition that ended three decades ago. That was the unsettling message Pranay Vaddi, senior director for arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation at the National Security Council, delivered in a largely overlooked EDITORIAL but important speech June 7 to the Arms Control Association.

In the near term, Mr. Vaddi declared, “the prospects for strategic arms control are dim.” Russia has rejected talks, and the last remaining U.S.-Russia treaty limiting strategic nuclear weapons, New START, which caps each side’s warheads on missiles, submarines and heavy bombers, expires in 2026 — possibly, Mr. Vaddi said, “without replacement.” China, for its part, has never had any nuclear arms agreements with the United States and has shown no interest in nuclear arms control. On the contrary, Mr. Vaddi noted that China, which has historically maintained a small stockpile of nukes, is “expanding and diversifying” its nuclear arsenals “at a breakneck pace,” as are Russia and North Korea. In refusing to discuss limits, these three geopolitically aligned adversaries “are forcing the United States and our close allies and partners to prepare

for a world where nuclear competition occurs without numerical constraints,” he said. To understand why this new arms race is dangerous, look back at the last one: The United States and the Soviet Union together amassed more than 60,000 nuclear warheads in a standoff that threatened mutual, possibly global, annihilation. The danger of an accidental launch grows when great powers keep their nuclear weapons on launch-ready alert, as the United States and Russia still do today. Fortunately, arms control treaties and the end of the Cold War reduced both the tensions between the two countries and their respective arsenals. Thus, it was especially significant that Mr. Vaddi said that the shrinkage of those stockpiles over the past 25 years might now be reversed. “Absent a change in the trajectory of adversary arsenals, we may reach a point in the coming years where an increase from the current deployed numbers is required,” he said. China has more than 500 nuclear warheads and is aiming to accumulate more than 1,000 by 2030, compared with the 1,550 warheads the United States and Russia each currently deploy. A three-way arms race poses complex strategic questions — more complex than those presented by the two-way U.S.-Soviet conflict. Should the United States seek to match the combined strength of Russia and China, or just one of them?

How would Moscow and Beijing respond? Mr. Vaddi said the United States would pursue “better” and not necessarily “more” nuclear weaponry. This country does “not need to increase our nuclear forces to match or outnumber the combined total of our competitors to successfully deter them,” he said.

The danger of an accidental launch grows when great powers keep their nuclear weapons on launch-ready alert, as the United States and Russia still do today.

That’s good, but no one knows whether that notion would hold up in a future arms race, nor whether Russia and China could or would make similar calculations. Mr. Vaddi also warned of a “new and dangerous era” because of the efforts of Russia, China, North Korea and Iran to proliferate advanced weapons technologies, including missiles, drones, and

chemical and biological weapons. “Unlike our adversaries,” he said, “we will not develop radiation-spewing, nuclear-powered cruise missiles — or nuclear weapons designed to be placed in orbit — which would be a clear violation of the Outer Space Treaty.” He was referring to Russia, which is reportedly developing both. Ideally, more aggressive U.S. diplomacy might bring China to the table for tripartite arms talks with Russia and the United States. The prospects for that are dim, however, as the United States found when it made a proposal to China on managing strategic risks last year — and Beijing brushed it off. The Cold War arms race began to end when President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev found the political will to reduce the arsenals. Gorbachev was desperate to ease the burden of the arms race on his tottering communist system, and Reagan had long harbored an ambition to abolish nuclear weapons altogether. Presidents Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin, however, show no such flexibility or pragmatism. If anything, their pursuit of a new arms race reflects a desire for heightened geopolitical struggle. Mr. Vaddi’s warning is deeply worrisome. It would be far more preferable to reach verifiable, binding treaties to limit nuclear weapons. But diplomacy takes two to tango, or, in this case, three.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Revive nuclear power, but be realistic

Regarding The Post’s June 9 Business article “White House bets big on nuclear power’s revival in U.S.” on bipartisan efforts to decarbonize through new nuclear energy:

It is true that Georgia’s two new reactors incurred significant cost overruns and schedule delays that are associated with first-of-a-kind projects. After all, Units 3 and 4 at the Alvin W. Vogtle electric plant are the first reactors within the United States to be licensed and built from start to finish in decades.

All large infrastructure projects, including energy projects, face the same issues of surging construction costs due to higher materials costs, high interest rates, inflation and weakened supply chains. These challenges are not unique to building new reactors.

In fact, many efforts to build renewable energy projects have confronted such adjustments. NuScale’s small modular reactor project in Idaho was canceled when subscribing communities pulled out after the estimated project costs increased from \$58 per megawatt-hour to \$89. Meanwhile, five subsidized offshore wind projects off New York and New Jersey were recently canceled by state agencies after developers sought significant increases for their already above-market contracts. The three New York projects wanted a 54 percent hike in ratepayer costs to a whopping \$176 per megawatt-hour on average.

But those of us who work in the nuclear community are ready to drive the costs down with future projects. And nuclear and hydropower prove their cost-efficiency and effectiveness whenever technology-neutral, performance-based market incentives are in place to reward projects for avoided emissions. While U.S. wind and solar are among the biggest recipients of subsidies and tax incentives, results are not always proportional to investment. Germany will have spent \$580 billion on renewables by 2025, yet the country’s carbon emissions have declined less than 2 percent per year since 2010.

Wind and solar are definitely part of the climate solution, but the grid requires reliable, always-available baseload power. Nuclear is the only proven form of that kind of energy. Reactors generate large amounts of electricity around the clock to keep the lights on — and without increasing greenhouse gas emissions. Let’s get to work in deploying our next-generation reactors and prove the naysayers wrong.

**Kenneth Petersen, Stoughton, Wis.**  
The writer is president of the American Nuclear Society.

The Post’s recent article on nuclear energy states that “small modular reactors [are] a new nuclear technology.” This is not quite the case.

While the specific reactor designs are new, the “modular plant” idea has been done decades ago. The Army Nuclear Power Program had several such plants in operation from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s. One plant in this program was the SM-1 at Fort Belvoir, a few miles from the White House.

**William C. Evans, Germantown**  
The writer is a veteran of the Army Corps of Engineers’ Nuclear Power Program.

An article from the Associated Press syndicated by The Post on June 10 was headlined “In Wyoming, Bill Gates moves ahead with nuclear project aimed at revolutionizing power generation.” The enthusiastic tone of the piece, coupled with its lack of a clear timeline, risks misleading Post readers. The article says that Mr. Gates and his TerraPower “are starting construction at their Wyoming site for a next-generation nuclear power plant.” That sounds to the layperson like Mr. Gates is building a nuclear plant in remote Wyoming right now. But it is not clear when the project will actually reach that point.

Instead, TerraPower is working on site preparation that does not require a construction permit. To start constructing a reactor, Mr. Gates needs to first receive a construction permit under the Atomic Energy Act and a whole host of other permits, state and federal. As it stands, the Gates project applied to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for a construction permit in March. But that process will likely take years, as will

MICHAEL RAMIREZ

The bad neighbor

the construction process. Let’s stop distorting reality about how long it will take to build the next generation of reactors to combat climate change.

**Daniel Adamson, Silver Spring**

The plastic we breathe

The Post’s June 10 multimedia feature “The plastics we breathe” briefly mentioned that plastics have been found in our ocean before describing the many ways we eat, drink and breathe in microplastics. But the ocean is at the heart of the plastics crisis, and looking more closely at what is happening there will help us understand what plastics are doing to humans.

More than a garbage truck’s worth of plastics enter the ocean every minute. Once there, they don’t biodegrade but instead continue to break up into smaller and smaller pieces. About 1,300 species of marine animals have been shown to ingest plastics, which end up not just in animals’ digestive systems but also embedded in the fish protein that humans consume. This is the first and most obvious way that microplastics enter the food chain.

Microplastics in the ocean enter a global cycle. As ocean water evaporates, it carries microplastics into the air we breathe or the clouds, which can carry these tiny plastics great distances and deposit them, through rain, onto freshwater sources and farmland. These tiny plastics may even change weather patterns by altering the rate at which

clouds condense or sea ice melts.

And though The Post was correct that microplastics are “infiltrating our bodies with untold effects,” scientists already have strong and disturbing evidence of plastics’ impact on marine life. Research has linked microplastic ingestion by ocean organisms with negative health outcomes such as decreased food consumption, impaired growth and behavior, and cellular damage. In one study, Pacific oysters exposed to microplastics produced 41 percent fewer larvae.

There are some simple and research-based solutions we can take to protect ourselves from microplastics immediately. These include producing and consuming less plastic in the first place, adding microplastics filters to washing machines, and removing microplastics that are intentionally added to products such as exfoliating face washes. But this is just the start. A new wave of policies, such as California’s new law targeting packaging waste and the forthcoming United Nations plastics treaty, are critical and need strong public support.

**Britta Baechler, Hillsboro, Ore.**  
The writer is associate director of ocean plastics research at the Ocean Conservancy.

And the plastic we wear

The Post’s June 3 Climate Solutions article, “Vegan leather isn’t as sustainable as you think,” could have included more context and offered

readers other clothing alternatives to consider.

While plastics account for 3.4 percent of global carbon emissions, by contrast, the United Nations says animal agriculture — the very enterprise that vegan fashion and food companies want to disrupt — is responsible for 11 percent of such emissions. Reducing plastic use should be lauded for its health and ecosystem benefits, but our climate leaders have a responsibility not to conflate reducing and recycling plastic with action to address the core causes of climate change.

Furthermore, the article neglected to discuss the harsh chemicals used in leather production. It is curious to omit that chromium, aldehydes, arsenic and other heavy metals are used to turn a cow’s skin into a boot, purse or coat. We have seen it before: The “vegan materials are bad” argument is the same red herring that the fur industry uses to distract from public concern for animal welfare. Every day minks, foxes and rabbits — animals we consider precious, or even pets — are held in harrowing conditions just to be made into an upscale garment. When do their perspectives get accounted for?

If one genuinely wants to avoid petroleum-based clothing products, just turn to the bounty of nature. The plethora of plant-based fibers include cotton, bamboo and even hemp. Clothing can be made from recycled fibers, and the start of the 2024 #NoNewClothes challenge emphasizes our opportunity to swap, borrow and shop secondhand in lieu of hopping on the latest consumer trend. Major retailers and lawmakers can make a difference, too, whether by declining to sell fur or by keeping it out of stores. Here in Washington, the D.C. Council is weighing a bill to ban the sale of fur products. By passing this legislation, D.C. can demonstrate its commitment to sustainable and humane fashion.

**Max Broad, Washington**  
The writer is executive director of DC Voters for Animals.

A climate calculus

The Post deserves praise for “Twelve months of record warmth,” its excellent June 6 front-page account of the global temperature increases now almost certain to materialize over coming years and decades. The piece ends, fittingly, with the observation by U.N. Secretary General António Guterres that we “are playing Russian roulette with our planet. ... We need an exit ramp off the highway to climate hell.” It is at once ironic and distressing to find that prominent members of both American political parties seem reluctant to take the off-ramp.

Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) recently announced his intention to withdraw from the California auto emission standards initiated by what he called “unelected leaders nearly 3,000 miles away from the Commonwealth.” Soon after, New York Gov. Kathy Hochul (D) — the same political executive, mind you, who warned last year that extreme weather events, including floods and wildfires, could be “the new normal” for New Yorkers — has now chosen to suspend the Manhattan rush-hour congestion charge that was scheduled to take effect June 30. The challenge is clear: How can we change our political narrative so opportunists will find it to their advantage to address our climate imperatives?

**Joel Darmstadter, Chevy Chase**

**Guest opinion submissions**

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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.



OPINION



MATTY ZIMMERMAN/AP

Kansas City Monarchs pitcher Leroy “Satchel” Paige before a game against the New York Cuban Stars at Yankee Stadium in 1942.

# The Negro Leagues were greater than the stats can ever show

BY BOB KENDRICK

Those of us dedicated to telling the great civil rights story of Negro Leagues baseball relished the recent triumph of seeing baseball’s record books integrated at last. Major League Baseball officially recognized the statistics of more than 2,300 athletes who played from 1920 to 1948 in the various professional leagues open to Black and Hispanic men.

But alongside the joy I felt at seeing such prolific hitters as Josh Gibson, Oscar Charleston and Jud Wilson take their rightful places alongside Ty Cobb, Rogers Hornsby and Ted Williams, I also felt a little unease. We must not allow the integrated record books to dim the memory of the segregated playing fields.

The well-deserved reckoning has mainly drawn cheers, but a faction of the baseball public seemingly can’t accept the validity of statistics painstakingly collected by a group of determined historians. Such fans have trouble absorbing the fact that professional baseball at the highest levels consisted of more than just the National and American Leagues. Those leagues gave the best White athletes an opportunity to showcase their world-class baseball abilities. The Negro Leagues did exactly the same thing for the best Black and Hispanic athletes.

When I hear comments about the Negro Leagues like “Triple A at best” and “You’re not comparing apples to apples,” I cringe. Excellence in the Negro Leagues wasn’t easier. It was harder. No major league athlete of that era had to worry about where he could stop and get something to eat. Major leaguers did not have to sleep on the team bus and dress underneath the stands. Who knows what records a Judy Johnson or a Cool Papa Bell might have amassed if athletes in the Negro Leagues had better playing and living conditions.

In some recent commentary, the notion that those Black and Brown athletes could be as good as or better than their White counterparts has raised ire. Sadly, that same mind-set forced the creation of the first league for Black players shortly after World War I.

Andrew “Rube” Foster, a former player and manager who owned the Chicago American Giants, called a meeting with other Midwestern team owners at Kansas City’s Paseo YMCA in 1920. They agreed to form the Negro National League. Soon, rival leagues formed in Eastern and Southern states. Playing a thrilling and innovative brand of baseball, the Negro Leagues were an immediate hit, drawing large and enthusiastic crowds in urban centers and rural communities across the United States, Canada

and Latin America.

Foster’s team, the American Giants, drew some 200,000 spectators during the 1921 season. By 1933, the inaugural East-West All-Star Game, played at Comiskey Park in Chicago, outdrew a Cubs double-header across town at Wrigley Field. The annual showcase would become one of the greatest sporting events in American sports history, routinely attracting more than 50,000 fans. In 1942, the Negro Leagues drew an estimated 3 million fans who watched the games, in most cases, in the same stadiums and ballparks used by major league teams.

The players of the Negro Leagues were very proud and self-assured. They never sought validation from anyone. They knew how good they were. They knew how good their league was — and, quite frankly, the major leaguers knew as well. After all, they played countless exhibition games against one another, and the record books show that the Negro Leagues or Black all-star teams won most of those games.

After batting against Leroy “Satchel” Paige in an exhibition game, Joe DiMaggio pronounced Paige



TRANSCENDENTAL GRAPHICS/GETTY IMAGES

Josh Gibson, catcher for the Homestead Grays of Pittsburgh, at Forbes Field in 1940.

“the best I ever faced, and the fastest.” Hall of Fame catcher Roy Campanella, who earned three MVP awards in the National League after baseball was integrated, said of Josh Gibson — who died too soon to have his chance: “Everything I could do, Josh could do better.”

Few fans know that leagues of far less talent, popularity and duration than the Negro Leagues are part of the MLB record book. In 1969, the Special Baseball Records Committee officially recognized six “major” leagues: the National and American Leagues, along with the American Association (1882-1891), Union Association (1884), Players’ League (1890) and Federal League (1914-1915). The Negro Leagues were blatantly disregarded.

More than five decades passed before that wrong was righted. Baseball Commissioner Rob Manfred announced, on Dec. 16, 2020 — as the finale of the centennial celebration of the Negro Leagues’ founding — that the Negro Leagues would be recognized as “major” and that the statistics would be integrated.

I want statistics to be a gateway to deeper learning about the indomitable and entrepreneurial spirit of the Negro Leagues. I want the next generation of baseball fans — White, Black, whatever color they may be — to look at the newly inclusive records and want to know more about Gibson, or Walter “Buck” Leonard, or Norman Thomas “Turkey” Stearnes.

They must learn that, once upon a time, these giants of the game weren’t allowed to play in the major leagues because of the color of their skin. Yet they never cried about the social injustice; they went out and did something about it. It’s the American way. So, while America tried to prevent them from sharing in the joys of our national pastime, the American spirit is what allowed them to persevere and prevail.

The major league debut in 1947 of Jackie Robinson — a young Negro Leagues star with the Kansas City Monarchs before joining the Brooklyn Dodgers to break the color barrier — has been called the start of the civil rights movement. And so the history of the Negro Leagues is a triumphant one. It’s the story of America at her worst and America at her best. The circumstances that dictated the need for the Negro Leagues are painful and sorrowful. But the Negro Leagues themselves vindicate the power of the human spirit to persevere and prevail. Fans of tomorrow should understand what those players had to endure just to “play ball” and set records.

We cannot lose that story.

The writer is president of the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum in Kansas City, Mo.

KAREN TUMULTY

# This year’s GOP platform, in one sentence

Normally, the internal fights that take place over the drafting of a political party’s platform in the run-up to its presidential convention generate little interest or intrigue, except among activists and insiders.

“I’m not bound by the platform,” 1996 Republican nominee Bob Dole said about the hard-line document his party passed that year. “I probably agree with most everything in it, but I haven’t read it.”

But while candidates often try to distance themselves from unpopular planks, platforms do matter. They reveal which factions really hold power within a party. They are testament to the differences between Democrats and Republicans. They show what a party aspires to get done if voters give it a chance.

Four years ago, having scaled back their convention because of covid-19, the Republicans who nominated Donald Trump to a second term didn’t bother to adopt a platform at all. Instead, the party decided to stick with its 2016 document and “continue to enthusiastically support the President’s America-first agenda.”

A lot has happened in the Republican Party — as well as the country and the world — since 2016. And therein lies an awkward situation for the Republican National Committee as it tries to define a set of principles for which the GOP stands in 2024.

That eight-year-old platform is a fossil of primordial, pre-MAGA conservatism — of a day when abortion rights seemed secure enough that posturing against them carried little political cost; when Republicans could agree that Ukraine’s “sovereignty and territorial integrity” needed to be defended against “a resurgent Russia.”

*In 2020, the party decided to stick with its 2016 document. A lot has happened in the Republican Party — as well as the country and the world — in eight years.*

It declared that only parents should be allowed to “determine the proper medical treatment and therapy for their minor children.” At the time, this stance was understood to mean that parents shouldn’t be stopped from trying to change the sexual orientation of their children with conversion therapy, a harsh, pseudoscientific “gay cure” that has been condemned by major medical and mental health associations. Today, when a growing number of parents support children who want medical measures to change their gender, that same statement is at odds with the 23 Republican-dominated state governments that have banned or drastically limited such treatment for minors.

Amid the political backlash following the Supreme Court’s 2022 decision overturning *Roe v. Wade*, Trump has tried to skirt the abortion issue, saying it should be left to the states and that he would not sign a national ban if he were returned to the White House. That does not square with the current GOP platform, which says: “We support a human life amendment to the Constitution and legislation to make clear that the Fourteenth Amendment’s protections apply to children before birth.”

As my colleague Michael Scherer reported in The Post, antiabortion groups are mobilizing against any effort to eliminate or weaken that plank. “Our expectation is that the GOP platform will continue to unequivocally call for national protections for unborn children, rooted in the 14th Amendment,” said Marjorie Dannenfelser, president of Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America. “Watering down the GOP platform’s stance on life would entail an abandonment of its defense of the human dignity of all people. It will also give the Biden administration and Democrats the foothold they need.”

The committee that will write the platform has yet to be assembled; two members, a man and a woman, are to be appointed by each state delegation. But Trump’s campaign understandably wants to influence those selections, and Scherer reported it has circulated slates of its preferred members.

It is hard to imagine, given the increasingly isolationist bent of the party and Trump’s frequent portrayal of NATO as a bunch of deadbeats, that this year’s platform will include the current one’s call for “greater coordination with NATO defense planning.” The former president has said he would encourage Russia to do “whatever the hell they want” to any NATO member country that does not meet NATO’s spending guidelines on its own defense.

And don’t dream that, with Trump said to be privately musing that he could end Russia’s war in Ukraine by persuading Ukraine to give up territory, the party wants to remain on record that it “will not accept any territorial change in Eastern Europe imposed by force, in Ukraine, Georgia, or elsewhere, and will use all appropriate constitutional measures to bring to justice the practitioners of aggression and assassination.”

So maybe it is time for today’s Republicans to acknowledge the truth. They are no longer a party with any firm principles at all. Enduring and consistent values? Not for them.

Come to think of it, this whole exercise of writing a 2024 platform for the Republican Party could be pretty simple. Why bother with putting together another 60-page document when the truth about today’s GOP can be summed up in a single sentence?

“RESOLVED, That the Republican Party stands for whatever the hell Donald Trump says it does.”

DAVID VON DREHLE

# The hellish miracle in Baptists’ crosshairs

Beware victorious political movements. Winning brings out the zealots, and zealots devour their friends. Consider the Khmer Rouge of 1970s Cambodia, which, at the peak of its power, was known to kill people for wearing glasses on the theory that glasses signified the elite intellectual class. As though anyone other than an elite intellectual could digest the turgid tomes of the communist canon.

It is thus with the antiabortion movement in the United States. Aflame with their success in overturning *Roe v. Wade*, the zealots of the movement have turned their energies against the suite of medical procedures known generally as IVF. In various state legislatures as well as the Southern Baptist Convention, the perverse result is that the supposed champions of families and babies are targeting the very families that want babies the most.

I doubt very seriously that many of the Baptists who voted last week to anathematize IVF have any experience with it. Let me tell them a little about it. No doubt it would be better for them to hear from a woman, because the process is even more excruciating for women than for men, but antiabortion zealots don’t find women to be reliable sources on the topic of reproduction. So I will have to do.

My wife and I arrived at the office of a renowned ART specialist — assisted reproductive technology, that is, of which in vitro fertilization is one example — as many couples do: at the end of a long trail of shredded assumptions, dashed hopes and near-death experiences. Having paid close attention to our P.E. teachers during the one awkward week of the school year when sex education was taught, we believed that making a baby was as simple as toasting bread and a lot more fun.

Three miscarriages, a molar pregnancy and an emergency surgery to stem the hemorrhaging from a ruptured fallopian tube later, we were candidates for IVF. I’ll share a brief overview of that process, which I would not wish on my worst enemy, but let me say first that it involves a lot of sitting around and waiting nervously. We shared that time with couples whose path to the waiting room was every bit as scary and sad as ours — and in many cases worse. The vibe in an

*I don’t think any people alive care more about the gift of life than IVF patients. No one suffers more acutely or weeps more bitterly over unborn babies.*

IVF waiting room is analogous to the stool in the corner of a boxing ring: The women (and their partners) have been beaten up emotionally and physically, and now they are steeling themselves to get beaten some more.

First, they become pin cushions. IVF requires frequent blood tests and daily hormone injections to stimulate overproduction of eggs by the ovaries. In many cases — in my wife’s, certainly — the ovarian swelling is quite painful, and the assault of hormones fuels emotional tempests. If all goes well, the patient will be sedated for the invasive procedure to “harvest” the eggs, the healthiest of which are combined

with sperm in the lab.

There is waiting to learn whether any of the eggs have been fertilized, more waiting to learn whether normal cell division is taking place, another invasive procedure to introduce one or more of the microscopic embryos into the uterus — then more waiting, more injections, more fears and a little hope.

Why just a little? Because despite the high cost of IVF (including the drugs and genetic testing, a single cycle can run to \$30,000), most IVF cycles are unsuccessful. Results vary according to a woman’s age and other health markers, but overall, the chance of welcoming a baby at the end of this painful roller coaster is 25 to 30 percent. The waiting rooms are full of veterans on their second, third, fifth attempts. We met a couple once on Round 10. A large study in Britain found that couples with the means and endurance to last through six awful rounds had slightly less than a two-thirds chance of a live birth.

We bailed after three. Ultimately, a different surgical intervention gave us two miracle babies to join their fiercely treasured adopted brother and sister. “Stranger things have happened,” one of our many doctors said, in a tone that told us that he had not seen many.

I don’t think any people alive care more about the miracle of conception, the viability of a fetus and the gift of life than IVF patients. No one suffers more acutely or weeps more bitterly over unborn babies; they are, after all, holes at the centers of our lives. How can a person of faith fail to see the creative power of God in the intelligence that makes such reproductive technology possible? What crabbled theology sees God at work in sperm and eggs and reproductive organs, yet finds only sin in the brains of scientists and doctors? Lord save us from the zealots.



# For him, the justice system worked. But his doubts remain.

POLICE FROM AI

what video cameras recorded, according to court documents, and prosecutors tried to put Stallings away for more than a decade. Critics on social media tarred his reputation in an ordeal that changed the trajectory of his life. He was ultimately acquitted of attempted murder of an officer, and he felt vindicated by a \$1.5 million settlement from the city in his lawsuit alleging that police violated his civil rights. But that lengthy process left Stallings with a stinging resentment. To the extent that anyone did the right thing, he concluded, it was only after they exhausted every possible avenue for doing the wrong thing instead.

Stallings's case was among several instances of alleged misconduct in the Minneapolis Police Department examined by the civil rights division of the Justice Department after Floyd's murder. The probe found that the department had systematically violated the civil rights of demonstrators, ultimately leading to a consent decree — an agreement to reform various aspects of the agency. The “sobering” report is “the foundation to make fair and lawful policing a reality for our entire community,” Ann Bildtsen, the first assistant U.S. Attorney for the District of Minnesota, said in 2023.

The independent police monitor tasked with enforcing that reform agreement is expected to release its initial plan this month.

But Stallings is skeptical about its chances of delivering meaningful change.

“Policy change doesn’t change the people who do the job. It just forces them to find a new way to go about doing what they want to do,” Stallings said. This sense of inevitability is what he's left with four years later, much more than anything officers did to his body with knees and fists.

“I’ve been jumped. I’ve been in fights,” he said. “But seeing the criminal justice system ... and the issues it has were a lot more traumatizing to me because they decide people's lives on the daily.”

The Minneapolis Police Department says it has made many changes since 2020, including new guidelines meant to limit the use of crowd-control weapons. The department did not respond to questions ahead of the release of the monitor's plan. But it has acknowledged that more reforms are on the horizon. “As we rebuild, I ask for patience. Our current situation did not happen overnight, and we will not correct it all overnight,” Chief Brian O’Hara wrote in a February op-ed in the Star Tribune.

Stallings grew up with a baseline mistrust of police typical of his peers in Brooklyn. He recounts unpleasant but relatively banal interactions with law enforcement — such as being told he “matched a description” and being briefly detained and photographed on a day he forgot his identification. Before Floyd's death, Stallings had attended a few police protests, but he wouldn't have described himself as an activist. Like many Americans, the brutality of Floyd's death — his desperate pleas for air, the casual way the officers deflected onlookers' concerns, how long it all lasted — was a breaking point for Stallings.

“I was tired of the cycle: A Black man is killed, there are promises to change, nothing comes, and something happens again,” he said.

On the fifth night of protests in Minneapolis following Floyd's murder, as Stallings recounts, he and a group of friends set off to join the crowds, as they had on prior days. Navigating concrete barriers and road closures, the group wound up in a parking lot about a mile from the convenience store where Floyd died. As they weighed their next steps, a stranger came running down the street, screaming, “They’re shooting.” Stallings's adrenaline started to pump. He took cover for a moment behind his truck, then noticed a van approaching, he said.

Stallings was suspicious. The unmarked white cargo van had its lights off and its sliding door open as it rolled slowly by. “You ask any Black guy that has grown up in the hood ... everybody is going to assume that's a drive-by” shooting, he recalled.

He worried it could be armed



JAMILES LARTEY/MARSHALL PROJECT

**Jaleel Stallings looks at a mural in St. Paul, Minn., last summer depicting people who have died in police custody. During protests in Minneapolis in May 2020 over George Floyd's murder, Stallings mistakenly shot at police officers; “they probably want to kill me right now,” he remembers thinking as he surrendered.**

white supremacists. Hours earlier, Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz (D) had warned that the situation in Minneapolis was volatile, with outsiders — specifically white supremacists — flocking to revel in the disorder.

Stallings, who was carrying a legally registered semiautomatic pistol, grew up hunting deer and doing target practice with his grandfather in the northern Minnesota wilderness. He also served four years in the Army, and ever since, he'd tended to carry a concealed weapon for protection.

As the van crept by, his gun was out but down, surveillance video shows. Then, Stallings says, he heard a bang and felt a searing pain in his chest. Believing he'd been struck with live ammunition, he fired three shots. No one was hit. He retreated to the back of his truck, he said. The volley lasted barely two seconds.

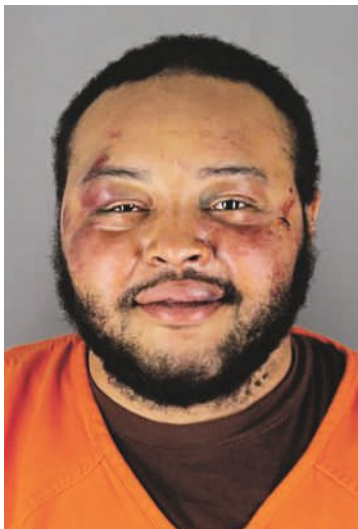
What Stallings didn't realize is that the van was carrying members of the Minneapolis Police SWAT team and that he'd been struck by a marking round: a sponge-tipped plastic projectile coated in paint and fired from a 40 mm launcher. Another round fired at Stallings shattered the side mirror on his truck.

Body-camera footage obtained by Stallings's lawyer showed that SWAT Unit 1281 was making liberal use of the launchers against protesters on the night they encountered Stallings.

As they prepared to clear the streets of protesters violating an 8 p.m. curfew, Sgt. Andrew Bittell's body camera recorded him telling his team, “We’re rolling down Lake Street, and the first f---ers we see, we’re hammering ‘em with 40s.”

The footage also showed officers repeatedly shooting at people from the van with no warning and commanding people to “go home” only after launching projectiles. It was part of a systemic practice by Minneapolis police, according to the Justice Department investigation published last summer. The report concluded that police regularly used 40 mm launchers against protesters “who are committing no crime or who are dispersing.”

Almost immediately after firing his gun, Stallings says, he heard the officers yell “shots fired” and he realized he had just shot at police. He dropped the gun and lay face down on the ground with his arms over his head. “They probably want to kill me right now,” he remembers



HENNEPIN COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE/AP

**Stallings's booking photo from the May 2020 incident. As he lay on the ground with his arms over his head, officers beat him, breaking his eye socket.**

thinking.

When Officer Justin Stetson reached Stallings, he launched more than a dozen punches, kicks and knees into Stallings's face, surveillance video shows. In audio from Stetson's body camera, Stallings can be heard pleading as the officer rains down more blows. Stetson's superior, Bittell,

*“You took my innocence away. You put it so that every new person that I meet, I now have to fight past a stereotype or them thinking I’m the bad guy.”*

**Jaleel Stallings**, on the fallout from a social media post by Donald Trump's 2020 campaign calling him a “would-be cop-killer”

told him, “That's it, stop,” and briefly held Stetson's arm back before cuffing Stallings. They booked him on attempted murder, armed riot and other lesser charges.

In his report about the incident and in later testimony during Stallings's criminal trial, Stetson said he kicked him believing he may still have been armed. “A lot of stuff is running through my

mind. The adrenaline is pumping,” Stetson testified.

Stetson could not be reached for comment. Neither could Bittell, who was not disciplined or charged with any wrongdoing.

Officers at the scene generated dozens of reports about what happened that night, many with conflicting details, as the Minnesota Reformer documented in a 2021 investigation. Some officers said they believed that Stallings and his friends were looters. Another officer said police were looking for cars that had previously been involved in shooting at police and claimed that Stallings's truck resembled one of them — an assertion that was never supported by evidence. Multiple officers said Stallings resisted arrest, even though body-camera video showed his compliance.

In a pretrial order, state district Judge William Koch noted that the only moment that could have been construed as resistance — the few seconds it took Stallings to get his hands behind his back after being ordered — was due solely “to the significant beating he was receiving.”

In 2021, after rejecting a plea deal that would have sent him to prison for more than a decade, Stallings faced trial. His lawyer, Eric Rice, called just one witness: Stallings himself. Taking the stand is always risky for defendants, but the gambit paid off. A jury acquitted Stallings in September 2021.

“It was like winning the lotto,” except instead of money, “you got years of your life back,” he said. He recalled bumping into one juror in the courthouse after the verdict who told him something like: “Everything in my mind was going to convict you until you got up and testified.”

The prosecutor who oversaw the case, then-Hennepin County District Attorney Mike Freeman, conceded in late 2022 that prosecuting Stallings was a “terrible example of justice run amok.” Freeman pinned the ultimate blame on the police, who “lied to us.” In an email, a police spokesman, Sgt. Garrett Parten, denied that officers had lied.

After Stallings's acquittal, prosecutors turned their attention to Stetson, the officer who delivered most of the blows during Stallings's arrest, according to surveillance footage. The former officer pleaded guilty to assault in May 2023.

In his statement to the court, Stetson apologized to Stallings

for his “lack of control and poor judgment” and acknowledged the Minneapolis police's “historical mistreatment of the disadvantaged communities and against those engaged in peaceful civil protests.” In October, he was sentenced to 15 days at the county workhouse, two years of probation and about \$3,000 in fines and fees. The sentence should prevent Stetson from ever being a police officer in Minnesota again. Five other officers who responded to the incident were suspended over unreasonable use of force, according to disciplinary records obtained by the Star Tribune in April. Several others, including Bittell, retired on disability claims before discipline proceedings began.

Stallings called Stetson's punishment a “slap on the wrist.” In the same courthouse just two years earlier, he had faced up to 40 years in prison. The officer was also something of a sacrificial lamb who took the blame while the decisions and culture that led to that moment were left off the table, Stallings says.

Sometimes people are surprised that Stallings remains haunted by that evening. Didn't the system work, after all? Stallings went free, and the officer who beat him was criminally punished. But in Stallings's view, his relatively happy ending was a result of an unlikely “perfect storm” — his spotless criminal record and military background, a private lawyer who agreed to take his case, and a bail fund that raised money to help release protesters and made it possible for Stallings to await trial outside jail.

Even timing probably played a role, with his trial coming a few months after Derek Chauvin's conviction for Floyd's murder. Rice, Stallings's lawyer, said that if that case hadn't happened and “we had not had a pool of jurors at least open to skepticism of the police, I firmly believe I'd be talking to Jaleel in prison today.”

That was a possibility Stallings was preparing for during the five days he spent in jail in 2020. In between the three bologna sandwiches allotted for breakfast, lunch and dinner, his mind alternated between possible realities. In one, he daydreamed of being somewhere else — perhaps a beach with a margarita, he said. But then the real world would tumble in, and he'd work on getting acclimated. “You're going to spend a lot of time here,” he'd said

to himself, “so start getting used to it now.”

Even after he was released on bail, his life was in limbo. His brand-new truck had been impounded as evidence in his criminal case.

He was also branded a “would-be cop-killer” on a social media account run by President Donald Trump's 2020 campaign, in a post aimed at attacking bail funds like the one that got him out.

“You took my innocence away,” Stallings said of the tweet. “You put it so that every new person that I meet, I now have to fight past a stereotype or them thinking I'm the bad guy.”

Co-workers kept their distance, he said, and family and friends couldn't relate to the gravity of what he was facing. Mostly, they avoided talking about it. Erica Kantola, Stallings's mother, said her son “retreated into himself” during those long 15 months.

Now that the ordeal is over, Kantola said Stallings still isn't exactly his old self. He's slower to trust people, she said, but “the biggest difference I see now is his drive to find a way to effect change.”

The main avenue for that is a fledgling nonprofit that Stallings named the Good Apple Initiative. For now, the organization is focused on setting up meetings with anyone open to sitting down, including police officers, to discuss how to change policing culture. That work largely happens over video chat, because Stallings relocated to Houston shortly after his acquittal.

“When I'm in Minneapolis, I have a heightened sense of paranoia. I feel like I need to look over my shoulder constantly,” he said. He worries about retribution from the police there. In dark fantasies, he even imagines that officers, knowing he carries a gun, could contrive a scenario to justify shooting him dead.

Yet that same police department is the one he's hoping to see get better, by empowering one “good apple” at a time.

Stallings is full of little contradictions like this — between conciliation and fatalism — but he's able to find peace in the tensions. “I live in reality,” he said, “but I don't lose hope.”

The Washington Post is publishing this article in partnership with the Marshall Project, a nonprofit news organization covering the U.S. criminal justice system.



## Retropolis

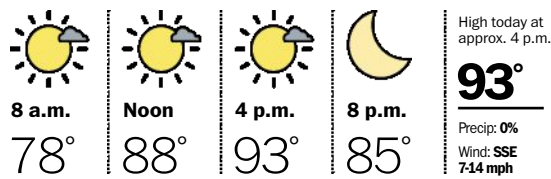
Stories of the past, rediscovered.  
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washingtonpost.com/retropolis

The Washington Post



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**THE DISTRICT**

Donors rally to fund Olaiya's Cradle, a home for formerly homeless mothers and children. **B2**



**CAPITAL WEATHER GANG**

Ninety-degree days are forecast to linger over the next two weeks, and highs may hit the triple digits. **B3**



**OBITUARIES**

Fumihiko Maki, 95, was a Japanese architect who evoked openness amid urban density. **B4**



MICHAEL ROBINSON CHÁVEZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Maryland Gov. Wes Moore, left, shakes hands with Shiloh Jordan, who will benefit from the pardons for low-level criminal marijuana convictions, as Attorney General Anthony G. Brown applauds Monday. The pardons are expected to affect about 100,000 people.**

## Md. governor's sweeping pardons intended to right imbalance of justice

What to know about Wes Moore's clemency act for 175,000 low-level marijuana convictions

BY KATIE METTLER,  
ERIN COX  
AND KATIE SHEPHERD

Maryland Gov. Wes Moore (D) on Monday issued pardons for 175,000 low-level criminal marijuana convictions — one of the nation's most sweeping clemency acts, which could affect as many as 100,000 people who were convicted on certain possession charges in Maryland state courts over the past four decades.

The move will create a record of formal forgiveness and is part of a national movement to unwind criminal justice inequities as marijuana use is increasingly legalized. Maryland voters approved a ballot measure in 2022 to decriminalize cannabis, and Moore said his action was aimed at healing social and economic disparities for communities of color

that have been disproportionately affected by marijuana convictions.

"We cannot celebrate the benefit of legalization if we do not address the consequences of criminalization," Moore said before signing the order that made the pardons official.

Here's a look at what the governor's mass pardon means and whom it will affect.

**Who is being pardoned?**

Moore's pardon action will automatically forgive every misdemeanor marijuana possession charge the Maryland judiciary could locate in the state's electronic court records system, along with every misdemeanor or paraphernalia charge tied to use or possession of marijuana. Maryland is the only state to pardon such paraphernalia charges, state officials said. The pardons include more than

150,000 misdemeanor convictions for simple possession of cannabis and more than 18,000 misdemeanor convictions for use or possession with intent to use drug paraphernalia. An estimated 100,000 people will be pardoned — some of more than one conviction. The pardons also apply to people who are dead.

The electronic records in some Maryland jurisdictions date to the 1980s, while others begin in the 1990s or later. The pardons are automatic, but people with cannabis convictions so old that they're stored on paper can apply for one.

**What's the purpose of a pardon?**

A pardon does not undo the fact that the conduct — in this case, misdemeanor possession of marijuana or paraphernalia — was illegal at

SEE PARDONS ON **B2**

## Board names pick to lead Montgomery schools

Thomas Taylor, who has roots in the Md. county, has run a district in Va.

BY NICOLE ASBURY

The Montgomery County school board on Monday named a Virginia superintendent as its pick to lead Maryland's largest school system, as the district tries to rebuild morale among its employees and recover from pandemic-related learning losses.

Thomas Taylor, who faces a formal vote by the school board next week, is currently superintendent of Stafford County Public Schools. He has led the district of about 32,000 students since 2021.

Taylor, an alumnus of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, characterized the Montgomery job as a "return home."

In an interview, Taylor recalled his time in the district. When he was a student, his mother was diagnosed with breast cancer and he was in a single-parent house-

hold. His seventh-grade music teacher, Gail Glazer, was "the emotional support rock for me" during that time.

"She got me engaged in a lot of things that I probably would have never been involved in," said Taylor, 46. "And that transformative experience, I think, put me on the path to becoming an educator, and it's part of the reason why I wanted to come back to Montgomery County."

He said that the school system "has a rich history of academic success" but added that that history has come with inequities. He added that some of the district's biggest challenges are related to trust.

"I think there are real issues with trust — trust between the council and the school system, trust between the community and the school system," Taylor said. "I think [rebuilding trust is] the first step in re-establishing what Montgomery County could be in the future."

Taylor will succeed interim superintendent Monique Felder, who was appointed by the school

board in February after the departure of former superintendent Monifa B. McKnight. He will take charge of a school system that has been under scrutiny for months over its handling of employees' complaints of harassment and other misconduct, after an investigation by The Washington Post revealed a former middle school principal was promoted despite reports about his conduct. The former principal, Joel Beidleman, is no longer an employee of the district and has previously denied many of the allegations.

In its statement Monday, the school board said that Taylor recognizes the challenges facing the school system. During the interview process, the board said, Taylor told members, "All things begin and end with the culture leadership creates."

Taylor has been an educator for more than 25 years. He holds a doctorate in education from the University of Virginia and an MBA from William & Mary.

As schools superintendent in Stafford County, he established two programs that were the first



DAN GROSS/MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

**Thomas Taylor faces a vote by the school board next week.**

of their kind in Virginia, according to a news release from the Montgomery school board. One program was a partnership with the Internal Revenue Service that trained students to assist with

SEE SUPERINTENDENT ON **B4**

## Va. primary races head to finish line

### FIGHT FOR CONGRESS TIGHTLY CONTESTED

Nail-biting duels on tap in Alexandria, Arlington

BY TEO ARMUS  
AND ANTONIO OLIVO

Virginia voters are heading to the polls Tuesday in a primary election that features some hotly contested congressional races, in addition to several local races in Arlington County and Alexandria.

Here are some of the most interesting races:

**5th District**

In the 5th District, House Freedom Caucus Chairman Bob Good is facing a challenge from state Sen. John J. McGuire III (R-Goochland), setting up an unusual race between two ultra-conservatives in this bright-red rural district. McGuire has gotten a boost with an endorsement from former president Donald Trump, who has called the former Navy SEAL a "true American hero" and blasted Good as "BAD FOR VIRGINIA, AND BAD FOR THE USA" in a post on Truth Social.

Good had initially endorsed Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis (R) for president, before DeSantis

dropped out, and was secretly recorded in October saying that DeSantis was more of a "true conservative" than Trump on certain issues — a recording that was turned into an attack ad against Good. While Good later endorsed Trump for president, and even traveled to New York during Trump's criminal hush money trial, the damage had been done. The Trump campaign last month sent a letter to Good's campaign, demanding that Good stop displaying signs that featured both men's names, intimating that Good had Trump's endorsement.

Another wild card is the nature of the selection process. In past years Republican nominees were chosen in party-run conventions, which tend to attract the most conservative voters. But a new state law led to the necessity of holding a traditional primary, which is open to all voters, not just Republicans.

Good has been criticized for being an obstructionist in Congress, and McGuire has received criticism for always appearing to be looking toward the next seat. McGuire had pledged not to challenge Good during his campaign last year for state Senate, only to launch his bid days after the election.

**7th District**

Rep. Abigail Spanberger's  
SEE VIRGINIA ON **B2**



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Voters in Midlothian, Va., during March's presidential primary.**

## Ex-Md. officer convicted in pepper spray incident

He is found guilty of violating civil rights but acquitted of obstruction

BY PAUL DUGGAN

A former Maryland police officer who was fired by four small departments in the D.C. area in less than a decade was convicted Monday of illegally pepper-spraying a motorist during a traffic stop but acquitted of a charge related to his filing of a court affidavit that prosecutors said gave a false account of the incident.

Philip Dupree, 40, was fired by three departments in Prince George's County, including for allegedly using excessive force, before being hired by a fourth department, in the town of Fairmount Heights, where he was working when the pepper-spraying occurred on Aug. 4, 2019. A jury in U.S. District Court in Washington convicted him Monday of violating the motorist's civil rights with the burst of pepper spray but found him not guilty of obstructing justice.

The motorist, Torrence Sinclair, now 24, was handcuffed and shouting obscenities when Dupree pepper-sprayed him in the face at close range, defense and prosecution lawyers agreed. Dupree later asserted in a court

affidavit that Sinclair had tried to bite him, which prosecutors said was untrue.

"The defendant punished Mr. Sinclair because he didn't like him mouthing off," Assistant U.S. Attorney Sanjay H. Patel said in his closing argument last week, adding, "The defendant didn't like that [Sinclair] questioned his traffic stop." Patel noted that the pepper-spraying was "committed by someone with a badge and a gun, someone sworn to serve and protect the community."

Sinclair, who did not testify in the week-long trial, was charged with assault based on Dupree's affidavit about the supposed biting. The assault charge was later dropped, and Patel called the affidavit "a flat-out lie," saying Dupree "knew what he did was a crime and he tried to cover it up."

Dupree's affidavit was the basis for the obstruction charge that the jury rejected.

To gain a conviction on the obstruction count in federal court, prosecutors had to prove that Dupree wrote a false court affidavit with the intent of thwarting a future federal investigation of the incident in D.C., where the pepper-spraying occurred. Based on a question that jurors submitted to the judge during their deliberations, it appeared they were not debating whether the sworn statement was truthful but whether Dupree, in signing it, was intending to fore-

SEE OFFICER ON **B4**



THE DISTRICT

# Donors rally to fund Olaiya’s Cradle

BY ELLIE SILVERMAN

A nonprofit-run home for formerly unhoused mothers and children that lost federal funding this year is no longer at risk of closing after organization officials say they received hundreds of thousands of dollars of private donations, new grants and additional government funds.

The reversal comes after The Washington Post reported that Olaiya’s Cradle, which runs two group homes for formerly homeless mothers, was threatened after it did not receive federal funding for the first time in nearly four decades. Organization officials told The Post that five mothers and their children who lived in one of the homes might be evicted if they could not procure other funds.

“These private donations that we got were arrayed between longtime donors who stepped up to the plate and people who were introduced by the Washington Post article,” said Deborah Shore, founder and executive director of Sasha Bruce Youthwork, the nonprofit that runs Olaiya’s Cradle. “Obviously, the idea of losing this program really inspired a lot of people to do something about that.”

Leaders said that after the story

was published last month, St. Augustine Catholic Church sent baby clothes and toys, and people sent letters with donations.

The program also got big-money contributions from new donors and official sources. The D.C. Council approved a budget last week that allocates about \$200,000 in recurring funds to Olaiya’s Cradle for the next four years. Program leaders also said they received multiple one-time grants totaling \$200,000, with \$100,000 from the Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness, \$50,000 from Capital One and \$50,000 from Amazon, whose founder, Jeff Bezos, owns The Post.

In total, officials said they have raised \$532,000 for next year — exceeding the federal funding they had lost. In March, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development denied a request for \$190,000 to continue funding Olaiya’s Cradle through HUD’s Continuum of Care program, which supports homelessness prevention efforts. While the program was eligible for grant funding, it didn’t score as high as other programs that had applied, according to a HUD spokesperson. Officials have said the program costs about \$800,000 to maintain annually.

“When you have had as many challenges and storms in your life as many of these young people have, it’s very easy to develop a narrative that no one cares,” Shore said. “It makes a huge difference that they know that there is a community that stepped up.”

D.C. Council Chairman Phil Mendelson (D) said the funds for Olaiya’s Cradle in the council’s \$21 billion budget for fiscal 2025 reflect a long-term commitment to the program.

“Kids, through public education, have the opportunity to break the cycle of poverty, but it’s hard for them to do that if at the same time they or their family is challenged with housing instability,” Mendelson said. “So if we want to turn the page with long-term thinking, then programs like Olaiya’s Cradle need to continue.”

Olaiya’s Cradle has received federal funding to support 18-to-24-year-old pregnant women and mothers experiencing homelessness since it opened in 1988, said Daniel Rico, the organization’s chief development officer.

The mothers, many of whom are Black single parents, can live in the transitional housing for up to two years and, on average, stay for about 21 months. During that time,



PHOTOS BY AMANDA ANDRADE-RHOADES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**A room at Olaiya’s Cradle, a home for formerly unhoused mothers and children in the District that had faced a budget crunch after losing federal funding. It is no longer at risk of closing, officials say.**

they have access to counseling, career and educational development and assistance navigating social benefits. Since 2019, the program has served 95 women and children, Rico said. Some of the mothers who had talked to The Post about the program’s financial uncertainty could not be reached for comment, and one said they preferred not to comment to protect their privacy.

This program is personal for Rico, who experienced homelessness as a child. Rico said leaders are now brainstorming more long-lasting solutions for a stable funding source.

“We want to raise awareness about the unique needs of pregnant, parenting youth in the District, particularly those who are experiencing homelessness,” Rico said. “Because even though we might not see them, they’re out there and they need us. And they need programs just like Olaiya’s Cradle.”

# What to know about Md. pot pardons

PARDONS FROM BI

the time of prosecution, but it forgives the legal consequences of the criminal conviction. A pardon is designed to stop future punishment or penalties for the forgiven offense.

In announcing the pardons, Moore directly addressed how policies in Maryland and nationwide have systematically held back people of color — through incarceration and restricted access to jobs, education and housing. A conviction, he said, “means a harder time for everything.”

“We’re talking about tools that have led to an 8-to-1 racial wealth gap in our state,” he said, “because we know that we do not get to an 8-to-1 racial wealth gap because one group is working eight times harder.”

The Maryland Office of the Public Defender, some prosecutors and civil rights advocates praised the move from Moore, saying it was a step toward remedying racial injustice in Maryland. In a statement, the ACLU of Maryland said there is more work to do — pointing out that people convicted of possession with intent to distribute can still face criminal penalties, including jail, despite the legalization of cannabis sales in the state. The penalty should be a civil fine, advocates have argued.

**Why is this happening now?**

The governor’s office said the pardons were timed to coincide with the Juneteenth holiday, a day that has come to symbolize

the end of slavery in the United States. Moore, a rising star in the Democratic Party and the lone Black governor of a U.S. state, has built his ascent on the promise to “leave no one behind.” He promised during his inaugural address to tackle racial inequities in Maryland, which is known for being one of the worst states in the country for disproportionately incarcerating Black people for any crimes.

For the first time, Maryland has Black leaders at the helm, and they are dedicated to directly addressing inequities their communities have faced for generations.

“Plainly put: The enforcement of cannabis laws has not been colorblind; it’s been unequal treatment under the law,” Maryland Attorney General Anthony G. Brown (D) said at Monday’s pardon announcement. “Cannabis convictions for hundreds of thousands of people here in Maryland were scarlet letters, modern-day shackles. This morning, I can almost hear the clang of those shackles falling to the floor.”

Nine other states and multiple cities have pardoned hundreds of thousands of old marijuana convictions in recent years as use of the drug has become legalized more widely, according to the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws.

Maryland voters approved a ballot measure that legalized recreational cannabis sales in 2022, spurring state lawmakers to set up a regulatory framework for an adult-use market that opened on

July 1, 2023. It is the only government in the D.C. region that has fully legalized cannabis sales, though the District and Virginia have decriminalized possession and have gray markets for the drug.

**How do I know if I’ve been pardoned?**

While other states that have issued mass pardons have publicly published the names of those eligible, Maryland officials said they chose not to do that because of the barriers those with marijuana convictions face. Instead, the Maryland Judiciary will be placing notations acknowledging the pardon on the dockets of all relevant cases. Court officials estimate that it could take two weeks for records to reflect the pardons and up to 10 months for the convictions to be eliminated from criminal background check databases.

Those who want to check the status of their records can do so at Maryland Case Search, the state judiciary’s online repository for electronic court records, or by visiting the courthouse where the conviction occurred and speaking to a clerk.

Anyone who didn’t receive a pardon but thinks they should have can apply for one through the state.

**Will these pardons get people out of prison?**

The pardons won’t result in people being released from incarceration. Maryland officials said the pardons do not apply to anyone who is currently behind bars.



MICHAEL ROBINSON CHÁVEZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Maryland Del. Jheannele K. Wilkins (D-Montgomery), center, applauds during a signing ceremony for the executive order on pardons at the Maryland State House on Monday.**

Misdemeanor cannabis charges yield short sentences and prosecutions for misdemeanor criminal possession have stopped, as possessing small amounts of the drug is legal statewide.

**Does a pardon clear a criminal record?**

No. A pardon forgives the conviction and means someone charged with the relevant crimes is no longer held responsible for the legal consequences. But record of the original conviction will still exist. To get that record destroyed and removed completely from public view, you must get it expunged.

**How do I get my record expunged?**

Records will be automatically expunged for people with cases in which the only charge was misdemeanor marijuana possession — about 40,000 of the 175,000 pardon cases, according to the governor’s office.

Anyone else seeking an expungement would have to request it from the court. According to the Maryland Judiciary, an expungement based on a pardon must be filed within 10 years from the date the governor signed the pardon. For more information on this process, contact the Maryland Parole Commission at 877-241-5428.

**What Maryland communities are most affected by the pardons?**

Demographic data on those pardoned is limited.

Moore’s administration said a quarter of the pardoned convictions were in Baltimore — a city with a history of unconstitutional over-policing of Black communities — even though less than 10 percent of the state’s population lives there.

# Virginia voters to select congressional nominees

VIRGINIA FROM BI

(D-Va.) decision to run for Virginia governor next year has prompted two crowded nomination contests for her seat, a perennial battleground that stretches from the rural Piedmont region to the suburbs and exurbs along Interstate 95. Both parties are expected to pour resources into the 7th District through November to secure the House majority.

The most heated primary is occurring on the Republican side, where front-runners Derrick Anderson and Cameron Hamilton — both veterans of elite military units who worked in the Trump administration — have in recent weeks traded fiery ads and accusations of lying and fraud or defamation.

Hamilton, a former Navy SEAL who is backed by most members of the Freedom Caucus, has tried to call attention to lingering questions about his opponent’s residency. But Anderson, who was an Army Green Beret and has drawn support from Republican House leaders,

has suggested that Hamilton’s campaign is deliberately defaming him.

The Democratic primary has since the beginning put the spotlight on one candidate: Yevgeny “Eugene” Vindman, a onetime Trump whistleblower who has parlayed that celebrity to raise more than \$5 million dollars and launch a blitz of television ads.

Still, he has faced criticism from some Democratic Party loyalists that he has been unengaged in the district’s issues and past political battles. Of the seven candidates, four are from Prince William County: Del. Briana D. Sewell; former delegate Elizabeth Guzmán; and county supervisors Andrea O. Bailey and Margaret A. Franklin. They’re hoping they can use their track records in office and community ties to manage an upset victory.

**10th District**

Rep. Jennifer Wexton’s (D) decision not to run again due to health reasons prompted 12 Democrats and four Republi-

cans to vie for a chance to fill her seat in the district that is anchored in Loudoun County but stretches into Fairfax, Prince William, Fauquier and Rappahannock counties.

Political analysts say the 10th District is likely to remain blue in November, adding tension to a Democratic primary where most of the candidates were aligned on core party issues such as women’s reproductive rights, gun control and calls to end the war in Gaza.

Among those candidates, Del. Dan Helmer (D-Fairfax) out-raised his opponents, collecting \$1.5 million, which allowed him to flood voters with campaign mailers, online ads and television spots that depicted him as a former U.S. Army intelligence officer who is willing to take on Trump “extremists.”

State Sen. Suhas Subramanyam (Loudoun) collected \$1 million and highlighted in ads and mailers a key endorsement from Wexton and his experience as an Obama administration technology policy adviser. Former house speaker Eileen Filler-

Corn (Fairfax), who raised \$972,000, promised voters that she would champion abortion rights in Congress.

Krystle Kaul, who owns a defense strategy consultancy, used the \$1 million she raised — half of which came through personal loans — to appeal to recent immigrants in the steadily changing district, as did Atif Qarni, a former education secretary in Virginia. State Sen. Jennifer B. Boysko (Fairfax) depicted herself as a relentless fighter who sponsored a 2022 law to eliminate the sales tax on personal hygiene products.

The other Democrats running are Dels. David A. Reid (Loudoun) and Michelle Lopes Maldonado (Prince William); ex-CIA officer Adrian Pokharel; Travis Nemhard, who oversees D.C.’s Department of For-Hire Vehicles; Marion Devoe Sr.; and Mark Leighton, a head librarian at George Mason University’s Antonin Scalia Law School.

Among Republicans, Mike Clancy, a tech company executive who ran for the GOP nomination in the 10th District in

2022, promised voters he would fight for tougher U.S. border restrictions and end what he says is reckless government spending.

Aliscia Andrews, the party’s nominee against Wexton in 2020 and a former deputy secretary of homeland security for Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R), highlighted her leadership role in the culture wars inside Loudoun schools. Alexander Isaac, a defense industry contractor, focused on national security issues while arguing that he is better equipped to draw independent voters in November. Manga Anantatmula, a Trump acolyte, also sought the party’s nomination.

**Local races**

In Northern Virginia’s innermost suburbs, voters will also cast their ballots in local Democratic primaries that have centered on fierce debates about zoning, urban development and housing density. The primary essentially serves as the general election in both strongly liberal localities.

The marquee local race is in Alexandria, where three candidates are hoping to succeed Mayor Justin M. Wilson (D),

who is not seeking reelection after two terms and an unsuccessful effort to bring a new sports arena to the city’s Potomac Yard neighborhood. All other city council seats are also up for election, with 11 candidates competing for six spots on the Democratic slate.

City council member Alyia Gaskins heads into the mayoral primary with a lead in fundraising and the endorsement of most city officials, including Wilson. But Vice Mayor Amy Jackson and Steven Peterson, a retired real estate developer, are each hoping that discontent over the arena and a vote to end single-family-only zoning last fall might give them the edge instead.

In nearby Arlington County, five candidates for one open seat on the county board have also been battling over a similar zoning vote. It is unlikely that a winner will be clear Tuesday night in Arlington’s ranked-choice race unless one candidate dominates voters’ first choices to succeed longtime member Libby Garvey (D), who plans to retire after her term as chair this year.

Polls are open across the state from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m.



The Guide to Offers  
The Washington Post

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**See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)**





THE DISTRICT

Maserati driver sentenced to over 32 years in 2021 road rage shooting

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER

A D.C. Superior Court judge on Monday sentenced a Maryland man to 32½ years after his conviction in a road rage incident during which prosecutors said he hopped out of his Maserati and fired into a vehicle with a woman and two children inside before turning on bystanders. In January, Kenneth Miles Davis Jr., 45, of Lanham, Md., was found guilty of assault with intent to kill while armed, multiple charges of assault with a dangerous weapon and several counts of possession of a firearm during a crime of violence in the

May 19, 2021, shooting in Northeast Washington. Davis maintained his innocence and argued he was not the shooter. He told Judge Rainey Brandt on Monday that he plans to appeal the conviction. At trial, prosecutors said Davis was driving a gray Maserati GranTurismo at Kenilworth and Eastern avenues NE about 5 p.m. in heavy rush-hour traffic when the woman, traveling with her 5- and 11-year-old children, tried to change lanes in front of him. Authorities say Davis stopped his vehicle, got out and fired his gun seven times into the car. A bullet hit the woman

in her upper arm. Her 5-year-old suffered cuts from broken glass, and the 11-year-old was unhurt. After shooting at the car, prosecutors said, Davis turned and fired six more shots at witnesses, none of whom were hurt. Davis was later arrested in Costa Rica and extradited to the United States. The shooting, in the District's Deanwood neighborhood, was captured on surveillance video. Authorities later found the Maserati in Hyattsville, about six miles from Davis's home. None of the victims appeared at the sentencing. But Assistant U.S. Attorney Kathryn Bartz told

the judge the victims are still traumatized by the shooting and are receiving counseling. One of the victims told the prosecutor she has post-traumatic stress syndrome and still has emotional challenges driving in the city, especially in the neighborhood the shooting occurred in. Although no one was killed in the incident, prosecutors argued that Davis should be sentenced to at least 30 years in prison because of the violent nature of the shooting, the use of a firearm and the danger to children. Prosecutors also argued that Davis had previous gun possession and assault con-

victions, including for an incident while driving an ATV that left a police officer with a broken jaw. Davis offered sympathy for the families involved and his own family but maintained that he was not the shooter. "I am fighting for my innocence. My heart goes out to anybody involved," he said. "But to be honest with you, I'm 45 years old. This might as well be a death sentence to me." Davis, seated next to his attorney, Marnitta L. King, said he worked as a music producer in the District and denied prosecutors' allegations that he had

anger issues. "I don't do impulsive things. I was just out here doing my music," he said. Brandt said Davis's previous gun conviction — which occurred after he was pulled over during a traffic stop and police found an unregistered firearm inside the car — elevated his sentence to the high end of the District's sentencing guidelines, often reserved for people convicted of murder. "Four people could have easily ended up dead," Brandt said. "You started shooting a gun on a busy street. Any of those bullets could have killed any of these people."

CAPITAL WEATHER GANG

Heat wave settles in for a long stay

BY IAN LIVINGSTON

Brace yourself for a prolonged period of heat that will, at times, reach intense, record-challenging levels in the Washington region. While still rather tame, the hot weather early this week is just the beginning. If weather models are to be believed, there's a decent chance that most days in the next two weeks will reach or surpass 90 degrees. Some of them could even flirt with 100. Friday through Sunday may be the hottest stretch, when daytime readings could near the century mark and lows will barely fall below 80 in the city. These temperatures are about 10 to 15 degrees above average for the time of year.

This bout of heat will come with super-sunny skies and little to nothing in the way of rain through the weekend, bringing back drought concerns. Humidity will be moderate to begin the week but will increase as temperatures rise, potentially sending heat index values — a measure of how hot it feels, factoring in the humidity — near 105 degrees by Friday.

Heat to intensify

Monday probably marked the first of many consecutive days of 90 degrees or higher. A heat wave is technically considered any period lasting at least three days with highs of 90 or higher (although some argue for a higher bar in the Washington region because hitting 90 is so common in midsummer). The early days of this heat wave will be rather unremarkable, as highs in the low 90s aren't that much above normal. But the heat will steadily intensify. Models project highs between 95 and 103 Friday through Sunday. These longer-term predictions have tended to be a little hotter than reality in recent weeks, so hitting 100 isn't a lock. But if the District manages to reach the triple digits, it would be the first instance since 2016, when it happened four times.

Record highs could be threatened

Beginning Tuesday, dozens of records for heat could fall across the Ohio Valley, the Northeast and the Mid-Atlantic. For records to fall in the Washington region, temperatures will need to rise to about 100, which is possible between Friday and Sunday but unlikely



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Tracey Spencer of Washington cools off while playing with her grandchildren at Georgetown Waterfront Park.

before that. Here are the predicted highs in Washington between Tuesday and Sunday, and the standing records:

- Tuesday's predicted high: 93; record high: 97.
- Wednesday's predicted high: 91; record high: 99.
- Thursday's predicted high: 93; record high: 99.
- Friday's predicted high: 97; record high: 99.
- Saturday's predicted high: 99; record high: 102.
- Sunday's predicted high: 97; record high: 98.

Record highs are more likely to occur at Dulles International Airport (where the history of observations is shorter than for the District). Records could be challenged there Tuesday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Record-warm lows will also become increasingly possible as nighttime temperatures rise this week. Lows may dip only to the mid-70s to about 80 this weekend.

The heat will probably extend beyond this week

With highs of at least 90 degrees forecast to continue into next week, this heat wave has the chance to become a notable one for its longevity. A typical summer experiences at least one streak of eight or nine straight days at or above 90. The streak beginning this week could easily exceed that if some model forecasts are correct. The longest recorded streak of days at 90 or above is 21, set in 1980 and 1988. It's also possible we will string together a significant streak of days at 95 or above late this week

and into next week. The longest such streak in an average year is about three or four days, and the stretch later this week has chance to at least match that. The longest such streak, of 12 days, occurred in June and July of 2012.

Time to start pleading for rain

The predicted extended period of heat; intense sunshine, as we near the summer solstice; and lack of rainfall could bring back drought concerns. While some locations were doused on a few occasions by heavy thunderstorms in May and early June, it has been drier than normal this month, and April was dry, too. As such, "abnormally dry" conditions have returned to many parts of the region, after a cessation of last year's drought over the winter, according to the U.S. Drought Monitor. Lower-than-usual soil moisture during a powerful heat wave near the solstice is a recipe for desiccated vegetation. There's little to no rain in the forecast until late this weekend or early next week as the first of perhaps several atmospheric disturbances scoots through the Great Lakes and into the Northeast. Such disturbances could trigger thunderstorms, but their timing and placement are impossible to predict this far in advance. Long-range forecasts point to more drier- and hotter-than-normal weather into July.

Jason Samenow contributed to this report.

THE REGION

Where to stay cool in scorching D.C.

BY EMMA UBER

D.C., Maryland and Virginia face an impending heat wave that will crescendo from highs in the low 90s Monday and Tuesday to temperatures nearing 100 Friday through Sunday. The District has a chance to hit temperatures in the triple digits for the first time since 2016. With temperatures around 10 to 15 degrees higher than average for this time of year, local governments advise residents to make use of public spaces like libraries and splash parks to stay cool. The heat wave will begin picking up Wednesday, when government spaces will close in celebration of Juneteenth. Here's where to seek refuge from the heat:

The District

D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser implemented an extended Heat Emergency Plan from Monday to Friday. The city declares the plan when the temperature or heat index in the District is 95 degrees or higher, activating 134 cooling centers across D.C. D.C.'s cooling centers include day centers, indoor and outdoor pools, low-barrier shelters, public libraries, recreation and community centers, senior wellness centers, youth centers, and spray parks. An interactive map at [hsema.dc.gov](https://hsema.dc.gov) allows users to click on cooling centers to see their hours of operation, address and phone number. Users can also enter their address, and the map will identify nearby cooling centers. However, not all cooling centers operate seven days a week. All D.C. public pools will be closed until Saturday, but spray parks offer an alternative and are open from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily.

Montgomery County

Montgomery County refers its residents to its 21 library branches and 22 recreation centers as free ways to cool off, while public pools provide relief from the heat at a low cost, said Montgomery County Climate Adaptation Program Manager Mara Parker. Parker said that if pool attendees can prove residency in Montgomery County through documents such as a driver's license or utility



JACQUELYN MARTIN/AP

A woman at Yards Park in Washington on Sunday.

bill, admission costs \$5 for children, \$6 for seniors and \$7 for adults. "We want to particularly emphasize for residents who are not able to get out of the heat during the day — those working in construction, landscaping, those who don't have the luxury of getting out of the heat — it's really important for them to lower their core body temperature at night," Parker said. "Pools are a great way to lower your core body temperature in a fun way." Although libraries, indoor pools and rec centers are set to close for Juneteenth, Parker said outdoor pools will remain open. If the temperature or heat index reaches 105 degrees or higher, Parker said, the county will declare a heat emergency, and facilities that would usually close for a federal holiday would remain open. However, the National Weather Service does not predict that temperatures Wednesday will reach Montgomery County's threshold for a heat emergency.

Prince George's County

Prince George's has an interactive map at [mypgc.us/StayCool](https://mypgc.us/StayCool) to direct residents to the nearest cooling center. From ice rinks to community centers, the county offers 19 places to cool off. The map also includes libraries and senior centers where residents can take refuge from the heat. The hours of each cooling center vary and can be found on the map.

Fairfax County

The Fairfax County website, [fairfaxcounty.gov](https://fairfaxcounty.gov), designates libraries, community and recreation centers, human services regional offices and homeless shelters as cooling centers. The county's 23 public library locations can be found through the county's online library locator. Each branch's hours vary. All 13 community centers are open Monday through Friday, with most operating on Saturdays. The county's four human services regional offices operate Monday through Friday from 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Libraries, community centers and county buildings will close Wednesday for Juneteenth. However, all rec and visitor centers will remain open to people looking to cool off inside.

Arlington County

Arlington refers its residents to libraries, community centers, spray parks and shopping malls to stay cool. The county's website, at [arlingtonva.us](https://arlingtonva.us), includes a map displaying all eight library locations and hours, as well as a list of community centers and spray parks. Although all Arlington County libraries and community centers will close Wednesday to honor Juneteenth, all spray parks will open from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. The Long Bridge Aquatics and Fitness Center will open for abbreviated hours from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m.

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# THE WEATHER

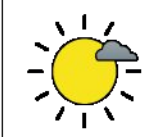
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## Another dose of heat

 More mostly sunny skies and hot weather as highs hit the upper 80s to low 90s. Humidity remains moderate to high with dew points in the mid- to upper 60s, favoring heat indexes into at least the mid-90s by afternoon. Light winds will blow from the south at 5 to 10 mph. At night, skies should be partly cloudy and temperatures moderately warm, with lows from the mid-60s to the low 70s.

Today

Mostly sunny



93° 70°

FEELS\*: 98°


CHNCE PRECIP: 0%

WIND: SSE 7-14 mph

HUMIDITY: High

Wednesday

Partly sunny



89° 70°

FEELS: 93°


P: 0%

W: SSE 7-14 mph

H: Moderate

Thursday

Partly sunny



92° 73°

FEELS: 98°


P: 5%

W: SSE 6-12 mph

H: High

Friday

Sunny



97° 76°

FEELS: 105°

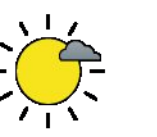
P: 10%

W: S 4-8 mph

H: High

Saturday

Mostly sunny



101° 76°

FEELS: 106°


P: 15%

W: S 6-12 mph

H: Very High

Sunday

Partly sunny



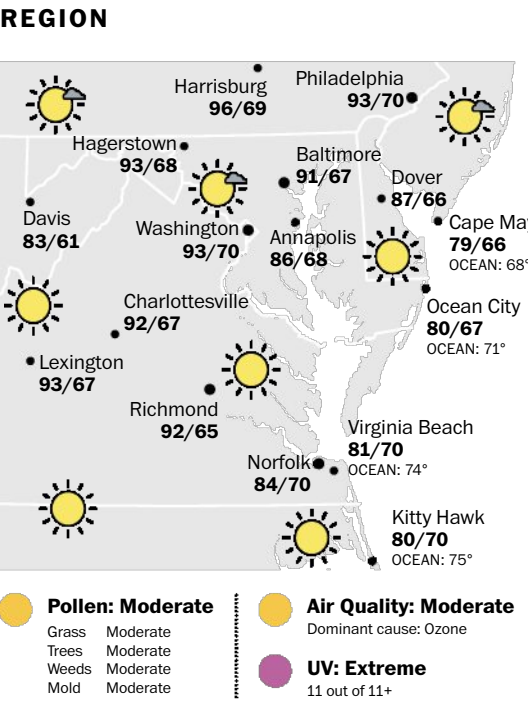
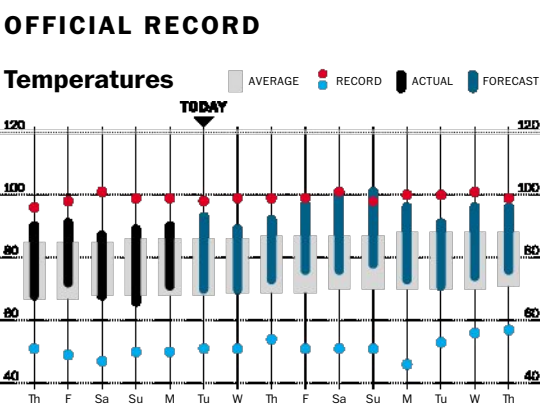
101° 78°

FEELS: 106°

P: 25%

W: S 7-14 mph

H: Very High



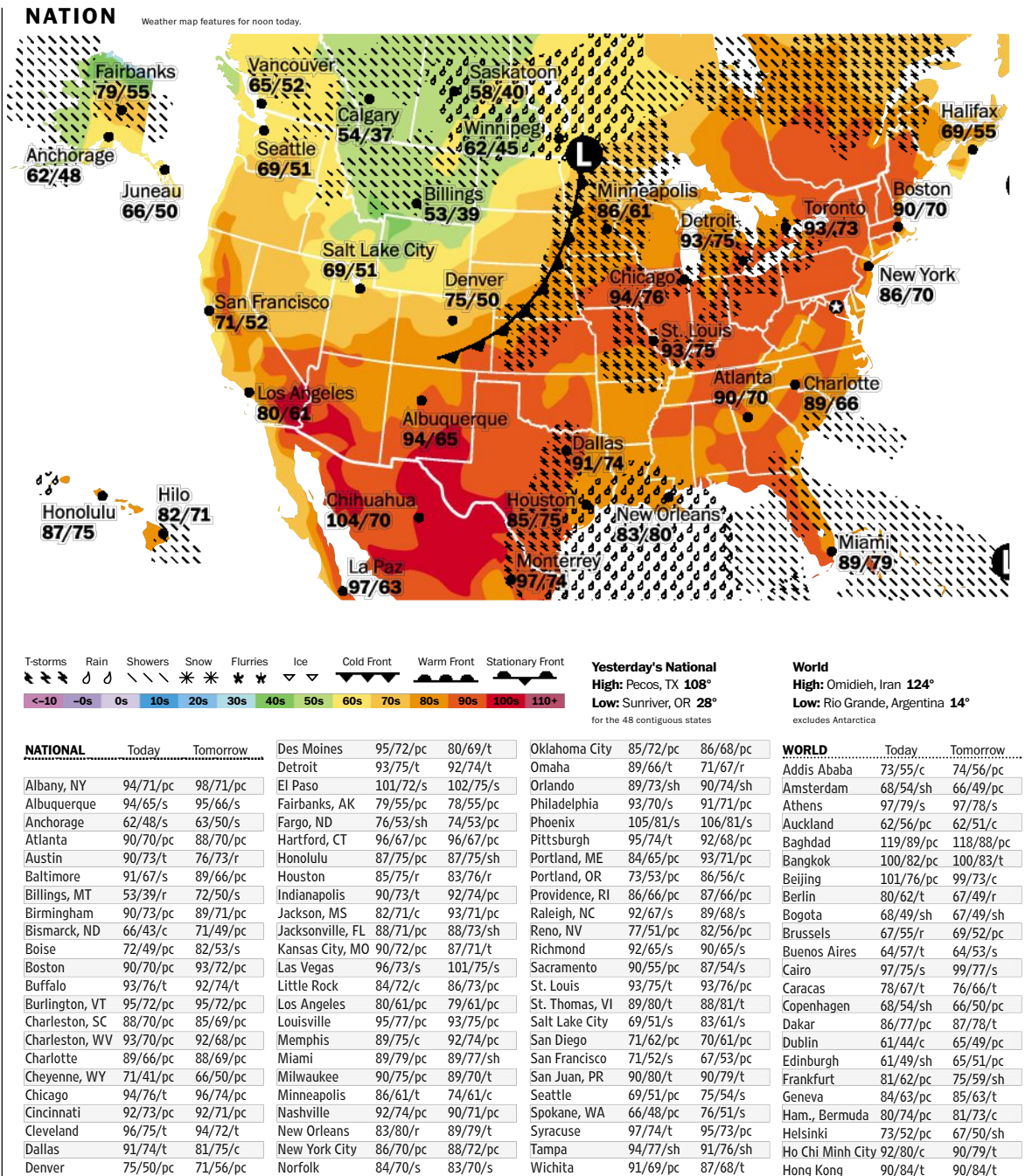
**Blue Ridge:** Today, mostly sunny. A morning thunderstorm in spots, then a thundershower in spots in southern parts; very warm, humid in northern parts. High 74 to 80. Winds south-southeast 6-12 mph. Tonight, clear to partly cloudy. Low 61 to 67.

**Atlantic beaches:** Today, abundant sunshine; humid in the north. High 80 to 84. Winds south 7-14 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 66 to 70. Winds south-southeast 6-12 mph. Wednesday, sunny. High 79 to 83. Winds south-southeast 6-12 mph. Thursday, partly sunny.

**Waterways:** *Upper Potomac River:* Today, sunny. Wind southeast 6-12 knots. Waves less than a foot. Visibility clear to the horizon. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, sunny. Wind southeast 7-14 knots. Waves 1-2 feet on the Lower Potomac and the Chesapeake Bay. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 3.00 feet today, rising to 3.10 Wednesday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

**Today's tides** (High tides in **Bold**)

	12:00 a.m.	6:06 a.m.	1:13 p.m.	6:36 p.m.
<b>Washington</b>				
<b>Annapolis</b>	3:35 a.m.	10:07 a.m.	2:45 p.m.	9:06 p.m.
<b>Ocean City</b>	5:17 a.m.	11:16 a.m.	5:47 p.m.	none
<b>Norfolk</b>	1:32 a.m.	7:23 a.m.	1:10 p.m.	7:47 p.m.
<b>Point Lookout</b>	6:25 a.m.	11:10 a.m.	4:37 p.m.	11:59 p.m.



### Moon Phases

Date	Phase
June 21	Full
June 28	Last Quarter
July 5	New
July 13	First Quarter

### Solar system

Planet	Rise	Set
Sun	5:42 a.m.	8:36 p.m.
Moon	5:36 p.m.	2:56 a.m.
Venus	5:59 a.m.	8:53 p.m.
Mars	2:53 a.m.	4:24 p.m.
Jupiter	4:20 a.m.	6:47 p.m.
Saturn	12:59 a.m.	12:26 p.m.

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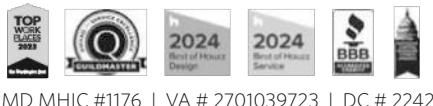
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ILLUSTRATION BY LAURA PADILLA CASTELLANOS/WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

FASHION

# TALL, RICH & DESIRED

Long the stereotype of uncool, ‘finance guy’ preppy is back in style, beckoning us with the trappings of success

BY RACHEL TASHJIAN

In late April, 27-year-old Megan Boni decided to poke fun at the state of dating in New York. Finance guys, she said in a recent interview, “smell really good. They bring a backpack on the date, or dress a bit nicer — preppy. And they’re *very* proud of the company they work at.” ¶ She took to TikTok. “I’m looking for a man in finance, with a trust fund, 6-5, blue eyes,” she bopped in a Valley Girl twang, adding that she may have made “the song of the summer.” ¶ “Make this into an actual song plz just for funzies,” she told her viewers. ¶ The results were more than funzies. Now, Boni says she’s made more than six figures from her 19-second joke, which has been viewed more than 47 million times and stitched endlessly, and has even quit her job as a salesperson at a sports apparel company. David Guetta remixed her vocals on top of the 2010 club hit “Like a G6.” She has a distribution deal with Capitol Records. “I really just tried to think about the most impossible traits to find,” she said. “It was satire.” ¶ And yet, she said, “if that guy asked me out, I would totally go out with him, just to see if he had a personality.”

SEE FASHION ON C3

APPRECIATION

## He put outlaw country on right side of the tracks

BY GEOFF EDGERS

On Wednesday night, two days before Jeremy Tepper died, he went to the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland to celebrate the psychobilly prankster Mojo Nixon. It was bittersweet. Twenty years ago, Tepper rescued Nixon from novelty-hit obscurity — a handful of 1980s cult tunes such as “Don Henley Must Die” and “Elvis Is Everywhere” — by hiring him as a host on Sirius XM’s Outlaw Country, a station dedicated to a wilder, swampier strain of country music than the formulaic party anthems about short shorts and pickup trucks that had taken over mainstream radio. As the channel’s popularity grew, the two became closer friends, as well as larger-than-life stalwarts on the perpetually sold-out Outlaw Country Cruise. But during this year’s voyage in February, Nixon died of a heart attack at age 66, just hours after delivering a typically blistering late-night performance. “Besides Mojo’s wife and sons, SEE APPRECIATION ON C2



JOE CORRIGAN/GETTY IMAGES

Jeremy Tepper, seen in 2011, hosted Sirius XM’s Outlaw Country station, which spotlighted a wilder, swampier strain of country music. Tepper died last week at 60 after a heart attack.

PERSPECTIVE

## Tonys offer the good, the bad and the lizardlike

BY NAVEEN KUMAR

Broadway’s biggest night borrowed a vibe from the Very Online to say “we are so back,” with a Tony Awards telecast that showcased an industry in full rebound. Celebrating a season packed with everything from jukebox juggernauts to prickly, provocative dramas, Tony voters spread accolades across a diverse array of shows, signaling an embrace of originality, ingenuity and love of the art form. “The Outsiders,” a gritty adaptation of the coming-of-age novel, nabbed best musical and a directing prize for Danya Taymor, whose production takes bold aesthetic swings with highly emo stakes. Two of the night’s other major victors are odes to the rapturous heartbreak of making art with people you love: Best play winner “Stereophonic,” about the tortured recording session of a Fleetwood Mac-type band; and best revival “Merrily We Roll Along,” George Furth and Stephen Sond-



CHARLES SYKES/INVISION/AP

Kara Young accepts her first Tony for best featured actress in a play for “Purlie Victorious.”

heim’s onetime flop about wide-eyed artists maturing into middle age. It’s a strong argument for the industry’s faith in its own future that stories about making music SEE PERSPECTIVE ON C2



# Broadway and the Tonys are so back

PERSPECTIVE FROM C1

and theater reigned victorious. Newcomers were crowned alongside veterans (like Maleah Joi Moon and Kecia Lewis, for playing opposite each other in “Hell’s Kitchen”), while production numbers sought to dazzle-dazzle ticket buyers at the culmination of a vibrant and varied season. Here are the best and worst moments from the night.

**Best: Third time’s a charm for Kara Young and Jonathan Groff**

Kara Young’s win for featured actress in “Purlie Victorious,” in which she played a determined woman roped into a wacky scheme, comes after she was nominated for both “Clyde’s” and “Cost of Living,” demonstrating an astonishing breadth of talent in three consecutive seasons. Young tearfully thanked her family and paid homage to Ruby Dee, who originated the role in 1961.

Jonathan Groff, nominated for playing a horny teen in “Spring Awakening” in 2007 and a cheeky king in “Hamilton” in 2016, finally won a Tony Award for playing someone not unlike himself: a dreamer who has grown into musical theater royalty, in “Merrily We Roll Along.” His honey-sweet speech included a tribute to his co-stars, fellow winner Daniel Radcliffe and nominee Lindsay Mendez.

**Best: Hollywood actors thanked the little people — and meant it**

Taking home best leading actor in a play for his not-unlike-Kendall-Roy turn in “An Enemy of the People,” Jeremy Strong thanked the ushers and front-of-house staff, who often see him looking like roadkill, he said. Radcliffe, accepting best featured actor in a musical for “Merrily We Roll Along,” thanked his longtime dresser.

**Worst: Eddie Redmayne’s black-gloved lizard hands**

New York City saw two of the gayest events of the year take place on Sunday: the Tony Awards and the fetish festival known as Folsom Street East. Eddie Redmayne’s elbow-length black gloves brought to mind scenes from the latter that upstaged the brief musical number from “Cabaret.” I’m an unapologetic fan of the divisive revival, but Redmayne’s emcee sticks out like a sore thumb, a steampunk Gollum lost in Weimar Berlin.

**Best: Plays and playwrights are properly showcased**

Tony-nominated musicals get to perform splashy production numbers — basically big commercials — but the Tonys have struggled in the past with how to convey (and advertise) straight plays. This year, clips were shown for each acting nominee (except, curiously or not, Jeremy Strong) and interview montages preceded the best play and best revival awards.

Branden Jacobs-Jenkins, winning best play revival for “Appropriate,” got sufficient time on the mic, thanking “Purlie Victorious” scribe Ossie Davis, whose legacy paved the way for the first-time Tony winner.

**Best: ‘Suffs’ packs a punch by keeping it simple**

The suffragist musical, for which Shaina Taub won two somewhat-surprise Tonys for best score and best book, was introduced by producer Hillary Clinton and performed the rousing, full-company number “Keep Marching.” Even without elaborate choreography, a medley of songs or a rain-soaked



CHARLES SYKES/INVISION/AP



THEO WARGO/GETTY IMAGES FOR TONY AWARDS PRODUCTIONS



BRENDAN MCDERMID/REUTERS

rumble (as good as the latter looked for “The Outsiders”), the performance from “Suffs” was the most stirring.

**Worst, but kind of the best: Swarms of producers beaming in remotely**

To address the growing number of commercial Broadway investors who plunk cash into shows

**TOP: Eddie Redmayne, Gayle Rankin and the company of “Cabaret” perform at the Tonys. MIDDLE: Shaina Taub and Jenna Bainbridge perform a number from “Suffs.” ABOVE: Alicia Keys and Maleah Joi Moon of “Hell’s Kitchen.”**

with the hopes of one day crowding the stage in person, Tony producers corralled them elsewhere to wave silently on like muted participants in a Zoom meeting. Oscars, take note.

**Best: Alicia Keys and Jay-Z ignite the crowd with ‘Empire State of Mind’**

“Hell’s Kitchen” may have lost the top prize after scoring the most nominations of any musical, but the show’s on-air performance undoubtedly packed the most sizzle, thanks to an arena-worthy performance by Alicia Keys and Jay-Z of “Empire State of Mind.”

That song haunts my every waking hour, blasting from the pedicabs that ferry tourists around my neighborhood of Hell’s Kitchen. But it resounded like an anthem — to a city that’s in the throes of bouncing back from dark times, and to a theater community doing the same.

**Worst: A lackluster opening number**

Ariana DeBose has become a Tony Awards MVP, returning to host with equal parts poise and sass for the third straight year. She knows you remember the cringe meme-ed ‘round the world that was her rap at last year’s BAFTAs, and joked about adapting it into a full-length musical (honestly, would watch!). She carried off the daunting task of emceeing unscripted during the WGA strike last year, and that opener sent her leaping down the lobby stairs and shimmying up the aisle.

By contrast, this year’s opener was tame, with lyrics that were tough to decipher and a “Cabaret”-light aesthetic that didn’t pop. DeBose looked fabulous, though, in a Bob Mackie minidress that screamed she was ready to audition for “The Prince of Egypt” on ice.

**Best: Everything you didn’t get to see**

The night’s earliest awards, for those die-hard enough to find them on Pluto TV, honored the industry’s unsung heroes — designers, orchestrators, book writers — who spouted the sort of flustered, unfiltered speeches you get from folks rarely in the spotlight.

Expressing disbelief that he was crying in front of so many people, Cody Spencer, sound design winner for “The Outsiders,” dropped an f-bomb. CJay Philip, a theater teacher honored with a special Tony, led the audience in a call-and-response to “let the light within you shine!” Amen to that.

# Radio host turned outlaw country into a way of life

APPRECIATION FROM C1

it was harder on Jeremy than anybody else,” said Steve Earle, the alt-country icon who talked to Tepper at least four times a week. “The only time I ever saw Jeremy perform, as a singer, was a Mojo song the week that Mojo died. We were still at sea, and Mojo was still on the boat, and Jeremy got on stage and killed it.”

Tepper’s enlisting of Nixon spoke to his understanding that outlaw country, as a musical subgenre, was dead if he focused only on the pioneers — Willie Nelson, Waylon Jennings, Billy Joe Shaver — who emerged in the 1970s as an antidote to Nashville’s slicker factory format.

That’s why recent cruises included the likes of the Waco Brothers, led by Welsh-born and sailor-capped Jon Langford, who bashed through energetic sets on the deck (including an unlikely collabo with reggae legend Lee “Scratch” Perry). In 2022, the year I went, there were surprises at every corner, from Linda Gail Lewis, the younger sister of Jerry Lee, to Shinyribs, a funky soul band from Austin.

And so for Tepper, it was a particularly important journey to the Rock Hall to see a new installation dedicated to Nixon last week. And then two days later, in New York, Tepper himself succumbed to a heart attack. He was 60.

Stunned colleagues, friends and fans — who had watched Tepper help turn a largely stagnant genre into a thriving brand and lifestyle — wonder what will happen now.

“When Mojo died, our little but mighty community knew the party would never be as good,” said Nixon’s longtime manager Scott Ambrose Reilly, a.k.a. “Bullethead.” “But with Jeremy’s death, everyone is worried the party will end.”

An unpretentious kingmaker who shied away from interviews, Tepper got into the business fronting a 1980s roots rock band (World Famous Blue Jays), dabbled in journalism (for Vending Times and Tower Records’s late magazine Pulse!) but found his true calling at Sirius XM.

Tepper was way more than a radio station program director. He was the great musical connector as he reinvented a format, a music lover who never missed a chance to sneak into a sold-out gig or fist-bump an aspiring artist who caught his ear. Now, in death, colleagues and other musicians see a hole as big as an 18-wheeler in the community he created.

“It’s not just that he was important,” says country-music historian and podcaster Tyler Mahan Coe. “I cannot see how so many of the things he started will be able to continue in the same way. He wasn’t even just integral to those things, they were actually an extension of him as a person. None of that s--- would make sense to anyone else as a thing that can be done until you saw Jeremy do it.”

Over the weekend, Tepper’s reach was amplified by the tributes that circulated once his wife, singer Laura Cantrell, announced that he was gone. Commentators included Earle, Stevie Van Zandt, Elvis Costello and Tanya Tucker.

Some of the fondest tributes, though, came from lesser-known figures such as Reilly and Eric “Roscoe” Ambel, a journeyman guitarist and producer, who were both with Tepper in Cleveland last week.

“His tent was giant and his tent was inclusive of anybody who would be a good performer or a good audience member,” Reilly said. “It was a very curated circus, but it was giant and packed with thousands of people.”

In another lifetime, Ambel — who broke into music playing guitar for Joan Jett — might have been another Tom Petty. Regarded as a genius by a small and discerning community of musicians, he never did get his commercial breakthrough. But that didn’t matter to Tepper, who elevated him to something like star status on the Outlaw Country Cruise — and treated Ambel better than he had ever been treated in a 40-year career.

“There’s no real distinction between the absolute top-tier,” Ambel told me on the cruise two years ago. “This artist pass gets you in anywhere you want to go. As a professional musician, even if you’re on a big festival, you never get to see this.”

Now, there is both intense sadness over Tepper’s loss and fear of what happens to all he created, from the radio station to its cruise to the loose community of talents that orbited him.

Nobody saw more concerts than Tepper, said Earle, who just went to a Neil Young show with him this summer, and who praised his friend’s intense dedication to his radio programming.

“He was responsible for every note of music that came out from Monday to Friday, and I don’t know what we’re going to do,” said Earle. “I just know no one can replace Jeremy.”



THOMAS E. MILLER

**Jeremy Tepper, right, and guitarist Eric “Roscoe” Ambel last week at the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame’s new Mojo Nixon exhibit.**

# Does aging make a person less gracious — or just better at setting boundaries?



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

**Dear Carolyn:** I sometimes worry that with age, I may be less gracious, diplomatic, deferential than

when I was younger. I think some of this is just that I have more experience now, am more comfortable in my own skin, and feel more comfortable setting boundaries, telling the truth, saying no, etc. When I was younger, I would bend over backward to try to accommodate others, and I am no longer as accommodating as I once was.

My brother told me he has noticed that I have changed over time, and that I am not as sweet as I once was. I don’t want to be unpleasant, but I also think I am happier now than when I was the family doormat. What should I do to make sure I am not becoming unpleasant?

— Not As Nice



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Not As Nice:** You can be sweet, gracious and diplomatic without being deferential or accommodating. They’re not mutually exclusive. So, if you don’t want to become unpleasant or be a doormat,

then keep saying no to stuff you want to say no to, and make an effort on the non-doormatty aspects of kindness. Warm demeanor, kind words, fairness, good listening, all that good stuff. All still possible with a

functional spine.

That is, if you want that, obviously. You can also just be on the flinty side without apology, because that’s fine, too, as long as you’re not cruel.

And next time your brother

says you’re not as sweet as you once were, say, “No, my dear bro, I’m still as sweet as freaking pie — I’m just not a pushover. They’re two different things.”

They may need to hear that, if “sweet” to them just means you always let them get their way.

In my experience, and in a lot of letters I receive, it’s pretty common for people to put up a fair amount of resistance when their most reliable pushovers learn to stand up for themselves.

**Hi, Carolyn:** I’ve been cut off from a lot of people in recent years. My husband’s and my jobs are now remote permanently, and we welcomed a baby in 2020. My main interaction with other humans takes place at work or with family, and with close friends who mostly have young children, so we’re sharing challenges and getting real about things like potty training.

We recently traveled to a family wedding, and I realized my social filter is a bit off — nothing terribly egregious, but I

found myself thinking “Well, that was weird to say” a couple of times. How can I practice recalibrating my social filter?

— Filter Needs a Tuneup

**Filter Needs a Tuneup:** Go out as you have the energy to (ha), circulate more among more types of friends again and say weird stuff for a while till you get back in shape.

If there’s a better way, then I’m going to be really mad no one shared it with me 50 years ago.

A reader’s thought: • I, for one, love that we’re all kind of letting our freak flags fly after a few years of isolation. It was SO hard pre-pandemic to pretend to be “normal,” whatever that is. I hope we never go back.

Write to Carolyn Hax at [tellme@washpost.com](mailto:tellme@washpost.com). Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at [wapo.st/getthax](http://wapo.st/getthax).

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at [washingtontimes.com/livechats](http://washingtontimes.com/livechats).



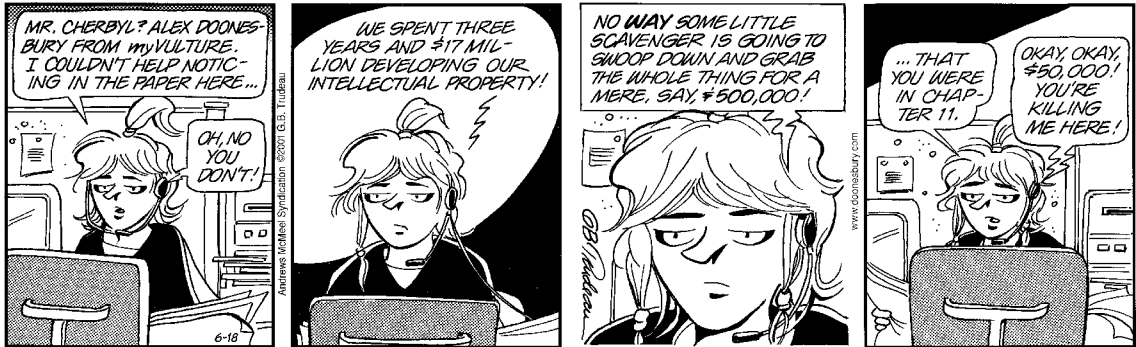








CLASSIC DOONESBURY



BRIDGE

NEITHER SIDE VULNERABLE

**NORTH**

♠ 10 8 6 5 4  
♥ Q 8 6 4 3  
♦ 10 5  
♣ 4

**WEST**

♠ 7  
♥ K 10 5  
♦ Q 8 4 3  
♣ Q 10 3

**EAST (D)**

♠ A  
♥ A 9 7 2  
♦ A 1 7 6  
♣ A K 8 2

**SOUTH**

♠ K Q J 9 3 2  
♥ None  
♦ K 2  
♣ J 9 7 6 5

**The bidding:**

EAST	SOUTH	WEST	NORTH
2 NT(!)	3 ♣	3 NT	4 ♠

Dbl All Pass  
Opening lead — ♣ 7

Bridge on college campuses is making a major comeback, bolstered by ACBL programs and the efforts of dedicated volunteers. Young players are learning to appreciate the attractions of the game, and college events are gaining in popularity.

Many students attended the ACBL's Spring NABC. In today's deal from a pairs event, North-South were Rahul Garga and R.E. Stern, from the University of Chicago Bridge Club.

Junior players are known for fearless bidding, and when East opened 2NT, Stern climbed right in with three spades. West bid 3NT, but Garga went to four spades.

East doubled that, though he might have reasoned that opponents who had bid to the skies with no high cards to speak of surely knew something about the distribution that he didn't. (I won't say, though I am tempted to, that anybody who opens 2NT as East deserves whatever happens to him.)

West sat for the double and led a trump, but Stern had no trouble wrapping up 10 tricks, scoring his king of diamonds plus nine trump tricks with a crossruff.

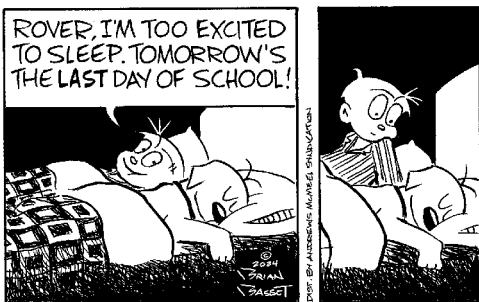
DAILY QUESTION

You hold:  
♠ 7 ♥ K J 10 5  
♦ Q 9 8 4 3 ♣ Q 10 3  
Neither vulnerable. Your partner opens one club, and the next player bids one spade. You double (negative), the player at your left bids two spades, and two passes follow. What do you say?

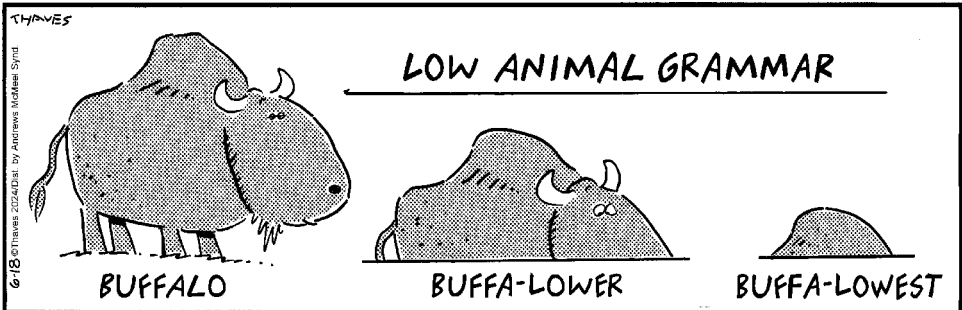
**ANSWER:** Partner may have four decent spades, and you may have no good trump suit. Still, I would be reluctant to let the opponents play at the two level. Take a chance and double again. You hope partner won't pass, thinking you have more defense.

— Frank Stewart  
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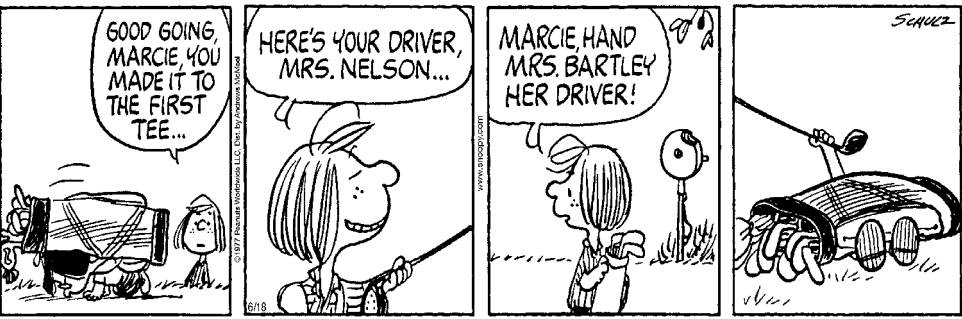
RED AND ROVER



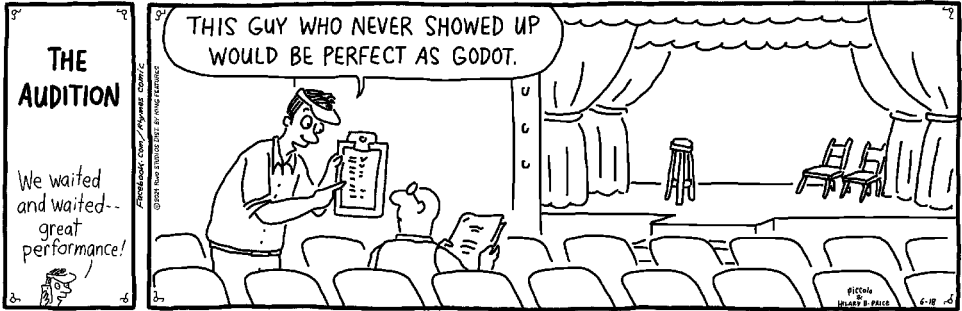
FRANK AND ERNEST



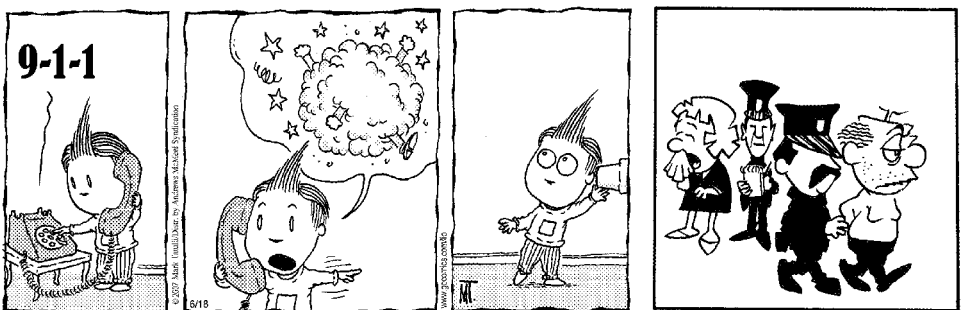
CLASSIC PEANUTS



RHYMES WITH ORANGE



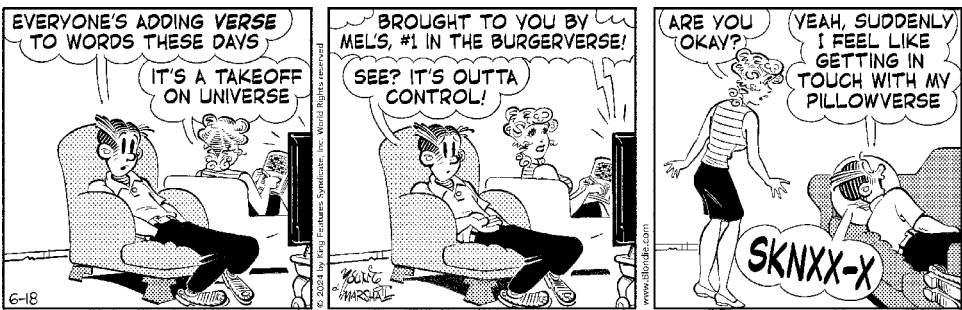
LIO



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

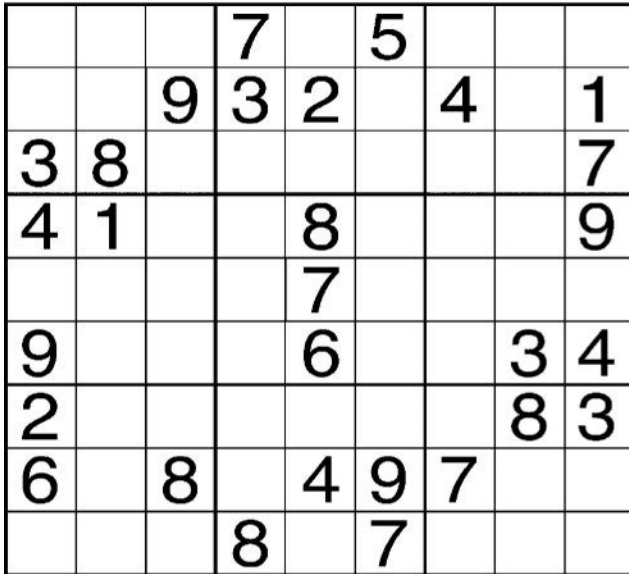


BLONDIE



SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.



DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★☆☆☆



**CLUE**

1. Leash  
2. Fragment, remnant  
3. Do without  
4. Receive, welcome

**ANSWER**

RTHTTE  
DSARH  
RGOFO  
PTCAEC

**CLUE**

1. \_\_\_ paper  
2. \_\_\_ camera  
3. Sanction, favor  
4. News \_\_\_

**ANSWER**

STIUSE  
FICTFAR  
EEOSDNR  
RTEPRO

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS

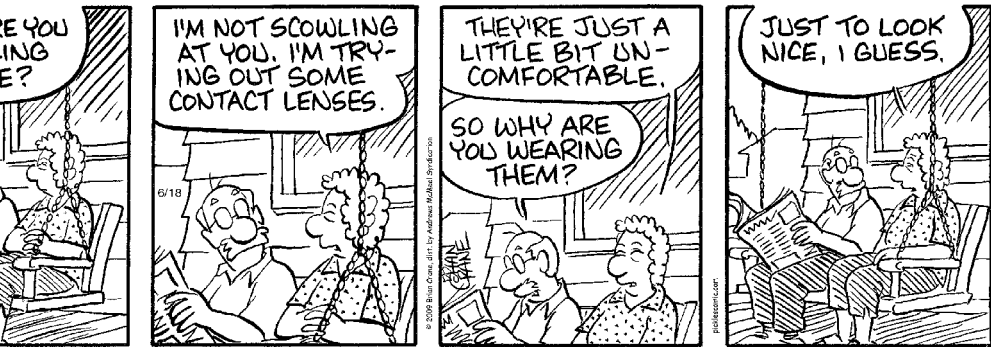
How to play  
Complete the crossword puzzle by looking at the clues and unscrambling the answers. When the puzzle is complete, unscramble the circled letters to solve the BONUS.

**BONUS**

**CLUE:** The \_\_\_ was introduced in Europe in 1998 and then in the U.S. in 1999.

Send comments to TCA, 560 W. Grand Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60654 or DLHoy@HoyInteractiveMedia.com

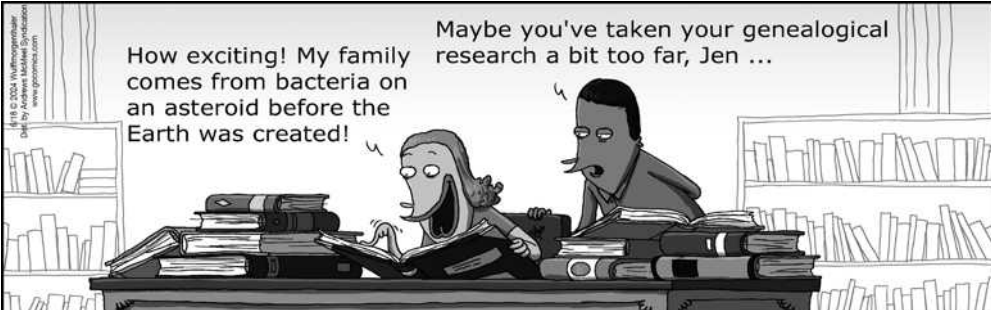
PICKLES



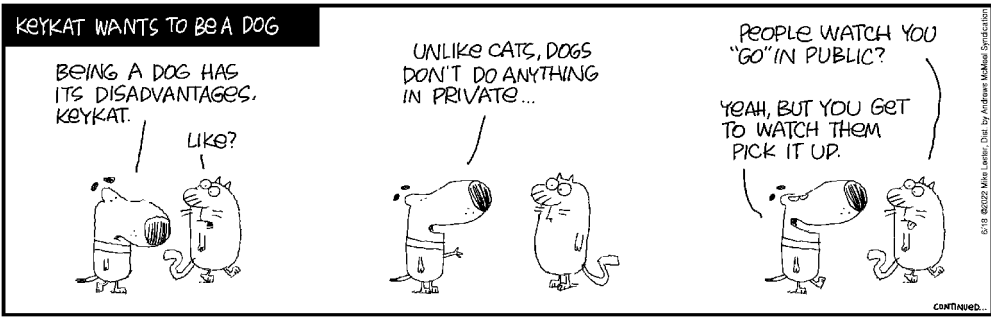
AGNES



WUMO



MIKE DU JOUR



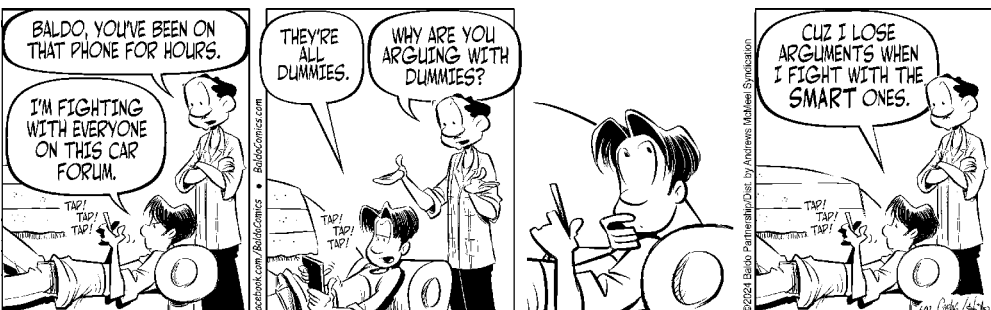
MARK TRAIL



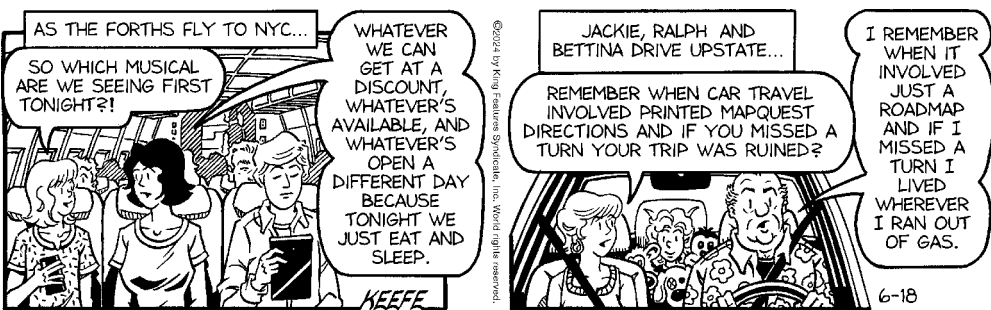
MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



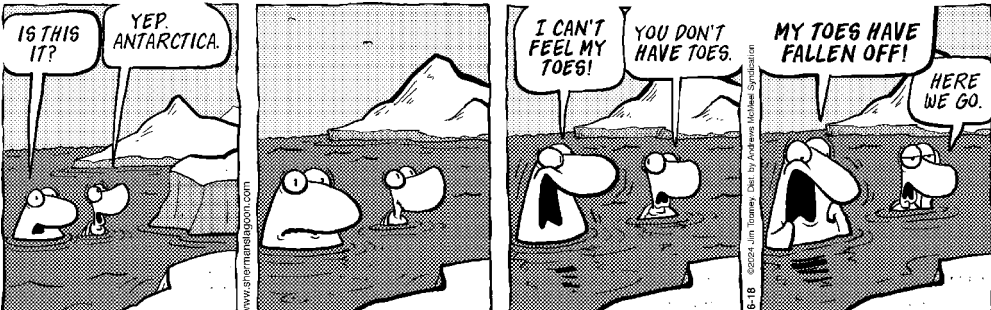
BALDO



SALLY FORTH



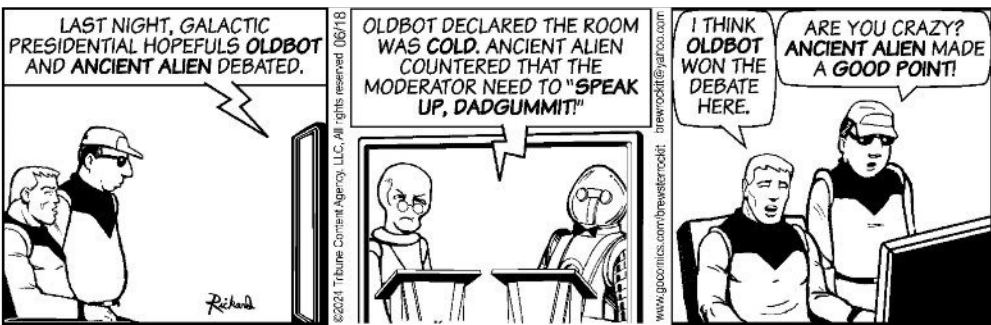
SHERMAN'S LAGOON



CURTIS



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!





MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL



ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN



**BIRTHDAY | JUNE 18**  
You are charming, passionate and adventurous. You want life to be interesting! You are serious about your profession. This year holds exciting changes and increased personal freedom. Be flexible so you can go with the flow and seek out new opportunities.

**Moon Alert:** There are no restrictions to shopping or important decisions today. The Moon is in Scorpio.

**ARIES**  
(MARCH 21-APRIL 19). Because you're in a practical frame of mind today, dealing with shared property, taxes, debt, insurance issues and the wealth and resources of someone else is a good choice. You won't hesitate to speak up.

**TAURUS**  
(APRIL 20-MAY 20). A discussion with someone older or more experienced might take place today. If so, listen. They have some helpful advice for you. (Hey, you don't have to reinvent the wheel.) It could pertain to financial matters, because money is definitely on your mind right now.

**GEMINI**  
(MAY 21-JUNE 20). This will be a productive day. You're motivated to work and you're in a relatively sensible frame of mind. (I say relatively because it's possible to fall for an enticing idea that looks better than it actually is.)

**CANCER**  
(JUNE 21-JULY 22). This is a useful day for you. If you take the time to practice something or hone a skill perhaps related to sports or the performing arts, you'll make excellent progress!

**LEO**  
(JULY 23-AUG. 22). A discussion with a parent or an older family member might take place today. It could benefit you in terms of inheritances, estates or practical or financial help. With Mars at the top of your chart, you're ambitious about exploring opportunities, which is a good thing.

**VIRGO**  
(AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). You're in a practical frame of mind today, which is why you will be able to work with details or do routine work that you might normally avoid. Discussions with others will be serious, but hopefully practical in a way that is helpful to you.

**LIBRA**  
(SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). Travel appeals to you! Meanwhile, discussions with bosses will be favorable because you make a great impression on others. Nevertheless, today your focus is on practical purchases as well as sensible ways to boost your earnings.

**SCORPIO**  
(OCT. 23-NOV. 21). Today the Moon is in your sign dancing favorably with Saturn, which will give you a sober, realistic view of life. It also means you're willing to put up with minor difficulties with patience.

**SAGITTARIUS**  
(NOV. 22-DEC. 21). If you can, seek out privacy and pleasant surroundings. This will appeal to you today. Or you might enjoy a walk in nature by yourself. (You like being outdoors.) Possibly, you will take a nap.

**CAPRICORN**  
(DEC. 22-JAN. 19). Someone, probably a female acquaintance, who is older or more experienced than you might have good advice for you today. Whatever they say might cause you to rethink your future goals, especially if you see a more practical or efficient approach.

**AQUARIUS**  
(JAN. 20-FEB. 18). You're high-viz today, which means people notice you more than usual. In turn, you might be more concerned with financial matters and settling things the way you want them to be.

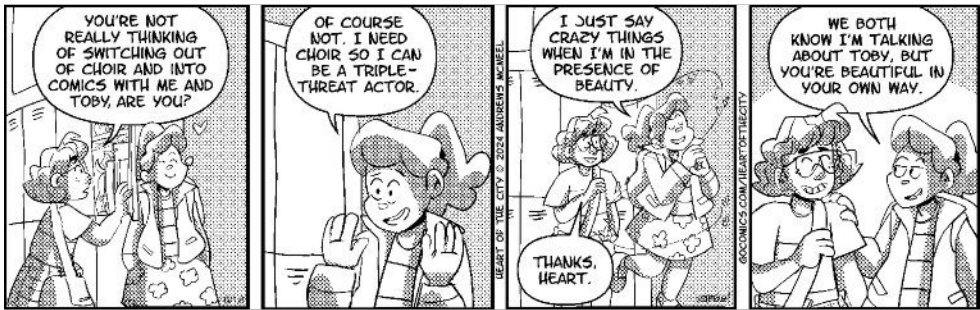
**PISCES**  
(FEB. 19-MARCH 20). This is a good day to study or write. You might finish a project, a book or a manuscript. Because you have the patience to deal with detailed work, you might want to make travel plans for the future.

— Georgia Nicols

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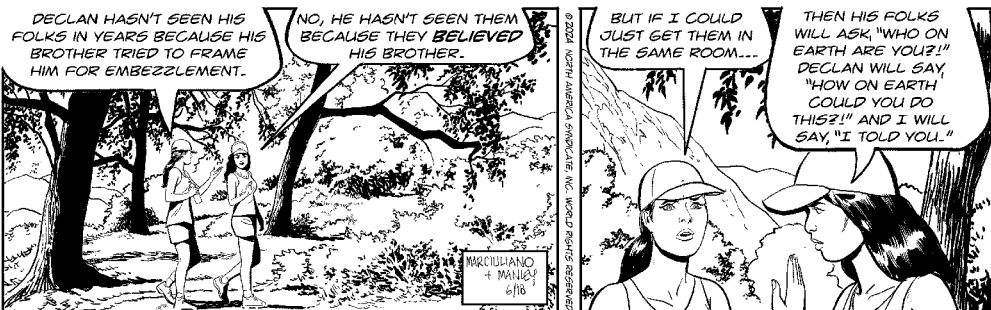
HEART OF THE CITY

STEENZ



JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY



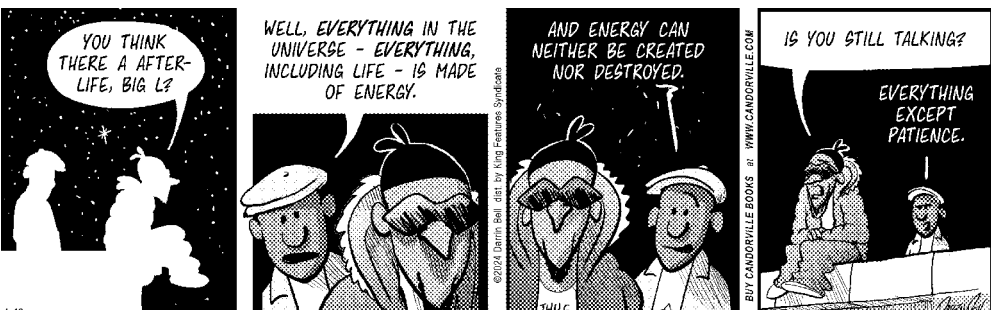
FRAZZ

JEFF MALLET



CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL



GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS



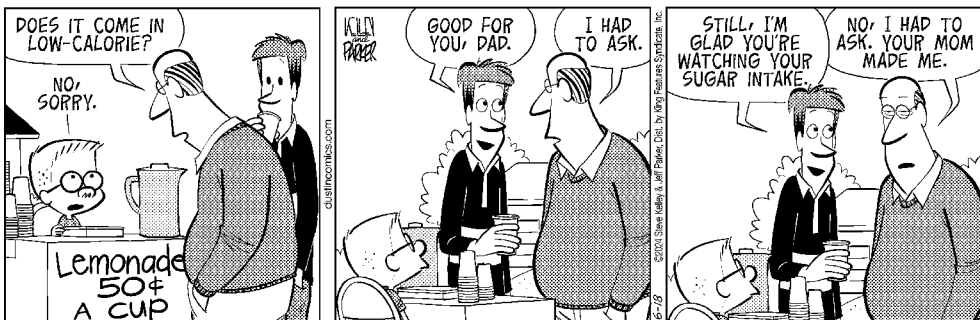
BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK



DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER



FLASH GORDON

DAN SCHKADE



PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS

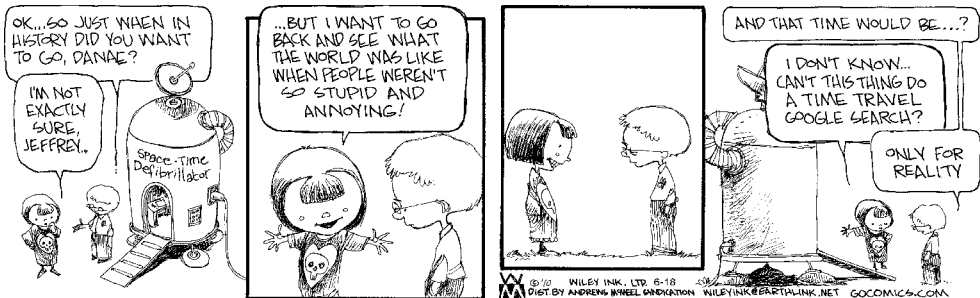


DAVE BLAZEK



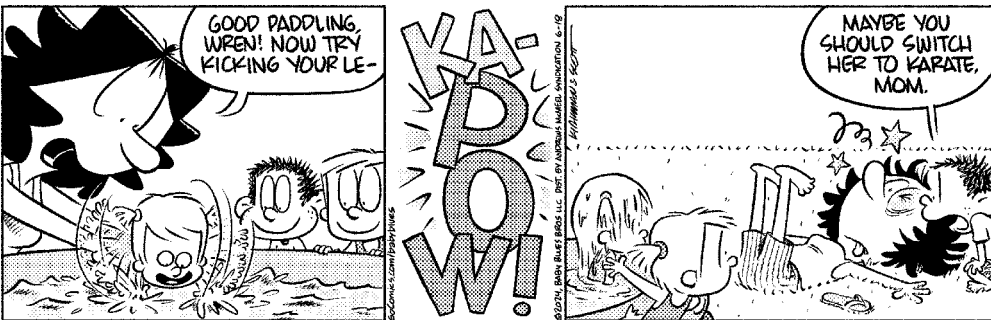
NON SEQUITUR

WILEY



BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT



BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE



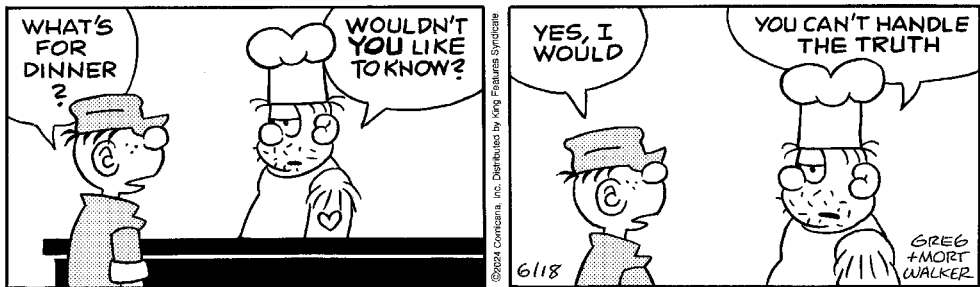
ON THE FASTTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK



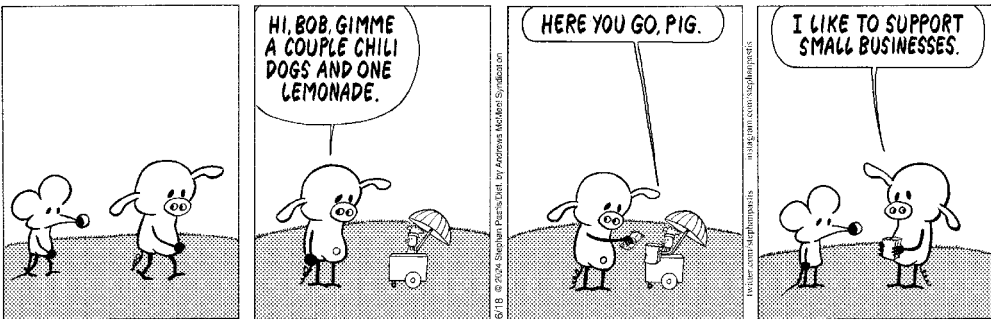
BEEBLE BAILEY

GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS



PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

5	4	9	1	8	6	2	7	3
6	8	2	3	7	4	9	1	5
7	3	1	9	5	2	6	8	4
4	7	8	6	2	1	3	5	9
2	6	3	5	9	8	7	4	1
1	9	5	4	3	7	8	2	6
3	1	7	2	6	5	4	9	8
9	2	4	8	1	3	5	6	7
8	5	6	7	4	9	1	3	2

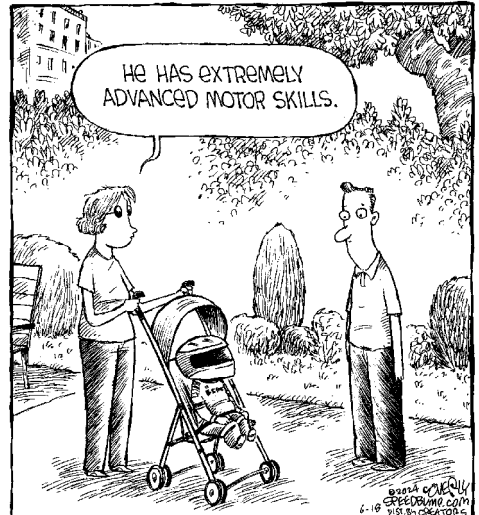
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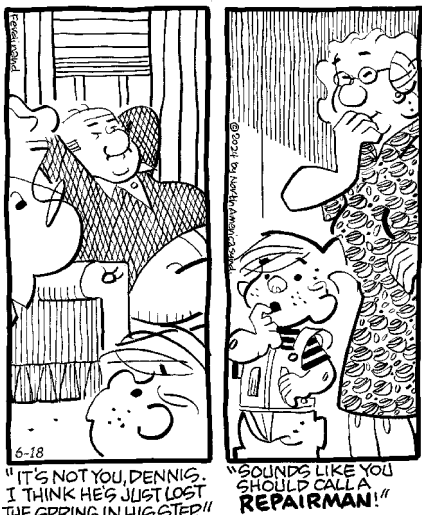
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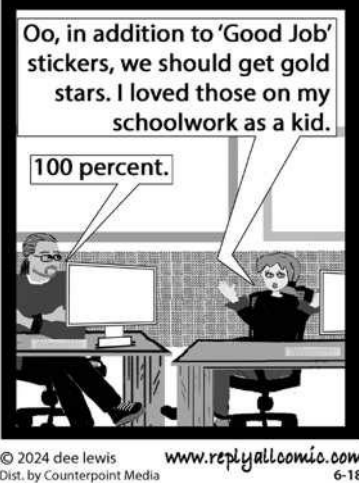


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DONNA A. LEWIS





Gamblers’ heckling is golf’s new soundtrack

At U.S. Open, spectators placed wagers on players, then cheered and jeered

BY DANNY FUNT

PINEHURST, N.C. — Bryson DeChambeau spent much of the U.S. Open smiling toward his boisterous fans as they hollered words of encouragement. On the No. 9 tee box Saturday, the cheering died down for a moment while he stretched a nagging right hip. Then one spectator’s voice boomed out.

“Hey, Bryson! I’ve got a hundred bucks on you to shoot over 70.5 today!”

This time, DeChambeau was stone-faced. The heckler, a man named Lee Woody holding two cans of White Claw hard seltzer, seemed pleased when DeChambeau missed the green on the par 3.

“There’s a line, and I dip my toes in there a little bit,” Woody said of his taunting. He had wagered another \$100 through FanDuel on Hideki Matsuyama to shoot *under* 71.5 that day. “He’s

SEE BETTING ON D5

DeChambeau is a big phony. And nothing like Stewart.



**Sally Jenkins**

The wrong guy won the U.S. Open. It happens sometimes. The better golfer from tee to green — and the stronger man of character — was not Bryson DeChambeau. His bravny-armed slap hugs and audience pandering to beery bro chants of “USA!” shouldn’t obscure the fact that he took Saudi blood money from a terrorism-financier government or that he stumble-lucked into a victory on one of the few courses in the world, Pinehurst No. 2, that would forgive his erratic thrashing off the tee.

One great shot from a bunker to the 18th green — and credit due, it was great — is not the measure of someone’s moral constitution, and neither was that three-putt by Rory McIlroy.

SEE JENKINS ON D5

**SOCCER**

At the Euros, France holds off Austria, 1-0, in its group play opener but loses star forward Kylian Mbappé. **D2**

**HOCKEY**

The Panthers, up 3-1 in the Stanley Cup finals, are home for Game 5 hoping to learn from a loss. **D3**

**SWIMMING**

In a sport that regularly rewards youth, a trio of Olympic veterans rule the night in Indianapolis. **D6**



ADAM GLANZMAN/GETTY IMAGES

CELTICS 106, MAVERICKS 88: Jayson Tatum (31 points) lifts the Larry O’Brien trophy Monday as Boston breaks a tie with the Lakers by winning NBA title No. 18.

The elite 18

Boston reclaims mark for most NBA titles by dismantling Dallas; Brown named Finals MVP

BY BEN GOLLIVER

BOSTON — The Boston Celtics saw 16 years of accumulated playoff pressure lifted in one glorious instant.

For the first four games of the NBA Finals, the Celtics couldn’t dial in their three-point offense. Open shots rimmed off; contested shots completely missed the rim. But shortly before halftime of Monday’s Game 5 against the Dallas Mavericks, backup guard Payton Pritchard pulled up from behind midcourt and swished in a buzzer-beating heave.

Pritchard had made little impact in the series, save for a similar heave in Game 2. When he stepped into his latest prayer, the TD Garden crowd rose in anticipation

**11**  
Opponents held under 100 points in 19 games

**.792**  
Winning percentage for the Celtics, regular season and playoffs

**52**  
Combined points for Jaylen Brown and Jayson Tatum in Game 5

and then roared its approval. The Celtics, certain now that the night and season belonged to them, ran away from the Mavericks with a 106-88 victory to secure their record-setting 18th championship, breaking a tie with the Los Angeles Lakers, their chief rival. The title is Boston’s first since 2008 following Finals losses in 2010 and 2022. Jaylen Brown was named Finals MVP.

“It was a whole team effort,” Brown said. “I’m grateful for every moment and every opportunity.”

Boston’s clinching victory capped one of the most dominant seasons in recent years. The Celtics went 80-21 overall — 64-18 in the regular season and 16-3 in the

SEE NBA FINALS ON D3

Herz’s secret: Remember to breathe

Nats rookie found success on mound by learning to control his emotions

BY SPENCER NUSBAUM

Before DJ Herz was the 23-year-old cross-firing lefty with the Washington Nationals, he was a 22-year-old who needed a new message on his glove.

The rookie, acquired from the Chicago Cubs at the trade deadline in 2023 and promoted to Washington in early June after Trevor Williams landed on the injured list, had experimented with different stitching before. In 2022, he paid homage to his

favorite wide receiver, Steve Smith Sr., by getting “Ice up, son,” inscribed on the thumb of his glove. The next season, it became “Herz Day,” a moniker for his start days.

Before spring training this year, it was down to one word: “Breathe.”

On Saturday, as Herz delivered the best start by a Washington Nationals rookie since Stephen Strasburg, two people watched the lefty with that message in mind. Sam Guy, his former high

school coach, watched on a TV in North Carolina. His dad, John Herz, looked on from Section 119 behind home plate at Nationals Park. In separate phone interviews, both mentioned they were “on cloud nine” as Herz turned in six scoreless innings with one hit, no walks and 13 strikeouts against Miami.

Both had a good look at Herz’s

SEE NATIONALS ON D3

**Diamondbacks at Nationals**  
6:45 p.m., MASN2



SCOTT TAETSCH/GETTY IMAGES

DJ Herz, who struck out 13 and didn’t walk a batter Saturday against the Marlins, has the word “breathe” stitched into his glove.

WEEKDAY SERIES

JUNE 18-20

vs ARIZONA  
DIAMONDBACKS

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# THE DAY IN SPORTS

## COLLEGE FOOTBALL

### Ex-LSU coach Miles sues over vacated wins

**Les Miles**, who coached the LSU football team to the 2007 national championship, is suing the university over its decision to vacate 37 of his teams' victories from 2012 to 2015.

The lawsuit, filed Monday in federal court in Baton Rouge, alleges LSU never gave Miles a chance to be heard before altering the coach's record significantly enough to disqualify him from consideration for the College Football Hall of Fame.

"Les was given no right to be heard, or even advance notice of LSU's actions, despite LSU being a state-owned and state-run institution that is bound by constitutional safeguards," Miles's lawyer, **Peter Ginsberg**, said in a statement.

The decision in June 2023 to vacate the victories stemmed from an NCAA ruling that former Tigers offensive lineman **Vadal Alexander** received financial benefits that violated NCAA rules.

The lawsuit also names the NCAA and the College Football Hall of Fame as defendants, and it demands they reinstate the vacated victories to Miles's official record. LSU spokesman **Michael Bonnette** said the university was "not able to comment on pending litigation." The other defendants did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Vacating the victories changed Miles's career record from 145-73 (.665) to 108-73 (.597). The lawsuit notes that a .600 winning percentage is required to qualify for the College Football Hall of Fame.

## COLLEGES

### Caglianone's homer sets Florida record

Two-way star **Jac Caglianone** broke the Florida baseball team's single-season home run record to give his school the lead an inning after he struggled on the mound, and the Gators eliminated North Carolina State from the College World Series with a 5-4 victory in Omaha.

Florida (35-29) advanced to face Kentucky in another elimination game Tuesday. N.C. State (38-23) went 0-2 in the CWS for the first time.

Caglianone, a projected top-five pick in next month's MLB draft because of his bat, labored through a 33-pitch first inning. The 6-foot-5, 250-pound left-hander hit a batter and walked two to load the bases, gave up **Brandon Butterworth**'s RBI single and then got a strikeout and a flyout to limit the damage.

Coach **Kevin O'Sullivan** opted to remove Caglianone for **Cade Fisher** but said during an in-game interview with ESPN that Caglianone's problem was related to fatigue, not an injury.

Caglianone stayed in the game as the designated hitter. N.C. State starter **Dominic Fritton** struck him out on three pitches in the first inning, but in the second Caglianone drilled a low fastball over the fence in right-center field for a three-run homer, his 34th, and a 4-1 lead. ...

Texas A&M scored all of its runs in the sixth inning, **Ryan Prager** held Kentucky hitless into the seventh, and the Aggies secured their best start in the College World Series with a 5-1 win.

The Aggies (51-13) are 2-0 in the CWS for the first time in eight appearances and have taken control of Bracket 2. They will await the winner of a Tuesday elimination game between Florida and Kentucky (46-15) in the bracket final Wednesday.

They would have to lose twice to be kept out of the best-of-three finals. ...

**Mike Cragg** is out as the athletic director at St. John's in what the school described as a mutual parting.

Cragg took over the role in 2018 and hired **Rick Pitino** as the men's basketball coach last year. St. John's, which hasn't received an NCAA tournament bid since 2019, went 20-13 and rejected an NIT invitation in Pitino's first season.

## OLYMPICS

### Sabalenka and Jabeur will skip Paris Games

Australian Open champion **Aryna Sabalenka** and two-time Wimbledon finalist **Ons Jabeur** ruled themselves out of the Paris Olympics. Each top-10 player said she didn't want to switch from grass at Wimbledon back to clay at Roland Garros for the

Olympic tournament and then immediately start the hard-court season in North America.

Third-ranked Sabalenka of Belarus said she would rather take a break. World No. 10 Jabeur of Tunisia said on social media that not being able to play at a fourth consecutive Olympics was unfortunate. ...

**Corey Connors** found the fairway and the green on the final hole of the U.S. Open, a closing par at Pinehurst No. 2 that landed him in the Olympics for Canada for the second time.

The Official World Golf Ranking published after the U.S. Open was used to determine the 60 players for the men's competition Aug. 1-4 at Le Golf National. For the Americans, Masters champion **Scottie**

**Scheffler**, the No. 1 player in the world, is set to make his Olympic debut alongside defending gold medalist **Xander Schauffele**, 2023 U.S. Open champion **Wyndham Clark** and two-time major champion **Collin Morikawa**. Each country is allowed two players, with a maximum of four if all are in the top 15.

Connors will join **Nick Taylor** for Canada, and **Jon Rahm** will make his debut for Spain.

## PRO FOOTBALL

### Bengals' Higgins signs, but future is uncertain

Cincinnati Bengals wide receiver **Tee Higgins** signed his franchise tender for 2024, but his

long-term future with the team remains in doubt.

The fifth-year wideout received the franchise tag in February and didn't participate in recent team workouts, including last week's three-day minicamp. Higgins will make \$21.8 million — the franchise tag value for wide receivers this season — meaning the Bengals will have at least one more season with **Ja'Marr Chase** and Higgins as one of the NFL's top wideout duos, with a healthy **Joe Burrow** throwing to them.

If Higgins, 25, and the Bengals cannot agree to a long-term deal by July 15, he can become a free agent in March.

A second-round draft pick in 2020, Higgins has 257 catches for 3,684 yards and 24 touchdowns

in his career. ...

NFL Commissioner **Roger Goodell** reiterated during testimony in federal court in Los Angeles that the league's "Sunday Ticket" package, the subject of a class-action lawsuit, is a premium product while also defending the league's broadcast model.

Goodell was called as a witness by the NFL as the trial for the lawsuit filed by "Sunday Ticket" subscribers entered its third week. He was on the stand for nearly four hours.

"We have been clear throughout that it is a premium product — not just on pricing but quality," Goodell said during cross-examination. "Fans make that choice whether they wanted it or not. I'm sure there were fans

who said it was too costly."

The class-action suit, which covers 2.4 million residential subscribers and 48,000 businesses that paid for the package from 2011 to 2022, claims the league broke antitrust laws by selling its package of out-of-market Sunday games at an inflated price. The subscribers say the league restricted competition by offering "Sunday Ticket" only on a satellite provider.

The NFL maintains it has the right to sell "Sunday Ticket" under its antitrust exemption for broadcasting. The plaintiffs say that only covers over-the-air broadcasts, not pay TV.

If the NFL is found liable, a jury could award \$7 billion in damages, but that could balloon to \$21 billion because antitrust cases can triple damages.

## PRO BASKETBALL

### Commissioner's Cup title game gets moved

The New York Liberty will play the Commissioner's Cup championship game June 25 against the Minnesota Lynx at UBS Arena on Long Island because the NBA draft will make Barclays Center unavailable, the WNBA announced.

The draft is the next night, and there wouldn't be enough time to change over the arena. The Liberty has back-to-back games June 22 and 23, so moving the game up a day wouldn't work, either.

Liberty officials knew this could be a conflict in December and informed the league at the time. When it clinched home-court advantage, the Liberty offered to play its regular season game against the Lynx on July 2 at Barclays Center as the Commissioner's Cup title game, a person familiar with the situation told the Associated Press. The Lynx declined that option, forcing the game to be moved. ...

Las Vegas tourism chief **Steve Hill** said he will interview Tuesday with the lead investigator who is examining whether WNBA rules were broken when his group offered sponsorship deals to Las Vegas Aces players.

Hill announced to the players in May that they would receive a \$100,000 sponsorship each of the next two years from the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority. The WNBA hired a law firm, Kobre & Kim, to investigate whether its salary cap rules were circumvented. Founding partner **Steven Kobre** is leading that investigation.

Hill said the tourism authority did everything according to the WNBA's policies, including working independently of the Aces to arrange the sponsorship agreements.

He said "a handful" of the contract drafts sent to player agents were signed.

## HOCKEY

### Blue Jackets dismiss Vincent after one year

The Columbus Blue Jackets fired coach **Pascal Vincent** after one season in which they were one of the NHL's worst teams.

New general manager **Don Waddell** announced the firing and said the search for a new coach would begin immediately. The Blue Jackets finished last in the Metropolitan Division with a 27-43-12 record and 66 points.

Vincent joined the team before last season as an associate head coach but was elevated after new coach **Mike Babcock** resigned after his requests to see personal photos on his players' phones was deemed to be invasive.

## MISC.

### Ramos won't return to Sevilla next season

Defender **Sergio Ramos** will not be back with Sevilla next season, the Spanish soccer club announced.

Sevilla said the 38-year-old told the club he did not intend to extend his contract, which ended after this season. ...

In London, **Milos Raonic** delivered a record 47 aces and saved two match points while beating **Cameron Norrie**, 6-7 (8-6), 6-3, 7-6 (11-9), in the first round at Queen's Club.

Raonic's 47 aces were the most in a three-set match on the ATP Tour since 1991, when the stat became official. The record had been 45 by **Ivo Karlovic** against **Tomas Berdych** in 2015.

**Frances Tiafoe** retired after taking a nasty fall while trailing Australian qualifier **Rinky Hijikata**, 7-5, 4-6, 1-0.

— From news services



ANDREEA ALEXANDRU/ASSOCIATED PRESS

France's Kylian Mbappé gathers himself after taking a blow to the nose during a European Championship match Monday.

# Mbappé exits France's opener with injury

## ASSOCIATED PRESS

Kylian Mbappé's facial injury suffered in France's 1-0 win against Austria on Monday put in doubt whether he will continue to play at the European Championship.

An aerial head-on-shoulder collision with Austria's Kevin Danso left Mbappé curled up on the field with his nose bloodied late in the Group D game in Düsseldorf, Germany.

"It is still to be seen," France Coach Didier Deschamps said. "I cannot at this stage give the answer [on whether Mbappé will be ruled out]."

Mbappé is widely considered the heir to Lionel Messi and Cristiano Ronaldo as the best player in the world. He will wear the famous white jersey of Real Madrid

## FRANCE 1, AUSTRIA 0

### Real Madrid-bound star takes hit to face at Euro 2024

next season after joining the team as a free agent from Paris Saint-Germain.

He tried to play on against Austria but quickly fell to the ground again, holding his face and prompting whistles and jeers from Austria fans who believed he was wasting time with France holding a narrow lead. He was replaced by Olivier Giroud.

A moment of inspiration by Mbappé led to Maximilian Wöber scoring an own

goal in the 38th minute. With a flash of close-ball control, Mbappé beat Philipp Mwene in the box and crossed in search of a teammate. In Wöber's desperation to eliminate the threat, he inadvertently diverted the ball into the net.

In Group E, two Romelu Lukaku goals were waved off by video review as Belgium was stunned, 1-0, by Slovakia in Frankfurt, Germany. The Slovaks got a goal from Ivan Schranz in the seventh minute. And in Munich, Romania's players celebrated their country's first European Championship win in 24 years and left Ukraine's players apologizing to their fans following a 3-0 shutout. Goals by Nicolae Stanciu, Razvan Marin and Denis Dragus led Romania to its second win in Euros history, following a 3-2 stunner over England in 2000.

## TELEVISION AND RADIO

MLB	
6:45 p.m.	<b>Arizona at Washington</b> » MASN2, WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)
7 p.m.	<b>Baltimore at New York Yankees</b> » MASN, WYYY (97.9 FM), WSNB (630 AM)
9:30 p.m.	<b>Milwaukee at Los Angeles Angels</b> » MLB Network
STANLEY CUP FINALS	
8 p.m.	<b>Game 5: Edmonton at Florida</b> » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
WNBA	
7 p.m.	<b>Los Angeles at Connecticut</b> » NBA TV
10 p.m.	<b>New York at Phoenix</b> » CBS Sports Network
SOCCER	
3 p.m.	<b>European Championship, Group F: Portugal vs. Czech Republic</b> » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
TENNIS	
5 a.m.	<b>ATP: Queen's Club Championships and Halle Open, early rounds; WTA: German Open and Birmingham Classic, early rounds</b> » Tennis Channel
U.S. OLYMPIC TRIALS	
8 p.m.	<b>Swimming Day 4: Women's 100-meter backstroke final, men's 800-meter freestyle final</b> » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
9:15 p.m.	<b>Diving Day 2: Men's synchronized three-meter springboard final</b> » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
MINOR LEAGUE BASEBALL	
7:15 p.m.	<b>Southern League: Montgomery vs. Birmingham</b> » MLB Network
PRO HOCKEY — AMERICAN HOCKEY LEAGUE, CALDER CUP FINALS	
10 p.m.	<b>Game 3: Hershey at Coachella Valley</b> » Monumental Sports Network
COLLEGE BASEBALL — WORLD SERIES	
2 p.m.	<b>Florida State vs. North Carolina</b> » ESPN
7 p.m.	<b>Florida vs. Kentucky</b> » ESPN



# On cusp of Cup, Panthers look to learn from Game 4 rout

BY BAILEY JOHNSON

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA. — Paul Maurice is often wary of clichés, but even the typically loquacious Florida Panthers coach admits that there’s usually a kernel of truth to them and a well-placed cliché is sometimes the best way to get a point across.

In the wake of the Edmonton Oilers routing his Florida Panthers in Game 4 of the Stanley Cup finals, sending the series back to Florida for a potentially decisive Game 5 at Amerant Bank Arena on Tuesday, Maurice turned to two.

The first: “We came into Edmonton to get a split, and we got what we needed.” And the second: In sports, you either win or you learn, and the Panthers did plenty of learning in Game 4.

“It’s the first opportunity we’ve had as a franchise, really,” Maurice said. “To feel the two days, the excitement of it, the emotion of it. We’ll learn how to channel that. That’s all part of this process. ... This is our first one of these, so we either win or we learn. If we’re really lucky we win and we learn. Didn’t happen tonight.”

Florida, in its two previous appearances in the finals, had not been in the position it was Saturday night, when the Stanley Cup was in the building — and it was there for the Panthers. Florida was swept by the Colorado Avalanche in 1996 and lost in five games to the Vegas Golden



Coach Paul Maurice, top right, and the Panthers will look to close out the Oilers in Game 5 on Tuesday.

Knights last year; the Panthers are the first team since the Pittsburgh Penguins in 2009 to return to the finals the year after being the runner-up.

Families of the players and coaches arrived in Edmonton on

Friday to be there to celebrate if the Panthers were victorious in Game 4. For a coach and a team that have spent the past two years since Maurice was hired embracing a simple, day-by-day mindset, the extra baggage that comes

with a game in which the Cup is on the line seemed to infiltrate the Panthers as puck drop approached.

Edmonton, too, knew the stakes for Game 4 and played with a level of desperation in

accordance with its season possibly being 60 minutes from ending.

“I think we needed to go through that experience,” Maurice said after Monday’s practice. “We would’ve traded the learning experience for a win, to be honest, but you have to kind of embrace that learning.”

Most of the learning, in Maurice’s view, will come from knowing more about what it feels like to play with the Cup on the line.

“There’s the feeling of the goal sits in front of the game that’s played,” Maurice said. “In Game 3, goal is behind the game. Can’t win it tonight. Game is in front of it. But when you can, it sits in front of the game, and you’ve got to break through it or put it behind the game again. I don’t know if that makes great sense, but what’s foremost in your head coming to the rink [is] you know it’s there.

“There’s just not a lot of places to experience that until you get into that. One game a year is that or one or two games a year for one or two teams. ... It’s hard to grab that until you experience it. We went through it. We were fortunate to get a three-game lead, so we’re going to have the opportunity to feel that at least four times.”

And from a purely hockey standpoint, there’s learning to be done for the Panthers, too.

The bounces the Oilers didn’t get in the first three games fell

their way in Game 4, and they exploited Florida’s normally tight-checking defense off the rush, using their speed through the neutral zone to make the Panthers pay.

“Just kind of want to build off a lot of the first three games. I feel like we played with a little tighter gap,” defenseman Gustav Forsling said. “I think we let them a little bit off the hook in the fourth game, didn’t play as tight as we wanted as a team. It starts with me and all the defensemen with a tight gap.”

Maurice pulled goaltender Sergei Bobrovsky early in the second period after he allowed five goals on 16 shots, but no one around the Panthers is worried about Bobrovsky heading into Game 5.

During Monday’s practice in Fort Lauderdale — a jovial, high-tempo affair that showed just how unconcerned Florida is about letting its chance for a sweep slip away — Bobrovsky swept a would-be goal off the goal line with the paddle of his stick, much to the delight of his teammates.

“We didn’t put him in a good position on a lot of it [in Game 4],” forward Carter Verhaeghe said. “He’s been awesome all playoffs. Obviously really confident in Bob. If you see him play, he’s awesome. Not much else to say.”

**STANLEY CUP FINALS**  
**Game 5: Oilers at Panthers**  
8 p.m., ABC

# Celtics wrap up record 18th NBA title

NBA FINALS FROM D1

playoffs — and won the Eastern Conference by 14 games over the No. 2 seed New York Knicks. The Celtics’ breezy postseason run, which included an Eastern Conference finals sweep of the Indiana Pacers, was the fastest title chase since the Golden State Warriors went 16-1 in 2016-17. Their Game 4 blowout loss to the Mavericks on Friday was their only defeat in their final 12 games.

To put away Luka Doncic and the Mavericks for good, the Celtics turned to their textbook winning formula of balanced scoring and high-volume outside shooting and energetic defense. Jayson Tatum shook off a slow start to take over in the fourth quarter, finishing with a game-high 31 points to go with eight rebounds and 11 assists. Brown added 21 points, and Jrue Holiday chipped in 15.

“It means the world,” Tatum said. “It’s been a long time coming.”

Doncic finished with a team-high 28 points — many of them coming after the Celtics were already up big — and Mavericks guard Kyrie Irving was held in check again, finishing with 15 points on 5-for-16 shooting. Dallas had no reliable backup plan with its star guards struggling early, shooting just 11 for 37 (29.7 percent) from deep.

Pritchard’s backbreaking shot was his only basket of the night, but it gave Boston a 67-46 half-time lead. The Celtics, who never trailed, pushed their lead to 26 points in the third quarter before cruising to a victory against a Mavericks squad that simply couldn’t match their energy.

Even so, the TD Garden crowd spent much of the first half managing its collective anxiety: Tatum, who missed his first four shots, drew loud, relieved cheers when he finished a drive through contact and pounded his chest with both hands midway through the second quarter.

After a dry spell to open the fourth quarter, Brown found a cutting Kristaps Porzingis, who returned after missing two games with an ankle injury, for a thunderous dunk that brought the building to its feet. Tatum and Brown each heard “MVP” chants as Boston put the finishing touches on its victory.

Despite their gaudy record and strong finish, the Celtics were never fawned over quite like super teams of the past. There were some obvious explanations: They lacked an all-time icon such as Michael Jordan, Shaquille O’Neal or Stephen Curry; they benefited from the postseason injury absences of Miami’s Jimmy Butler, Cleveland’s Donovan Mitchell and Indiana’s Tyrese Haliburton; and they spent much of this season trying to escape the shadow cast by their previous playoff disappointments.

Regardless of the competition, Boston returned as a better, deeper, more focused and more disciplined team than the group that blew a 2-1 lead in the 2022 Finals to the Warriors and fell into a 3-0 hole in the 2023 Eastern Confer-



Mavericks star Luka Doncic finished with a team-high 28 points, but his team couldn’t keep it close.

ence finals against the Miami Heat.

Thanks to the offseason additions of Porzingis and Holiday, Celtics President Brad Stevens assembled the NBA’s best collection of talent and Coach Joe Mazzulla oversaw a complete team, filled with complete players, that started 11-2 and never looked back. Boston ranked first on offense and second on defense in the regular season, then ranked fifth on offense and third on defense in the playoffs entering Monday. Defying their lasting reputation for blown leads and late-game misadventures, the Celtics went 21-12 in regular season games that were within five points in the final five minutes and 6-0 in such games during the playoffs.

“From our experiences over the past couple of years, the thing that we’ve really gotten a lot better at is not relaxing, not being complacent,” Tatum said. “From game to game or series to series, we always want more.”

The tightly wound Mazzulla successfully pushed Tatum and Brown to take better care of the ball and to trust his offensive philosophy, which relied heavily on catch-and-shoot three-pointers. Remarkably, eight different Celtics players made at least 100 three-pointers this season. On defense, the Celtics’ versatility was their calling card; they used an aggressive, switching scheme to make life difficult for opposing perimeter stars such as Doncic and Irving. Porzingis’s arrival helped shore up their interior defense and rim protection while keeping the miles off veteran center Al Horford.

“A coach’s greatest gift is a group of guys that want to be coached, want to be led and empower themselves,” Mazzulla said. “You can’t be a good coach if your players don’t let you. Everything starts with them, their abil-

ity to buy in, their ability to execute the things. As a staff, we’re grateful. We talk about it every day.”

Boston’s long-awaited championship finally completed a narrative arc that began with then-Celtics president Danny Ainge’s 2013 blockbuster trade of Kevin Garnett and Paul Pierce to the Brooklyn Nets for a package of role players, future first-round picks and pick swaps. By parting with two of the faces of their 2008 title team, Boston was able to secure draft picks it used to acquire the two faces of this year’s title team: Brown in 2016 and Tatum in 2017.

The full-circle moment was only possible after some painful moments and countless reinventions. Boston hired Stevens from Butler University to guide the rebuilding effort, and he won only 25 games in his first season. The Celtics gradually climbed up the standings, but they cycled through countless stars — Isaiah Thomas, Irving, Kemba Walker and Gordon Hayward, among them — as Tatum and Brown matured.

Brown recalled a 2017 vacation in Spain when he received a 4 a.m. phone call from Ainge.

“Don’t ask me why I was up,” he said. “Danny asked me, ‘How do you feel about Jayson Tatum?’ I remember I played with him at the Top 100 camp. He was my roommate at [Kevin Durant’s] elite camp. We played on the same team in so many different [high school games]. At the Under Armour all-American game, we were roommates again. I had a lot of experiences with him. There was a lot of respect. I said, ‘I think it’s a great choice.’ Fast forward from there, we’ve been winning ever since.”

As the prominent faces around them came and went, a throughline emerged for Tatum and Brown: Boston was good

enough to make deep playoff runs but not great enough to win it all. The Celtics reached the East finals in six of the past eight seasons, but they advanced to the Finals just once before this year and crumpled on the championship stage against Curry, Draymond Green and Klay Thompson.

Hitting the wall repeatedly led to Ainge’s exit and Stevens’s promotion from coach to president in 2021. When Stevens’s coaching successor, Ime Udoka, was fired in 2023 following an improper relationship with a female co-worker, Boston turned to the 35-year-old Mazzulla, who was only a few years removed from coaching in the G League.

As the personnel changes and off-court drama unfolded around them, Tatum and Brown blossomed into all-NBA players and the Celtics resisted calls to break up their star wing duo. In a series of brilliant trades, Stevens acquired Horford, Derrick White, Porzingis and Holiday to build an experienced two-way team around his two-way star forwards and load up for revenge after a humiliating season-ending loss to the Heat last year in Game 7 of the East finals.

“Falling short on your home floor, it definitely hurt,” Brown said. “It was embarrassing. It drove me all summer, drove me crazy.”

Sure enough, the Celtics channeled those painful memories into eight months of beatdowns, erasing any doubts that they were the league’s best team this season.

“With the Celtics, everybody knows we only hang up championship banners [in the TD Garden rafters],” Tatum said. “It’s been a while since we’ve won one. ... You [media] guys will probably say we didn’t play anybody to get here. So we’ll just have to do it again next year.”

NATIONALS FROM D1

face. Something was different from his first two appearances.

“The first couple of starts, you could see him breathing through his mouth,” Guy said. “[Against Miami], his lips were closed. Very calm. You could tell his heart rate was lowered. He was just competing within himself.”

That Herz found a way to control his heartbeat three starts into his career was as much a prophecy as it was at the nucleus of his winding road to the big leagues. John Herz put it like this: His son wasn’t blessed with an arm that could hit 98 mph or a 6-foot-6 frame. But he was blessed with his work ethic on an athletic journey that began at age 4. He needed every ounce of it to reach the majors. That meant nonstop work. It also meant he didn’t really have an off switch.

“DJ was always giving 100 percent of everything he’s got,” Guy said. “When pitching, if you are giving 100 percent every time, you’re going to get drained pretty quick. It’s a whole lot harder to control your heartbeat and mechanics.”

Word spread quickly around Fayetteville, N.C., about the three-sport athlete committed to the University of North Carolina for baseball. He also played basketball and football, seasons that blended together. There wasn’t a practice or a play that wasn’t at full throttle, even if his off-field demeanor — reserved and a little red-faced — suggested otherwise, said Dorian Clark, his best friend and high school football teammate. (Guy, Herz’s high school coach, can support this characterization; he recounted a road trip on which Herz was too nervous to order at Subway.)

“He always used to run with his shoulders high. In football, you’re supposed to run with your shoulders down,” Clark said. “Every time, I would go, ‘Oh my God, he’s about to get killed.’ ... Don’t get me wrong, I always thought he was shy. But he was the nastiest guy on the field.”

Had he walked on as a quarterback at UNC — a proposition he considered before then-four-star quarterback Sam Howell flipped his commitment to the Tar Heels during Herz’s senior year of high school, making his decision to pursue baseball full-time easier — that fiery side might have been embraced even more. Bulking up and studying came easy because of his go-go-go nature.

But when it came time to slow his heart rate down as he pitched, he couldn’t.

Those problems popped back up in March and April. During one session early in spring training, he got the yips during pitchers’ fielding practice. In his first six starts with Class AAA Rochester, he walked 24 in 20A innings. In his first two MLB starts, he was competitive but often behind in counts. Herz said that spoke, in part, to some issues with his direction toward the plate that his coaches in Rochester fixed in mid-May.

NATIONALS ON DECK			
<b>vs. Arizona Diamondbacks</b>			
Tuesday	6:45	MASN2	
Wednesday	4:05	MASN2	
Thursday	1:05	MASN2	
<b>at Colorado Rockies</b>			
Friday	8:40	MASN2	
Saturday	9:10	MASN	
Sunday	3:10	MASN2	
<b>at San Diego Padres</b>			
Monday	9:40	MASN2	
June 25	9:40	MASN2	
June 26	4:10	MASN2	

Radio: *WJFK* (106.7 FM), *WDCN* (87.7 FM)

But it also went back to his breathing.

So Herz did the only thing he knew how to do: He worked. He worked with Adam Wright, the Nationals’ director of mental performance, to slow himself down. When he feels the game speeding up, he counts backward from five in slow motion, something he employed a few times per inning in his debut. He will throw a ball out toward the dugout and request a new one to reset himself. If he feels it really becoming a problem, he will step off to reset the pitch clock.

And he always has the message on his glove to look back at.

“I like to work really fast. I like to move. I like to get the ball and get back on the mound,” Herz said. “And it works sometimes. When things are going good, it works well. But other times, we’ve got to be conscious of: ‘Hey, we need to slow down. We just need to take a second, breathe, look at the clock, slow it down then get back into that groove.’”

Washington’s core includes more young pitchers than can fit in a five-man rotation. MacKenzie Gore, Jake Irvin and Mitchell Parker are healthy and have ERAs below 3.50. Josiah Gray and Cade Cavalli are rehabbing. The former was an all-star last year. The latter has been Washington’s top pitching prospect for years. And then there’s Herz, who has always had a high strikeout rate, a dangerous fastball and a Vulcan change-up aided by his deceptive crossfire delivery.

You can still see the player who goes at 100 percent. Between innings, most pitchers walk to the mound. Herz runs. Manager Dave Martinez mentioned that he has almost tripped over the dugout steps with excitement. Even against the Miami Marlins on Saturday, he had pitches sail far outside the zone. But he reeled himself in before trouble spiraled.

So when he exited with a strut and a slap of his glove, it was a fun sight for Martinez. But it also meant his day was done at 84 pitches.

“It’s just all about, for me, getting comfortable,” Herz said. “That might take a little time, but it’s starting to come now.”



BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Philadelphia	48	24	.667	—	5-5	W-1
Atlanta	39	31	.557	8	4-6	W-1
Washington	35	36	.49312½	8-2	W-3	
New York	34	37	.47913½	8-2	W-6	
Miami	23	49	.319	25	2-8	L-6

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
x-Milwaukee	42	29	.592	—	6-4	W-2
St. Louis	36	35	.507	6	7-3	W-2
Pittsburgh	35	37	.486	7½	6-4	W-2
Cincinnati	34	38	.472	8½	5-5	L-3
Chicago	34	39	.466	9	3-7	L-2

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Los Angeles	45	29	.608	—	6-4	W-2
San Francisco	36	37	.493	8½	6-4	W-2
San Diego	37	39	.487	9	5-5	L-4
Arizona	35	37	.486	9	6-4	W-1
Colorado	25	47	.347	19	3-7	L-2

x-Late game

American League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
New York	50	24	.676	—	5-5	L-2
Baltimore	47	24	.662	1½	8-2	W-2
Boston	38	35	.52111½	6-4	W-3	
Toronto	35	37	.486	14	5-5	L-1
Tampa Bay	34	38	.472	15	3-7	W-1

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Cleveland	44	25	.638	—	5-5	L-2
Kansas City	41	32	.562	5	4-6	L-1
Minnesota	40	32	.556	5½	7-3	W-5
Detroit	34	38	.47211½	3-7	L-2	
Chicago	19	54	.260	27	4-6	L-1

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Seattle	43	31	.581	—	7-3	W-3
Houston	33	39	.458	9	5-5	W-1
Texas	33	39	.458	9	3-7	L-4
x-Los Angeles	28	43	.39413½	5-5	L-1	
Oakland	26	48	.351	17	1-9	L-9

x-Late game

NL leaders

Entering Monday's games.

BATTING

Arraez, SD	326
Ozuna, Atl	322
Profar, SD	321
Ohtani, LA	309
Contreras, Mil	305
Betts, LA	304
Bohm, Phi	302
Freeman, LA	300
Winn, STL	294

HOME RUNS

Ozuna, Atl	20
Ohtani, LA	19
Hernández, LA	17
Walker, Ari	16
Gorman, STL	15
Harper, Phi	15
Alonso, NY	15
Schwarber, Phi	14
Marte, Ari	14
Morel, Chi	13
Tatis, SD	13

RBI

Ozuna, Atl	62
Bohm, Phi	57
Adames, Mil	51
Hernández, LA	50
Walker, Ari	49
Contreras, Mil	48
Harper, Phi	46
Profar, SD	46
Ohtani, LA	46

RUNS

Contreras, Mil	53
Ohtani, LA	53
Betts, LA	50
Schwarber, Phi	50
Marte, Ari	49
Tatis, SD	48
De La Cruz, Cin	47
Freeman, LA	45
Walker, Ari	44

HITS

Arraez, SD	98
Contreras, Mil	87
Betts, LA	86
Ohtani, LA	86
Tovar, Col	85
Ozuna, Atl	83
Bohm, Phi	80
Freeman, LA	80
Profar, SD	80
Tatis, SD	80

TOTAL BASES

Ohtani, LA	165
Ozuna, Atl	158
Tovar, Col	144
Marte, Ari	139
Betts, LA	138
Hernández, LA	138
Tatis, SD	135
Freeman, LA	134
Contreras, Mil	133

ERA

López, Atl	1.69
Suárez, Phi	1.77
Imanaga, Chi	1.90
Assad, Chi	2.81
Wheeler, Phi	2.84
Yamamoto, LA	2.92
Sale, Atl	2.98
Glasnow, LA	3.00
Irvin, Was	3.00

SAVES

Helsley, STL	24
Finneson, Was	20
Iglesias, Atl	18
Suarez, SD	17
Diaz, Cin	15
Bednar, Phi	14
Mesiti, Mil	13
Alvarado, Phi	12
Doval, Phi	12

Glasnow, LA	125
Cease, SD	106
Sale, Atl	99
Wheeler, Phi	99
Peralta, Mil	99
King, SD	95
Gore, Was	91
Gray, STL	91
Suárez, Phi	91

AL leaders

Entering Monday's games.

BATTING

Witt, KC	327
Soto, NY	315
Correa, Min	308
Altuve, Hou	299
Smith, Tex	294
Perez, KC	292
Alvarez, Hou	290
Rutschman, Bal	289

HOME RUNS

Judge, NY	26
Henderson, Bal	22
Tucker, Hou	19
Soto, NY	18
Ramirez, Cle	18
Stanton, NY	17
Naylor, Cle	17
Santander, Bal	17
DeJong, Chi	14
Seager, Tex	14
Greene, Det	14
Alvarez, Hou	14
Rutschman, Bal	14

RBI

Judge, NY	64
Ramirez, Cle	62
Soto, NY	59
Rutschman, Bal	59
Witt, KC	51
Naylor, Cle	50
Henderson, Bal	49
Pasquantino, KC	46
Perez, KC	45

RUNS

Witt, KC	59
Soto, NY	58
Henderson, Bal	56
Judge, NY	56
Ramirez, Cle	51
Volpe, NY	51
Semien, Tex	50
Duran, Bos	48
Greene, Det	48

HITS

Witt, KC	96
Altuve, Hou	87
Duran, Bos	82
Soto, NY	82
Volpe, NY	81
Rutschman, Bal	80
Alvarez, Hou	79
Judge, NY	79
Rodriguez, Sea	78

TOTAL BASES	
Judge, NY	181
Witt, KC	162
Henderson, Bal	161
Soto, NY	154
Ramirez, Cle	151
Alvarez, Hou	150
Duran, Bos	138
Altuve, Hou	134
Rutschman, Bal	131
Westburg, Bal	127

ERA

Gil, NY	2.03
Houck, Bos	2.08
Burnes, Bal	2.14
Skubal, Det	2.20
Lugo, KC	2.40
Blanco, Hou	2.43
Anderson, LA	2.58
Gilbert, Sea	2.93
Flaherty, Det	3.01

SAVES	
Clase, Cle	21
Holmes, NY	19
Kimbrel, Bal	16
Foley, Det	12
McArthur, KC	12
Miller, Oak	12
Muñoz, Sea	12

STRIKEOUTS

Crochet, Chi	116
Ragans, KC	102
Flaherty, Det	100
Skubal, Det	98
Gil, NY	96
Gilbert, Sea	93
Castillo, Sea	92
Ryan, Min	90



MATT SLOCUM/ASSOCIATED PRESS

He almost made it home

Alec Bohm of the Phillies is tagged out by Padres catcher Kyle Higashioka after trying to score on a double in Philadelphia's 9-2 rout Monday.

Phillies 9, Padres 2

Kyle Schwarber homered twice, Alec Bohm hit a three-run homer and Trea Turner had two hits in his return to the lineup after missing 38 games with a hamstring injury as Philadelphia beat San Diego.

PADRES	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Arraez 1b	3	0	0	0	0	0.341	
Campuzano ph-1b	1	0	0	0	0.250		
Tatis rf	3	1	0	0	1.273		
Azocar lf	1	0	0	0	0.214		
Profar lf	3	1	1	0	0.321		
D.Peralta rf	1	0	1	0	0.250		
Machado 3b	4	1	2	0	1.249		
Solano dh	3	0	1	0	0.286		
Cronenworth 2b	3	0	0	1	0.255		
Wade 2b	0	0	0	0	0.250		
Kim ss	4	0	1	0	1.220		
Merrill cf	3	0	0	0	0.278		
Higashioka c	3	0	0	0	0.167		
TOTALS	30	2	7	2	1	6	—

PHILLIES	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Schwarber dh.....	3	2	4	2	0	0.253	
Turner ss.....	5	1	2	0	0	0.345	
Harper 1b.....	5	1	2	0	0	0.282	
Sosa 3b.....	0	0	0	0	0	0.277	
Bohm 3b-1b.....	5	1	3	3	0	1.307	
Stott 2b.....	4	0	1	0	0	0.234	
Merrifield ph-2b.....	1	0	0	0	0	0.190	
Castellanos rf.....	4	0	2	0	0	0.209	
Marsh cf-1f.....	3	2	2	0	1	1.263	
Dahl lf.....	4	0	0	0	0	1.200	
Pache cf.....	0	0	0	0	0	0.219	
Marchán c.....	4	2	4	2	0	0.417	
TOTALS	38	9	18	9	3	3	—

**SAN DIEGO** .... 000 010 010 — 2 7 0  
**PHILA.**..... 002 132 10X — 9 18 1

E: Marsh (4); LOB: San Diego 2, Philadelphia 8. 2B: Solano (4), Castellanos 2 (10), Harper (14), Marsh (7). HR: Schwarber (15), off Vásquez; Bohm (7), off Vásquez; Schwarber (16), off Morel.

PADRES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Vásquez	4½	12	6	2	6	2	5.70
Morejon	1½	3	2	2	0	1	12.45
Britto	1½	3	1	1	0	0.725	
W.Peralta	1	0	0	0	0.376		

PHILLIES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Sánchez	7	6	2	1	1	5	2.91
Alvarado	1	0	0	0	1	1.519	
Ruiz	1	0	0	0	0.386		

**WP:** Sánchez (4-3); **LP:** Vásquez (1-4).  
**Inherited runners-scored:** Morejon 1-0.  
**WP:** Vásquez. **T:** 2:31. **A:** 43,134 (42,901).

Giants 7, Cubs 6

Thairo Estrada hit a three-run homer in the ninth inning to lift San Francisco over Chicago.

Heliot Ramos and Patrick Bailey also homered for the Giants. Ian Happ and Michael Busch had home runs for the Cubs, who have lost four of five.

GIANTS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Wisely ss	6	0	0	0	1.288		
Ramos cf	5	1	2	1	0.328		
Bailey c	4	1	2	1	0.283		
Chapman 3b	5	1	0	0	0.230		
Conforto lf	3	0	0	2	1.235		
Soler dh	2	2	1	0	0.227		
Bellinger cf-1b	4	1	0	1	0.313		
Suzuki rf	4	1	2	1	0.272		
Happ lf	3	1	2	1	0.225		
Hoerner 2b	4	1	2	0	0.249		
Busch 1b	3	1	1	2	0.255		
Crow-Armstrong cf	0	0	0	0	0.207		
Swanson ss	4	0	0	0	1.208		
Amaya c	4	0	0	0	1.185		
TOTALS	34	6	10	6	5	5	—

**SAN FRAN.** .... 000 100 213 — 7 9 0  
**CHICAGO**..... 000 002 400 — 6 10 1

E: Amaya (4); LOB: San Francisco 12, Chicago 6. 2B: Soler (11), Suzuki (9). 3B: Vazquez (4). HR: Ramos (9), off Wesneski; Bailey (5), off Leiter; Estrada (9), off Neris; Busch (9), off Rodriguez; Happ (8), off E.Miller.

GIANTS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Hicks	5	4	1	0	4	2	2.22
Rodriguez	1½	4	3	0	0.504		
E.Miller	1½	2	3	3	1	0.424	
Doval	1	0	0	0	1.471		

CUBS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Assad	5	5	1	1	2	2.75	
Little	½	1	0	1	0.474		
Wesneski	1	2	1	1	1.323		
Leiter	1½	1	1	1	0.3450		
Neris	1	1	3	2	1	0.473	

**WP:** E.Miller (2-2); **LP:** Neris (6-2); **S:** Doval (13). **HBP:** Leiter (Estrada). **T:** 3:06. **A:** 36,048 (41,363).

Pirates 4, Reds 1

Rookie Paul Skenes pitched one-run ball over six innings to win his fourth straight decision and lead Pittsburgh over Cincinnati.

Skenes allowed six hits in six innings with seven strikeouts and one walk, lowering his ERA to 2.29. The 22-year-old right-hander has 53 strikeouts and seven walks in 39½ innings.

REDS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Friedl cf.....	3	0	0	0	0	1	.214
Hurtubise lf.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	.192
De La Cruz ss.....	4	0	3	0	0	0	.242
Candelario 3b.....	4	1	1	0	0	1	.252
Steer 1b.....	4	0	2	1	0	1	.240
Fraley rf.....	3	0	0	1	0	1	.279
Stephenson c.....	4	0	0	0	0	2	.245
Martini dh.....	3	0	1	0	1	0	.210
India 2b.....	3	0	0	0	0	3	.239
Benson lf-cf.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	.202
Fairchild ph-cf.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	.227
TOTALS	32	1	7	1	1	10	



# One soundtrack at the U.S. Open: Heckling from gamblers

BETTING FROM D1

very calm and composed,” Woody said of Matsuyama. “He doesn’t get rattled by anyone who chirps.”

Neither, apparently, does DeChambeau, who saved par and went on to shoot a 67 en route to his second U.S. Open victory.

This was the first U.S. Open played in a state with legal sports betting, allowing spectators to wager from their phones on every imaginable aspect of the tournament, and jeers from gamblers in the gallery added one more challenge at the brutally difficult Pinehurst No. 2. One fan called out to Viktor Hovland on Friday that his bet depended on Hovland making the cut. (He did not.) Another offered to bet Phil Mickelson, an admitted gambling addict, on how he would do on No. 17.

“We hear everything,” DeChambeau said early in the week. “It’s not like we’re oblivious to it.” He joked that it’s harder to make out what hecklers say at LIV Golf events, which play music during rounds, adding: “Whether betting is a good thing or not is up for debate. I personally think if it can help grow the game and bring in a bigger audience, I’m all about it.”

Golf gambling and daily fantasy contests have exploded in recent years. PrizePicks, a daily fantasy operator, said it collected more than twice as much money in entry fees on the first round of this year’s U.S. Open compared with 2022. Betting during rounds, as opposed to before play starts, accounts for 45 percent of the money wagered on golf at DraftKings, the sportsbook said, and for some, attending a golf tournament offers a chance to capitalize on variables invisible to the TV audience, to bet quickly before sportsbooks can adjust their odds or, in some cases, to try to get inside players’ heads.

Two-time major winner Collin Morikawa said he hears fans calling out about gambling all the time, though usually to cheer him on. “In many other sports you would never hear that because you’re not that close and it’s too loud,” he said. “It’s just funny to think that we would play harder just for them.”

Fans could wager last week not only who would win but also the winner’s nationality, on finishers in the top five (and top 10 and top 20), the leader after each round, the best performance in each group (for the day and on each hole), a group’s aggregate score on a hole, how many birdies and bogeys each player would get per day and even whether certain players would hit a particular fairway or stick their approach shot within 20 feet.

Max Homa agreed that most of what gamblers yell during tournaments seems well intentioned. But he also mentioned last year’s BMW Championship in Illinois, where a gambler shouted “pull it!”



GREGORY SHAMUS/GETTY IMAGES

**U.S. Open winner Bryson DeChambeau and other golfers said they often hear fans yell gambling references at them during their rounds.**

while Homa was mid-putt. Worse than any on-course taunting, he said, is what gamblers send him via social media, which “gets really, really ugly.”

Bettors also have tracked down his Venmo account and multiple times per week send him requests for cash after his play costs them money. “That gets old,” he said.

## More than a numbers game

Serious bettors craft predictive models to gauge how each player’s tendencies — driving distance, a preference for hitting draws or cuts, chipping and putting, performance in different weather — fit that week’s course. Beating bookmakers, however, has gotten much harder in recent years as granular golf data becomes widely available. When Rufus Peabody, described by one sharp bettor as the “apex predator” of golf gamblers, began wagering on the sport 15 years ago, he said he could gain an edge simply by recognizing that long-driving players have a leg up on longer courses.

Although Peabody’s approach is largely data-driven, golf allows for some subjective analysis, he said. At this year’s Pebble Beach Pro-Am, Peabody figured heavy rain would be especially bad news for Scheffler, who unconventionally slides his back foot on drives.

Gamblers covet nonpublic information, and there’s more of that in golf than perhaps any other sport. Before this year’s

Masters, Golf Digest gambling analyst Andy Lack remembers spotting Hovland working with his swing coach on an empty driving range at 6 p.m. “Going to golf tournaments for years, you’re able to see who’s comfortable and who’s really grinding,” Lack said. (Hovland went on to miss the cut.)

Another time at the Masters, Alex Blicke, an analyst at FTNFantasy, noticed Paul Casey struggling to loosen his back during a practice round. He withdrew hours before the first round. Kenny Kim, host of the Fantasy Golf Degenerates podcast, placed a winning bet on Sergio García, a traditionally iffy putter, to win the 2017 Masters after seeing him draining putt after putt on the practice green.

Last week, one sharp bettor, who requested anonymity because sportsbooks are known to limit how much customers can bet after they show winning tendencies, scouted Pinehurst No. 2 during all three practice rounds, hoping to see whether it was as difficult as advertised. Players didn’t seem doomed when a drive found the wiregrass — giving a boost to long drivers, such as DeChambeau and Rory McIlroy, who might not be as accurate — and No. 16 didn’t seem quite as birdie-proof as suspected. SuperBook Sports set the line for the winning score at 5 under par, and this bettor felt confident wagering it would be lower. (DeCham-

beau finished 6 under.)

Players, caddies, credentialed press and volunteers are prohibited from betting on the tournament or passing nonpublic information to gamblers. But golf tournaments would seem to be a prime venue for “courtsiding,” in which in-person bettors wager on outcomes that have already happened before word has reached bookmakers. This was a problem roughly a decade ago, when sportsbooks relied on TV broadcasts that might be a minute or more delayed, said Matthew Trenhaile, a longtime British bookmaker. “If you were really lucky, you could get the feeds that literally come out of the broadcast truck if they were leaked or hacked.”

Betting groups would also send “runners” to golf courses to relay news such as whether a contender hit into a hazard or had a bad lie. But if bettors are able to beat bookmakers to the punch, it doesn’t take long for that to become apparent. “Bookmakers are very vindictive,” Trenhaile said, and bettors suspected of courtsiding often aren’t able to bet more than a few dollars.

Nowadays, sportsbooks can use geolocating to tell whether a mobile app user is on the course. “The guys who really industrialize the process open up with 50 odd accounts,” Trenhaile said, “and by the end of the tournament all those accounts are burned.”

Even if spectators see a bad lie before anyone else, most fans aren’t able to intuit how the odds should change. On No. 7 at Pinehurst, a par 4, a group of avid bettors perched among the pines saw American Charlie Reiter’s tee shot roll up against a tree. “It’s unplayable!” they exclaimed. Reiter hit his next shot to the middle of the green and made par.

Sam Cooney, the top golf odds-maker at Circa Sports, said in addition to limiting “anyone with a pulse” who’s live betting on golf, many operators will build in a 10 percent or higher house edge in the odds “on something that should have a 4 or 5 percent edge” — a change most recreational customers don’t even notice, he said.

Fans streaming NBC’s coverage of the U.S. Open were likely seeing a delay of 30 to 50 seconds, according to analysis by technology company Phenix, but spectators at the event still couldn’t capitalize on that. For one, most sportsbooks use a data feed provided by IMG Arena delivered a second or two after a ball comes to rest.

Friends Miles Wilkins and Christophe Cabanne found seats behind one hole and hoped to spend their Thursday afternoon live betting on each group that passed by, only to find that FanDuel wouldn’t let them bet on anyone actually playing the hole. “Live betting is something you do impulsively, like buying a Snickers at the checkout counter,”

Wilkins said after he and Cabanne left to find something else to do. “You’re not going to go back to an aisle to get it.”

## Gambling from the gallery

A few recent high school graduates from the Charlotte area seemed to be having a blast Friday, sitting behind the 15th green, a par-3, and betting on every passing group. One of them, Hunter Justice, 19, also came Thursday but didn’t do any gambling. “I was here with my mom,” he explained.

Sports bettors in North Carolina must be 21 or older. One of Justice’s friends said he placed bets before the round on his brother-in-law’s FanDuel account but otherwise uses PrizePicks, which is 19 and up.

From their seats, the friends looked at FanDuel to find odds on each group playing 15, then placed \$5 bets among themselves. Justice challenged his friend that García would make par or better. The Spaniard’s tee shot found the front of the green but, like so many shots that day, rolled off.

Nevertheless, García putted to four feet and made par. “Bang!” Justice said. As García left the green, he called out, “I love you and your stupid pants.”

It was easy to overhear fans boasting and fretting about their bets at Pinehurst. Tyler Cadd followed Tiger Woods during the practice rounds and, on the bus to the course Thursday morning, saw that the pin on Woods’s first hole was in the center and bet that he would make a birdie, which he did, at odds of +220, meaning a \$10 bet profited \$22. Another fan, Eric Allen, bet on Woods and several other players to win the tournament. “If somebody’s going to take a bet, I’ll bet on raindrops,” he said. “I don’t care.”

Since states began legalizing sports betting, there are only few reported instances of what Homa experienced: a gambler trying to sway the outcome of a shot. Still, “the potential for fan interference concerns me,” said Matt Kuchar, a nine-time winner on the PGA Tour. “You hope that it doesn’t come to the point where you need to do something that lessens the fans’ enjoyment of the game.”

Asked whether he’s concerned about widespread gambling diminishing the spectator experience, Jon Podany, chief commercial officer of the U.S. Golf Association, said simply, “We have not experienced this.”

Whether betting diminished Alex Gaspard’s experience at Pinehurst seemed debatable Thursday after the golfer he wagered \$25 on to win, Justin Thomas, bogeyed nine holes in his first round.

Gaspard, who came from Texas to watch the U.S. Open, seemed miffed that his bet was doomed so quickly. Then again, he noted, “I’ve spent \$25 on hot dogs already.”

SALLY JENKINS

## DeChambeau’s phony PR push at Pinehurst was as rich as his Saudi bankroll

JENKINS FROM D1

DeChambeau’s character isn’t defined by his idle, dimpled chitchat with spectators between tees or how he let fans swarm him to put mustard fingerprints on the trophy. “I want you guys to touch this trophy because I want you to experience what this feels like for me,” he said afterward, with not a small hint of narcissism. All of it was rich coming from a guy who betrayed American audiences and bailed on his U.S.-based PGA Tour colleagues to take giant bags of money from the sheikhs of the Kingdom, a reported \$125 million for a four-year contract.

DeChambeau’s frantic efforts at audience rapport all week long were so obviously a public relations effort to reestablish a connection with golf fans who have recoiled wholesale from LIV Golf. The gleint of his smile or the glare of the victory silver should not blind anyone to his actual conduct. It’s a true shame because the 30-year-old with the cartoon superhero’s jaw and the chesty swing yet soft hands really could be the star the game needs to replace the aging, ailing Tiger Woods. As it is, there’s no forgetting he’s a phony. One who champions a regime with alleged connections to the 9/11 attacks that killed almost 3,000 Americans and was behind the murder of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

The cringiest moment of DeChambeau’s post-victory ingratiation was when he disgracefully invoked the late Payne Stewart, the vividly clad icon. After DeChambeau made that save from the bunker, he bellowed, “That’s Payne right

there, baby!” as he walked off the 18th green. As if Stewart had somehow intervened from heaven — or would have ever given him a benediction.

All of the evidence suggests that Stewart would have been disgusted by DeChambeau’s defection and would have reviled LIV Golf. Stewart was an ardent, demonstrative patriot who wept during “The Star-Spangled Banner” at the Ryder Cup. He specifically referenced the human rights violations of foreign regimes in discussing his American privilege. Here was Stewart in a 1999 interview with Golf Digest editor Guy Yocom: “I’m a patriotic person,”

Stewart said. “For these people who disgrace the American way and burn our flag and do all of these things ... I say, don’t live here and disgrace my country. Go live in the Middle East and see how you like it. Where if you steal something, they cut your hand off. Things like that. We live in such a sheltered environment in the United States. I’ve been fortunate enough to have traveled all over the world, and I’ve seen things you only read about and see on the news. Vicious poverty. That’s why I’m very proud of being American. I’m proud to pay taxes. I pay a lot of taxes, but it sure beats the alternative.”

Meanwhile, here was DeChambeau’s noble stand on the Saudis, after agreeing to take their money: “Nobody is perfect.”

Stewart declared in his prime, “I’m not going to follow that money train,” and he stuck to it, declining some large exhibition fees to stay true to his loyalties. McIlroy is the real heir in that respect to Stewart, not DeChambeau, to whom Stewart



ERIK S LESSER/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

**Bryson DeChambeau, a defector to Saudi-funded LIV Golf, embraced his moment Sunday evening.**

probably would have delivered a heated lecture. As early as 2019, McIlroy declined appearance fees from the Saudis. “There’s a morality to it,” McIlroy said, although he since has joined the PGA Tour leaders trying to stitch the sport back together, in part with Saudi money.

As McIlroy tries to heal from the scar-inducing finish, he should attend to the legacy of Stewart, who at one time was the most pained loser of his own day. This Open was undeniably lost by McIlroy — far more than it was won by DeChambeau — as he bogeyed three of his last four holes, including that lip-grazing

18th downhill slider on the 18th green. The miss canceled out all the fine golf that McIlroy played up to that point: He hit 82 percent of Pinehurst’s narrow-necked fairways and 67 percent of its greens during the tournament. He was two strokes better than DeChambeau in the pressurized final round; DeChambeau shot 1 over and hit just five fairways, the fewest by a champion in 17 years.

But golf is not a game that offers clean justice. There are too many uncontrollable factors: dirt, sun, wind and, in this case, pure luck in the form of the thin, gimmicky rough of Pinehurst,

which instead of the usual U.S. Open’s shoetop-curling long grass consisted of sand wastes filled with “native plants carried by sandhill breezes and native birds,” or what you and I call weeds. Normally, when you miss U.S. Open fairways by 10 and 20 yards, you shoot a 78. But time and again DeChambeau found clean exits. “Is there a ‘strokes gained, good breaks’ [stat] this week?” NBC announcer Brandel Chamblee asked, rightly attributing the win to “good fortune” as much as skill.

McIlroy has now been second four times in majors in the past seven years. If he walks away with

anything from Pinehurst, it should be the consoling lesson that for years, Stewart was known as the guy who couldn’t finish. He was second in more majors than he won, four times runner-up. He missed two short putts that cost him the 1985 British Open and a six-footer that doomed him at the 1986 U.S. Open. But he persisted. When he finally did break through at the 1989 PGA Championship at Kemper Lakes, it was only because another player, Mike Reid, relinquished a three-stroke lead with three holes to play. When Stewart lifted the trophy, he had the humility to say, “I’ve messed up a couple tournaments in my time.”

Stewart would probably tell McIlroy he should have talked to the press Sunday because, if you want the rainbow, you’ve got to put up with the rain. And he would remind him that no great player is immune from lousy breaks and injustice. In 1998, Stewart had a four-stroke lead going into Sunday at the U.S. Open, but he lost by a shot to Lee Janzen — partly because of miserable luck when a great drive ran into a sand divot and cost him a bogey.

Stewart was no pure saint; he could be surly and big headed and profligate early in his career, and he certainly liked his money. “Sales are going up,” he joked on winning the PGA in his signature knickers. But he steadily matured, he knew the fine line between winning and losing a major by a stroke could be all but indefinable, and he came to believe golf was as much a personal ethic as a game. Maybe DeChambeau, too, can mature, into someone who deserves to properly invoke Payne Stewart.



U.S. OLYMPIC SWIMMING TRIALS

Veterans roll back clock to claim spots for Paris

BY DAVE SHEININ

INDIANAPOLIS — It is the nature of human physiology, the sport of swimming and the unyielding Olympic quadrennial to produce a constant churn of names on Team USA's Summer Games roster every four years. It is not uncommon at the U.S. Olympic swimming trials to see giddy high-schoolers stealing roster spots from seasoned pros and those seasoned pros hanging on the wall at the end of their races suddenly facing the prospect of a career in twilight.

Monday night, though, was a night for the veterans of Team USA — and not just any veterans but Olympic stalwarts, superstars and outright legends. The kids will have their day and perhaps multiple days over the course of this meet. But Monday at Lucas Oil Stadium, some of the most accomplished American swimmers of recent vintage held back the clock — and held off the kids — for another spell.

When Katie Ledecky, in the night's final race, powered home for a victory in the women's 200-meter freestyle — in a time of 1 minute 55.22 seconds, more than a second ahead of 17-year-old runner-up Claire Weinstein — the old-timers' reign was complete. Now about to be a four-time Olympian, Ledecky, 27, followed a pair of soon-to-be three-time Olympians, backstrokeer Ryan Murphy and breaststroker Lilly King, to the winner's stage at the medal ceremonies.

Combined, the three already have won 21 Olympic medals, including 13 golds, and all will be threats to collect more next month in Paris.

Ledecky, however, could choose to give up her Olympic spot in the individual 200-meter freestyle — a race in which she would be a decided underdog to a pair of dynamic Australians — to focus on her other races, including the 4x200 free relay, which she probably will anchor. At the Tokyo Games, Ledecky finished fifth in the individual 200 — the first time she failed to make the podium in an Olympic final — but threw down a blistering anchor leg in the relay to help the Americans to a silver medal behind China.

As exciting as it is to see newbies punch their tickets to their first Olympics, the best Olympic teams — like the best teams in any sport — are a blend of phenoms and veterans. Over the course of Team USA's training camps between Indianapolis and Paris, it is the veterans who help instill the team culture they, in turn, inherited from the veterans of past teams. And in Ledecky, Murphy and King, Team USA will be led by some of the most respected names in the sport.

"We've always had really good leadership on Team USA," said Murphy, whose winning backstroke time Monday night (52.22) ranks first in the world this season. "And I think my leadership style will be a blend of all those [earlier] guys. ... I want our team to feel as comfortable as possible when they walk on the deck at the Olympics for the first time."

King, who was born and raised in Evansville, Ind., and was an eight-time NCAA champion for Indiana University, grew up attending Colts games at Lucas Oil Stadium and was the clear favorite of the crowd — with her victory, in a time of 1:05.43, drawing a massive roar.

"I had a really special night

tonight," said King, who has said Paris will be her final Olympics. "I think I've basked in [the atmosphere] here more than I ever have, just being here in Indy and this being my last trials. ... At this point in my career, I've done everything I've ever wanted to do."

Yet another accomplished Olympic veteran, three-time Tokyo medalist Regan Smith, turned in perhaps the night's most impressive swim, clocking a 57.47 in the semifinal of the women's 100 back to lower her own American record and lead the qualifying for Tuesday night's final — when the entire building will be on world record alert.

Eighteen-year-old Katie Grimes, who cracked the Tokyo roster three years ago at age 15, won the women's 400-meter individual medley and will represent Team USA again in that event in Paris. Grimes also has the distinction of representing the United States in both the pool and in open-water swimming, having qualified for the latter over the winter.

Only one of the five finals was won by an Olympic newcomer: the men's 200 freestyle, claimed by 20-year-old Luke Hobson in a time of 1:44.89.

But it was Ledecky's 200 free that served as the perfect nightcap for a finals session marked by huge swims by even huger names.

Within moments of finishing her race and scanning the scoreboard, Ledecky, in Lane 4, was leaping across lane lines to hug 19-year-old Erin Gemmell two lanes over. The daughter of Ledecky's former coach, Bruce Gemmell, Erin grew up idolizing her dad's most famous protégé, even dressing up as Ledecky one year for Halloween — in official Team USA gear donated by the legend herself.

"I really don't think I'd be here if it weren't for her," Gemmell said of Ledecky. "It's really special to be that close to someone who's so inspirational. It makes [an Olympic career] seem more achievable in way, to be that close. It makes them seem much more human. It made me think if I put my mind to it, I could reach that point."

Gemmell, by finishing fourth in the 200 free final in 1:56.75, locked up a berth on the 4x200-meter freestyle relay in Paris, along with second-place finisher Weinstein (1:56.18) and third-place Paige Madden (1:56.36). Once roster concerns shake out, the fifth- and sixth-place finishers, Anna Peplowski and Alex Shackelf, should also be added to the roster.

Ledecky, a seven-time Olympic gold medalist, had already qualified for Paris by winning the 400 free two nights earlier and will be the overwhelming favorite to add titles in the 800 and 1,500 here as well. In Paris, she needs two more golds to pass fellow American Jenny Thompson for the most by a female swimmer in history.

But when it comes to the 200 free in Paris, both the individual race and the relay, the Americans will be distinct underdogs to their Australian counterparts. While no American woman has been under 1:54 this season, two Aussies went under 1:53 at their Olympic trials: Ariarne Titmus (1:52.23) and Mollie O'Callaghan (1:52.48).

There is probably nothing, in other words, that could help the Americans stave off defeat in that race in Paris. Not even Katie Ledecky swimming anchor.



Ryan Murphy posted the best 100-meter backstroke time of the season Monday night in Indianapolis, securing an Olympic spot.

PRO BASKETBALL

NBA playoffs

<b>FIRST ROUND</b>	
Best of seven	
<b>EASTERN CONFERENCE</b>	
<b>Celtics eliminated Heat, 4-1</b>	
Game 1: at Boston 114, Miami 94	
Game 2: Boston 104, at Miami 84	
Game 3: Boston 102, at Miami 88	
Game 5: at Boston 118, Miami 84	
<b>Knicks eliminated 76ers, 4-2</b>	
Game 1: at New York 111, Philadelphia 104	
Game 2: at New York 104, Philadelphia 101	
Game 3: at Philadelphia 125, New York 114	
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	
<b>Pacers eliminated Bucks, 4-2</b>	
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	
<b>Cavaliers eliminated Magic, 4-3</b>	
Game 1: at Cleveland 97, Orlando 83	
Game 2: at Cleveland 96, Orlando 86	
Game 3: at Orlando 121, Cleveland 83	
Game 4: at Orlando 112, Cleveland 89	
Game 5: at Orlando 112, Cleveland 93	
Game 6: at Orlando 103, Cleveland 96	
Game 7: at Cleveland 106, Orlando 94	

<b>WESTERN CONFERENCE</b>	
<b>Thunder eliminated Pelicans, 4-0</b>	
Game 1: at Oklahoma City 94, New Orleans 92	
Game 2: at Oklahoma City 124, New Orleans 92	
Game 3: at Oklahoma City 106, at New Orleans 85	
Game 4: Oklahoma City 112, at New Orleans 89	
<b>Nuggets eliminated Lakers, 4-1</b>	
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: Denver 112, at Phoenix 108	
Game 5: at Denver 108, Los Angeles 106	
<b>Timberwolves eliminated Suns, 4-0</b>	
Game 1: at Minnesota 120, Phoenix 95	
Game 2: at Minnesota 105, Phoenix 93	
Game 3: Minnesota 126, at Phoenix 109	
Game 4: Minnesota 122, at Phoenix 110	

<b>Mavericks eliminated Clippers, 4-2</b>	
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 99	
Game 6: at Dallas 114, Los Angeles 101	

<b>SECOND ROUND</b>	
Best of seven	
<b>EASTERN CONFERENCE</b>	
<b>Celtics eliminated Cavaliers, 4-1</b>	
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	
<b>Pacers eliminated Knicks, 4-3</b>	
Game 1: at New York 121, Indiana 117	
Game 2: at New York 130, Indiana 121	
Game 3: at Indiana 111, New York 108	
Game 4: at Indiana 121, 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	

<b>WESTERN CONFERENCE</b>	
<b>Timberwolves eliminated Nuggets, 4-3</b>	
Game 1: Minnesota 106, at Denver 99	
Game 2: at Minnesota 115, Denver 108	
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 108	
Game 7: Minnesota 98, at Denver 90	

<b>Mavericks eliminated Thunder, 4-2</b>	
Game 1: at Oklahoma City 117, Dallas 91	
Game 2: Dallas 119, at Oklahoma City 110	
Game 3: at 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	

<b>CONFERENCE FINALS</b>	
Best of seven	
<b>EASTERN CONFERENCE</b>	
<b>Celtics eliminated Pacers, 4-0</b>	
Game 1: at Boston 133, Indiana 128 (OT)	
Game 2: at Boston 126, Indiana 110	
Game 3: Boston 116, at Indiana 111	
Game 4: Boston 105, at Indiana 102	

<b>WESTERN CONFERENCE</b>	
<b>Mavericks eliminated Timberwolves, 4-1</b>	
Game 1: Dallas 108, at Minnesota 105	
Game 2: Dallas 109, at Minnesota 108	
Game 3: Dallas 116, Minnesota 107	
Game 4: Minnesota 105, at Dallas 100	
Game 5: Dallas 124, at Minnesota 103	

<b>NBA FINALS</b>	
Best of seven	
<b>Celtics eliminated Mavericks, 4-1</b>	
Game 1: at Boston 107, Dallas 89	
Game 2: at Boston 105, Dallas 98	
Game 3: Boston 106, at Dallas 99	
Game 4: at Dallas 122, Boston 84	
Game 5: at Boston 106, Dallas 88	

<b>Celtics 106, Mavericks 88</b>	
Dallas	18 28 21 21 — 88
Boston	28 38 19 20 — 106

<b>DALLAS</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>FG</b>	<b>FT</b>	<b>O-T</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>PF</b>	<b>PTS</b>
James Jr.	22:20	4-8	1-2	0-0	0	0	10
Washington	34:29	2-7	0-0	0-6	3	4	4
Gafford	10:54	3-5	0-0	2-3	0	1	6
Donic	43:23	12-25	2-5	0-12	5	3	28
Irving	41:07	5-8	2-2	1-3	9	2	15
Lively II	24:05	1-2	0-0	2-4	0	5	2
Green	22:22	5-6	0-0	1-2	0	1	14
Kleber	13:26	1-3	0-0	1-3	1	2	2
Exum	8:49	1-1	1-2	0-0	0	0	0
Hardaway Jr.	8:37	0-1	0-0	0-0	3	0	0
Hardy	2:37	1-2	1-2	0-0	0	0	3
Lawson	2:37	0-0	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
Powell	2:37	0-0	0-0	0-1	0	0	0
Prosper	2:27	0-0	0-0	0-1	0	0	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>35-78</b>	<b>7-13</b>	<b>7-35</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>28</b>	

Percentages: FG .449, FT .538. 3-Point Goals: 11-37, .297 (Green 4-6, Irving 3-9, Donic 2-9, Exum 1-3, Jones Jr. 1-4, Hardaway Jr. 0-1, Kleber 0-2, Washington 0-5). Team Rebounds: 10. Team Turnovers: None. Blocked Shots: 4 (Washington 2, Jones Jr., Lively II). Turnovers: 13 (Don 7, Washington 4, Irving, Lively II). Steals: 4 (Donic 3, Irving). Technical Fouls: None.

<b>BOSTON</b>	<b>MIN</b>	<b>FG</b>	<b>FT</b>	<b>O-T</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>PF</b>	<b>PTS</b>
Brown	44:15	7-23	5-6	0-8	6	4	21
Tatum	44:57	11-24	8-8	1-11	2	3	31
Horford	31:35	3-6	1-2	2-9	3	3	8
Holiday	42:08	7-14	0-0	4-11	4	3	15
White	38:08	4-10	2-2	4-8	1	0	14
Hauser	17:07	3-7	0-0	3-4	1	1	8
Porzingis	16:05	2-4	1-2	0-1	0	2	5
Kornet	2:02	0-0	0-0	1-1	0	0	0
Pritchard	1:25	1-1	0-0	0-0	0	0	3
Brissett	0:38	0-0	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
Mykhailiuk	0:38	0-0	0-0	0-1	0	0	0
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>38-89</b>	<b>17-20</b>	<b>15-51</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>106</b>

Percentages: FG .427, FT .850. 3-Point Goals: 13-39, .333 (White 4-8, Horford 2-3, Hauser 2-6, Brown 2-9, Pritchard 1-1, Holiday 2-3, Tatum 2-7, Porzingis 0-2). Team Rebounds: 7. Team Turnovers: 2. Blocked Shots: 2 (Holiday, White). Turnovers: 7 (Holiday 2, Tatum 2, White 2, Brown). Steals: 9 (Brown 2, Horford 2, Tatum 2, White 2, Hauser). Technical Fouls: None. Ac:19,156 (16,628).

TRANSACTIONS

**MLB**  
**Baltimore Orioles:** Claimed RHP Nick Avila off waivers from San Francisco, optioned him to Norfolk (IL) and placed him on the minor league 7-day IL.  
**Boston Red Sox:** Reinstated 3B Romy Gonzalez from the 10-day IL. Optioned 2B Jamie Westbrook to Worcester (IL).  
**Chicago White Sox:** Sent RHP Matt Foster to ACL White Sox on a rehab assignment.  
**Kansas City Royals:** Sent RHP Michael Wach to ACL Royals on a rehab assignment.  
**Los Angeles Angels:** Designated SS Cole Tucker and LHP Jose Suarez for assignment. Selected the contract of RHP Zach Plesac from Salt Lake (PCL). Reinstated 3B Brandon Drury from the 10-day IL.  
**Oakland Athletics:** Optioned LHP Brady Basso to Las Vegas (PCL).  
**Toronto Blue Jays:** Signed RHP Diego Dominguez to a minor league contract. Placed RHP Yimi Garcia on the 15-day IL. Selected the contract of LHP Brandon Eisert from Buffalo (IL).

WNBA

<b>EAST</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>Pct</b>	<b>GB</b>
Connecticut	12	1	.923	
New York	12	2	.857	½
Atlanta	6	6	.500	5½
Indiana	5	10	.333	8
Chicago	4	9	.308	8
Washington	2	12	.143	10½

<b>WEST</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>Pct</b>	<b>GB</b>
Minnesota	11	3	.786	—
Seattle	9	5	.643	2
Phoenix	7	7	.500	4
Las Vegas	6	6	.500	4
Los Angeles	4	10	.286	7
Dallas	3	10	.231	7½

**SUNDAY'S RESULTS**  
at Indiana 91, Chicago 83  
at Phoenix 87, Seattle 78  
at Atlanta 87, Los Angeles 74

**MONDAY'S RESULT**  
at Minnesota 90, Dallas 78

**TUESDAY'S GAMES**  
Los Angeles at Connecticut, 7  
New York at Phoenix, 10

**WEDNESDAY'S GAMES**  
Washington at Indiana, 7  
Atlanta at Minnesota, 8  
Seattle at Las Vegas, 10

**THURSDAY'S GAMES**  
Dallas at Chicago, 12  
Los Angeles at New York, 7

Lynx 90, Wings 78

DALLAS	22	17	24	15	—	78
MINNESOTA	27	16	23	24	—	90

DALLAS: Billings 7-12 1-215, Soares 0-2 0-0, McCowan 4-9 0-0 8, Siegrist 8-17 0-117, Uzun 7-13 0-0 17, K.Brown 3-7 0-0 6, Lopez Sénéchal 3-7 0-0 7, Sheldon 3-6 0-0 8. Totals 35-73 1-3 78.

MINNESOTA: Collier 5-17 6-6 16, Smith 5-12 2-2 12, Juhász 5-5 0-0 11, McBride 4-9 8-9 19, Williams 3-11 0-0 6, Konec 0-0 2-2 2, Zandalsini 2-4 2-2 7, Hiedeman 6-9 3-3 17. Totals 30-67 23-24 90.

**Three-point Goals:** Dallas 7-17 (Uzun 3-5, Sheldon 2-2, Lopez Sénéchal 1-3, Siegrist 1-4, Billings 0-1, McCowan 0-1, Soares 0-1), Minnesota 7-19 (McBride 3-6, Hiedeman 2-4, Juhász 1-1, Zandalsini 1-1, Smith 0-2, Williams 0-2, Collier 0-3). Fouled Out: None. Rebounds: Dallas 24 (Billings 10), Minnesota 28 (Smith 9). Assists: Dallas 24 (Billings 9), Minnesota 24 (McBride 7). Total Fouls: Dallas 17, Minnesota 8. Ac: 8,314 (19,356)

SOCCER

MLS

<b>EAST</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>Pts</b>	<b>GF</b>	<b>GA</b>
Inter Miami CF	11	3	5	38	44	28
Cincinnati	11	3	36	27	18	18
New York	4	6	30	19	23	23
New York City FC	9	6	2	29	26	20
Charlotte FC	8	6	4	28	19	18
Columbus	7	2	6	27	24	15
Toronto FC	8	3	24	27	20	20
Philadelphia	4	5	8	20	28	25
Nashville	4	5	8	20	20	22
D.C. United	4	7	7	19	25	32
Chicago	4	6	18	18	21	30
CF Montreal	4	7	6	18	23	35
Atlanta	4	8	5	17	24	23
Orlando City	4	8	5	17	17	27
New England	5	10	1	16	15	29

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Real Salt Lake .....	9	2	7	34	36	19
Los Angeles FC .....	10	4	3	33	31	20
LA Galaxy .....	8	3	7	31	35	27
Minnesota United .....	8	4	5	29	28	23
Vancouver .....	7	6	4	25	26	22
Colorado .....	7	7	4	25	31	31
Houston .....	6	6	5	23	20	20
Austin FC .....	6	7	5	23	21	27
Seattle .....	5	7	6	21	22	21
Portland .....	5	7	6	21	32	32
St. Louis City SC .....	5	9	18	27	20	27
FC Dallas .....	4	8	5	17	20	25
Sporting KC .....	3	10	5	14	28	36
San Jose .....	2	12	2	11	26	43



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**820 Official Notices**  
PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY  
BOARD OF COUNTY SUPERVISORS  
ONE COUNTY COMPLEX COURT  
PRINCE WILLIAM, VA 22192  
July 2, 2024  
Public Hearings  
2:00 p.m.

1. **Proffer Amendment #REZ2024-09043, Robert Trent Jones PRA:**  
This is a request to amend the proffers associated with #RPN2002-  
00130, Robert Trent Jones Golf Club to allow temporary lodging on  
any portion of the golf course only in association with such tourna-  
ments as set forth in the Proffer Statement proposed with this Proffer  
Amendment. The temporary lodging will last for no longer than a 30-  
day period. The subject property is located approximately 1.310 feet  
south of intersection of Lee Highway (Route 29) and Baltzard Boul-  
vard and addressed as 14420, 14701, 14901, 14301, and 14565 Turtle  
Point Drive, identified as GPKs 7296-86-6347, 7296-98-6730, 7296-  
97-0295, 7296-77-8731, and 7296-97-6740, respectively. The ±241.96-  
acre property is zoned RPC, Residential Planned Community Mixed  
residential and Non-residential, and is designated RNC, Residential  
Planned Community with a transect of 3, in the Comprehensive Plan.  
Brentsville Magisterial District

2. **Zoning Text Amendment #DPA2023-00006, Industrial Parking:**  
This is an amendment to ARTICLE 1 Terms Defined Part 100 Definitions  
and ARTICLE IV Part 400 General Regulations to the Prince William  
County Zoning Ordinance to expand options for off-site parking asso-  
ciated with a primary use in industrial zoning districts by adding a new  
definition and use. **Countywide**

3. **Zoning Text Amendment #DPA2017-00025, Minor Changes to  
Written Determinations:** Zoning. This is an amendment to ARTICLE  
IX, Board of Zoning Appeals to incorporate state mandated changes.  
The amendments include amending language related to the Board of  
Zoning Appeals. **Countywide**

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.

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 be-  
ing 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, or by telephone at (703) 792-6600 or TDD (703)  
792-6295. Persons needing translation or interpreter services must  
notify the Clerk to the Board no later than 12:00 p.m. on Tuesday, June  
25, 2024.

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**840 Trustees Sale - DC**  
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Washington, DC 20006-1157  
202-661-2200  
**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE**  
**2001 PENN**  
**COMMERCIAL OFFICE BUILDING**  
**2001 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W.**  
**Washington, DC 20006**

By virtue of a certain Deed of Trust, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing, dated as of July 16, 2014 (the "Deed of Trust"), from 2001 Pennsylvania Avenue LLC, a Delaware limited liability company for the benefit of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, a New York corporation ("Original Lender"), recorded July 17, 2014, as Document No. 2014064373, with the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia (the "Land Records") and assigned by Original Lender to MetLife Real Estate Lending LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, pursuant to that certain Assignment of Deed of Trust, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing, dated as of July 7, 2023, having an effective date of June 1, 2023, recorded July 24, 2023, as Document No. 2023062558, in Land Records, and (i) affected by Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustees, dated March 12, 2024, recorded March 20, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024025939 in the Land Records, appointing Glenn J. Figurski, Esq. and Constantinos G. Panagopoulos, Esq. as Substitute Trustees ("Substitute Trustees") and (ii) assigned to 2001 Penn Owner LLC ("Noteholder") by Assignment of Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing and Assignment of Absolute Assignment of Leases and Rents, dated as of May 15, 2024, recorded May 30, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024050332 in the Land Records (collectively, 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 Noteholder, and following mailing of a Notice of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property or Condominium Unit, which was recorded, with an Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure, May 31, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024050450 and Instrument No. 2024050451, respectively, in the Land Records, the undersigned Substitute Trustees, either of whom may act, sell, at public auction, within the office of AT THE OFFICES OF HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS AT 5335 WISCONSIN AVE., NW, SUITE 440; WASHINGTON, DC 20015, AT 11:30 A.M. on

TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 2024 AT 11:30 AM

Part of Lot Forty-four (44) in Square numbered Seventy-eight (78) in the subdivision made by 2000 K, L.L.C. and 2001 Pennsylvania Avenue LLC, as per plat recorded in the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia in Liber 208 at folio 178; SAID PART BEING all of former Lot numbered Forty (40) in Square numbered Seventy-eight (78) in the subdivision made by 2001 Associates Limited Partnership, as per plat recorded in the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia in Liber 180 at folio 134.

NOTE: At the date hereof, the above described part of Lot Forty-four (44) in Square Seventy-eight (78) is designated on the Records of the Assessor for the District of Columbia for assessment and taxation purposes as Lot Eight Hundred Fifty-three (853) in Square Seventy-eight (78).

Together with a perpetual non-exclusive easement and right-of-way for purposes of pedestrian and vehicular access to the Loading Berths as set forth in that certain Declaration of Access Easement, dated July 13, 1988 and recorded August 4, 1988 as Instrument No. 42624.

Together with the development rights associated with Memorandum of Lease by and between The Arts Club of Washington, Inc., Lessor and Joel M. Farr, trustee for 2001 Associates, Lessee, dated August 4, 1988 and recorded August 11, 1988 as Instrument No. 43968, as affected by Memorandum of Lease Assignment from 2001 Associates, a District of Columbia limited partnership to 2001 Penn. Limited Partnership, dated September 17, 2001 and recorded September 17, 2001 as Instrument No. 2001088848 and Re-Recorded January 8, 2002 as Instrument No. 2002002619; as further affected by Assignment and Assumption of Air Rights Lease by and between 2001 Penn. Limited Partnership, Assignor and Benenson Mukwonago Penn LLC, et al., Assignee, dated July 12, 2007 and recorded July 18, 2007 as Instrument No. 2007094313 and as further affected by Assignment and Assumption of Air Rights Lease by and between Benenson Mukwonago Penn LLC, et al., Assignor, and 2001 Pennsylvania Avenue LLC, Assignee, recorded on July 17, 2014 as Instrument No. 2014064372.

Together with the rights, if any, associated with Covenant [Chapter 24, 11 D.C.M.R.] (Planned Unit Development) dated as of July 11, 1988 and among 2001 Associates, a District of Columbia limited partnership, 2011 Eye Land Limited Partnership, a District of Columbia limited partnership, The Arts Club of Washington, Inc., a District of Columbia corporation, and the District of Columbia, a municipal corporation, recorded on July 27, 1988 as Instrument No. Instrument No. 40947.

Together with the rights associated with Single Lot Covenant and Easement dated as of September 8, 2014 by and between 2001 Pennsylvania Avenue LLC and 2000 K, L.L.C., recorded on September 8, 2014 as Instrument No. 2014082274.

Together with any and all buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances now erected on the Real Estate, 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 located in, upon or about the Real Estate and any buildings thereon all as more particularly described in the Deed of Trust (collectively, the "Property"). The "Property" does not include any property owned by any tenants at the Property.

TERMS OF SALE: ALL CASH. The Property will be offered as an entirety only. The bid that yields the highest price for the Property will be accepted by the Substitute Trustees (unless the sale is postponed or cancelled) and all bids will be provisional until acceptance. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Substitute Trustees absolutely reserve the right to postpone the sale and/or cancel the sale at any time until the auctioneer announces that the Property is "sold" and the deposit in the required amount and form is received by the Substitute Trustees. A deposit in the amount of \$100,000 will be required at the time of sale as a condition to bidding. Such deposit must be by cashier's check or certified check or in such other form as the Substitute Trustees may determine in their sole discretion. The deposit must be increased to 10% of the purchase price within 5 business days after completion of the sale, and delivered to the Substitute Trustees in the same form of funds as the initial deposit. In the event the successful purchaser fails to deliver the additional deposit as and when required, the initial deposit will be forfeited. Noteholder (or any related party) shall be exempted by the Substitute Trustees from submitting any bidding deposit or, if they are the winning bidder, any additional deposit. The Substitute Trustees will, as a condition of the sale, require all potential bidders, except Noteholder, to show deposit before any bidding begins. The retained deposit of the successful purchaser shall be applied, without interest, to the successful purchaser's credit at settlement; provided, however, that in the event the successful purchaser does not consummate the purchase in accordance with the terms of sale as herein provided, the entire deposit will be forfeited. The terms of sale must be complied with and settlement consummated thereon within 30 calendar days from the day of sale unless extended at the sole discretion of the Substitute Trustees. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. The balance of the purchase price over and above the retained deposit, with interest thereon at the rate then being charged under the note secured by the Deed of Trust, from the date of sale through the date of receipt of the balance of the purchase price, will be due at settlement by bank wire transfer; and if not so paid, the Substitute Trustees reserve the right to retain the entire deposit and resell the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser, after such advertisement and on such terms as the Substitute Trustees may deem proper, and to avail themselves and Noteholder of any legal or equitable rights against the defaulting purchaser. Settlement will be handled by Chicago Title Insurance Company in Washington, DC.

The Property is sold subject to the rights, if any, of parties in possession, if such rights have priority over the Deed of Trust, and to any and all covenants, conditions, restrictions, easements, rights of way and limitations of record and such facts as would be revealed by an accurate survey of the Property. The Property will be sold "WHERE IS" and in "AS IS" condition without any warranty as to condition, express or implied, and without any representation or warranty as to the accuracy of the information furnished to prospective bidders by the Substitute Trustees or any other party, if any, and without any other representations or warranty of any nature. The Property will also be sold without any contingency for the successful purchaser to perform any due diligence investigation of the Property prior to settlement. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the Property will be sold without representation or warranty as to (i) title to the Property, (ii) the nature, condition, structural integrity or fitness for a particular use of any improvements or fixtures included within the Property, (iii) the environmental condition of the Property or the compliance of the Property with federal, state and local laws and regulations concerning the presence or disposal of hazardous substances, (iv) compliance of the Property with the Americans with Disabilities Act or any similar law, or (v) compliance of the Property with any zoning laws or ordinances and any and all applicable safety codes, and acceptance of the Substitute Trustees Deed to the Property by the successful purchaser shall constitute a waiver of any and all claims against the Substitute Trustees or Noteholder concerning any of the foregoing matters. The successful purchaser recognizes that any investigation, examination or inspection of the Property is within the control of the owner or other parties in possession of the Property and not within the control of the Substitute Trustees or Noteholder.

Conveyance shall be by Substitute Trustee's Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or implied. The risk of loss or damage by fire or other casualty to the Property from and after the time of sale will be upon the successful purchaser. The Property is sold subject to all taxes, ground rents, public charges, assessments, sewer, water, drainage and other public improvements, if any, whether assessments have been levied or not, and all unassessed lease and capital improvement costs, if any, all of which shall be the sole responsibility of the successful purchaser. Noteholder and Substitute Trustees assume no liability for fuel, gas, electricity, utilities and other operating charges accrued before or after the sale and all such charges shall be the sole responsibility of the successful purchaser from the date of sale. All costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including, without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing, all (i) recordation taxes, fees and charges, (ii) transfer taxes, fees and charges, (iii) title insurance premiums, (iv) notary fees, (v) settlement and escrow fees, and (vi) all other fees, costs and charges incident to settlement shall be at the cost of the successful purchaser. If the Substitute Trustees cannot convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy is a return of the deposit without interest. Further particulars may be announced at the time of sale. Please contact Fred Shaneybrook at fred@westauctions.com or at 410-769-3757 with any questions.

Constantinos G. Panagopoulos, Esq.  
Glenn Figurski, Esq.  
Substitute Trustees

**HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC.**  
5335 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Suite 440  
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Jun 16, 18, 20, 22, 24 2024 0012463194

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(301) 961-6555  
**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE  
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY  
IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**  
**2807 RANDOLPH ROAD  
SILVER SPRING, MD 20902**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated August 28, 2006, recorded in Liber 33242, Folio 1 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$280,000.00, 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

JULY 5, 2024 AT 12:15 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 \$17,000 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. 176802-2)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,  
Substitute Trustees

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Hunt Valley, MD 21031  
470-321-7112  
**TRUSTEES' SALE OF  
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY**  
KNOWN AS  
**9676 BRASSIE WAY  
MONTGOMERY VILLAGE, MD 20886**

Under a power of sale contained in that Deed of Trust dated October 2, 2007, and recorded in Liber 35037, folio 555, of the land records of **MONTGOMERY COUNTY**, with an original principal balance of \$188,000.00, 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 26, 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# - 09-01794177

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 §§11-110 and §§11B-117.

**TERMS OF SALE:** A non-refundable bidder's deposit of \$15,500.00 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 form 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 6.000% 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. (18-238179)

Keith Yacko, David Williamson, Bryson Stephen,  
Substitute Trustees

**HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, LLC**  
300 E. Johns Road  
Hampden Park, Suite 1103  
Baltimore, MD 21286  
410-769-0277  
Jun 11, 18, 25 2024 0012460895

**850 Montgomery County**  
**850 Montgomery County**  
McCabe, Weisberg & Conway, LLC  
312 Marshall Avenue, Suite 800  
Laurel, MD 20707  
www.mwc-law.com  
**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE  
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY  
11408 SENECA FOREST CIRCLE  
GERMANTOWN, MD 20876**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Aminata Kone and Mebeti Dosso, dated June 15, 2006 and recorded in Liber 32611, folio 284 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 28, 2024 AT 3:48 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 \$38,000 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 final 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 the court, waives personal service upon themselves and/or any principal or corporate designee 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, filed 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 #19-603612).

Laura H. G. O'Sullivan, et al., Substitute Trustees

**ALEX COOPER**  
auctioneers  
908 York Road • Towson, MD 21204 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com  
Jun 11, 18, 25 2024 0012462885

**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  
**10224 GREEN FOREST DRIVE  
SILVER SPRING, MD 20903**

Under a power of sale contained in that Deed of Trust dated August 27, 2009, and recorded in Liber 38005, folio 329, of the land records of **MONTGOMERY COUNTY**, with an original principal balance of \$266,500.00, 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 26, 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# - 05-00309732

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 §§11-110 and §§11B-117.

**TERMS OF SALE:** A non-refundable bidder's deposit of \$21,500.00 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 form 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 5.500% 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. (22-064834)

Keith Yacko, David Williamson, Bryson Stephen,  
Substitute Trustees

**HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, LLC**  
300 E. Johns Road  
Hampden Park, Suite 1103  
Baltimore, MD 21286  
410-769-0277  
Jun 11, 18, 25 2024 0012460894



D8 CLASSIFIED

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Montgomery County

850

Montgomery County

BWW Law Group, LLC  
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101  
Rockville, MD 20852  
(301) 961-6555

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE  
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**  
10014 FOREST VIEW PLACE  
GAITHERSBURG, MD 20886

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated January 22, 2021, recorded in Liber 62036, Folio 374 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$179,400.00, 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 28, 2024 AT 3:41 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 \$17,000 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. 368199-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,  
Substitute Trustees

908 York Road • Towson, MD 21204 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com

Jun 11,18,25 2024

0012462857

BWW 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

908 York Road • Towson, MD 21204 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com

Jun 4,11,18 2024

0012462113

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Prince Georges County

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Prince Georges County

GREENSPOON MARDER, LLP  
201 International Circle, Suite 230  
Hunt Valley, MD 21030

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE  
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY  
KNOWN AS**  
5000 MANOR COURT  
Oxon Hill, MD 20745

By virtue of a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust dated LILLIAN E. ATWATER, dated July 23, 2008 and recorded in book 30092, page 122 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, Maryland, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure case docketed as Case No. C-16-CV-24-000004; Tax ID No. 12-125640) the Substitute Trustee will sell at public auction PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772.

JUNE 27, 2024 at 2:00 PM

Property is subject to a IRS Right of Redemption.

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S 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 of \$ 35,000.00 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 PRINCE GEORGE'S 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 five percent (5%) from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustee. 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 is 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 # 23-001821-01)

SYDNEY E. ROBERSON, NICOLE LIPINSKI, MARC MEDEL,  
Substitute Trustee (s)

300 E. Joppa Road  
Hagerstown, MD 21740 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com

Jun 11,18,25 2024

0012460558

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Frederick County

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Frederick County

BWW Law Group, LLC  
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101  
Rockville, MD 20852  
(301) 961-6555

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE  
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY  
IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**

13 MOON MAIDEN COURT  
WALKERSVILLE, MD 21793

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated February 24, 2022, recorded in Liber 15868, Folio 24 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$127,187.00, 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

JULY 5, 2024 AT 10:50 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 \$12,000 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. 368650-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,  
Substitute Trustees

908 York Road • Towson, MD 21204 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com

Jun 18,25,Jul 2 2024

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The Washington Post

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Frederick County

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Frederick County

BWW Law Group, LLC  
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101  
Rockville, MD 20852  
(301) 961-6555

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE  
OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**  
234 KNOXVILLE ROAD  
KNOXVILLE, MD 21758

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated September 10, 2012, recorded in Liber 9129, Folio 187 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$232,427.00, 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 28, 2024 AT 12:50 PM

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 \$19,000 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. 366190-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,  
Substitute Trustees

908 York Road • Towson, MD 21204 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com

Jun 11,18,25 2024

0012462855

BWW Law Group, LLC  
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101  
Rockville, MD 20852  
(301) 961-6555

**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

908 York Road • Towson, MD 21204 • 410.828.4838  
www.alexcooper.com

Jun 4,11,18 2024

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Frederick County

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Frederick County

Brock and Scott, PLLC  
5431 Oleander Drive  
Wilmington NC, 28403

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF  
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY  
KNOWN AS**  
317 S Market Street  
Frederick, MD 21701

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to LAWYERS TITLE SERVICES INC, Trustee(s), dated June 21, 2005, and recorded among the Land Records of FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 5396, folio 74, MODIFIED AUGUST 28, 2020 IN BOOK 14570, PAGE 471, the holders 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 FREDERICK COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 100 W. PATRICK ST, FREDERICK, MD 21701 ON,

JUNE 26, 2024 at 9:30 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in FREDERICK COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

BEING ON THE WEST SIDE OF SOUTH MARKET STREET AND KNOWN AS PART OF LOT 5, ON THE PLAT OF "MARKELL'S ADDITION TO FREDERICK COUNTY", PER PLAT BOOK E.S. 10 AT PLAT 139, AND RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND AND BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS 317 SOUTH MARKET STREET. TAX ID # 02-018551

Property is subject to a IRS Right of Redemption.

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WELL+BEING

How much is too much to pay for staying fit?

**Your Move**  
MIKALA JAMISON  
Financial experts offer guidance about how much of your income to spend on rent (no more than 30 percent) and how much to put into savings (about 20 percent). But how much should we be spending on fitness and health?

Many Gen Z and Millennial consumers view exercise as a financial priority, and they say they are investing significant portions of their income into fitness. Chris Rondeau, former chief executive of Planet Fitness, has said Gen Z membership at the chain was “off the charts.”

Taylor Price, 23, who calls herself the “Gen Z Money Expert,” advises spending around 5 to 10 percent of income toward health and fitness. “This ensures you keep your health as a priority without overshadowing other crucial financial responsibilities,” said Price, who makes financial advice videos for 1.1 million followers on TikTok.

Why is fitness a spending priority for younger generations? Price said her age group equates fitness with not only physical well-being, but also mental health. She also pointed to the internet. “There is also the appeal of fitness culture and aesthetics on social media platforms, which largely influences Gen Z,” she said.

Fitness is now “really connected to this kind of mind-body project as a whole,” said Natalia Mehlman Petrzela, author of “Fit Nation: The Gains & Pains of America’s Exercise Obsession” and associate professor of history at the New School in New York. “I think a lot of people see it as: This is smart spending. This is spending on your health and well-being.”

SEE **GYMS** ON **E4**

WELL+BEING

Juggle, swim, make the bed! How to make changes stick.

Following up with readers six months into their 2024 resolutions

BY MAHAM JAVAID  
AND DAN ROSENZWEIG-ZIFF

Who said habit change had to be boring? We tracked more than a dozen readers who made quirky and life-changing New Year’s resolutions, and six months later they’re still going strong.

Stop wearing beige. Enjoy more wine. Learn to juggle. Become a regular at a bar. Be hot. Cook with a friend. Learn to swim in the ocean. Make the bed every day.

How did they do it? They picked things they enjoyed, made detailed plans and set bite-size targets. Self-kindness was another theme — they gave themselves a break on days they weren’t perfect. Accountability was a common denominator — our goal-setters leaned on family members, kept journals and shared their progress with us.

“When you feel observed, you are more likely to perform well,” said Katy Milkman, a Wharton School professor at the University of Pennsylvania and author of “How to Change: The Science of Getting From Where You Are to Where You Want to Be.”

Our goal-setters learned skills, experienced transformation, tried new things, got fit, practiced mindfulness and achieved financial goals. Here’s what they learned.

SEE **RESOLUTIONS** ON **E5**

ILLUSTRATION BY LEON EDLER

Kidney transplants for cats are possible but pricey

BY MARLENE CIMONS

When Max Segal became ill with a serious gastrointestinal disorder several years ago, his newly adopted kitten, Desperado, would put his head next to Segal’s on the pillow and purr. “He was such an emotional comfort. He did wonders for my mood,” Segal says, adding, “I am absolutely in love with him.”

So when “Despy” suddenly developed a congenital form of

advanced kidney disease at age 2 and the veterinarian estimated his life span in months, Segal vowed to do whatever he could to save the cat. “He took care of me when I was sick,” says Segal, a software developer who lives in San Jose. “It was my turn to take care of him. It’s that’s simple.”

Segal, then living in the Boston area, drove his cat to the University of Pennsylvania School of Veterinary Medicine in Philadelphia, where Despy underwent a kidney

transplant in 2018. Today, Despy is thriving. So is Stevie, the kidney donor cat from a local shelter that Segal agreed to adopt as part of the renal transplant. He adores them both. “They play together, they groom each other, they roughhouse,” Segal says. “We’ve become a comfortable, loving family.”

Chronic kidney disease is one of the most common conditions in aging cats and a leading cause of death. The disease can be herita-

ble, afflicting young cats such as Despy, and can result from toxin exposure, such as eating lilies. (A cat who eats even a small amount from any part of a lily plant can suffer fatal kidney failure within days.)

Like humans, cats have two kidneys, which filter waste from the body, and can live with just one if that kidney is healthy.

Kidney transplants in cats began more than 25 years ago,

SEE **CATS** ON **E2**

**WILDLIFE**  
Were they abandoned kittens or puppies? Neither. **E2**

**JAVA**  
More good news for coffee drinkers from a new study. **E3**



ARIZONA HUMANE SOCIETY

**WOMEN’S HEALTH**  
Older women are often left out of studies on aging. **E3**

**NUTRITION**  
Are greens powders as good for you as they advertise? **E4**

WELL+BEING

Processing can rob plant foods of benefits



**Eating Lab**  
ANAHAD O’CONNOR

Eating a plant-based diet is good for your health, but not if those plant foods are ultra-processed, a new study has found.

The findings show that all plant-based diets aren’t the same, and that plant foods can have very different effects on your health depending on what manufacturers do to them before they reach your plate.

The new research, published last week in the journal Lancet Regional Health — Europe, found that eating plant-derived foods that are ultra-processed — such as meat substitutes, fruit juices and pastries — increases the risk of heart attacks and strokes. But when plant foods such as fruits, vegetables, whole grains and nuts are only minimally processed, meaning they are cleaned, cut and packaged but served largely as they are found in nature, they have a protective effect against cardiovascular disease.

Ultra-processed foods have faced intense scrutiny from health authorities in recent years. What’s unusual about the new study is that it zeroed in on the health effects of ultra-processed foods that begin as plants, comparing them with minimally processed plant foods. Given that plant-based foods are generally healthy in their natural state, the research suggests that there’s something uniquely damaging about ultra-processing that changes a food in a way that can harm a person’s health long term.

“The artificial and heightened flavors of these

SEE **PLANT-BASED** ON **E4**



# Transplant is possible when cats’ kidneys fail

CATS FROM E1

although they still are rare, and only three facilities perform them: Penn Vet, the University of Wisconsin School of Veterinary Medicine and the University of Georgia College of Veterinary Medicine.

Penn Vet has performed 185 transplants since 1998, the Georgia school more than 40 since 2009, and Wisconsin 87 since 1996.

Not all cats are candidates for the procedure, and for those who are, it can be expensive, up to \$25,000 for the surgeries to retrieve the donor kidney and transplant it into the recipient cat. Yet the surgeons who do them say they find it personally gratifying to give people more time with their cherished companions. Also, they add, the surgeries and long-term follow-up in cats can provide knowledge that potentially can benefit human health.

Most cats gain an average of two to three years, although there are exceptions. Despy, for example, is six years post-transplant. “Our longest survivor was nearly 13 years,” says Chad Schmiedt, the Alison Bradbury chair in feline health at the Georgia veterinary school. “Shilo was 3 when we did the transplant in June 2009 and lived until April 2022.”

About 40 percent “go out three years post-transplant,” says Robert J. Hardie, clinical professor of small-animal soft-tissue surgery at the Wisconsin veterinary school, adding that survival often depends on whether postsurgical complications occur. “Some live longer. We’ve had some out 10 years.” At Penn Vet, up to 70 percent are alive and doing well one year after transplant, and two recipients lived 13 years after the surgery.

“It is a life-expanding procedure with the possibility of relatively good outcomes — sometimes dramatic outcomes — in terms of longevity that is of great value to many pet parents,” Hardie says. Moreover, scientists could learn more about immunosuppression in cats that could be applicable to humans, he says.

Lillian Aronson, professor of surgery at Penn Vet — who per-



MAX SEGAL

Desperado, top, who was 2 at the time of his surgery, snuggles up with Stevie, his kidney donor.

formed Despy’s transplant — agrees. “Cats are a natural living model of kidney disease,” she says, and their shorter life spans can make information available more quickly than from humans.

Many pet health insurance companies will cover some of the costs for the recipient, but usually not for the donor because “the donor is not the insured pet,” according to the North American Pet Health Insurance Association. The cost for the donor surgery to harvest the kidney is about 25 percent of the \$25,000 total, Aronson says.

Still, some pet parents are devoted to their cats and don’t hesitate. “We don’t question someone who spends \$40,000 for a car,” Aronson says. “One of my clients said: ‘I just spent \$17,000 on my roof, and I love my cat a lot more than my roof.’”

The cats getting new kidneys typically are between the ages of 8 and 12, although younger cats without other potentially serious medical conditions often do better and live longer, experts say. Schmiedt usually won’t perform a transplant on a cat older than 16. Hardie says the oldest cat transplanted at Wisconsin was 18. Aronson once did one on a nearly 18-year-old who had no other health problems and was youthful in behavior and who lived for another two years with the new kidney.

Cats with moderate kidney disease are better candidates than those with mild or advanced disease, because of the balance between surgery risks and benefits, although age provides an advan-

tage for young cats who may have advanced kidney disease. The cats also can’t have chronic infections or cancer because they must take the immunosuppressive drug cyclosporine for life, which can worsen both conditions. Severe heart disease also rules them out. “You want a recipient who has the best chance of making it” through surgery and beyond, Schmiedt says.

Matching is easier for cats than it is for humans needing a transplant because there are only two blood types among all cats.

Donors come from cat research breeding facilities or shelters, where they might otherwise have a bleak future, and families whose cats undergo transplants must adopt the donors. “For the cost of a kidney, [the donor cats] get to move in with a cat-loving household and are universally loved by their new adoptive families,” Schmiedt says.

Andy and Eleni, financial consultants from Gainesville, Fla., who spoke on the condition that their last names not be used for privacy reasons, embraced their second cat, Pappy, after Teenie’s operation six years ago at the Georgia facility. Teenie was 8 years old when kidney failure meant he would need a new one to survive; he is now 14. Pappy was 2 when he donated his kidney and is now 8.

“The surgery not only gave us more time with a cat we love, but we were also blessed with a wonderful new cat who saved his life and brought an equal amount of joy and love into ours,” Andy says.

During surgery, the team re-

moves the new kidney from the donor, then stitches it into the recipient. They suture the donor blood vessels — the renal artery and vein — to the aorta and vena cava of the recipient and attach the donor ureter to the recipient’s bladder.

They usually leave the old kidneys in place as a reserve, in case the new kidney doesn’t work right away. Many cats, however, urinate immediately, even while in surgery. “It’s always exciting the first time they pee,” Schmiedt says.

The surgeries can take up to eight hours. The donor can go home in a few days, while the recipient typically stays longer, sometimes a week or more. Both cats are followed for life.

Transplants other than kidneys in pets aren’t viable because most require the death of the donor. Kidney transplants in dogs can be challenging because, unlike cats, they often suffer problems with immunosuppression, says Aronson, who has performed three. (The dogs survived but did not do as well long-term as cats, she says.

Although post-transplant complications can occur, research suggests that cats in renal failure can do well — if they are good candidates for the procedure. “I think transplantation is the only real way to cure kidney disease” in cats, Schmiedt says. “The goal is to give them the quality of life they had before.”

This seems to be true for Despy. “He has all the energy he’s ever had,” Segal says. “He’s living his best life.”

## INSPIRED LIFE

# Animals left at Arizona shelter turn out to be foxes

BY CATHY FREE

A Phoenix man walked into the Arizona Humane Society earlier this year with four fuzzy baby animals, each weighing less than a pound.

He told employees he wasn’t sure what the animals were, but he’d put them in a box after he found them inside a small den next to his shed. He thought they’d been abandoned and needed rescuing, said Kelsey Dickerson, public information officer for the animal shelter.

“Their eyes were barely open, and they were probably 1 or 2 weeks old,” she said about the drop-off on the afternoon of April 16.

“I’m not sure whether he thought they were puppies or kittens, but we get that a lot,” Dickerson added. “People see adorable little animals alone on their property and think they are helpless orphans, so they bring them to us.”

A close inspection by an animal-care specialist at the shelter revealed that the babies weren’t cute domestic pets in trouble, but were actually wild gray foxes.

“It’s likely the mom was out hunting to get food for them, and she was going to be back soon,” Dickerson said. “This guy didn’t know they were wild, and he thought he was being a good Samaritan by bringing them in.”

It’s a common occurrence, but especially in Arizona, where the animal birth season generally runs from March through November, due to the warmer climate, she said.

Dickerson said baby bobcats, coyotes, bats and reptiles have also been dropped off by people who think the newborn animals have been abandoned and are in danger of starving to death.

There was a publicized case in California, where a woman thought she’d rescued a kitten two years ago, and it turned out to be a fox.

That same spring in 2022, a Massachusetts family took in a lost puppy and learned it was a coyote. In 2018, a Minnesota man learned the kitten he’d rescued in a parking lot was actually a baby bobcat.



SOUTHWEST WILDLIFE CONSERVATION CENTER

One of the baby gray foxes after a feeding last month at the Southwest Wildlife Conservation Center in Prescott, Ariz.

The biggest mistake in animal identification was probably made by a British woman who rushed to the vet in March with what she thought was a baby hedgehog. The “newborn” she’d gently placed in a cardboard box and coaxed with cat food turned out not to be an animal at all. In fact, it wasn’t even alive. It was a pom-pom from a winter hat.

The April situation with the Arizona fox kits prompted the Humane Society to remind the public not to pick up baby animals of any kind when they come across them, either on private property or in the wild. They also used the opportunity to remind people not to move litters of stray kittens.

“DON’T KIDNAP KITTENS!” a Facebook post read. “We know the first instinct when seeing a litter of kittens is to rush to aid. But in fact, the best thing we can do is leave them for when their mama returns! If after eight hours, mom does not return, [then] you can assume they are orphaned.”

The four fox kits were sent the

same day to the Southwest Wildlife Conservation Center in Scottsdale, where they will be cared for until they’re old enough to be released in the wild, Dickerson said.

“It’s a sad situation — the best thing would have been for the person to wait to see if mom came back, and if she didn’t, then call us,” she said.

Once someone has intervened and taken wild animal babies away, it isn’t always possible to reunite them with the mother, said Kim Carr, animal-care manager for the Southwest Wildlife Conservation Center.

In most cases, too much time has passed and people don’t remember the exact spot where the animals were found. It’s also an involved process to try to determine whether the mother is still around, she said.

Warnings about moving baby animals are put out every year by animal shelters and wildlife agencies, including the Virginia Department of Wildlife Resources,

which urges people to be on the alert every spring for white-tailed fawns, and to leave them alone if they’re found in yards or parks without their mothers. The mothers leave them alone on purpose, and almost always come back for them with food.

The Humane Society also offers tips on what to do if baby wild animals are found nestled in the grass or in dens on private property. Unless an animal is shivering, crying or showing signs of an obvious injury, the agency said to leave them alone.

The Arizona fox kits should be able to return to the wild this summer when they’ve grown a little more and have learned to hunt, Carr said.

“When they first came in, we were feeding them specialized fox formula with a syringe every three hours, but for the last couple of weeks, they’ve been eating from a dish,” she said last month.

Every day, Carr said, she mixes the same nutritious formula with fresh fruit, ground meat, baby food such as pureed pears or chicken, and the occasional mouse. She calls the concoction “fox soup.”

She drapes camouflaged fabric over her face and body before feeding the foxes, so they won’t grow accustomed to human faces and contact, she said.

“I want to disguise myself and also wear gloves, so they don’t think I’m their mother,” Carr said. “I don’t talk to them, and we keep sound machines going so they don’t hear human voices.”

Cuddling, although tempting, is forbidden, she said.

The fox kits will eventually be moved outside to an enclosure with natural shelters and places to hide, she added.

“It will give them a place to play in the sunshine and grow and develop their muscles,” Carr said. “They’ll also learn to hunt with live prey like mice.”

Foxes generally grow pretty quickly and like to climb trees, she said, noting that the center has also cared for baby coyotes, skunks, raccoons, bobcats, bears and javelina.

“It will be gratifying to release these young foxes into the wild,” Carr said. “It’s where they belong.”

## SCIENCE NEWS

# 4,000-year-old Greek hilltop site mystifies archaeologists and complicates airport plans

By NICHOLAS PAPHITIS

ATHENS, Greece — A big, round, 4,000-year-old stone building discovered on a Cretan hilltop is puzzling archaeologists and threatening to disrupt a major airport project on the Greek tourist island.

Greece’s Culture Ministry said last week that the structure is a “unique and extremely interesting find” from Crete’s Minoan civilization, famous for its sumptuous palaces, flamboyant art and enigmatic writing system. Resembling a huge car wheel from above, the ruins of the labyrinthine, 19,000-square-foot building came to light during a recent dig by archaeologists.

The site was earmarked for a radar station to serve a new airport under construction near the town of Kastelli. Set to open in 2027, it’s projected to replace Greece’s second-biggest airport at Heraklion and designed to handle up to 18 million travelers annually.

Archaeologists don’t yet know what the hilltop structure was for. It’s still under excavation and has no known Minoan parallels. So for the time being, experts speculate it could have been used for a ritual or religious function.

Ringed by eight stepped stone walls up to 5.6 feet high, the inner structure was split into smaller, interconnecting spaces and may have had a shallow conical roof.

The ministry’s statement said it didn’t appear to have been a dwelling, and the finds from inside it included a large quantity of animal bones.

“It may have been periodically used for possibly ritual ceremonies involving consumption of

food, wine and perhaps offerings,” the statement said.

“Its size, architectural layout and careful construction required considerable labor, specialized know-how and a robust central administration,” it said, adding it was certainly some kind of communal building that stood out in the entire area.

Culture Minister Lina Mendoni, an archaeologist, pledged that the find would be preserved while a different location would be sought for the radar station.

“We all understand the value and importance of cultural heritage ... as well as the growth potential” of the new airport project, she said. “It’s possible to go ahead with the airport while granting the antiquities the protection they merit.”

The ministry said the building was mainly used between 2000 to 1700 B.C. and was founded around the time Crete’s first palaces were being built — including at Knossos and Phaistos.

It said some of its features were comparable with early Minoan beehive tombs that were surmounted by stepped conical roofs and burial mounds in other parts of Greece.

Greece’s rich cultural heritage often results in conflicts of interest during construction projects.

At the end of the last century, an entire hilltop fortified settlement from the 3rd millennium B.C. was excavated and then destroyed during construction work for Athens International Airport.

So far, at least another 35 archaeological sites have been uncovered during work on the new Kastelli airport and its road connections, the ministry said.

— Associated Press



AP

The building’s use is still unknown, but the Greek Culture Ministry noted that a large quantity of animal bones were found inside it.

## SCIENCE SCAN

### MOLLUSKS

# Recent analysis pinpoints gut-based source of tiny shipworms’ ability to destroy vessels

By ERIN BLAKEMORE

Throughout history, shipworms — stringy mollusks that bore into wood — have wreaked havoc on the world’s navies, causing once-seaworthy ships to capsize and even destroying San Francisco’s wharves a century ago. Now, researchers have figured out the secret behind their uncanny power to demolish even large wooden structures: symbiotic microbes growing in shipworms’ guts.

Published in the journal International Biodeterioration & Biodegradation, the study challenges assumptions that *Teredo navalis* shipworms had “nearly sterile” digestive tracts. Though past research has shed light on shipworm anatomy, researchers couldn’t figure out why they are capable of breaking down wood so quickly.

To solve the mystery, researchers dissected shipworms and analyzed their stomachs and intestines, neither of which are thought to secrete enzymes capable of destroying the lignin — the substance that forms the toughest part of wood. This time they homed in on a structure other scientists had missed: the typhlosole, a sub-organ in shipworms’ intestinal wall. Past observers assumed the typhlosole helped shipworms absorb nutrients. But a closer look revealed that it played another role, hosting clusters of *Alteromonas* bacteria capable of producing enzymes that digest lignin.

Why bother studying ship-

**First report of microbial symbionts in the digestive system of shipworms; wood boring mollusks**

International Biodeterioration & Biodegradation

worms and their guts?

“Not only have [shipworms] changed history, they are also ecosystem engineers and play a fundamental role in cycling carbon in aquatic environments,” Reuben Shipway, who initiated the study during postdoctoral work at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, says in a news release. “It’s incredible that we haven’t had a full understanding of how they do this.”

Why has it taken so long to pinpoint the typhlosole and the symbiotic bacteria it hosts? “It is unknown,” the researchers write. Nor is it clear what role the bacteria play and whether such symbiotic species can be found in other types of shipworms.

Nevertheless, the analysis brings researchers closer to understanding the wood-hungry mollusks — and their potential for everything from pharmaceuticals to carbon capture — than ever before. “It’s very satisfying,” said Barry Goodell, a retired professor of microbiology of UMass Amherst who co-wrote and led the research in the paper. “We’ve been trying to crack this mystery for years and we finally discovered the shipworm’s hidden bacterial symbiont secret.”

## HEALTH & SCIENCE

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BIG NUMBER

24 percent

Sedentary coffee drinkers had a 24 percent reduced risk of mortality compared with those who sat for more than six hours and didn't drink coffee, according to the lead author of a study published recently in the journal BMC Public Health. The finding, which was not part of the original article, was calculated at The Washington Post's request and provided by Huimin Zhou, a researcher at the Medical College of Soochow University's School of Public Health in China and the lead author of the study on coffee and health. In the article, researchers reported that non-coffee drinkers who sat six hours or more per day were 58 percent more likely to die of all causes than coffee drinkers sitting for less than six hours a day, indicating both the risk of sedentary behavior and the benefit of coffee drinking. In his analysis for The Post, Zhou wrote that the comparison was chosen because it involved two "riskiest" behaviors with two least "risky" behaviors. The study used data from 10,639 subjects, collected from 2007 to 2018 in the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) by the National Center for Health Statistics. The NHANES survey, used to measure Americans' health and nutrition status, has been collected every two years since 1999. The researchers, primarily from the Medical College of Soochow University in Suzhou, China, also found that sitting more than eight hours a day was associated with a 46 percent higher risk of all-cause mortality and 79 percent higher risk of cardiovascular disease mortality, when compared with those sitting for less than four hours a day. Additionally, those who drank the most coffee (more than two cups per day) showed a 33 percent reduced risk of all-cause mortality and 54 percent reduced risk of cardiovascular disease mortality compared with non-coffee drinkers. In their conclusion, the researchers note that, "Given that coffee is a complex compound, further research is needed to explore this miracle compound."

— Ian McMahan

HEALTH SCAN

HOSPITALS

Substituting lower-paid staff for RNs could lead to patient deaths, readmissions, study suggests

BY ERIN BLAKEMORE

If hospitals substitute lower-wage staff for registered nurses, patients may suffer, a new analysis suggests.

Published in the journal Medical Care, the study coincides with a nationwide RN shortage and reports of widespread burnout among RNs. To fill the gap, many hospitals have turned to "team nursing," a model that uses fewer RNs as supervisors of a team of lower-wage health-care workers such as licensed practical nurses and nurse assistants.

To find out how this model affects patient care, researchers analyzed data from a national sample of 2,676 hospitals and nearly 6.6 million patients treated in 2019. The patients studied were between 65 and 99 years old and were Medicare beneficiaries; all had hospital stays of between a day and a month.

The researchers then looked at the proportion of RNs on the hospital staffs, tying that data to patient outcomes and satisfaction ratings.

RNs made up an average of 76.5 percent of hospital staff in 2019, the researchers found. If that number were to fall by just 10 percent, the researchers projected, a patient would have 7 percent higher odds of dying in the hospital and 4 percent higher odds of dying within 30 days

Alternative Models of Nurse Staffing May Be Dangerous in High-Stakes Hospital Care

Medical Care

of discharge. The length of hospital stay and the likelihood of readmission would increase, too.

If all of the hospitals were to reduce their proportion of nurses by 10 percent, the researchers project, it would result in 10,947 additional deaths and 5,207 avoidable readmissions per year, costing Medicare \$68.5 million and hospitals \$2.9 billion in cost savings because of longer stays.

Instead of changing their staffing mix, the researchers recommend hospitals explore ways to improve working environments for RNs, including reducing understaffed shifts, funding more positions and addressing nurse burnout.

"Nurses in hospitals provide care for the sickest patients," Karen Lasater, associate professor of nursing at the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing and the study's lead author, said in a news release. "It's high-stakes care. The findings show that replacing RNs with non-RN staff is dangerous to patients."

The researchers also suggest establishing minimum requirements for RN staffing to protect patient safety.

FROM CONSUMER REPORTS

Diet changes can lower blood pressure

BY JANET LEE

Advanced age is a risk factor for high blood pressure — more than half of older adults have it. But there is plenty you can do to reduce your odds and reverse worrisome increases.

Start with the foods you eat. "Diet can help for both prevention and management of high blood pressure," says Emily Gier, an associate professor in the Cornell University College of Human Ecology's division of nutritional sciences in Ithaca, N.Y. "And it doesn't come with the side effects that some medications do."

The first diet step that most doctors recommend is cutting back on sodium. On average, Americans eat 3,400 mg a day. Per the Dietary Guidelines for Americans, you should aim for less than 2,300 mg — roughly equivalent to one teaspoon of table salt — but the American Heart Association says no more than 1,500 mg is an ideal daily goal.

Cutting back can lead to good results. For example, going from 5,000 mg a day to about 1,300 mg lowered systolic blood pressure (the upper number) by an average of eight points and diastolic (the lower number) by three points, according to a 2023 study in JAMA of 213 older adults with and without hypertension.

But here's the problem: Decreasing the sodium in your diet isn't that easy. Most of it comes from packaged foods and restaurant dishes — think pizza, sandwiches, deli meat, bread, soups, tacos, chips and crackers. However, even if you can't achieve an ideal sodium intake, following some of the five strategies below may lead to significant reductions in blood pressure.

Get plenty of potassium

Not getting enough potassium could be as problematic for blood pressure as eating too much sodium. "A lot of studies show that when you increase potassium, your kidneys are better able to excrete sodium, so by eating more potassium you can get rid of some of that sodium in your diet," says Swapnil Hiremath, an associate professor in the faculty of medicine at the University of Ottawa in Canada.

Potassium also helps blood vessels relax, which increases blood flow and lowers blood pressure. A 2013 review of research published in the BMJ, with almost 129,000 participants, found that people with hypertension who got 3,500 mg to 4,700 mg of potassium (the Daily Value) a day slashed systolic blood pressure by 5.32 points and diastolic blood pressure by 3.1 points.

Eating a diet rich in vegetables, whole grains, beans, peas and lentils, fruits and nuts is an



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Bananas, nuts, grains, beans and avocados are good sources of potassium.

easy way to keep up your potassium intake. Potatoes (895 mg per one small, baked, without skin), lentils (731 mg per cooked cup), butternut squash (582 mg per one cup cooked cubes), prunes (556 mg in 10 prunes) and bananas (411 mg in one medium) are all good sources of potassium.

Drink less alcohol

The days of alcohol being viewed as cardioprotective are gone. A position paper from the International Society of Hypertension, published in the Journal of Hypertension in 2023, recommends avoiding binge drinking (four drinks if you're a woman and five if you're a man in one occasion) and ideally abstaining from alcohol. "People don't talk about it, but there is a strong relationship with increasing alcohol and increasing blood pressure," Hiremath says. "Studies have shown that people who drink the most benefit the most in terms of blood pressure reduction when they cut back on alcohol."

According to the position paper, while the upper limit for alcohol is one drink a day (12 ounces of beer, five ounces of wine or a shot of liquor) for women and two for men, "there is no safe limit for alcohol consumption to prevent hypertension and adverse cardiovascular outcomes," Hiremath says.

Boost fiber

Whole grains, fruits, vegetables, nuts, seeds and beans all

contain fiber, a type of carbohydrate that the body can't fully break down or absorb. Fiber has been linked to better cardiovascular health overall. For example, a review of 243 studies published in 2019 in the Lancet found that people who ate 25 to 29 grams of fiber daily (the Daily Value is 28 grams) had a 15 to 30 percent lower risk of dying from heart disease or stroke than those who consumed less than 15 grams. Higher intakes may be even more beneficial, according to the researchers.

Looking at high blood pressure in particular, a review of 15 studies, published in 2022 in BMC Medicine, found that each five-gram-per-day increase in fiber reduced both systolic and diastolic levels by about two points. Fiber superstars include black beans (18 grams per cup, canned) and other beans, avocado (nine grams in one medium), bulgur (nine grams per cup), raspberries (eight grams per cup), pears (5.5 grams in one medium) and oatmeal (four grams per cup).

Eat less sugar

Added sugars, the kind incorporated during the manufacturing process, are linked with a greater risk of high blood pressure, as well as weight gain, insulin resistance and high cholesterol, according to the International Society of Hypertension. In a 2019 study in the journal Nutrients, researchers estimated that reducing daily sugar intake from about nine

teaspoons (36 grams) to just under seven teaspoons (28 grams) would lower systolic blood pressure by 8.4 points and diastolic blood pressure by 3.7 points in older women.

The American Heart Association recommends no more than 25 to 36 grams a day for women and men, respectively. Sugar-sweetened beverages, such as sodas and many tea and coffee drinks, are some of the biggest sources of added sugar, and some research suggests that drinks with added sugars have more of a negative effect on blood pressure than sugary foods, even at one drink per day.

Watch your calories

Implementing all the dietary changes above will help naturally increase healthy nutrients in your diet while decreasing empty calories, saturated fat and sodium. That can lead to weight loss. "Even dropping five to 10 pounds for someone who needs to lose weight can have an impact" on blood pressure, Gier says.



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Older women at risk because of lack of medical research

Navigating Aging

JUDITH GRAHAM

physicians without critically important information about how to best manage their health.

Late last year, the Biden administration promised to address this problem with a new effort called the White House Initiative on Women's Health Research. That inspires a compelling question: What priorities should be on the initiative's list when it comes to older women?

Stephanie Faubion, director of the Mayo Clinic's Center for Women's Health, launched into a critique when I asked about the current state of research on older women's health. "It's completely inadequate," she told me.

One example: Many drugs widely prescribed to older adults, including statins for high cholesterol, were studied mostly in men, with results extrapolated to women.

"It's assumed that women's biology doesn't matter and that women who are premenopausal and those who are postmenopausal respond similarly," Faubion said.

"This has got to stop: The FDA has to require that clinical trial data be reported by sex and age for us to tell if drugs work

the same, better or not as well in women," she added.

Consider the Alzheimer's drug Leqembi, approved by the Food and Drug Administration last year after the manufacturer reported a 27 percent slower rate of cognitive decline in people who took the medication. A supplementary appendix to a Leqembi study published in the New England Journal of Medicine revealed that sex differences were substantial — a 12 percent slowdown for women, compared with a 43 percent slowdown for men — raising questions about the drug's effectiveness for women.

This is especially important because nearly two-thirds of older adults with Alzheimer's disease are women. Older women are also more likely than older men to have multiple medical conditions, disabilities, autoimmune illnesses, depression and anxiety, uncontrolled high blood pressure and osteoarthritis, among other issues, according to scores of research studies.

Even so, women are resilient and outlive men by more than five years in the United States. As people move into their 70s and 80s, women outnumber men by significant margins. If we're concerned about the health of the older population, we need to be concerned about the health of older women.

As for research priorities, here's some of what physicians

and medical researchers suggested:

Heart disease

Why is it that women with heart disease, which becomes far more common after menopause and kills more women than any other condition — are given less recommended care than men?

"We're notably less aggressive in treating women," said Martha Gulati, director of preventive cardiology and associate director of the Barbra Streisand Women's Heart Center at Cedars-Sinai in Los Angeles. "We delay evaluations for chest pain. We don't give blood thinners at the same rate. We don't do procedures like aortic valve replacements as often. We're not adequately addressing hypertension."

"We need to figure out why these biases in care exist and how to remove them."

Gulati also noted that older women are less likely than their male peers to have obstructive coronary artery disease — blockages in large blood vessels — and more likely to have damage to smaller blood vessels that remains undetected. When they get procedures such as cardiac catheterizations, women have more bleeding and complications.

What are the best treatments for older women given these issues? "We have very limited data. This needs to be a focus," Gulati said.

Brain health

How can women reduce their risk of cognitive decline and dementia as they age?

"This is an area where we really need to have clear messages for women and effective interventions that are feasible and accessible," said JoAnn Manson, chief of the

Division of Preventive Medicine at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston and a key researcher for the Women's Health Initiative, the largest study of women's health in the United States.

Numerous factors affect women's brain health, including stress — dealing with sexism, caregiving responsibilities and financial strain — which can fuel inflammation. Women experience the loss of estrogen, a hormone important to brain health, with menopause. They also have a higher incidence of conditions with serious impacts on the brain, such as multiple sclerosis and stroke.

"Alzheimer's disease doesn't just start at the age of 75 or 80," said Gillian Einstein, the Wilfred and Joyce Posluns chair in women's brain health and aging at the University of Toronto. "Let's take a life course approach and try to understand how what happens earlier in women's lives predisposes them to Alzheimer's."

Mental health

What accounts for older women's greater vulnerability to anxiety and depression?

Studies suggest a variety of factors, including hormonal changes and the cumulative impact of stress. Paula Rochon, a professor of geriatrics at the University of Toronto, also faults "gendered ageism," an unfortunate combination of ageism and sexism that renders older women "largely invisible."

Helen Lavretsky, a professor of psychiatry at the University of California at Los Angeles and past president of the American Association for Geriatric Psychiatry, suggests several topics that need further investigation. How does the menopausal transition impact

mood and stress-related disorders? What nonpharmaceutical interventions can promote psychological resilience in older women and help them recover from stress and trauma? (Think yoga, meditation, music therapy, tai chi, sleep therapy and other possibilities.) What combination of interventions is likely to be most effective?

Cancer

How can cancer screening recommendations and cancer treatments for older women be improved?

Supriya Gupta Mohile, director of the Geriatric Oncology Research Group at the Wilmut Cancer Institute at the University of Rochester, wants better guidance about breast cancer screening for older women, broken down by health status. Currently, women 75 and older are lumped together even though some are remarkably healthy and others notably frail.

Recently, the U. S. Preventive Services Task Force noted that "the current evidence is insufficient to assess the balance of benefits and harms of screening mammography in women 75 years or older," leaving physicians without clear guidance. "Right now, I think we're underscreening fit older women and overscreening frail older women," Mohile said.

She also wants more research about effective and safe treatments for lung cancer in older women, many of whom have multiple medical conditions and functional impairments.

"For this population, it's decisions about who can tolerate treatment based on health status and whether there are sex differences in tolerability for older men and women that

need investigation," Mohile said.

Bone health, functional health and frailty

How can older women maintain mobility and preserve their ability to take care of themselves?

Osteoporosis, which causes bones to weaken and become brittle, is more common in older women than in older men, increasing the risk of dangerous fractures and falls. Once again, the loss of estrogen with menopause is implicated.

"This is hugely important to older women's quality of life and longevity, but it's an overlooked area that is understudied," said Manson of Brigham and Women's.

Jane Cauley, a distinguished professor at the University of Pittsburgh School of Public Health who studies bone health, would like to see more data about osteoporosis among older Black, Asian and Hispanic women, who are undertreated for the condition. She would also like to see better drugs with fewer side effects.

Marcia Stefanick, a professor of medicine at Stanford University School of Medicine, wants to know which strategies are most likely to motivate older women to be physically active. And she'd like more studies investigating how older women can best preserve muscle mass, strength and the ability to care for themselves.

"Frailty is one of the biggest problems for older women, and learning what can be done to prevent that is essential," she said.

KFF Health News is a national journalism that produces in-depth journalism about health issues and is one of the core operating programs at KFF.



# Young adults see shelling out for fitness now as a wise investment in the future

GYMS FROM E1

## Investing in exercise

Nicole MacMillan, 36, of D.C. is one of the members of the Gen Z and millennial cohorts who spend hundreds or even thousands per month on gym memberships, personal training sessions or exercise classes. MacMillan, who works for a health-care technology company, said she spends about 10 percent of her income — around \$18,000 per year — on gym memberships and training.

Without a doubt, she said, it's worth it.

"Exercise has become a functional cornerstone in my life," she said. "It gives me a chance to compete against myself, to have goals that I can set and surpass, and frankly a lot of purpose outside my job."

MacMillan explained that when she started strength training, she needed to find something to help her grow, accomplish things and unlock new skills.

"When all of my friends started pouring so much of their time, energy and selves into having and trying to have children, I wanted to find something that I could pour my time and energy into nurturing," she said.

Emily Guthrie, 26, of Ocean-side, Calif., spends \$950 per month on a personal trainer and gym membership. The software engineer said her spending on fitness ends up being around 15 percent of her after-tax income. She does it, in part, because it gives her the opportunity to socialize outside the confines of a phone screen.

"I work from home. The gym is

kind of the only consistent social time I have," Guthrie said. "It's the one thing that I can do consistently to keep my mood stable, plus good diet and sleep. When you exercise, any lows in life are not that low, especially compared to the couch-potato life. Negative things just don't affect you quite as much."

Still, her own spending sometimes gives her sticker shock. "It feels pretty absurd to spend on fitness what a lot of people my age spend to rent a room," she said.

## Going into debt for fitness

But some young exercisers say their commitment to fitness has been costly. One 23-year-old from Tennessee, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to protect her financial privacy, said she spent \$600 a month out of her \$55,000 annual salary on a gym membership, personal trainer and self-defense classes, putting herself into debt.

She said she hopes her investment in exercise can help her future self have an easier life. She's already used her workouts to help her lose 66 pounds after being diagnosed with nonalcoholic fatty liver disease. "I haven't bought new clothes in over two years. I even moved to a lower price of living [area], an hour away from my job, to be able to afford it," she said.

Lukas Pakter posted a TikTok video in June 2022 about why he was paying \$350 a month for a gym membership in Los Angeles "as a broke college student." He paid for the first month with only around \$500 in his bank account until his next paycheck hit, while he crashed with his then boss.

"One conversation at a gym



ABOVE: Nicole MacMillan, 36, exercises with her trainer, Emma Krieger, this month at Vida Fitness in D.C. RIGHT: MacMillan uses her phone to scan into the gym.



PHOTOS BY TIERNEY L. CROSS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

like this can lead to a life-changing experience," he said in the video, calling his gym membership "the best investment I've ever made."

The comments lit up with disbelief and ridicule, but Pakter, 22, now living in Austin, was unfazed. Now he pays \$400 a month for a private application-only gym called Kollektive. Why? It's made his entire life better, not just his body.

Pakter is the co-founder of athletic apparel brand SquidHaus, and he said multiple connections he's made at the gym have had a positive effect on his business.

That ethos still holds true, he told The Washington Post. "All of these really successful local entrepreneurs, especially in the fitness and health and wellness space, go to this gym."

Pakter feels similarly about how exercise has affected his entire sense of self.

"When I was younger, I was in a very bad place mentally. I didn't feel confident in myself. I wasn't happy," he said. "I know that the gym and fitness as a whole gave me the confidence to go out and try things that are a little bit harder. I like to treat the gym as little wins that contribute to the bigger picture of becoming a better person."

Mikala Jamison publishes the best-selling Substack newsletter Body Type. She is also working on her first book, which is about reframing how to think about exercise and body image.

Do you have a fitness question? Email YourMove@washpost.com and we may answer your question in a future column.

## WELL+BEING

# Green powders are no substitute for vegetables



Ask A Doctor

TRISHA PASRICHA

**Q:** Greens powders seem really healthy. It's the same thing as eating vegetables, right?

**A:** Greens powders, made with greens such as kale and algae, are hugely popular on social media.

The big question is about the ingredients. Many of these formulas are proprietary, meaning we don't fully know what's in them. What we *do* know is that they're heavily processed: Greens powders are at very least freeze-dried, powdered and often mixed with additives and sweeteners.

Ask yourself this: Does your greens powder taste good mixed in water? You probably couldn't stomach fresh broccoli and water. So what was added to that powder to make it tolerable to you?

Eating fresh vegetables is always going to be more beneficial than taking greens powders. And greens powders may give you a false sense of security that your diet is balanced and doesn't require any fresh fruits and vegetables. For the record, you still

do: One analysis from Consumer Lab found that at best, only one-fifth of the recommended adult daily intake of fruits and vegetables could be met with a daily serving of greens powders.

## How to shop for greens powders

I recently perused the ingredient list of several greens powders at my local store. The companies selling these products don't actually have to disclose every ingredient — supplements are not regulated by the Food and Drug Administration the way medications are. So I'd skip the ones that skimp on details and go for a brand that has been vetted, at least somewhat, by third parties that test for lead or heavy metals, which have worked their way into greens powders before.

Here are some greens powders ingredients you may not have been expecting:

- **Digestive enzymes:**
  - **Lipase:** Unless you have a major disorder, like pancreatic insufficiency, diagnosed by a physician, you don't need a little sprinkle of extra lipase in your water. It's a common enzyme added to greens powders for



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

unclear reasons — your pancreas will make plenty, and we don't have good data to show they're beneficial otherwise.

- **Cellulase:** Humans don't make cellulase, unlike cows, allowing our ruminant friends to digest the cellulose contained in the cell walls of many plants. But adding cellulase is totally missing the target. A key benefit of cellulose is precisely in our *inability* to digest it: In humans, cellulose reaches our colonic microbiome and gets fermented to

produce beneficial metabolites like short-chain fatty acids.

- **Lactase:** Some greens powders I looked at casually slipped in lactase, which can certainly be helpful to those with lactose intolerance. But this would be a weird way to find that out about yourself.

**Food allergens:** I often saw several possible allergens buried in the dense ingredient paragraphs, including soy and pineapple. Many products also contain wheat grass or barley

grass, which could be an issue for people who have gluten intolerance or celiac disease (the grasses themselves are not problematic per se, but there may be cross-contamination).

**Extra sweeteners:** "Stevia leaf" extract, present in many greens powders, sounds in touch with nature and allows a company to say "no artificial sugars," but it's 200 to 400 times sweeter than table sugar. Plus, the World Health Organization has advised people to stop using sweeteners such as

stevia, since studies have found an association between non-sugar sweeteners and an increased risk of Type 2 diabetes and cardiovascular disease.

**Random extra stuff:** For example, ashwagandha? This was a prominent feature of many of the greens powder I perused. For the record, the strongest data on ashwagandha supports a sedative effect, so double check if that's how you want to start your morning.

## What I want my patients to know

Greens powders are expensive. I appreciate that fresh vegetables are often not cheap, but once you're dropping \$50 to \$100 on a month's supply of powdered greens, maybe your money is better spent on interventions with proven benefit.

Overall, I tend to be wary of most supplements without a medical reason and of anything that adds overly processed foods into our diets. The risks of taking greens powders are not absurdly high — but as with any supplement, don't mistake them for zero. I'd run any new supplements by your physician to make sure you're not at higher risk of a bad outcome. This is especially important if you are on a blood thinner called warfarin, which is sensitive to levels of vitamin K (check how much is present in any powder you purchase), and also if you're a cancer patient, are pregnant or are breastfeeding.

# Study warns of risks of processed plant foods

PLANT-BASED FROM E1

foods can lead people to become addicted to these flavors, making it difficult for them to appreciate the natural flavors of real foods such as fruits and vegetables," said Fernanda Rauber, the lead author of the new study and a researcher at the Center for Epidemiological Research in Nutrition and Health at the University of São Paulo in Brazil.

## How ultra-processing distorts plant foods

The new study analyzed data on 118,000 adults who were followed for roughly a decade as part of the UK Biobank, a study that has been tracking the health and lifestyle habits of people throughout the United Kingdom. As part of the long-running study, the participants answered questions about their diets, habits and environments on different occasions and provided biological samples, and health and medical records. The findings included:

- The more ultra-processed foods people consumed, the higher their likelihood of dying of heart disease.
- Every 10 percent increase in calories from plant-derived ultra-processed foods was associated with a 5 percent higher likelihood of developing cardiovascular

disease and a 6 percent higher risk of coronary heart disease in particular.

- For every 10 percent increase in the consumption of whole plant-based foods — those that were not ultra-processed — the participants had an 8 percent reduction in their likelihood of developing coronary heart disease and a 20 percent reduction in their risk of dying of it. They also had a 13 percent lower risk of dying of any cardiovascular diseases.

Many of the foods studied were not foods people would typically consider a plant food. But the main ingredients in many junk foods come from plants, such as cane and beet sugars, wheat flour, corn, potatoes, fruit juices and vegetable oils.

In the new study, the plant foods that were defined as ultra-processed included:

- Wheat and corn:** Pastries, buns, biscuits, cakes, packaged breads, cereals, chips and salty snacks.
- Potatoes:** French fries, potato chips.
- Beet, cane and other sugars:** Candy, soft drinks.
- Fruits and vegetables:** Sauces, dressings, juices, beverages, frozen pizza.
- Soy, wheat, beans, peas:** Meat substitutes, including imitation burgers and sausages.



ANCHIY/GETTY IMAGES

Plant-based foods are good for you when they are served largely as they are found in nature.

Ultra-processing strips away health-promoting nutrients, replaces them with salt, sugar and fat, and destroys the food's internal structure, or "food matrix," which causes our bodies to absorb the food more rapidly. This results in less satiety and, in some cases, higher blood-sugar levels.

During industrial processing, foods are often subjected to extreme pressures and temperatures, which can transform additives into harmful new compounds. Two well-known compounds that are generated during food processing, acrolein and acrylamide, have been found to promote cardiovascular disease.

Plant foods that are not ultra-processed contain fiber, polyphenols, phytosterols and a wide array of compounds that reduce inflammation and promote overall health.

Rauber recommended eating a diet of mostly minimally processed foods and avoiding things that come in packages with long lists of colorants, sweeteners, flavor enhancers, emulsifiers and other additives that you would not use at home in your own kitchen.

"When buying ready-made food or preparations, the best tip is to read the ingredient list," said Rauber. "If it contains only ingredients that you recognize and commonly

have in your kitchen, it is most likely made from real food and is not an ultra-processed food."

## The health risks of ultra-processed plant foods

There is also evidence from previous research that supports the findings about plant-based ultra-processed foods. In one large study published in 2022, scientists examined the diets of 78,000 men and women from a health-conscious community of Seventh-day Adventists, many of whom were vegans and vegetarians. After following them for an average of about eight years, they found that those who ate the most ultra-processed foods

had a 14 percent higher mortality rate compared with those who ate the least.

Dozens of studies have linked ultra-processed foods to early death and an increased risk of more than 30 different health conditions, including higher rates of weight gain, obesity, cancer, diabetes and heart disease. A panel that shapes the federal government's influential Dietary Guidelines for Americans is debating whether a warning against ultra-processed foods should be included in the next edition of the guidelines.

Ultra-processed foods are what scientists call hyper-palatable: They're industrially manufactured foods that have unusual combinations of flavors and additives, such as salt, sugar, stabilizers, emulsifiers, oils and artificial ingredients that cause us to crave and overeat them. In most cases, these foods are stripped of their fiber, vitamins, minerals and other naturally occurring nutrients and crammed full of calories.

The authors of the study cautioned that their research showed a correlation between ultra-processed plant foods and cardiovascular disease, but that it did not prove cause and effect. It's possible that the participants misreported the types and amounts of foods that they ate, for example, or that other lifestyle factors explained the findings.

Do you have a question about healthy eating? Email EatingLab@washpost.com and we may answer your question in a future column.



# Six months into 2024, here’s how readers’ resolutions are going

RESOLUTIONS FROM E1



## New skills

### Learn to juggle

Chris Palmer, 76, Bethesda, filmmaker and writer

**How it's going** Palmer said he was inspired to pick up juggling after reading Winston Churchill's "Painting as a Pastime," in which he argued that deep relaxation does not come from doing nothing but from doing something completely different with intense concentration. He now juggles daily for a few minutes.

**The biggest challenge** He said his "pace of learning" was "glacial," and it was hard to keep going when there was a lack of visible progress. He got there by doing a little bit every day, rather than trying to master the skill overnight. "Plodding on relentlessly and not giving up despite the frustration of not improving immediately" has been key, he said.

*"You're not always in the mood. But you just need to show up and give it your best effort."*

**Andrew Plunkett**, who aimed to complete a daily Spanish lesson

### Canter my horse

Jordan Pieper, 29, Alexandria, Va., system safety engineer

**How it's going** When Pieper brought Curzon Dax home three years ago, the horse wouldn't canter (the gait between a trot and a gallop). Dax, 7, had been punished in the past for cantering while pulling a cart. Pieper spoke to a sports psychologist to overcome her fears and found a trainer for Dax. Today, Dax can "decently canter," and Pieper said she hopes to enter dressage competitions in the fall.

**The biggest challenge** Progress was slow. In March, Pieper was elated when Dax briefly cantered but then realized Dax was actually just playfully biting the butt of the horse in front of him. Pieper reminded herself that recovery is not a race. "We needed to take things slow because he has trauma," Pieper said.

### Learn Spanish

Andrew Plunkett, 46, Columbus, Ohio, retail store planner

**How it's going** Plunkett's Spanish-speaking in-laws recently moved to the United States from Argentina, and he wants to effortlessly communicate with them and his wife. By completing his lesson first thing in the morning, Plunkett is moving closer to free-flowing Spanish conversations. His 6-year-old daughter often joins him for a lesson, and his wife and her parents have noticed his efforts.

**The biggest challenge** Plunkett struggled to squeeze in his daily online Spanish lesson during a busy workday. Showing up daily for his Spanish lesson requires perseverance and a positive attitude. "You're not always in the mood," he said. "But you just need to show up and give it your best effort."



## Transformation

### No more beige!

Emma Holleran, 26, Knoxville, Tenn., schoolteacher

**How it's going** Holleran realized she had been wearing black, white and beige on repeat. "Sad beige was not fun to me," she said. Now, Holleran takes five minutes in the evening to lay out her outfit for the next day. At a spring job fair, she considered donning a beige, white and black combination, but opted for a red and pink floral T-shirt instead.

**The biggest challenge** Incorporating color into her outfits added a logistical challenge — it took a little longer to get dressed for the day. Holleran also has to continually battle the "false idea" that wearing color means you are drawing attention to yourself and that neutrals appear more professional than expressive colors, she said. "Color is fun and can show personality," she said. "I want to wear clothes that reflect my fun energy."

### Be 'hot'

Katie McCafferty, 32, Washington, marketing manager

**How it's going** McCafferty wants to "be hot" when she attends her childhood friend's wedding in October. For McCafferty, being "hot" meant wanting to feel confident in any situation. Becoming "hot" taught McCafferty that she had been speaking to herself in a negative way. "My friends would never talk to me the way I talk to myself sometimes," she said. The transformation also involves being more mindful about what she eats, working out and playing pickleball. McCafferty said she still has work to do, but she is already "feeling like a hottie."

**The biggest challenge** There are books, online guides and fitness coaches that can help you lose weight, but there's a lot less guidance out there about how to "feel really good about yourself and be mentally hotter," McCafferty said. "Whether it's a meeting at work, a busy restaurant or a party where I don't know anyone, being hot means that I own the room and don't stress about what others are thinking about me."

### Make the bed

Shelby Lowman, 29, Smyrna, Del., school counselor

**How it's going** Lowman was always running late and needed something in her life to change. She decided making her bed each morning would give her a few minutes to stop and think. The five minutes or less it takes to tuck in the comforter, place the pillows just so and flatten it all out has helped her quiet her always-running mind. She's even started getting up to go to the gym around 4 a.m. — just months after telling herself she was not a morning person.

**The biggest challenge** Sometimes she forgets or she's five minutes late and can't take the time. "I saw this Japanese word the other day, 'kaizen,' and it means making small improvements every day, as small progress is better than no progress," she said.



## Experiences

### Cook every national dish

Nihal Guennouni, 24, Williamsburg, Va., and Mary Beth Armstrong, 24, Newport News, Va., graduate students

**How it's going** The two graduate students decided to make the national dish of as many countries as they could. They researched multiple articles and recipes and made a spreadsheet of every country's dish, such as harira, Morocco's national soup. Guennouni, who is Moroccan, got the recipe from her mother. "It makes me think that there are all these similarities between my family, and all these other cultures that are so far away," Guennouni said.

**The biggest challenge** The hardest part has been finding the time to not only cook the dishes, but research where to buy the ingredients. Shopping, cooking and eating together helped keep them accountable. "I enjoy doing it," Armstrong said. "That's a big part."

### Become a regular at a bar

Lindsay Mouw, 29, Omaha, renewable energy community relations

**How it's going:** Mouw recently moved to Omaha from a small town in Iowa where "every place felt comfortable." She wanted at least one place where she was known by the community, so she opted for her neighborhood dive bar: The Neighbor's. The first time she walked in, everyone turned to look at her, as if to ask "Who are you?" For Mouw, this was a sign that she had chosen the bar well.

**The biggest challenge** Mouw doesn't want to increase her overall alcohol consumption, so she now avoids alcohol at other social gatherings during the week. Another challenge: Getting "hit on" by strangers at the bar makes her "uncomfortable." Her ultimate goal: "When I walk in, the other regulars turn and greet me, and the bartender who I know by name slides me a beer." It hasn't happened yet, but she's committed. "I want it bad enough, so I will keep trying," she said.

### Enjoy more wine

Robert Schroeder, 70, Portland, Ore., professor emeritus

**How it's going** Schroeder and his wife were interested in the "fun and companionable" aspects of wine. His goal wasn't to drink more, but to consume wine with intention and with friends. In the last few months, he has begun to relish the feeling created by combining a good bottle of wine with company.

**The biggest challenge** Some weeks Schroeder did not enjoy drinking. "It's that 'brain wrapped in cotton' feeling," he wrote. Another challenge with becoming a wine connoisseur is feeling pressured to finish the bottle before it oxidizes. "When I think of drinking wine [and enjoying it], I never picture myself alone," he said. "Food and friends are fun. Food and friends and wine is a celebration!"



## Fitness

### Swim in the open sea

Ryan Sandford, 31, Washington, emergency response contractor

**How it's going** Sanford discovered the restorative powers of swimming after a lengthy illness in 2022. "It became a spiritual and powerful meditative practice for me," he said. After he suffered a concussion last year, he made a resolution to work up the strength to swim in the open sea. He did his first "wild swim" in the Chesapeake in February. It felt like his brain fog lifted almost immediately, and he feels better every time he goes.

**The biggest challenge** He originally hoped to swim every other day, but that was difficult. So he listened to what his body needed and just tried to go as often as he could. He also began journaling every week, which helped keep him accountable. "As soon as I submerge myself, there's just this feeling of mental clarity that feels really good," he said.

### Run 100 miles a month

Brian Johnson, 62, Kennedale, Tex., professor of government and history

**How it's going** Johnson had previously tried to run 100 miles a month — about 25 miles a week — but injuries kept him from doing so. He told his friends about the resolution and feels the accountability has helped him lace up his shoes no matter what. More than 500 miles in, he said he's developed an appreciation for every small hill and every traffic light in his neighborhood.

**The biggest challenge** He's overcome ankle injuries and a bruised heel but has stayed on track so far. He often feels his age, and is constantly looking for an excuse not to run. Setting out before the sunrise makes the heat a little more bearable. "The real challenge is the Texas heat," he said.

*Her ultimate goal:  
"When I walk in, the other regulars turn and greet me, and the bartender who I know by name slides me a beer. ... I want it bad enough, so I will keep trying."*

**Lindsay Mouw**, who set out to become a regular at a bar

### Work out for 15 minutes every day

Melanie Deardorff, 65, Queen Creek, Ariz., marketing consultant

**How it's going** Deardorff sets an alarm on her phone for 6 p.m. every day. If she hasn't yet worked out, she stops what she's doing and looks up a 15-minute yoga, cardio or other exercise. "It doesn't have to be a big endeavor, but just some movement makes a huge difference," she said.

**The biggest challenge** Layers of accountability also helped. She bought a \$150-per-month gym membership, told friends and her husband about her plans and worked with a trainer virtually. The easiest days were the ones she had signed up for a workout class or went to the gym. But when she didn't, she'd get busy with work and before she knew it, she needed to start getting ready for bed. "Sure, there are days I'm tired and would rather skip even the short stint," she said. "But I tell myself, 'Come on, 15 minutes will be over in a flash!' And it is."



## Mindful habits

### Stay off Facebook

Dee Slade, 70, Chester, N.J., retired

**How it's going** Slade used to spend hours a day on Facebook. She overcame the fear of missing out on Facebook by reminding herself how scrolling used to make her feel: lazy, self-conscious and like she was wasting her time. Six months into the year, she uses Facebook only to check the pages of the local horse association and her town, so she knows what's going on. She's more patient, reads more and spends more time with her husband.

**The biggest challenge** "When someone asks, 'Did you see this on Facebook?'" she said. "The people I really care about know about my life. I realized I don't need to post everything anymore."

### Capture moments in photographs

Kimberly deCastro, 67, Santa Fe, N.M., founder, Wildflower International

**How it's going** She placed a Post-it Note on her mirror that says, "Take more photos." She found a class on Instagram to help her improve, and has taken photos of wild horses, a time lapse of a flower opening and workers at an auto repair shop on break. "It is as much an introspective journey as it is to find my voice, through my camera," she said.

**The biggest challenge** Work often got in the way — running a business with dozens of employees is more than a full-time job. And some weeks she feels like she's not good enough. "Am I not able to do this? To take a worthy photograph?" she wrote one week. Now, she intuitively understands what settings to use. "It feels nice, like old pajamas," she said.

### Meditate for 15 minutes daily

Nora O' Neill, 77, Elkins Park, Pa., retired human resources manager

**How it's going** O' Neill was so inspired by the book "Bliss More: How to Succeed in Meditation Without Really Trying" by Light Watkins, that she's now reading it for the third time. She looks forward to meditating and has rarely missed a day. She said it has helped her to let go of her impatience and expand her perspective on life.

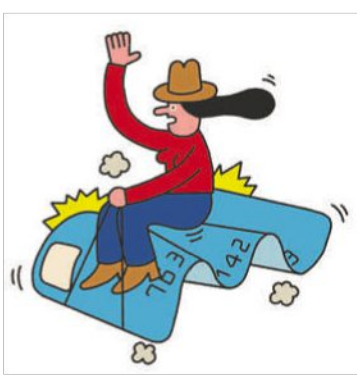
**The biggest challenge** She put pressure on herself to sit still in a traditional position. But she realized that rubbing her eye or scratching an itch during a session was okay. "You don't have to sit up straight, you don't have to bend your legs," she said. "Just get comfortable like you're about to binge Netflix."

### Write twice a week

Tara Ebrahimi, 39, Winston-Salem, N.C., executive director of marketing and communications

**How it's going** Ebrahimi has always wanted to write more. But with a 2-year-old, there was never time. She decided this year to wake up early and write for 30 minutes. Being kind to herself has been key, she said. If she wrote only once a week or even every few weeks, she reminded herself that she was still successfully completing her resolution.

**The biggest challenge** She realized she wouldn't be able to write unless she woke up around 5 a.m., when no one else was up. If she was too tired, she gave herself permission to skip it. "It sparked that creativity in me that got dulled," she said.



## Financial goals

### Quit impulse buying

Bri Boone, 26, Brooklyn, public relations

**How it's going** Boone often scrolled TikTok and saw an outfit she loved and bought it. "I was addicted to shopping, and the dopamine it brought," she said. She told friends about her resolution and created a Substack where she feels accountable to her roughly 100 subscribers. She's cut down her monthly shopping expenses by hundreds of dollars on her way to paying down more than \$1,000 in credit card debt.

**The biggest challenge** Every time she scrolled through social media, Boone said she felt "triggered" to spend. She asked herself why she wanted to shop so much. "It was when I was lonely," she said. Now she uses the extra time to hang out with friends or go to yoga with her partner, which made her feel more fulfilled than shopping ever did.

*He originally hoped to swim every other day, but that was difficult. So he listened to what his body needed and just tried to go as often as he could. He also began journaling every week, which helped keep him accountable. "As soon as I submerge myself, there's just this feeling of mental clarity that feels really good."*

**Ryan Sandford**, who wanted to work up the strength to swim in the open sea

### Stop online shopping at work

Jacci Rollins, 43, Wise, Va., director of events and communications

**How it's going** Rollins noticed how much time she was spending browsing and shopping online at work. "I was wasting hours of my day," she said. Her resolution has helped Rollins recognize how unsatisfied she is in her job, and she is taking steps to improve her work life.

**The biggest challenge** She still got bored and distracted at work and constantly found herself picking up her phone to pass time. She began using the language app Duolingo to work on her Italian whenever she felt bored. "To drop a bad habit, you have to pick up a good one," she said. "Your brain needs to create new pathways."

### Cut credit card debt

Hope Carpenter, 24, Chicago, consulting analyst

**How it's going** Carpenter realized she was spending on impulse purchases and wanted to become a more conscious spender. Talking honestly with friends about her financial situation has helped her balance social fun with finances and reduce the shame associated with being in debt. Carpenter expects to have paid off more than half her credit card debt by the end of the year.

**The biggest challenge** Carpenter said she is constantly looking to balance having fun with her friends while still staying on track for her financial goals. "I can still go out and enjoy myself," she said. "I just need to find things that are cheaper to do."



# DON'T LET PERFECT BECOME THE ENEMY OF GOOD

## in Colorectal Cancer Screening

In the battle against colorectal cancer (CRC) – the second-leading cause of cancer-related deaths in the United States – we continue to struggle with a persistent obstacle. Statistics clearly show that CRC is highly treatable if caught early. Yet, despite having screening options available, a staggering 50 million people – approximately one in three eligible Americans – are not up to date with recommended screening.

In a perfect world, all eligible adults would undergo guideline-recommended CRC screening once they turn 45. In the real world, where people have busy lives and adhering to currently available screening options can pose a significant challenge, screening rates have remained stagnant at about 59%, well below the National Colorectal Cancer Roundtable's goal of 80% for eligible individuals. Colonoscopy remains the most accurate method – the gold standard – for CRC screening, but many hesitate to complete one. And even though a modern stool-based DNA test option became available a decade ago, the alarming screening gap remains. Millions of people who should be getting screened just find the current options too inconvenient or unpleasant.

**This screening avoidance pattern is a dangerous gamble, as the symptoms of the disease often remain hidden until it's too late.**

Colon cancer has a 5-year **survival rate** of

91%

if detected in early stages.

This drops dramatically to

13%

in late stages, when many adults are diagnosed.

This reality underscores the desperate need for another type of screening test that people will complete. Recently, a U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) advisory committee panel of experts strongly endorsed a new blood test that health care providers can offer to average-risk patients as a primary option for CRC screening. Blood-based screening offers a convenient, noninvasive alternative that has the potential to

motivate more patients to be screened and ultimately save more lives. While blood tests may have some limitations, physicians and scientists agree that when it comes to screening, perfect can't be the enemy of good.

75%

of Americans who die from colorectal cancer are behind on their recommended screening.

**We now have the power to change that.**

Of the 20,000+ individuals who have been prescribed the blood test over the past two years, more than 90% completed it – a far higher percentage than for any other type of CRC screening test. Getting more adults screened for CRC – and then diagnosed and into treatment as early as possible, if needed – must be our primary goal. Offering multiple options and giving patients the power to choose may just be what we need to get there.

The stakes are high as FDA considers the positive recommendation of its advisory committee and deliberates on whether to approve the new option. New screening tools can only benefit patients if they can access them, and the FDA can help ensure that this potentially life-saving test gets into the hands of the health care providers and patients who stand to benefit most.

With an FDA-approved blood test for CRC screening that is easily accessible, we can improve screening rates, identify more cancer early when it's most treatable, and reduce the number of CRC deaths.

We, the undersigned, urge policymakers, health care professionals, and our fellow advocates to rally behind this groundbreaking technology and give patients more screening options. Let's trust our primary care providers to make these decisions in partnership with their patients as they do every day on the front lines of our health care system. Together, we can seize this opportunity to usher in a new era of CRC screening – one defined by accessibility, effectiveness and choice – and finally turn the tide against CRC.

Signatories







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