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Thousands told to flee as California wildfire spreads



JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

Fire retardant is released over Oroville, Calif., about 70 miles north of Sacramento, to counter the Thompson Fire, which by noon Wednesday had reached over 3,500 acres and was zero percent contained. Evacuation orders were in effect for 28,000 people in surrounding Butte County, where temperatures have been topping 100. **Story, A9**

ELECTION 2024

Pressure builds on Biden to prove his fitness

‘DEAFENING SILENCE’ AS PARTY SQUIRMS

President tells his staffers he’s staying ‘to the end’

BY MICHAEL SCHERER, TYLER PAGER AND MATT VISER

President Biden and his senior team said they accepted Wednesday the grim ultimatum they have been hearing from almost all quarters of the Democratic Party this week: quickly demonstrate his fitness for office or face a significant effort to force him to step aside.

Growing concern from Capitol Hill, top donors and senior party strategists, including some of his own advisers, prompted Biden to start reaching out to allies in recent days to admit that he is in a tough moment and that he has to prove to voters he is up for the job, according to two people familiar with the conversations.

His critics have been shaken by his relative inaction over the pre-

vious six days to directly address the panic ignited by his halting debate performance. Starting Tuesday afternoon, he started calling top congressional leaders, scheduled a sit-down interview with ABC News and announced weekend campaign travel plans that will be closely scrutinized.

Even a spotless performance over the coming week may not save him if significant cracks appear in public and internal polling, said senior Democratic strategists, who, like many for this story, spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private conversations.

Biden, 81, has appeared in public four times since a rally Friday in North Carolina — for remarks on a

SEE BIDEN ON A5

War chest: Biden camp raked in \$264 million in second quarter. **A4**

For Israeli hostage’s mother, patience is long gone

BY SHIRA RUBIN

TEL AVIV — When Einav Zangauer’s son was dragged into Gaza on Oct. 7, she trusted that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu would do everything possible to bring him home.

For two months, she barely ventured outside, refusing to meet with public figures, paralyzed by the fear that voicing her anguish could endanger her son’s release.

“I thought, Netanyahu is ‘Mr. Security,’ he’s delivered Israel through many wars,” she recalled. “I thought, I believe in him and I need to give him a chance.”

Her patience has long since run out. After months of failed



HEIDI LEVINE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Einav Zangauer, center, the mother of Israeli hostage Matan Zangauer, takes part in a protest in Tel Aviv in April.

diplomacy aimed at freeing the more than 100 captives still held by Hamas — “dozens” are still alive, Israeli officials say, though no one knows exactly how many — Zangauer has been at the forefront of swelling anti-government protests, uniting disillusioned hostage families and their supporters. They believe Netanyahu is torpedoing a deal to return their loved ones and end the war in Gaza — and must be driven from power.

The movement plans to ramp up its “disruption” efforts in the coming weeks, hoping to topple the government before the Israeli parliament ends its summer session July 28. It is just one in a series of crises converging on

SEE ISRAEL ON A11

BY CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR., LEIGH ANN CALDWELL AND NICOLE MARKUS

As President Biden continues to face questions about whether he should end his bid to seek a second term, there are growing signs that many in the Democratic Party are willing to accept the notion of Vice President Harris at the top of their presidential ticket, a potentially significant shift.

House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.) is signaling to members that Harris would be the best option to lead the ticket if Biden chooses to step aside, said two people familiar with this thinking who spoke on the condition of anonymity to

detail private conversations.

Rep. James E. Clyburn (S.C.), a high-ranking member of the House and a longtime Biden friend, has publicly said he would support Harris if Biden steps aside, adding that his fellow Democrats “should do everything to bolster her, whether she’s in second place or at the top of the ticket.”

Tim Ryan, a former Ohio congressman and presidential candidate, said in an op-ed that while he loves Biden, Harris should be the Democratic nominee for president after Biden stumbled in a high-profile debate performance last week. Some other possible contenders — including Michigan Gov.

SEE HARRIS ON A4

Blame flies over abrupt end to \$6.6B Medicare deal

BY DAN DIAMOND

On the surface, 1-800-MEDICARE is a government success story: a free, popular service helping tens of millions of older Americans understand their health insurance and options for care. The call line boasts a 95 percent satisfaction rate, according to federal officials.

But behind the scenes, the multibillion-dollar job of running the Medicare call line and similar services for the Affordable Care Act — one of the richest service contracts offered by the federal government — has sparked a bitter battle between a powerful labor union, a prominent federal contractor and politicians who are now accusing the White House of delivering an election-year favor for its union allies.

The fight centers on the Biden administration’s decision in September 2022 to award a \$6.6 billion contract to Maximus, a McLean, Va., company that helps

SEE MEDICARE ON A7

Teachers race to solve the math problem facing schools

Pandemic relief funds are running low, and students are still behind after losing ground

BY LAUREN LUMPKIN

Black marker in hand, Nick Baar returned to the whiteboard. The newly minted math tutor wrote an equation for the eighth-graders in front of him: 25×199 .

The rules were simple: No calculators or pencils allowed. Baar wanted to see if his students at Perry Street Preparatory, a charter school in Northeast Washington, could solve the problem in their heads. They had breezed through an earlier problem — 25×200 — but now appeared stumped. The group sat in silence.

One boy spoke up. He knew that $25 \times 200 = 5,000$, so he guessed that 25×199 could equal 4,999. Baar paused before breaking the equation down into smaller chunks, offering a reminder that multiplication is just adding the same number over and over again. The group slowly caught on to the pattern until they produced the right answer: 4,975.

“I know that they can do it,” he said after the session. “It’s a lot of giving them encouragement.”

At Perry Street Prep, each of its

SEE MATH ON A8



JAHU CHIKWENDU/THE WASHINGTON POST

Nave’ Marshall, third from left, is among a group of students eager to answer a question during a third-grade math class at Friendship Public Charter School’s Blow Pierce campus in D.C. in November.

Trump wants to face Biden, but team eyes new scenario

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF, JOSH DAWSEY AND MARIANNE LEVINE

Donald Trump and his campaign hope President Biden stays in the race, according to four people familiar with private discussions, believing they can beat him even with Trump’s felony conviction and other charges. But they are also ramping up attacks on Vice President Harris.

Publicly, Trump and his allies have dismissed suggestions that Biden could withdraw from the race, insisting that it is too late for Democrats to change course. Privately, they have started preparing for different possibilities, and feel it could be harder to beat another Democrat who is not Biden or Harris.

“I’m going to show up and I’m going to campaign whether it’s him or somebody else,” Trump said in an interview Monday with Richmond radio host John Reid, referencing polls showing

SEE TRUMP ON A6

IN THE NEWS

U.S. climate response Supreme Court rulings, particularly two last week, added obstacles to the government’s ability to regulate pollution and greenhouse gases. **A9**

Hurricane Beryl Still at Category 4 intensity, the storm was menacing Jamaica as hard-hit islands assessed the damage in its wake. **A12**

THE NATION **Two Union soldiers** executed after an 1862 hijacking were awarded the Medal of Honor. **A3** **Sen. Bob Menendez** (D-N.J.) called on family members to testify at his corruption trial. **A6**

THE WORLD **In Britain**, 14 years of Tory rule brought chaos and torpor. Today, the people vote. **A10** **Jewish** voters who split with Britain’s Labour Party over antisemitism are returning. **A12**

THE ECONOMY **General Motors** will pay a penalty of about \$146 million over excess emissions from nearly 6 million vehicles. **A13** **The Federal Trade Commission** voted to block mattress maker Tempur Sealy’s purchase of the Mattress Firm retail chain. **A14**

THE REGION **Virginia’s** House and Senate struck a deal to repeal new limits on a college tuition program for military families. **B1** **Maryland’s** Board of Public Works approved a \$50 million contract to clear debris from the Francis Scott Key Bridge’s collapse. **B1**

STYLE **Skydance Media** agreed to a deal to gain control of the firm that owns CBS, MTV and Paramount Plus. **C1**

LOCAL LIVING **Going plastic-free** is nearly impossible, but more people are trying to see how close they can get to that goal.

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Immunity decision hard to square with what conservative justices once said

The Fix

AARON
BLAKE

After the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade* in 2022, its critics claimed that the justices who did it had lied — that they had promised not to do this during their confirmation hearings, then did it anyway.

That's not really what the record showed. The justices were more careful in their *Roe* answers than the critics suggested, which was plainly evident in real time.

But when it comes to the court's momentous decision Monday to award broad immunity to presidents — including former president Donald Trump — it's a little harder to square with what the justices once said.

Repeatedly, in confirmation hearings over the past 20 years, the Republican-nominated Supreme Court justices who have now given Trump and other presidents a significant measure of immunity from criminal prosecution for their official acts assured Americans that nobody — not even a president — was “above the law.”

Oftentimes, their commentary didn't specifically pertain to the possibility of a president's being charged with a crime. But sometimes it did.

Perhaps the most direct example came from Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh. He had once written a law review arguing that criminal prosecutions of presidents should be deferred until after they leave office. This was an obvious subject of interest when he was nominated in 2018 by a president — Trump — who courted legal peril.

Kavanaugh emphasized in his confirmation hearing that his law review article was making a practical rather than a constitutional case; he wasn't saying the Constitution didn't

allow sitting presidents to be charged, but rather that Congress should pass a law codifying the idea.

But in the course of emphasizing that, Kavanaugh cast presidential immunity as almost an unthinkable — or at least, un-thought-of — idea.

“No one has ever said, I do not think, that the president is immune from civil or criminal process,” Kavanaugh said. “So immunity is the wrong term to even think about in this process.”

He added, “But immunity is not — not the correct word, and I do not think anyone thinks of immunity. And why not? No one is above the law. And that is just such a foundational principle of the Constitution and equal justice under law.”

Kavanaugh repeatedly cited Federalist No. 69, which stated that presidents should “be liable to prosecution and punishment in the ordinary course of law.”

A year before Kavanaugh's hearings, now-Justice Neil M. Gorsuch was asked whether a president could be prosecuted for waterboarding people. Gorsuch initially said he wouldn't speculate on such a case, before Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) volunteered that a president is “not above the law.”

“No man is above the law,” Gorsuch agreed. “No man.”

Then-Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) in 2006 asked now-Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. whether a president could authorize a murder — perhaps by the intelligence community — and escape prosecution.

“Neither the president nor anybody else, I think, can authorize someone to — can override a statute that is constitutional,” Alito said.

Alito didn't explicitly state whether a president could be prosecuted for this. But he



During her Senate confirmation hearings in October 2020, then-Supreme Court nominee Amy Coney Barrett said repeatedly in response to questions about the president that nobody was “above the law.”

added at another point that “no person in this country is above the law, and that includes the president and it includes the Supreme Court. Everybody has to follow the law, and that means the Constitution of the United States, and it means the laws that are enacted under the Constitution of the United States.”

The phrase “above the law” was indeed spoken frequently in each of the justices' confirmation hearings, amid questions about presidential power — though often the context was conflicts between the executive and other branches of government.

But the justices repeatedly sought to cast a president as unremarkable in the eyes of the

law. Now-Justice Amy Coney Barrett said three times that nobody was “above the law” while responding to questions about the president.

“Senator, I believe that no one is above the law under our system, and that includes the president,” now-Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. said in 2005. “The president is fully bound by the law, the Constitution and statutes.”

On Monday, Justice Sonia Sotomayor effectively stated in her dissent that her conservative colleagues have gone back on their word.

She said the immunity decision “makes a mockery of the principle, foundational to our Constitution and system of

Government, that no man is above the law.”

“In every use of official power, the President is now a king above the law,” Sotomayor wrote. She suggested that the decision could empower a president to order assassinations or a military coup against their own government, provided they were acting in their official capacity — a standard that, as the majority made clear in its opinion, was ill-defined and required separate adjudication in nearly each and every instance, after the fact.

The justices in the majority sought to combat that reasoning in their opinion, arguing that giving a president some immunity wasn't placing them

above the law. They sought to differentiate the president in his unofficial capacity — in which his actions are not immune — from his status as the leader of the executive branch.

“But unlike anyone else, the President is a branch of government, and the Constitution vests in him sweeping powers and duties,” the majority wrote. “Accounting for that reality — and ensuring that the President may exercise those powers forcefully, as the Framers anticipated he would — does not place him above the law; it preserves the basic structure of the Constitution from which that law derives.”

But there is no question that the court is saying that the president has a degree of immunity from criminal prosecution that other Americans don't enjoy. The justices can argue that they are interpreting the law as affording that immunity to the branch of government rather than the man, but the practical implication is that a president can't be criminally charged for things that other Americans can be charged with.

Which Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson sought to emphasize in a dissent that was more measured than Sotomayor's.

“In the majority's view, while all other citizens of the United States must do their jobs and live their lives within the confines of criminal prohibitions, the President cannot be made to do so; he must sometimes be exempt from the law's dictates depending on the character of his conduct,” Jackson wrote.

“Indeed,” she added, “the majority holds that the President, unlike anyone else in our country, is comparatively free to engage in criminal acts in furtherance of his official duties.”

CORRECTION

• A July 2 Health & Science article about how to protect our skin from the sun incorrectly said that 20 percent of Americans are diagnosed with skin cancer each year. About 20 percent of Americans are diagnosed with skin cancer in their lifetime.

The Washington Post is committed to correcting errors that appear in the newspaper. Those interested in contacting the paper for that purpose can:

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FDA to ban BVO, an additive used in some sodas, sports drinks

BY ADELA SULIMAN

The Food and Drug Administration has decided to revoke its authorization for the use of a stabilizer for fruity and citrus-flavored food and beverages, known as brominated vegetable oil (BVO), because it is unsafe.

“The agency concluded that the intended use of BVO in food is no longer considered safe,” the agency said in a statement Tuesday. It added that based on studies conducted in collaboration with the National Institutes of Health, it found that BVO has “the potential for adverse health effects in humans.”

The vegetable oil is modified with bromine, a natural chemical element that can be used as an alternative to chlorine in swimming pools and is often used as a fire retardant. It has also been used in sedatives.

BVO is an ingredient in some drinks

BVO is an ingredient in a handful of sports drinks and sodas, but according to the FDA, “today, few beverages in the U.S. contain BVO.” Sugary soda consumption in the United States has also been falling for more than two decades. Perhaps the best-known drink in the United States that still contains BVO is Sun Drop citrus soda, as well as some store-brand orange, pineapple and citrus-flavored sodas from Giant, Food Lion, Walmart and others.

The popular drink Mountain Dew does not contain BVO. In 2014, Coca-Cola said it would remove the ingredient from its Powerade drinks and the rest of its products. PepsiCo has also removed BVO from its products, including Gatorade since 2019.

Keurig Dr Pepper, the maker of Sun Drop soda, which has a mix-

ture of lemon, lime and sweet orange flavors, told The Washington Post last year that it was already planning to phase out the ingredient. “We have been actively reformulating Sun Drop to no longer include this ingredient and will remain compliant with all state and national regulations,” a spokesperson previously said. The company did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

“The FDA's decision to ban brominated vegetable oil in food is a victory for public health,” Scott Faber, senior vice president of government affairs at the Environmental Working Group, said in a statement. “But it's disgraceful that it took decades of regulatory inaction to protect consumers from this dangerous chemical.”

The D.C.-based nonprofit urged consumers to “remain vigi-

lant and carefully read ingredient labels to avoid BVO.” It added that “choosing fresh whole foods and drinking water instead of soda or juice can help minimize exposure to BVO and other chemicals.”

BVO is banned in several countries

The state of California banned BVO in food in October, along with three other food additives, becoming the first state to do so. BVO is also banned in the European Union, India and the United Kingdom, according to the Center for Science in the Public Interest, a consumer advocacy group.

BVO can leave “residues of bromine triglycerides in body fat and fat in the liver, heart, and brain,” according to CSPI. “Excessive bromine accumulation in the body results in bromine toxicity, which causes damage to the central nervous system, headaches,

nausea, memory loss, and loss of coordination,” it said. There may also be some impact on the thyroid, it added.

BVO has been used as a food ingredient since the 1920s. The FDA said it began regulating BVO as a food additive in 1970. It was “used in small amounts to keep the citrus flavoring from floating to the top in some beverages,” the agency said, and manufacturers were required to list BVO in the ingredients list if used.

“Reassessing the safety of food ingredients as new, relevant data become available, is a priority for the FDA and a key part of our food safety mission,” it said this week.

The ban will take effect Aug. 2, and companies will be given one year to “reformulate, relabel, and deplete the inventory of BVO-containing products before the FDA begins enforcing the final rule,” it said.

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Fourth human bird flu case reported

Colorado dairy worker had direct exposure to infected cattle

BY LENA H. SUN

A dairy worker in Colorado has been infected with bird flu, marking the fourth human case in an ongoing outbreak that started with detection of the disease in cattle this spring.

Colorado health officials said the man experienced mild symptoms, reporting only eye inflammation, a condition known as conjunctivitis.

The Colorado Department of Public Health and Environment said in a statement that the man was given antiviral medication and recovered. He works at a dairy farm in northeastern Colorado and had direct exposure to dairy cattle infected with H5N1, a virus that causes bird flu.

Colorado health officials said they provided personal protective equipment to the facility where the man worked.

“We are still gathering additional information about the worker's exposures and PPE use,” state epidemiologist Rachel Herlihy said in a statement.

No household contacts of the farmworker have developed symptoms and there is no evidence of person-to-person transmission, Herlihy said. State and local health officials are conducting follow-up investigations and will do additional testing if needed, Herlihy said.

Two other dairy workers infected earlier — in Texas in April and in Michigan in May — also reported eye inflammation. A second Michigan worker infected in late May reported having a cough and eye discomfort with watery discharge. That worker was the first to report more extensive respiratory and eye symptoms.

Colorado health officials said the worker developed symptoms in late June, reported his symptoms one day later and was tested two days after symptoms began. Those initial tests were inconclusive. Additional testing by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention confirmed the presence of bird flu.

In 2022, a poultry worker in Colorado tested positive for the same strain of avian influenza. Across the world, cases of human illness have ranged from mild infections to more severe illness, including pneumonia.

Federal health and agriculture officials have repeatedly underscored the importance of dairy farm owners ensuring that workers take precautions — such as wearing personal protective equipment — when working with infected cattle. Federal and state officials have made supplies available to dairy farms but have not required their use.

Dairy farm workers typically express milk by hand from cow teats before attaching milking equipment. A splash of contaminated milk could get into the eye directly, or the virus could enter when workers touch their eyes with a contaminated hand. Eye infections have been associated

with previous human infections of bird flu.

Many public health experts have said insufficient testing of cattle is hampering the ability to understand and control the outbreak, which was officially detected in March but may have been in cows since December.

A recent Agriculture Department study of H5N1 in 15 dairy herds and eight poultry flocks in Michigan found three risk factors for local spread, including contaminated equipment or machinery, people who carry the virus on their clothing or boots, and the animals themselves.

Federal health officials said this week their assessment of risk has not changed. The threat to the public remains low, and although dairy workers and others in contact with infected animals are at higher risk, U.S. officials are not recommending vaccination for any groups of people.

Earlier this week, federal officials announced plans to expand vaccine and testing capacity in case the ongoing bird flu outbreak in dairy cattle causes an increase in human cases, if the virus changes to become more easily spread or causes more severe disease, or if cases occur with no connection to an infected herd or person.

The U.S. government has stockpiled 4.8 million doses of bird flu vaccine, and those shots are expected to be available starting in mid-July. The U.S. government has also awarded \$176 million to Moderna to complete development and testing of an mRNA-based vaccine against H5N1.

POLITICS & THE NATION

Highest honor for Civil War soldiers in brazen hijacking

BY ALEX HORTON

Two U.S. soldiers, executed 162 years ago for their role in a daring Civil War mission to hijack a locomotive and sabotage a rail line vital to the Confederacy, were recognized Wednesday with the nation's highest military decoration, joining several comrades whose audacious battlefield exploits were recognized generations ago.

Descendants of Pvts. Philip G. Shadrach and George D. Wilson, members of the Union Army's 2nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment, received the Medal of Honor on their behalf during a White House ceremony led by President Biden.

"Every soldier who joined that mission was awarded the Medal of Honor, except for two soldiers who died because of that operation, but never received this recognition," Biden said. "Today, we right that wrong."

The event closed a decades-long campaign by the men's families to rectify what they and many historians came to see as an unjust oversight in recognizing everyone involved in what became known as the Great Locomotive Chase.

Shadrach and Wilson were among a group of 24 who carried out the brazen plan in April 1862, commandeering a train outside Atlanta and blazing an 87-mile path of destruction north through Georgia to the Tennessee line with adversaries in hot pursuit. When the chase finally ended, the raiders were captured, and eight were put to death. Most escaped, though several were held as prisoners of war for nearly a year.

Nineteen soldiers received the Medal of Honor — including the first ever awarded — for their role in the mission. (Several of them were recognized posthumously.) Another soldier, captured before the raid began, later refused the award, historians said. Two others involved were



Descendants of Pvts. Philip G. Shadrach and George D. Wilson accept the Medal of Honor on their behalf Wednesday during a White House ceremony led by President Biden.

civilians and did not rate it. Wilson, who was 32 when he died, was a dedicated father and and relished debate, Biden said. "He always was ready to persuade, argue, and as one family member put it, dress anyone down if the need be," he said.

Shadrach, who was 21, "was a free spirit, always searching for adventure, excitement, intrigue," the president added. In an emotional discussion with reporters earlier, Shadrach's and Wilson's descendants swelled with pride knowing that the efforts of their ancestors and their families' grass-roots lobbying effort, alongside historians, was at last recognized.

Some who made the trip to Washington were acquainted with the story long ago. Others, including Wilson's great-great-granddaughter Theresa Chandler, learned from the Army only four years ago that her lineage

included a prominent Civil War figure.

Now 85, she said it has reshaped a legacy nearly lost to history.

"I would have given anything," she said, "to be able to say, 'Grandpa, tell me about it. ... What was it like?'"

Chandler beamed as Biden presented her the medal in a wooden display case.

The mission was born from a desire to destroy the South's ability to move troops and military equipment.

Maj. Gen. Ormsby M. Mitchel, assigned by the Union to its Tennessee campaign, mulled how to best attack Chattanooga, a well-defended Confederate citadel located along vital water and rail lines. If invaded head on, the rebels could flood the area with reinforcements on train cars from the south and overwhelm U.S. forces, he concluded.

James J. Andrews, a civilian spy for the North, crafted a novel solution. A small team of volunteers would travel 200 miles into Confederate territory dressed as civilians, steal a train engine, and then destroy tracks and burn bridges to strangle the secessionists' logistical lines.

The plan faced setbacks from the start, said Shane Makowicki, a historian with the U.S. Army Center of Military History. It had rained ahead of the mission, making it difficult to ignite the bridges. The soldiers lacked tools and had to improvise, he said. And while some had experience with trains, there were little if any preparations undertaken beforehand.

"That speaks to the courage and heroism of these men that they volunteered for this," Makowicki said. "Today, if we were going to send people to do this, you have months or weeks of

specialized training."

The mission, led by Andrews, began with an arduous movement on foot in small groups, often at night through mud and rain, convincing civilians along the way that they were looking to enlist in the Confederacy. They assembled north of Atlanta in present day Kennesaw, Ga., where the team seized a locomotive named the General and its three boxcars. The conductor, William Fuller, gathered a party and gave chase on foot before taking over a hand car and eventually several other locomotives to catch up with the Union soldiers.

The raid party made periodic stops to tear out track ties and sever telegraph cables in a bid to prevent other Confederate troops from learning about the raid. Oncoming trains on the single track forced the General to stop several times, according to an Army summary of the mission.

In other cases, the raiders employed subterfuge to make it past authorities. At one stop, Andrews told a station master he was orders from Gen. P.G.T. Beauregard to deliver ammunition to Confederate troops in Chattanooga. The station master allowed them to pass.

As Fuller and his party closed in, the Union raiders aboard the General, low on wood to feed the engine, abandoned the locomotive 18 miles short of Chattanooga, Biden said, ending the mission after nearly seven hours of intense pursuit. The men scattered, but all were eventually captured within two weeks.

"They were taken to a Confederate prison, held in a tiny underground room, chained by their necks and their wrists, starved," Biden said. "Still, the men remained unbowed and unbroken."

Andrews and seven others, including Shadrach and Wilson, were tried as spies and saboteurs and hanged. Chattanooga fell the next year.

Jacob Parrott, who was severely beaten in captivity, was among those who survived the ordeal and later made history as the first service member to receive the Medal of Honor.

Historians and family members could only speculate why Shadrach and Wilson were overlooked for so long. The unit was involved in heavy fighting afterward, and officers who would have kept track of such accomplishments were pushed to other units, said Brad Quinlin, a historian and author involved in advocating the men's Medals of Honor.

Some members of the Shadrach family had pushed for the recognition since the Carter administration, they said. A 2008 spending bill included a provision to award the medal to the two men, but momentum did not pick up until 2012, when Quinlin and family member Ron Shadrach met. They later submitted fresh evidence for defense officials to review.

"There was nothing anywhere in any of my research, any documentation, that said these men did not do what the others have done," Quinlin said.

Although the mission ultimately failed, it is remembered as a prominent moment of the Civil War and has yielded books and films, including Buster Keaton's "The General" in 1926 and "The Great Locomotive Chase" in 1956.

Brian Taylor, Shadrach's great-great-great-nephew, said delving into family history left him in awe, and doing so with his father deepened their relationship. They lovingly call Shadrach "Uncle Stealer," and Taylor once climbed aboard the General, now a museum piece in Georgia.

Ahead of the White House ceremony, Taylor strummed an acoustic guitar and crooned a song he wrote about the mission. "Do it for the glory, boys," he sang, "because you may not find your way back home tonight."

DIGEST

ARIZONA Ballot measure on abortion advances

Arizona abortion rights supporters on Wednesday turned in more than double the signatures needed to put the issue on November's ballot in the key swing state.

Organizers say they submitted 823,685 signatures, far above the 383,923 required from registered voters. The measure would add an amendment to the state constitution providing a fundamental right to an abortion. County election officials have until Aug. 22 to verify whether enough of the petition signatures are valid and provide results to

the Arizona secretary of state's office.

Democrats have made abortion rights a central message since the U.S. Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade* in 2022, and it is a key part of their efforts in this year's elections. Activists in Nebraska and Arkansas also are planning to submit signatures this week for abortion ballot measures. In five other states, the issue already is set to go before voters this year: Colorado, Florida, Maryland, Nevada and South Dakota.

Arizona currently has a 15-week abortion ban. The proposed amendment would allow abortions until a fetus could survive outside the womb, typically around 24 weeks, with

exceptions to save the mother's life or to protect her physical or mental health. It would restrict the state from adopting or enforcing any law that would prohibit access to the procedure. — Associated Press

CALIFORNIA L.A. to pay for botched fireworks detonation

Los Angeles will pay more than \$21 million to settle claims by residents of a neighborhood where police bungled the detonation of a cache of illegal fireworks three years ago, injuring 17 people and displacing dozens of others.

The City Council on Tuesday

unanimously approved the payments, and the settlements will now go to Mayor Karen Bass for approval, the Los Angeles Times reported.

The settlement awards range from \$100,000 to \$2.8 million for the 17 claimants, according to the Times.

Police found an estimated 32,000 pounds of illegal commercial and homemade fireworks and other explosive materials at a home on East 27th Street on June 30, 2021.

The LAPD bomb squad packed nearly 40 pounds of the most volatile and dangerous homemade fireworks into an armored containment vessel that was rated for only 33 pounds, according to a federal report.

The fireworks were supposed to be detonated safely at the scene because they were too unstable to move, but the vessel exploded and debris rained down on scores of homes, businesses and vehicles.

The explosion injured 10 law enforcement officers and seven residents, and damaged 22 homes, 13 businesses and 37 cars and trucks. About 80 people were displaced.

Damage exceeded \$1 million, and the city has spent millions more on repairs, housing and other relief for residents of the working-class neighborhood.

Arturo Ceja III, 27, who lived at the home where the fireworks were found, was sentenced to five months in federal prison after

pleading guilty to one count of transporting explosives without a license.

— Associated Press

2 hurt, 1 missing after explosion at weapons plant:

An explosion at a defense weapons plant in Arkansas injured at least two people Wednesday and left another missing, the facility's operators said. The explosion happened at the General Dynamics Ordnance and Tactical Systems' plant in Camden, about 86 miles south of Little Rock, a company spokesperson said. The Camden plant houses more than 880,000 square feet of manufacturing and storage space.

— Associated Press

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ELECTION 2024

Biden campaign says it raised \$264M in Q2, including \$127M in June

BY TYLER PAGER
AND CLARA ENCE MORSE

President Biden's reelection campaign announced it raised \$264 million in the second quarter, powered by \$127 million in June, a significant sum of money officials are eager to tout as they work to reassure anxious Democrats about the president's path forward.

The campaign said it will report \$240 million cash on hand, an increase from the \$212 million it claimed last month, and campaign officials said they raised \$75 million more in the second quarter than the first quarter of the year.

Across the Democratic Party, elected officials, donors and strategists have fretted about Biden's ability to defeat former president Donald Trump after the president faltered in last week's debate. No prominent Democrat has called for him to step down, though many have had conversations about whether the president should continue to run. Donors have been among the most concerned about Biden's performance, leading some to question whether he will be able to continue raising the funds necessary to run a robust campaign operation.

But the campaign has aggressively touted its fundraising success since the debate as part of its

effort to temper anxieties, saying it raised \$38 million in the first four days after the faceoff in Atlanta. Officials said last Thursday was their best grass-roots fundraising day of the campaign, and Friday was the second-best day. The campaign describes grass-roots fundraising as money that comes in online and via mail vs. cash that is raised at high-dollar fundraisers.

The Trump campaign has not yet reported its second-quarter numbers, and the full picture of the financial strength of each campaign's effort will not be clear until July 15, when their allied committees are required to file reports. But after Biden opened a wide financial advantage over Trump in

the early months of the campaign, the former president closed the gap significantly in May.

Last month, the main Trump campaign committee and the Republican National Committee reported raising over \$106 million, surpassing the main Biden committee and the Democratic National Committee's combined total of \$60 million, according to reports filed last month. Those totals did not include funds raised for candidates' joint fundraising committees, which file on a different schedule.

"Our Q2 fundraising haul is a testament to the committed and growing base of supporters standing firmly behind the President

and Vice President and clear evidence that our voters understand the choice in this election between President Biden fighting for the American people and Donald Trump fighting for himself as a convicted felon," Julie Chavez Rodriguez, Biden's campaign manager, said in a statement.

The campaign said nearly two-thirds of the funds raised in June came from grass-roots donors, and nearly half of the grass-roots donations following the debate came from first-time donors. The campaign said it has opened more than 200 campaign offices and hired more than 1,000 staff members across the battleground states and spent \$50 million on

paid media in June alone.

On Monday, Jen O'Malley Dillon, the campaign chair, held a call to reassure more than 500 donors after many spent the days since the debate panicked about the president's campaign.

She acknowledged that the debate did not go as they had hoped and said they all understood the campaign has significant work to do, according to people on the call. But she also reminded the donors of Trump's challenges and said the campaign did not believe the contours of the race had been altered by the debate.

Michael Scherer and Matt Viser contributed to this report.

Harris gains support as Democrats weigh top of their ticket

HARRIS FROM A1

Gretchen Whitmer and California Gov. Gavin Newsom — probably wouldn't jump in the race this year and would support Harris if Biden were to remove himself from the ticket, according to people familiar with the matter who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private conversations.

Democrats' growing move to rally around Harris as a potential nominee — almost always with the caveat that Biden remains the choice for now — is a sign that they are gaming out a world without Biden as the party's standard-bearer, even as they try to blunt years of hand-wringing about Harris's ability to win the White House on her own.

That could remove one of the major obstacles Democrats have long seen to the notion of replacing Biden: the fear that it would result in a damaging political free-for-all as the party's most promising stars battle it out for the nomination.

Many Democrats were also worried that Harris would be a weak candidate, based in part on her ill-fated presidential run in 2020, when she was forced to drop out before a single vote was cast. But choosing someone instead of Harris, the first woman of color to serve as vice president, seemed politically untenable.

Now some in the party are rethinking the idea that Harris would flounder as the Democratic nominee, especially compared with Biden, given his struggles.

A CNN poll released Tuesday found that voters favor former president Donald Trump over Biden by six percentage points, 49 percent to 43 percent, similar to results from before the debate. But Harris performs better, trailing Trump 47 percent to 45 percent, a gap that falls within the margin of error.

And, some say, Harris could energize Democratic-leaning groups whose enthusiasm for Biden has faded — Black voters, young people and women. Some progressives say she could win back some voters who are disenchanted with Biden's handling of the Israel-Gaza war.

Some of the shift in thinking is practical: With four months before Election Day on Nov. 5 — and early voting beginning weeks before that — picking anyone but Harris would represent a legal, political and financial minefield, according to interviews with more than a dozen political strategists and people close to the decisions of White House aspirants.

Choosing a new nominee outside the current ticket would raise questions about the status of the delegates whom Biden and Harris have won — and the nearly quarter-billion dollars in their campaign coffers, money that cannot easily or perhaps even legally be handed to someone else.

Then there are the optics: Harris is the first Black woman to win a nationally elected office. Shunting her aside for someone White and possibly male could alienate the Black voters who the campaign says are key to winning the White House in 2024, and it could subject a party that prides itself on diversity to charges of hypocrisy.

Harris supporters also argue that many of the people often discussed as alternatives to Harris — Whitmer and Newsom, along with Illinois Gov. J.B. Pritzker, Rep. Ro Khanna (Calif.), Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro and Maryland Gov. Wes Moore — are popular in their home states and in Democratic circles but remain untested on the national



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Vice President Harris delivers remarks in Philadelphia on May 29. Democrats are increasingly rallying around Harris as a possible nominee for president, though almost always with the caveat that President Biden remains the choice for now — a sign that the party is gaming out a world without Biden as its leader.

stage.

"People want the president to be successful, but it's unclear where we're headed," said Jamal Simmons, Harris's former communications director. "And so as people begin to ponder if we had to do something else, what that something else would look like, who that someone else would be, the math leads you to Kamala Harris."

While Harris has been singled by criticism, supporters say, she is a known quantity, both from her own presidential race and from her experience as the running mate on a 2020 Democratic ticket that faced withering attacks.

"I don't know that Gretchen Whitmer going into Philadelphia is going to help turnout. I think Kamala Harris does," said Mike Trujillo, a Democratic strategist and former aide to Hillary Clinton. "I don't know if Gavin Newsom goes into Raleigh, North Carolina, or Charlotte, North Carolina, that he's going to be able to turn out African Americans that are the base of the party. I think Kamala Harris can do that."

Equally important, according to some strategists, is that voters say they are uninspired by the current rematch of two elderly men who have already served in the White House; Harris would present a younger face and a symbol of change. Biden is 81 and Trump is 78, while Harris is 59.

Still, there are many within the party who are not yet persuaded that Harris can win. Not only did her one presidential campaign collapse in disarray, they say, but she repeatedly stumbled early in her vice presidency.

Harris struggled, for example, when Biden asked her to tackle the root causes of illegal migration to the United States by working with leaders of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador to improve conditions there.

(Harris's defenders say the president had handed her an impossible task.)

Others worry that Harris's reputation as a California liberal, accurate or not, could alienate White centrists in the Midwestern suburbs whom Democrats need to win. Some of these skeptics include major Democratic donors, suggesting that Harris could have a harder time than Biden raising campaign cash.

At the same time, Biden's aides have forcefully insisted for months that he is Democrats' best — or perhaps only — chance of beating Trump, an assertion that has done little to bolster party members' views of Harris's prospects.

Multiple Democrats who have said they would get behind Harris, however, point to her post-debate interview when she had to balance a defense of Biden and the shaky debate performance millions of viewers saw. "That was a thankless job she had to do, and she did a very, very good job," one senior House Democratic aide said.

But overall, there are signs that a growing number of Democrats can now envision a relatively smooth transition to a Harris-led ticket, especially if Biden throws his support behind her.

Beyond party leaders, rank-and-file Democrats have also begun vigorously discussing post-Biden scenarios.

One Democrat in Texas, slated to be a delegate to the party's convention in August, said it would be almost impossible at this late hour for someone like Newsom or Whitmer to win the nomination, then conduct a full-blown presidential campaign from scratch.

So the choices come down to Biden and Harris, this person said — and Harris would be better.

"As the only other option really being Vice President Harris, I

think I would prefer that — and prefer the challenge of trying to drive up polling and drive up support — more than to keep support when we have a president going for reelection who may not have the best physical well-being," the delegate said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive matter.

Amid the intensifying conver-

"As people begin to ponder if we had to do something else, what that something else would look like . . . the math leads you to Kamala Harris."

Jamal Simmons,
Vice President Harris's former
communications director

sations among Democrats, there are signs that Harris's potential Democratic rivals are backing off — or being encouraged to back off.

Whitmer would not run for president this year and would be "all in" for Harris, according to a person close to the Michigan governor. Newsom has also hinted that he would back Harris, a fellow Californian. California lawmakers say they don't believe he'd run this year.

"It's got to be Kamala at the top, and pairing her with someone new and dynamic and good could be super invigorating," said one California Democrat in the U.S. House.

A person close to Clyburn said the high-ranking Democrat had made his comments about Harris on MSNBC with the explicit goal of warning top Democrats

against contemplating an alternate ticket not headed by Harris, should Biden step aside. Clyburn is an influential figure in the party, and other Democratic members have been sending a similar message to their colleagues who could be considering different rising stars to lead the ticket, according to a person who has been communicating this message.

Clyburn was "expressing his support for the president during this extraordinary period, and reminding voters and donors alike of his steadfast support for the second name on that ticket — Vice President Harris," said Marcus Mason, a member of the Democratic National Committee.

Harris has so far refused to engage in any of the public strategizing. Since the debate, she has been Biden's defender in chief, telling any camera in sight that voters should look at Biden's successful 3½ years in office, not his 90 minutes of struggling in a debate.

In an interview with CBS News on Tuesday, Harris declined to answer a question about whether she is ready to lead the country if Biden is unable to, saying rather that she is "proud to be Joe Biden's running mate."

"Look, Joe Biden is our nominee," Harris said. "We beat Trump once, and we're going to beat him again. Period."

Biden's camp has said any discussion of a possible replacement is moot, since he is not pulling out. His campaign has tried to convince anxious supporters that despite a stumbling debate performance, he remains easily the best choice atop the party.

Jen O'Malley Dillon, Biden's campaign chair, told donors at the Ritz-Carlton in Atlanta on Friday that "nothing fundamentally changed in the race" despite the furor over the debate. And the campaign has touted strong

fundraising numbers in the days since.

"Joe isn't just the right person for the job," first lady Jill Biden said at a Saturday fundraiser in East Hampton, N.Y. "He's the only person for the job."

Many Democrats privately say they like Harris personally and as a symbol of change, but they wonder how a politician who has at times struggled in the brightest spotlight would contend with a potentially bruising campaign, one that could feature racist and sexist dog whistles and perhaps more overt bigotry.

Harris's supporters argue that her last two years have shown more strides than missteps. She became a leading voice on abortion rights after the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade* in June 2022, seizing on a central plank in the Democratic platform and one that Biden sometimes seems uncomfortable discussing.

Harris has traveled the country to attack Republicans for eroding Americans' rights, courting conflict with some of the GOP's most vocal antiabortion voices. She has met with dozens of global leaders, including Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky half a dozen times, developing a foreign policy portfolio she had earlier lacked.

Just as salient, supporters say, Harris is at the intersection of many of the principles Democrats say they stand for: diversity and inclusion, gender and racial equity. Some Democrats are coming to the conclusion that divorcing her from the ticket might speak louder than any campaign ad or messaging.

"At this moment, women feel under assault on abortion," said Simmons, Harris's former communications director. "People of color feel under assault on diversity and inclusion. It would be difficult to pick a ticket that does not include the first woman of color to be vice president."

ELECTION 2024

Biden team faces party's ultimatum: Step up or step aside

BIDEN FROM A1

Supreme Court decision, on extreme weather, at Stonewall National Monument in New York and at a Medal of Honor ceremony at the White House on Wednesday — to speak for a total of 32 minutes, exclusively while using teleprompters. He also attended fundraisers and other weekend campaign events.

One senior campaign adviser called the situation “a deafening silence” from the top, reflecting the concerns of other advisers who described a failure of the president to publicly demonstrate his fitness for office as panic built inside the party. Other longtime Biden allies have described continued frustration about the political response and a growing conviction that a change needs to be made.

“I think the onus is really on Biden right now to be very candid with all of us privately, not publicly, not that we’re going to tell reporters, but to be very candid with us privately about what happened, what is the larger issue? Can we get through this?” said Rep. Sean Casten (D-Ill.), reflecting the concern of others. “We do need more than emails of polling briefs from White House legislative affairs directors right now to assuage those concerns.”

Biden spent much of Wednesday trying to push back on the concern, addressing his campaign staff and doing interviews with Black radio stations ahead of a planned meeting with Democratic governors.

“The past few days have been tough. I’m sure you’re getting a lot of calls, and I’m sure many of you have questions as well,” Biden told campaign staffers in a conference call, according to a person familiar with the remarks. “Let me say this as clearly as I possibly can and as simply and straightforward as I can: I am running. I’m the nominee of the Democratic Party. No one’s pushing me out. I’m not leaving. I’m in this race to the end, and we’re going to win because when Democrats unite, we always win.”

Vice President Harris, who was also on the call, added: “We will not back down. We will follow our

president’s lead. We will fight, and we will win.”

Later, in a briefing for reporters, White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre said Biden is “absolutely not” planning to drop out as the presidential nominee.

Even those who still argue Biden remains the best candidate admitted he lost ground in recent days, though hope remains that poll numbers will stabilize over the coming week. Some Democrats have begun openly considering the idea that Harris could replace Biden on the ticket to take on Republican Donald Trump in November.

“There is significant erosion among elected [officials] and donors,” said Dmitri Mehlhorn, a donor adviser working with outside groups to elect Biden. “But the elected and the donors do not represent the substantial part of swing voters who are in the battleground states.”

Biden’s campaign team insisted on a June debate with Trump to address voter apathy and concerns about Biden’s age. His stammering performance, instead, triggered alarm in the party and an increase in public concern about his competence, as measured by public polls.

Biden’s private outreach to lawmakers has also been minimal since the debate, prompting leaders within the party to express their surprise to others. Biden waited until Tuesday to speak with House Democratic leader Hakeem Jeffries (N.Y.) and until Wednesday morning to speak with Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (N.Y.) and former House speaker Nancy Pelosi (Calif.). His meeting Wednesday evening with Democratic governors was scheduled only after a request by Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz.

Several governors emerged describing it as an “honest” and “open” and “candid” assessment of the race. Biden reflected on the poor debate performance — telling them that his mind was crammed with numbers — and reiterated his plans to regain his footing.

“When you love someone, you tell the truth,” Gov. Wes Moore



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Biden prepares to speak Monday at the White House. Since Thursday’s debate, he has appeared in public four times.

(D-Md.) said. “We were honest about the concerns that we were hearing from people. And we were also honest about the fact that — as the president continues to tell us and show us — that he was all in. And we said that we would stand with him.”

Gov. Kathy Hochul (D-N.Y.) added: “I’m here to tell you tonight, President Joe Biden is in it to win it. And all of us said we pledged our support to him because the stakes could not be higher.”

Some House Democrats continued to debate among themselves Wednesday whether to call on Biden to step down, with drafts of a possible public letter circulating. Two Democratic members of Congress — Reps. Jared Golden (Maine) and Marie Gluesenkamp Perez (Wash.) — publicly said Tuesday that Biden can no longer win, while Rep. Lloyd Doggett (Tex.) said Biden should be replaced as the party’s presidential candidate. Rep. Raúl Grijalva (D-Ariz.) called on Biden to step aside Wednesday.

On a text chain Wednesday morning, House members shared a new YouGov poll that showed Biden down two points to Trump. Another poll shared on the text chain showed that former first lady Michelle Obama would trounce Trump by 10 points.

The anxious lawmakers didn’t put any stock in the numbers but marveled at how “there’s all this

potential to defeat Trump and it also says how much it’s being held back by Biden,” according to one lawmaker on the text chain.

Rep. James E. Clyburn (D-S.C.), one of Biden’s closest allies in the House, said Wednesday morning that he had not spoken with the president. A spokesperson said the two connected later in the day.

“I think that the president should have a series of town-hall-type meetings, engaging with voters, with the media,” Clyburn said. “I think he should not have his reactions to questions from the voters through a filter. Let him give unfiltered responses to their questions, and let the media report on it.”

Democrats involved in House and Senate races say much will depend on whether Biden’s polling continues to slide in coming days, and how that impacts Democratic candidates. There are some signs Republicans are moving to capitalize on Biden’s faltering debate performance. Arizona’s Republican Senate candidate, Kari Lake, plans to air a statewide ad that hits Democratic candidate Ruben Gallego on Biden’s decline, said one person familiar with the ad planning.

Both the campaign and the White House are hoping that events in the days after the Fourth of July holiday will reassure voters and party insiders. They point out that no senior Democrats have

called on him to step down.

The initial damage control after Thursday’s debate and the subsequent North Carolina rally was handled almost entirely by staff. Those private phone calls, video conferences and other presentations focused largely on other aspects of the campaign and offered no opportunity for questions or only screened questions. Top campaign staff have written multiple memos and emails to staff, donors and supporters asking for calm and redoubled work.

“The president and his team have been through the highest of highs and the lowest of lows. And you know what? That will continue,” Jeff Zients, Biden’s chief of staff, said on the White House call. “The only way to get through it is as a team.” He took no questions.

The encouraging talk about fundraising numbers and the grass-roots operation has failed to address the central concern that Biden himself is not up for the job, say several senior strategists who have decided in recent days that either Biden has to prove his ability or that Democrats need a new nominee. Allies have also pointed out that the focus on internal campaign polling and analytics — showing a stable race, with Biden trailing Trump slightly — has failed to address the question of how the debate performance affected Biden’s ability to overtake Trump before the fall.

The argument by top Biden advisers has long been that enough voters will ultimately choose to oppose Trump, but that argument lacks a clear empirical basis beyond polls that show a majority of the country remains open to supporting Biden in theory, people familiar with the situation said. The campaign has also been hit by external polling that has shown a sharper drop from Biden’s already poor standing in matchups with Trump and third-party candidates.

“The polling isn’t changing” is not a sufficient message,” said one Democratic veteran of presidential efforts, who reflected the sentiment of several other strategists. “The fundamental point is it is not about a single debate perform-

ance. It is about the shaky confidence that people had is now gone. And him giving two four-minute statements and reading a teleprompter at a rally and a fundraiser is not going to cut it.”

The high-dollar donor community, meanwhile, has overwhelmingly turned against Biden, according to people familiar with the conversations. Whether that has a material effect on fundraising if Biden stays in the race is less clear. In multiple cases, donor advisers say, large donations to outside groups that were expected have been withheld since the debate.

Liberal donor networks like the Democracy Alliance, American Bridge and the Strategic Victory Fund have all held calls in recent days where donors have expressed concerns about moving forward, though none of the calls resulted in formal calls for Biden to leave the race. Officials at one independent group have begun to review polling to see how their planned advertising will fare if Biden is not the nominee.

Multiple donors have described the debate performance as reflecting elements of Biden’s performance in smaller group settings at donor events in recent months, when he appeared halting and struggled to communicate. That recognition has fueled calls for him to step aside, according to people familiar with those conversations.

A business executive who helped arrange a fundraiser for the Chicago convention in the last year said the Biden team refused to let even major donors ask questions in a small group. That was shocking, this person said.

“I told them my donors don’t care about a photo. They want to talk to him. The Biden people just wouldn’t let them,” the person said. “It was clear they were managing him in a way I’ve never experienced before. Donors expect to get to talk to the president if you’re writing a big check and having an event with him.”

Josh Dawsey, Leigh Ann Caldwell, Liz Goodwin, Abigail Hauslohner, Paul Kane and Yvonne Wingett Sanchez contributed to this report.



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Trump lays low, letting Biden be the focus of attention

TRUMP FROM A1

him doing as well or better against other Democrats.

"The funny thing is we're beating him badly in the polls, but nobody else is doing any better," he added in an interview that aired Monday with radio host John Fredericks.

Letting Biden be the focus of attention is unusual for Trump, who is more accustomed to dominating the headlines. But he has laid low since the debate, with no public events scheduled this week. A running mate announcement is expected as early as next week, with the Republican National Convention to follow the week after.

The Trump campaign's message to surrogates after last week's debate was that Biden is the Democratic nominee and Democrats are stuck with him, according to a Republican close to the campaign, who like others interviewed for this article spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak publicly. Biden struggled through the 90-minute faceoff, setting off widespread alarm in his party.

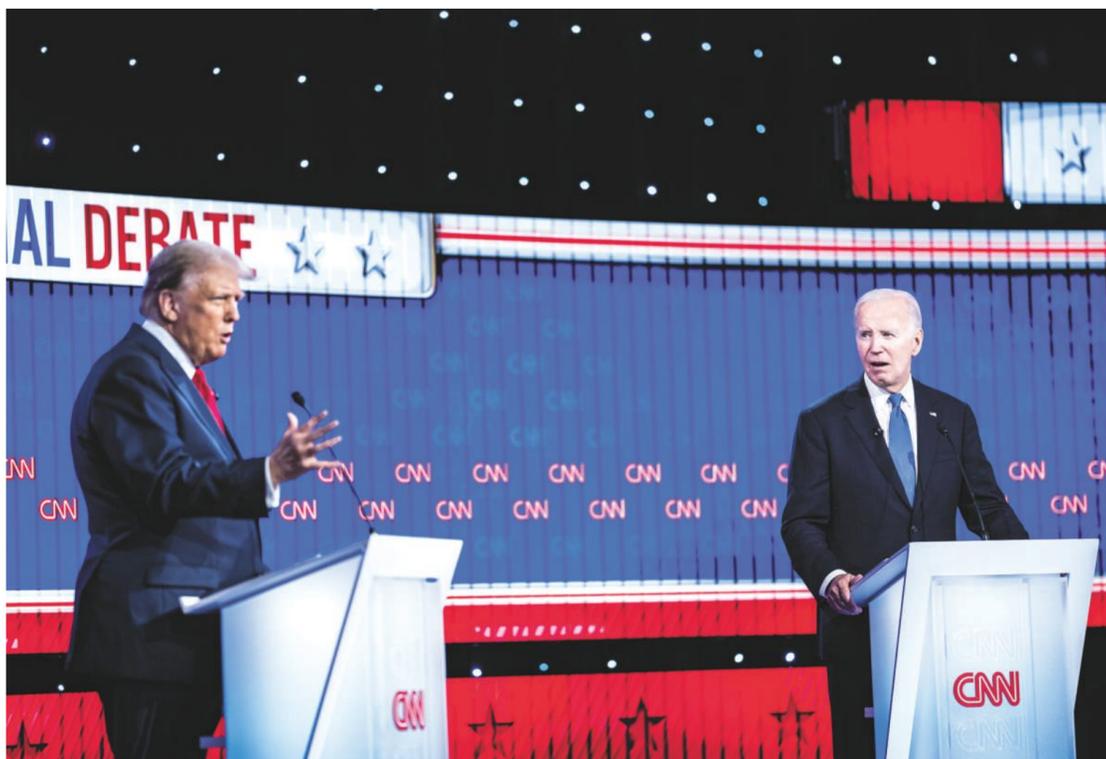
"It sure seems they want Biden to stay on the ticket. They think he's vulnerable, and they like where they're at. You can see they are not excited at all about the prospect of him leaving the race," said David Axelrod, a longtime top strategist to Barack Obama.

Trump advisers were privately stunned at how poorly Biden performed, believing he would be a stronger debater, people familiar with the matter said.

Taylor Budowich, who leads Trump's outside political action committee, said the clips from the debate "would make for devastating campaign commercials." But Budowich also said that Harris being the nominee "has the ad team cackling with excitement."

On Wednesday the PAC, known as MAGA Inc., circulated an attack on Harris headlined, "Is Invasion Czar Kamala Harris the Best They Got?"

Biden's campaign and the White House have insisted the president remains committed to running and are planning a fresh round of campaign events and at



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

After last week's debate between former president Donald Trump and President Biden, the Trump campaign's message to surrogates was that Biden is the Democratic nominee and Democrats are stuck with him, according to a Republican close to the campaign.

least one television interview. The campaign announced raising \$127 million in June, ending the month with \$240 million in cash on hand, compared with Trump's \$111.8 million raised and \$285 million in the bank.

The incumbent and his aides have sought to stay on the attack against Trump, hitting him over abortion and the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol by a pro-Trump mob, among other issues. On Monday, Biden responded to a Supreme Court decision on presidential immunity, saying it would leave Trump "more emboldened to do whatever he pleases" in a second term.

The Trump campaign expects Biden will be the Democratic nominee, Trump spokeswoman Karoline Leavitt said. "We are confident no matter what that

we will be victorious in tying any Democrat on the ballot to Biden and to the Democratic Party," she added.

The Trump campaign has begun airing ads suggesting Harris was celebrating Biden's struggles, showing her laughing in a way that is meant to appear villainous and collapsing the Biden-Harris campaign logo to remove the president's name. The campaign is also attacking other Democratic candidates for their past defenses of Biden, accusing them of covering up the president's decline.

Republicans have indicated that they would attack any Democratic effort to replace Biden as an affront to Democratic primary voters and the democratic process.

"What would be a bigger

threat to democracy than taking a candidate post-primary, when millions of people, Democratic primary voters, have already voted and try to replace him at a convention with a few hundred Democratic leaders?" Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), a potential running mate, said after last Thursday's debate. "That is the biggest threat to democracy that's been contemplated in American government in the last few years."

Outside the campaign, lawyers at the right-wing Heritage Foundation researched ballot access laws in all 50 states to be prepared to oppose any effort to remove or replace Biden after he officially becomes the Democratic nominee.

"Our research has basically uncovered that it's extraordinarily

ly complicated and absolutely ripe for ample opportunities for litigation," said Mike Howell, director of Heritage's Oversight Project. "You got to dance with the girl you brought to prom. An American election can't be made up as you go, and the fact that such a massive lie was told to the American people isn't a convenient enough excuse to circumvent laws."

"We like to live by the rule that when your opponent is in the process of committing suicide it's best to stay out of the way," said Ralph Reed, chairman of the Faith and Freedom Coalition. "I think after Thursday we're going to leave the stage to Joe Biden and the Democrats who have organized themselves into a circular firing squad."

Trump himself has been large-

ly quiet this week, and some advisers said they want him to delay his vice-presidential announcement as long as possible to let Democrats stew in their own troubles. Two people who have spoken to Trump in recent days say he continues to focus on Vance and Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Fla.) as potential choices, while also mentioning other names, such as North Dakota Gov. Doug Burgum (R).

"He truly I don't think has fully decided," one person who has spoken to him repeatedly said.

Leavitt said: "Very soon President Trump will make an announcement on a vice-presidential running mate who will be much more qualified and competent than Kamala Harris."

Kellyanne Conway, a longtime ally of Trump's, argued that Trump didn't need to say much about the debate. "The art of politics is to tell people what they can't see, not what they can," Conway said. "People simply can't unsee what they saw in that moment."

While Democrats have plunged into panic over Biden's poor showing at the debate and ability to execute the campaign or serve another four years, Trump has welcomed more favorable developments, with a Supreme Court decision that delayed and could possibly eliminate his criminal jeopardy. His lawyers secured a delay of his sentencing for his 34-felony conviction in New York until September, if at all, as the judge said he will consider the effects of Monday's Supreme Court decision saying presidents are immune from prosecution for official acts.

Some Trump campaign staff members have aired their glee at the Democratic meltdown by posting online taunts, sometimes profane, directed at Biden and his staff. But aides have also cautioned against getting cocky or endangering their own momentum.

"Right now the entire Biden reelection campaign is in a complete free fall," Fredericks, one of the radio hosts, said in an interview Tuesday. "All you have to do is get out of the way. Let them implode."

2 Menendez family members testify

At corruption trial, senator declines to take stand in his own defense

BY SALVADOR RIZZO

NEW YORK — After sitting through 30 prosecution witnesses testifying at his federal corruption trial, Sen. Bob Menendez called on family and forensic accountants this week as his attorneys made the case that the New Jersey Democrat took no bribes from wealthy businessmen and that his Cuban-refugee parents taught him to stash bundles of money at home.

Menendez, the former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who is accused of acting as a foreign agent for Egypt, declined Wednesday to take the witness stand in his own defense. Closing arguments in the case are expected to begin Monday.

Five people — his sister, sister-in-law, a prominent New Jersey lawyer and two forensic accountants — testified on his behalf. One accountant told the jury that Menendez withdrew cash from a credit union account in increments of around \$400 on more than 300 occasions during a 14-year stretch.

"Daddy always said don't trust the banks," the lawmaker's sister, Caridad Gonzalez, told jurors as the defense's initial witness. Their father, mother and aunt, she recalled, all had a habit of storing cash around the house after the family fled persecution in Cuba in 1951, before Menendez was born in New York.

It became part of the family lore, Gonzalez testified, and Menendez has been keeping cash at home since at least the 1980s. Federal prosecutors said the FBI seized more than \$486,000 in bribes from his house in Englewood Cliffs, N.J., during a court-authorized search in June 2022.

"He doesn't take cash for anything," Gonzalez said in a testi-

mony under cross-examination, denying that her "baby brother" would have accepted bribes from businessmen with ties to Egypt and Qatar. His motivation for holding public office? "He does it because that's what he does; he serves people," she said.

Federal prosecutors in Manhattan concluded their case Friday after seven weeks. They narrated emails, photos, text messages, voicemails, bank records and other pieces of evidence linking both Menendez and his wife, the former Nadine Arslanian, to businessmen who were seeking the lawmaker's help lining up deals with Egyptian and Qatari officials or hoping to have Menendez quash several criminal investigations by authorities in New Jersey.

Menendez is charged with bribery, extortion, wire fraud, obstruction of justice and acting as a foreign agent for Egypt. He could spend the rest of his life in prison if convicted on all counts. He and the two New Jersey businessmen on trial with him, Fred Daibes and Wael "Will" Hana, have pleaded not guilty. Nadine Menendez also has pleaded not guilty and is scheduled to be tried later.

On Wednesday, the senator told U.S. District Judge Sidney H. Stein that he had decided not to testify after mulling it over "at length" with his lawyers. Later in the afternoon, he elaborated briefly outside the courthouse.

"From my perspective, the government has failed to prove every aspect of its case," Menendez told reporters.

His attorneys argue that he was broken up with Arslanian for part of 2018 after discovering she was still seeing an ex-boyfriend. They say the couple could not have been operating a bribery scheme during that pause in their romance.

But prosecutors contend the two were hard at work beginning in early 2018 and continuing through 2022, meeting with Egyptian intelligence officials and assisting them with policy

priorities in Congress while expecting that Hana would settle the bill later on with bribes.

Defense attorney Avi Weitzman portrayed the ex-boyfriend as controlling and ever-present in Arslanian's life, even after the senator entered the picture. A witness testified that Arslanian obtained a temporary restraining order against him in May 2018, months after she began dating Menendez.

"I worry about your safety and well-being," Menendez wrote to her in a 2018 text message. "My disappointment, however, does not change my love for you. You are the love of my life and hopefully we can live in peace and happiness the rest of our lives."

At one point the judge complained that the defense was turning the trial into a "bad soap opera." The ex-boyfriend, lawyer Doug Anton, has said Nadine Menendez's accusations against him are false.

Katia Tabourian, who is Nadine Menendez's younger sister, testified Monday that it was not uncommon within their family — which has roots in Armenia, Cyprus and Lebanon — to give gold, jewelry and cash as gifts. Nadine Menendez inherited their grandmother's gold bars and was also given gold by their father, Tabourian said.

The Menendezes married in the fall of 2020. Prosecutors allege that Nadine had cash and gold bars from Daibes and Hana in her bedroom closet when the FBI search took place.

Under cross-examination by prosecutors, Gonzalez and Tabourian said they were close to Menendez and did not want to see him in trouble. The senator's daughter, MSNBC anchor Alicia Menendez, sat in the front row of the courtroom gallery as Gonzalez testified. Afterward, the two women embraced and walked together out of the courtroom, followed by a beaming Menendez.

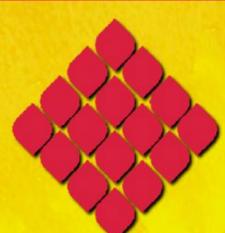
The trial is breaking for Independence Day and will resume Monday.

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Tension rises over Medicare contract

MEDICARE FROM A1

manage call centers across the country — and Biden officials' decision to end the contract 15 months later, citing concerns about customer service. Officials at the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services also amended the contract to add a "labor harmony agreement," essentially a pledge by participating companies that they will make peace with unions and not experience a labor stoppage affecting the call centers.

Bids on the revised contract were due last Friday.

There is little precedent for the federal government to abruptly end such a large contract and insert a labor harmony agreement. Maximus last month filed a protest with the Government Accountability Office, urging the federal watchdog to investigate the decision to rebid a contract that the company spent years working to win.

In a statement, Maximus said that it is "challenging the premature, improper, and unlawful procurement of our highly successful operation" overseeing the call centers. Maximus is the largest employer of federal call center workers, with more than 10,000 workers around the country. Its CEO last month emphasized that Maximus has strong labor relations, saying its "employees are the heart and soul of our company."

The Biden administration is defending its decision, pointing to walkouts at Maximus-run call centers last year.

"The call center has experienced worker strikes, and HHS believes rebidding the contract with a labor peace agreement will preserve access to high-quality customer service for the millions of Americans who rely on its dedicated workforce," the Department of Health and Human Services said in a statement.

Some Democrats are also asking whether rebidding the contract could jeopardize services for the more than 35 million Americans who rely on 1-800-MEDICARE, the Affordable Care Act's

customer-service call line, and other response-center operations to navigate the complexities of their health insurance. Maximus had run 1-800-MEDICARE and the Affordable Care Act support services since 2018 after acquiring the business from a different contractor, receiving high customer satisfaction scores — a decision that influenced federal officials' decision to award the company a nine-year contract in 2022.

Switching to a new contractor could be disruptive, particularly if the shift happens in the middle of an open enrollment period, these Democrats have warned.

"My constituents rely on the services provided by CMS each and every day. My only concern is their well-being and making sure that they are not harmed in this transition," Rep. Gerry Connolly (D-Va.) said in a statement to The Washington Post. Connolly, who wrote a letter to CMS leadership last month asking for an explanation about the contract changes, represents the district where Maximus is headquartered.

But other Democrats say that the Biden administration's action is overdue, asserting that Maximus had long mistreated its workers by offering low wages and limited benefits. Some call center workers have gone on strike and joined protests in D.C. last year, urging federal officials to pressure the company to address workforce issues. Maximus workers also walked off the job during open enrollment for the Affordable Care Act in November 2023, seeking to draw attention to their fight with company leadership.

"It's now being re-competed, and that's a good thing," said Rep. Rosa DeLauro (D-Conn.), a longtime critic of the company. DeLauro, the top Democrat on the powerful House Appropriations Committee, added legislative language to a 2022 government funding bill in an attempt to delay the contract from being awarded to Maximus, she said in an interview last week.

"At the time, we were waiting for the White House to put out an



BRYAN OLIN DOZIER/AP

A Medicare-for-all protest near the Capitol. A contractor is crying foul over the White House's move to rebid its \$6.6 billion contract.

executive order on labor reforms," DeLauro said, referencing a January 2023 memo that offered recommendations for how federal contracts could be structured in a more pro-labor way. "I was trying ... to delay the process going forward until the administration had come out with its executive order."

Senate Republicans took out DeLauro's language, clearing the way for Maximus to win the \$6.6 billion contract in December 2022.

The labor harmony provision was cheered by officials at the Communications Workers of America who have said Maximus fought their efforts to organize call-center workers. The union's president has touted the revised contract as a victory for the labor movement and compared workers' protests to historic efforts during the civil rights movement in the 1960s, noting that some of the key organizers at Maximus call centers were Black women.

"I'm hopeful that ... whoever gets the contract, CWA will be able to sit down and work out an agreement" for labor harmony that will help workers get better wages and benefits, Claude Cummings Jr., president of the Communications Workers of America, said in an interview last month. Cummings said he hoped workers at other call centers would be inspired to "reach out to CWA and hopefully express an interest of also wanting to organize."

Experts in federal contracting have countered that moving too quickly to rebid the contract after first awarding it, and particularly

adding the labor harmony provision, is disruptive and confusing. Some of Maximus's subcontractors have written to the federal government, defending the company and urging officials to reconsider.

"There's no articulated problem that this is fixing," said David Berteau, CEO of the Professional Services Council, a lobbying organization for federal contractors that counts Maximus among its members. Berteau noted that the original contract was set to run up to nine years, with annual options to renew, and that federal officials initially touted Maximus's existing years of work in helping manage the government's health services. He added that there is no way for a company to guarantee it will not experience a labor disruption.

"These actions undermine the contracting process by ending early a contract that has excellent performance, replacing it with an approach that's unproven," Berteau said.

Maximus has said the focus on worker pay is misplaced and an artifact of how federal contracts are awarded, with incentives that encourage contractors to keep wages relatively low to win government business. The company has called for Congress to overhaul the Service Contract Act, which helps determine how local wages are set for federal contractors.

Maximus leaders and its allies have also defended the company's broader working environment, noting that The Post last month named Maximus to its Top Work-

places list of best places to work in the D.C. area. (The list is compiled by a team at The Post separate from the one that worked on this article.)

The news that federal officials are rebidding the contract has also landed with a thud with congressional Republicans, who accuse the White House of performing political favors, invoking the administration's own pledges to the labor movement. President Biden has described himself as "the most pro-union president" in U.S. history.

CWA, meanwhile, has thrown its support behind the president, with union leaders citing his track record of supporting their causes.

"We must reelect Joe Biden," Cummings exhorted union members last week at CWA's annual legislative conference. "We need to turn out, and we need to vote."

"Redoing a nine-year contract after two years is not about improving services. It is a Biden administration sacrificing continuity of care for older Americans to benefit large labor unions just before a presidential election," Sen. Bill Cassidy (R-La.), the top Republican on the Senate's health committee, said in a statement to The Post.

Federal health officials did not respond to a detailed list of questions about who decided to rebid the contract, how that decision was reached and the nature of their conversations with union leaders and congressional Democrats. But they have defended their actions as appropriate, particularly after a Wall Street Journal editorial last month suggested the Biden administration was "pushing unions on a federal contractor" by rebidding the contract with a labor-friendly provision.

"There's no one that's influencing [it]. Even I don't get into that process that CMS undertakes on a contract bidding process," HHS Secretary Xavier Becerra told reporters last month. "They are essentially in their bubble doing that work."

Four federal officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss contracting decisions said the HHS secretary's office was closely involved in the decision to rebid the contract amid pressure from unions and Democrats such as DeLauro.

G.K. Butterfield, a former Democratic congressman who now works with Maximus, said he ran into Becerra at a social gath-

ering in September 2023, when the HHS secretary told him he shared the union's concerns about Maximus.

HHS did not respond to a question about Becerra's conversation with Butterfield.

DeLauro, the longtime Maximus critic, said she would accept the company winning the contract again, under its new terms.

"No one is preventing Maximus, or, quite frankly, any other company for that matter, from bidding on the contract," DeLauro said. "If they're competing, and they've accepted a labor harmony [agreement] ... they can move forward on that."

Behind the scenes, federal health officials provided some reassurance to Maximus even as the agency began moving to rebid the contract.

According to an annual review completed by federal contracting officials in November 2023, Maximus had fulfilled all key requirements of the contract at a "satisfactory" or "very good" level of performance, according to documents reviewed by The Post. The contracting official who conducted the review of Maximus "would recommend them for similar requirements in the future," she concluded.

The following month, union leaders gathered outside HHS to protest conditions at Maximus, joined by several congressional Democrats. Maximus workers shared stories about helping shoppers find health insurance while being unable to afford coverage themselves, saying pay at the company was well below the \$25 an hour they say is needed for a livable wage.

"The Biden administration talks a lot about improving jobs for federal contractors, about racial justice, but we at Maximus are not seeing that," said Katherine Charles, a call center worker in Riverview, Fla.

"Shame on you! Shame on you!" yelled Cummings, the CWA president, leading the crowd in chants as they gestured toward the health department's headquarters. The union president added that he'd "talked to everybody" about the situation, including Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Vice President Harris.

Three days later, federal health officials announced they would rebid the contract. Maximus officials have said they are planning to try to win it again.

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Slope of recovery worries teachers

MATH FROM A1

roughly 450 students received extra help in math this past year, whether in a tutoring group like the one Baar led or more time with a teacher — an intensive push to regain academic ground lost during the pandemic. Children across the country returned from virtual learning much further behind in math — a subject in which each skill builds on another and gaps in understanding can leave students lost — than they were in reading.

Between fall 2019 and 2022, national test scores sank four points in reading and nine points in math for 13-year-olds — the largest drop in math in half a century. And while scores have started to improve, researchers at the testing nonprofit NWEA estimated last summer that the average American eighth-grader would still need the equivalent of nine more months of schooling to catch up in math, compared with seven extra months in reading.

With a full academic recovery still out of reach — and the billions of dollars in pandemic relief that fueled attempts to catch kids up running out — educators worry they must turn things around fast, or else a big cohort of children will be ill-prepared for higher-level math courses, college and ultimately the kinds of sought-after jobs in technology and science that could give them more financial stability and propel the economy.

“It’s pulling kids constantly: small groups, high-impact tutoring, giving them what they need,” said Principal Rachel Crouch. “That’s how we’re going to move the needle.”

Disparities deepen

Christine Baker, a fourth-grade math teacher in Anne Arundel County in Maryland, saw signs of struggle this past school year. Normally, students come in with a solid grasp of addition and basic multiplication facts, which is essential for a year that will be spent learning fractions and how to divide big numbers.

It’s typical that kids start the year having trouble with multiplying some of the larger numbers — 7×6 can be a tricky one, she said. But this past year, many students had a hard time with small numbers, too.

“Multiplication is driven by addition, and they don’t know their addition facts because those are the early grades that they missed [in-person] because of the pandemic,” Baker said.

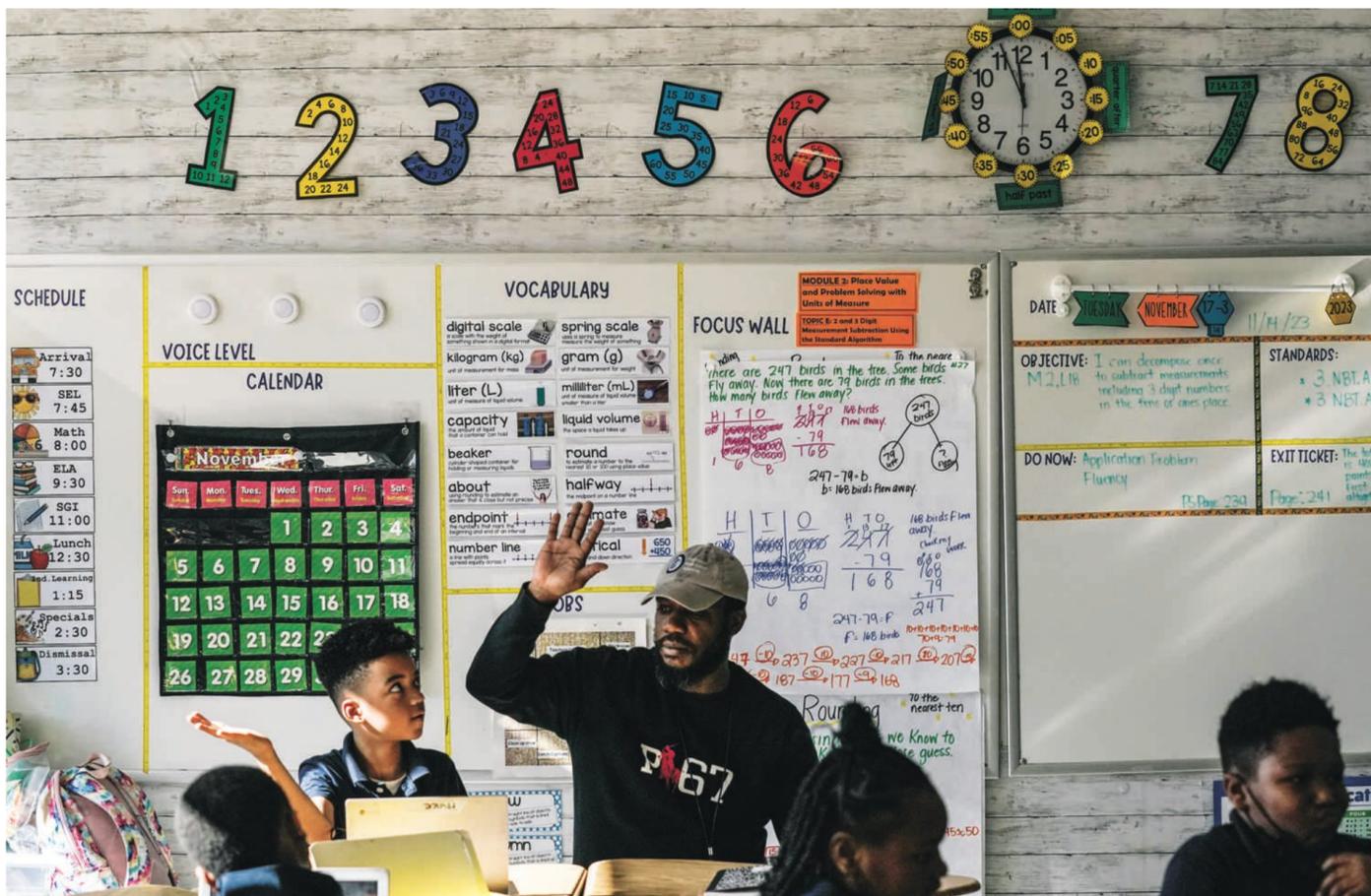
Experts are still working to understand why students fell so far behind in math.

School leaders point to several factors, including a shortage of qualified math teachers during the pandemic and the sequential nature in which math is taught. Teachers said it was difficult to convey concepts better understood through hands-on activities or in-person discussions — such as solving for an unknown variable in an algebra problem — via a computer screen.

“Kids lost a whole year, in some cases, of one specific foundational [skill] that isn’t really retaught in the next years,” said Kelly Smith, Perry Street Prep’s director of operations.

And the discomfort many families felt toward math meant some students had to fend for themselves. Parents can generally provide reading help, but “with math, it’s like, ‘Eh, I don’t know about that,’” said Michele Stites, an associate professor of early-childhood education at the University of Maryland at Baltimore County.

Children missed the equivalent of a third of a grade level in reading and half of a grade level in math between 2019 and 2022, according to experts from Harvard and Stanford universities who studied third- through eighth-graders in 30 states. (Students have since recovered some of the loss, they said.) But in districts including Kansas City, Kan., and Boston, losses in math were greater, according to researchers. Students in Fairfax County, the largest district in Virginia, were more than a year behind in 2023.



PHOTOS BY JAHU CHIKWENDU/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Third-grader Prince Smith receives one-on-one help from Frederick Wimbush during a math class at Friendship-Blow Pierce. About 36 percent of children in the elementary school can do grade-level math, compared with about 29 percent citywide. **LEFT:** An eighth-grader at Friendship-Blow Pierce works to solve a math problem in a notebook.



pandemic, American students had been struggling in math and had been trailing behind some of their peers abroad.

Sometimes, instruction is the culprit. While researchers publicly clashed over the best way to teach children how to read — spawning the decades-long “reading wars” and leading states in recent years to adopt research-backed phonics-based practices — there has been a quieter battle over how to teach math. Those debates have found new energy as school leaders try to find the best ways to catch kids up in the subject.

Some camps think math is taught best when students have a conceptual understanding of the subject — kids, for example, should not only know how to find the area of a triangle, but *why* the formula works. The teacher should be more of a facilitator than a lecturer and encourage students to problem-solve on their own, they say.

Others favor a more top-down and traditional approach — likely to be the way many parents learned math — in which teachers lecture students on the procedures and formulas they need to know, and then the kids memorize and replicate.

Experts generally support some mix of the two. Still, many classrooms remain stuck on the older approach, in part because it’s the way they learned math.

That could be changing. In D.C.’s traditional public schools, Ferebee wants “everybody to be a math person” and has adopted curriculums he says emphasize a deeper understanding of the subject. But that approach requires updated methods of teaching even basic skills — what parents often critique as “new math.”

For example, when solving the equation $75 - 29$, parents may notice their kids drawing tiny squares that represent those numbers — a trick meant to help visualize what it means to subtract.

“We want them to understand that instead of borrowing a one . . . this is how we think about regrouping,” Ferebee said, referring to the traditional way of lining numbers up and subtracting one from the other. “And this is why we do it this way, because it will deepen students’ understanding.”

In other districts, pandemic relief funds are being used to send educators back to school or partner them with teaching coaches. In Missouri, which has seen math scores that are close to — and in some cases higher than — pre-pandemic performance, state leaders sent teachers to math specialist programs. Jessica Golden, a teacher of 10 years, said it has helped shift her focus away from drilling procedures.

“Memorizing the processes only gets you so far when you don’t fully understand why we use that process,” she said. She added that students missed out on a deeper understanding of some concepts during virtual learning, when they couldn’t use tactile classroom tools called manipulatives, such as plastic counters or place value blocks, to help

them visualize abstract ideas. Brittany Shoup, a special-education teacher in Pittsburgh, said teachers dropped manipulatives off at students’ homes and experimented with virtual alternatives. But she can still see gaps.

“I almost had to treat them like they never went to first grade when they came into my room in second grade,” she said of the students she taught when virtual learning ended. Now, those kids are fourth-graders. “We really are making up that time because we need to make sure they have a solid foundation. Once you get to that higher-level math, everything needs to be solid.”

But she’s optimistic. “Some things, they’re just going to learn as they go,” she said. “There is absolutely hope.”

Making math relevant

The changes in the classroom also come as educators know their students need strong math skills now to be set up for many good jobs down the road.

Students are flocking toward degrees in computer science, engineering and health. Interest in the humanities, meanwhile, is dwindling. Ferebee, in D.C., has a goal of preparing every student for Algebra I by eighth grade, which gives them more time to take the advanced math courses they need for college.

Derrick Gooding, who teaches middle school math at Friendship Public Charter School’s Blow Pierce campus, reminds his students of this frequently. “The more math you take, the more money you can make,” he tells them.

His students are outperforming their peers in math across the city, according to data provided by the school. Officials point to the school’s culture and approach to teaching math that emphasizes student exploration. Gooding says he tries his best to make the subject relevant, even for those who don’t see themselves in math careers.

“When am I using a function? Well, don’t you realize that your car is a function and you are the independent variable to use that?” Gooding said.

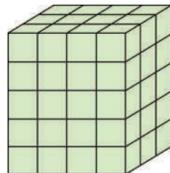
Shatavia Kelley, who teaches third grade at Friendship-Blow Pierce, tries to cultivate an early love for math. About 36 percent of children in the elementary school can do grade-level math, compared with about 29 percent citywide.

On a morning last fall, Kelley asked her class to help her solve a problem: If Tara brought 825 milliliters of water on her hiking trip, and then finished with 132 milliliters, how much did she drink?

The children were anxious to spurt out answers. But Kelley instructed them to compare work and discuss the best way to solve the equation.

“A lot of times we’re talking to them, but we have to give them the space to ask the questions to their friends. Throughout the years, I’ve grown and learned that they learn a lot from each other,” Kelley said. “You rarely see that in a math class.”

After pandemic closures, kids are still behind. Can you do their math?



Aubrey made a tower with 5 layers of cubes, as shown. She then removed the top 2 layers of the tower.

How many cubes did she remove?

- A. 2 cubes
- B. 8 cubes
- C. 12 cubes
- D. 24 cubes



Scan the QR code with your phone’s camera or visit wapo.st/mathquiz to find the answer to this question and take the rest of the quiz.

Meanwhile, the pandemic baked in existing racial inequities, particularly at the middle school level. Black and Hispanic middle-schoolers — who, on average, performed lower on tests than White peers before the pandemic — need the most time to get back to their pre-coronavirus normal, according to an analysis from NWEA.

“We have consistently seen, from the earliest phase of the pandemic, that although everyone seems to be impacted, those impacts were unequally felt,” said Karyn Lewis, director of the Center for School and Student Progress at NWEA.

At Perry Street Prep, which goes from prekindergarten to eighth grade, student performance since virtual learning has also been lopsided, Crouch said. About 27 percent of her students are reading on grade level, compared with 30 percent in 2019, test data shows. Just over 7 percent are on grade level in math, down from 14 percent before the pandemic. The city’s traditional public school system, which educates half of D.C.’s schoolchildren, has seen similar trends.

Officials expect to see improvements in this spring’s

round of testing, the results of which will probably be made public in late summer. Even so, D.C. kids are years away from making a full recovery, estimates Josh Boots, executive director of EmpowerK12, a local education research group.

To speed things up, D.C. Public Schools started holding events to help parents assist their kids at home. Officials have spent millions in pandemic aid on tutoring, summer programs, teacher training and new curriculums to ramp up learning.

“We are doing our best to preserve the resources that we know have been effective in supporting our young people,” said Lewis D. Ferebee, the district’s chancellor. “We’ve built the foundation. We purchased the curriculum. We have a lot of the materials” needed, he said.

Meanwhile, the \$33 million in federal relief that funded city-wide intensive math and reading tutoring for the past three years is dwindling. Officials plan to spend a fraction of that amount to keep as many programs as possible next year, but some schools will have to scour for other funding.

“You know, piecing together all the money we can find,” said Smith, of Perry Street Prep. Data provided by the school shows that students who received tutoring and attended class consistently showed more than two months’ worth of growth each month.

School leaders in other parts of the country are also trying to figure out how to continue programs launched or expanded in the pandemic. In Arizona, where math proficiency at the end of the 2022-2023 school year still lagged behind 2019 levels, officials clawed back millions in pandemic money from nonprofit organizations they felt weren’t delivering results.

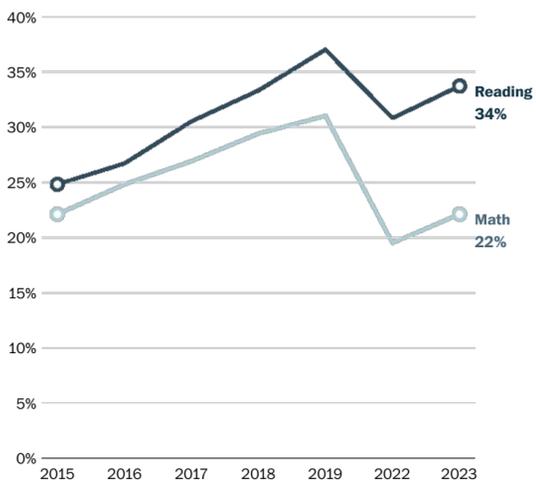
The state then used the money — about \$50 million — to expand tutoring to more students who need the most help, said Tom Horne, the state’s superintendent of public instruction. “It’s not enough for all. But to the extent they make progress toward proficiency, then hopefully their teachers can bring them the rest of the way.”

Making everyone a ‘math person’

Some experts say tutoring isn’t the only answer. Even before the

Share of students on grade level in D.C.

The pandemic upended years of academic progress for kids in D.C. Students have been recovering, but lag further behind in math than in reading.



Note: Students were not tested in 2020 or 2021. Some figures have been rounded. Source: D.C. Office of the State Superintendent of Education. LAUREN LUMPKIN / THE WASHINGTON POST

CLIMATE & ENVIRONMENT

Rulings could constrain U.S. climate response for years

BY MAXINE JOSELOW

Three years ago, President Biden promised to “deliver a whole-of-government approach to the climate crisis,” including by making half of all new cars electric by 2030.

Now the Supreme Court has imperiled that broad agenda — and possibly other climate and environment rules for decades to come.

In recent rulings, particularly two last week, the high court added obstacles to the government’s ability to regulate air pollution, water pollution and the greenhouse gases that are heating Earth. The decisions could empower conservative judges on lower courts throughout the country to block even more environmental regulations — not only under Biden but also presidents who follow him.

The recent rulings are “especially valuable for conservative judges who are inclined towards striking down [environmental] regulations,” said Sam Sankar, senior vice president for programs at the environmental law firm Earthjustice. “They had a knife before; they have a chain saw now.”

On Thursday, the Supreme Court put on hold the Environmental Protection Agency’s plan for cutting industrial air pollution that wafts across state lines. On Friday, the justices overturned the so-called *Chevron* doctrine, severely limiting the power of federal agencies to regulate fundamental aspects of American life, including the environment. And court rulings in 2022 and 2023 targeted the EPA’s authority to curb greenhouse gases and to protect wetlands from runoff.

Together, the decisions underscore how a multiyear campaign by industry and conservative groups is successfully weakening the power of the administrative state, and the EPA in particular.

The rulings “will likely limit the Biden administration’s whole-of-government approach to climate change,” in which the EPA plays a central role, said Matthew Z. Leopold, an attorney at Hunton Andrews Kurth LLP who served as EPA general counsel under the Trump administration.

The decisions could constrain U.S. climate policy when rising temperatures are wreaking havoc around the globe. Scorching heat across five continents smashed 1,400 records last month, leaving tens of millions of people sweltering and hundreds reported dead.



Traffic along Highway 101 in 2022 in Mill Valley, Calif. The White House’s effort to boost electric vehicle sales while cutting gasoline-powered vehicle emissions could face a tough test in the courts.

JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

While it may take time for the consequences of the rulings to become fully clear, the next four years will be especially consequential. If Biden is reelected, his major environmental rules could be even more vulnerable to legal challenges. If Trump wins a second term, he could appoint even more conservative judges who could continue winnowing environmental protections for decades.

Republican attorneys general and industry groups that supported the recent Supreme Court cases said they feel emboldened by the outcomes.

“We are a little further along today in our effort to dismantle the administrative state,” West Virginia Attorney General Patrick Morrisey (R) wrote Friday on X, adding, “Proud of my team for all of their outstanding work over the years to be a part of making this.”

Trump remade the U.S. judiciary, installing more than 220 federal judges, including almost as many powerful federal appeals court judges in four years as Barack Obama appointed in eight. He also appointed three Supreme Court justices — Neil M. Gorsuch, Brett M. Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett — who have generally expressed deep skepticism about the power of environmental agencies.

The decision Thursday, written by Gorsuch and joined by most of the court’s conservatives, could have the most immediate real-world impact. It effectively

paused the EPA’s enforcement of limits on harmful air pollution that blows into downwind states from power plant smokestacks, pipelines and factories. The agency had estimated that the rule, known as the “good neighbor plan,” would have significant health benefits for residents of downwind states.

“In 2026 alone, EPA projected the final Good Neighbor Plan would prevent 1,300 premature deaths, avoid over 2,300 hospital and emergency room visits, reduce millions of cases of asthma symptoms and avoid hundreds of thousands of missed school days and tens of thousands of missed workdays,” EPA spokesman Timothy Carroll said in an email, adding that the agency believes the rule “is firmly grounded in its Clean Air Act authority.”

The ruling Thursday bodes poorly for the EPA’s ability to defend other major regulations from an onslaught of legal challenges, said Pat Parenteau, a professor of law emeritus at Vermont Law and Graduate School. He predicted that the EPA’s forthcoming limits on greenhouse gases from natural gas-fired power plants would be “really vulnerable” and “teed up for reversal.”

The Biden administration’s most consequential climate rule — the effort to boost sales of electric vehicles while slashing emissions from gasoline-powered cars and trucks — could also face a tough test in the courts.

Republican attorneys general from more than two dozen states

have sued the EPA over the rules, arguing that the agency overstepped its authority with an attempt to transform the U.S. auto market. The top trade association for the U.S. oil and gas industry, which could see demand for its products decline as consumers shift to EVs, has also challenged the regulations in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit.

The EPA will need to convince the court that Congress empowered it to issue the rules, said Jeff Holmstead, a partner at the law and lobbying firm Bracewell LLP and a former top EPA official under President George W. Bush.

“The question is going to be, ‘Did Congress clearly intend to give EPA authority to force a fundamental shift in the transportation sector?’” Holmstead said. “And the answer may very well be that Congress can certainly do that itself, but there’s no indication that Congress intended to give EPA that power.”

The way Thursday’s decision was made was unusual: The justices took up the case on an emergency basis while it is still playing out in the D.C. Circuit. Normally, the high court waits for proceedings to finish in lower courts before weighing in.

The atypical process — and its outcome — could embolden the challengers of the EPA’s emissions limits for car and trucks, said Robert Percival, who directs the environmental law program at the University of Maryland.

“They know they’re probably

going to lose in the D.C. Circuit, but they’re probably popping champagne with Leonard Leo right now, saying, ‘We’re going to be able to block this in the Supreme Court,’” Percival said, referring to the conservative legal activist and former vice president of the Federalist Society who has sought to remake the nation’s courts.

The long-term effects of overturning the *Chevron* doctrine are harder to predict but likely to be profound.

The doctrine — one of the most cited in American law — was established by the Supreme Court’s landmark 1984 ruling in *Chevron U.S.A. v. Natural Resources Defense Council*. It required courts to defer to federal agencies’ reasonable interpretations of ambiguous statutes.

The decision Friday to overturn *Chevron* is certain to spark a wave of lawsuits against the EPA and other federal agencies. When deciding these challenges, courts will no longer defer to the EPA’s interpretation of ambiguous parts of environmental statutes.

That could pose a major challenge for the agency in the absence of congressional action. The Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act were both enacted more than 50 years ago, and Congress has passed few other environmental measures since then, even as the science of climate change has significantly advanced.

The “net effect” of Friday’s ruling “will be to weaken our government’s capacity to deal with the problems that the modern world is always throwing at us — big things like climate change or covid or the next pandemic,” said David Doniger, senior strategic director of the climate and clean energy program at the Natural Resources Defense Council, who argued the *Chevron* case.

Still, Congress did pass Biden’s signature climate law in 2022, giving the EPA more authority to curb planet-warming emissions, Doniger said. For the first time, the climate law, known as the Inflation Reduction Act, defined greenhouse gases as air pollutants that the EPA can regulate under the Clean Air Act.

Writing for the majority, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. called *Chevron* “fundamentally misguided,” saying it gives agencies too much freedom to interpret Congress’s intentions. Roberts said his preference would be to give lower-court judges the power to interpret statutes — even

though environmentalists say these judges lack the technical expertise of agency scientists and regulators.

Gorsuch, in a concurrence with Roberts, sought to minimize the impact of Friday’s ruling, noting that the high court has not relied on *Chevron* in deciding cases over the past eight years. “All today’s decision means is that, going forward, federal courts will do exactly as this Court has since 2016, exactly as it did before the mid-1980s, and exactly as it had done since the founding: resolve cases and controversies without any systemic bias in the government’s favor,” he wrote.

The court’s three liberal justices — Sonia Sotomayor, Elena Kagan and Ketanji Brown Jackson — disagreed, with Kagan writing in their dissent that the conservative majority has amassed too much power for the judiciary.

“It is now the courts (rather than the agency) that will wield power when Congress has left an area of interpretive discretion,” Kagan wrote. “A rule of judicial humility gives way to a rule of judicial hubris.”

Carroll, the EPA spokesman, referred questions about Friday’s ruling to the White House, where press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre said in a statement that it is “yet another deeply troubling decision that takes our country backwards. Republican-backed special interests have repeatedly turned to the Supreme Court to block common-sense rules that keep us safe, protect our health and environment, safeguard our financial system, and support American consumers and workers.”

Jean-Pierre appeared to be referring to the network of conservative groups that has fought for years to topple *Chevron*. Many of these groups have received millions of dollars from the Koch network, founded by petrochemicals billionaire Charles Koch and his late brother, David Koch. Justice Clarence Thomas participated in two Koch donor summits as the *Chevron* case was on its way to the high court.

The justices are not done with their streak of environmental cases. During the next term beginning in October, the high court will take up a case that could limit the reach of the National Environmental Policy Act, the 1970 law that requires agencies to study the environmental impact of pipelines, highways and other infrastructure projects.

Thompson Fire spreads in Northern California, with thousands told to flee

BY BRIANNA SACKS, NIHA MASIH AND SARAH RAZA

LOS ANGELES — An aggressive wildfire continued to burn Wednesday in Northern California, forcing authorities to order thousands of people to evacuate as parts of California and the West suffered under what some forecasters are calling a historic heat wave.

The Thompson Fire started shortly before 11 a.m. Tuesday in Butte County, a high-risk fire zone that has been experiencing temperatures topping 100 degrees. By noon Wednesday, the blaze had spread to 3,568 acres and was still zero percent contained, according to California fire officials.

The fire has elevated concerns about Fourth of July revelers sparking new blazes on Thursday. Oroville — the city most at risk from the Thompson Fire — canceled its planned fireworks display, as have other communities in Northern California.

Approximately 400 personnel have responded to the fire, the Butte County Fire Department said in a statement, adding that helicopters, fire crews and water tenders have been pressed into service.

Because the fire is burning next to Lake Oroville, the state’s second-largest reservoir, fire officials have been able to use helicopters to repeatedly douse the flames with lake water.

Gov. Gavin Newsom (D) announced that the state has obtained a grant from the Federal Emergency Management Agency to ensure the availability of resources to fight the fire.

The county sheriff’s office issued evacuation orders in Oroville and surrounding areas, with 28,000 people under evacuation orders as of 11 a.m. local time, Butte Fire Unit Public Information Officer Rick Carhart said. That equates to roughly one-sev-



Firefighters in Oroville, Calif., battle the Thompson Fire on Wednesday. The blaze that started around midday Tuesday had spread to over 3,500 acres roughly 24 hours later and led to evacuation orders for thousands of people in surrounding Butte County.

JOSH EDELSON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

enth of the county’s population. “The conditions out there in our county this summer are much different than we have experienced the last two summers. The fuels are very dense, the brush is dry, and as you can see, any wind will move a fire out very quickly,” Butte Fire Unit Chief Garrett Sjolund said.

After two wet winters and mild fire seasons, fires have surged in California this summer. Several

fires have erupted in the last week in the Central Valley and southern California, the largest of which is the 14,000-acre Basin Fire in Fresno, which is 26 percent contained. No fatalities have been reported in the 17 active fires Cal Fire is tracking.

The National Weather Service has issued an excessive-heat warning for several areas in California, including Oroville. For some areas, the warning is in

place until July 10.

Because of the red-flag conditions, Cal Fire asked PG&E to shut off power to risky areas, affecting about 2,000 people, said Dan Collins, a captain at Cal Fire’s Butte County station. Two evacuation centers were set up for residents.

Three firefighters experienced heat-related issues while working and went to area hospitals for evaluation. However, Collins

pointed out that firefighters have trained in and for this heat, which is not abnormal for the region this time of year.

The blaze started Tuesday morning in Oroville, between Cherokee Road and Thompson Flat Road, and was spreading to the Kelly Ridge area, about nine miles away, by late evening. The cause has yet to be determined.

According to the Sacramento office of the National Weather

Service, a red-flag warning for the area will remain in effect until at least 8 p.m. Wednesday local time. Northerly winds are forecast to be 10 to 20 mph with gusts up to 30 mph, with the strongest winds expected in the morning.

Forecasters and fire officials are closely watching the wind directions, because if gusts were to blow south, they could spread the fire into the main part of Oroville, a city of 20,000 people.

Butte County has experienced deadly wildfires before. The Camp Fire nearly incinerated the town of Paradise in 2018, killing 85 people. In 2021, the Dixie Fire, which was sparked by PG&E power lines, devastated the town of Greenville and ended up burning nearly 1 million acres, the second-largest fire in state history. On Tuesday, residents in Paradise, which still has not been fully rebuilt, were sharing photos on Facebook of thick plumes of smoke as the Thompson Fire rapidly spread just 20 miles south.

Experts have warned that California’s fire season could escalate this week amid a prolonged heat wave and strong winds. Some places in the state’s interior experienced their warmest June on record. More than 139,590 acres have burned this year — which is unusually high for this early in the season, The Washington Post reported.

As of Wednesday, 110 million Americans were facing either a heat advisory, watch or warning, according to the National Weather Service. The heat wave comes amid the hottest year on record so far for the planet. The last 13 months, including June, have set record highs. According to the science communications firm Climate Central, human-caused climate change has made this week’s heat wave in California at least five times as probable.

Masih reported from Seoul. Jason Samenow contributed to this report.

THE WORLD

In Conservatives' Britain, years of chaos and torpor

As voters head to polls today, Brexit, immigration and the economy are sure to figure in their choices

BY ADAM TAYLOR, WILLIAM BOOTH, ARTUR GALOCHA AND SAMUEL GRANADOS

Britain has been led by the Conservatives for the past 14 years. The party is deeply unpopular heading into the general election Thursday; pollsters predict a big victory for Labour.

There's a widespread feeling among voters that something has gone awry under Tory government, that the country is stagnating, if not in perilous decline.

Nearly three-quarters of the public believes that the country is worse off than it was 14 years ago, the London-based pollster YouGov has found. More than 46 percent of people say it's "much worse." And to some extent, economic and other data back that up.

At the least, it's been chaotic. Britain has had five prime ministers in 14 years, including one who lasted just 49 days — the briefest government in hundreds of years. The country cycled through nine foreign secretaries and eight home secretaries.

There were four national elections, a vote on Scottish independence that failed and a vote on leaving the European Union that did not — yielding Britain's exit from the bloc.

But Brexit, approved by voters in 2016 and completed in 2020, was just one seismic shift. The Conservatives took the reins in the aftermath of a global financial crisis, watched as a pandemic hit Britain harder than many of its peers, and responded to a major land war on continental Europe.

To cap it all off? The queen died.

The fallout from these 14 years has been a focal point of Labour's campaign. Party leader Keir Starmer, likely to become the next prime minister, has pushed for change. But how much of the challenge confronting Britain is the result of bad policies and how much of it was unavoidable?

Broken Brexit

It's funny, but nobody in Britain really wants to talk about Brexit anymore — except Nigel Farage.

In what many now consider a colossal political miscalculation, David Cameron kept Farage and his U.K. Independence Party in the Conservative fold for the 2015 general election by promising a Brexit referendum. His bet was that British voters would want to remain in the European Union. They did not. Within hours of the vote, Cameron announced his resignation. Theresa May's premiership was consumed by Brexit chaos. Boris Johnson was a Brexit booster. So is Rishi Sunak.

The people generally consider Brexit a flop. But there's no going back — not quickly.

The "Leave" vote was driven in part by fear of immigration. Exiting the E.U. was supposed to give Britain greater control of its

borders. In reality, net immigration has soared.

Cameron and May vowed to cap net migration in the "tens of thousands." Johnson promised the numbers would come down. Sunak said he would "stop the boats" that were illegally crossing the English Channel and send asylum seekers to Rwanda. No flights have left.

Annual net migration has more than doubled since the start of Conservative Party rule. The nationalities have changed. Before Brexit, most long-term migrants came from member states of the European Union. Now, the majority of immigrants come from outside the bloc. The top sources last year were India, Nigeria, China, Pakistan and Zimbabwe.

What's driving the surge? Policy decisions. The government wants more international students, who pay a premium to study at British universities, and workers to fill low-wage jobs in nursing homes and other fields.

Austerity and health

Before Brexit, a different word hung over Conservative policy: "austerity."

Cameron pushed spending cuts intended to reduce government debt and deficit. The goal was never achieved — public debt this year hit its highest rate as a percentage of economic output since the 1960s — but austerity had many side effects, including huge cuts to local governments that hit services such as schools and swimming pools.

Britain's beloved National Health Service was one of the few places to see funding rise in real terms during this period, but it mostly failed to match pre-2010 trends, let alone keep up with spiking inflation, immigration and the needs of an aging population. Under the Conservatives, waiting times for treatment have surged.

Britain's high death rate during the coronavirus pandemic — 20th in the world, according to a data from the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine — has been widely attributed to a troubled public health system.

Life expectancy at birth, a key indicator of a country's health, has stagnated in Britain since 2010, leaving the country sixth in the Group of Seven highly developed nations, ahead only of the United States, long an outlier in health outcomes.

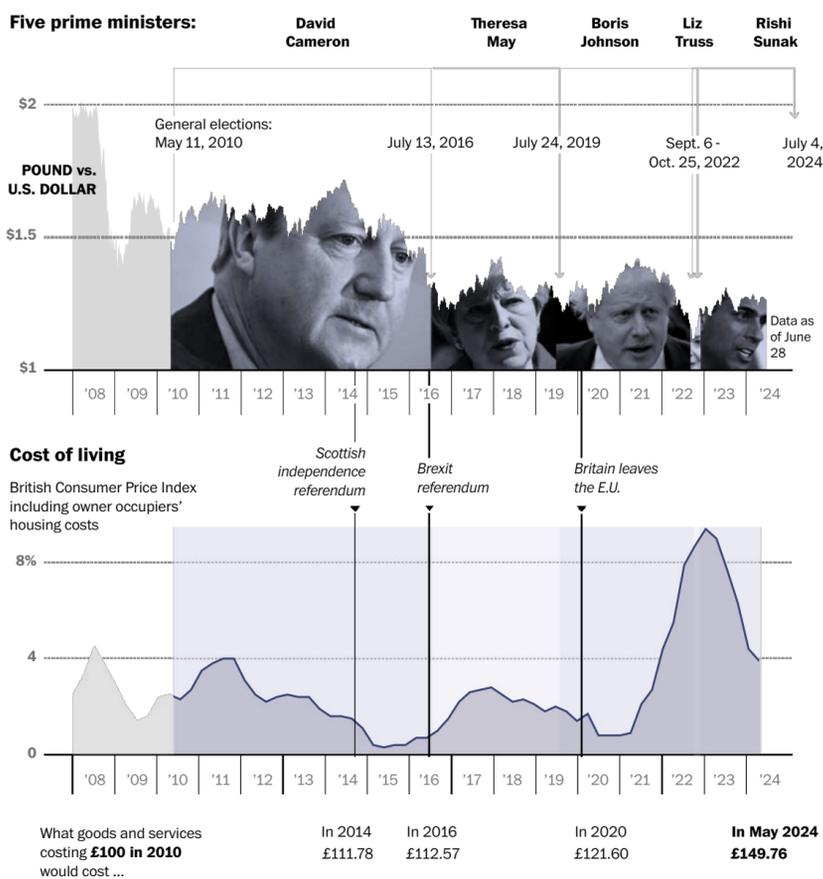
Researchers at the London School of Economics have blamed austerity. They argue that funding constraints not only on the NHS but also welfare and other public services have cost the British nearly half a year of life expectancy.

An unproductive economy

Britain remains one of the world's largest economies, but its rate of growth has fallen well off its pre-2010 trajectory.

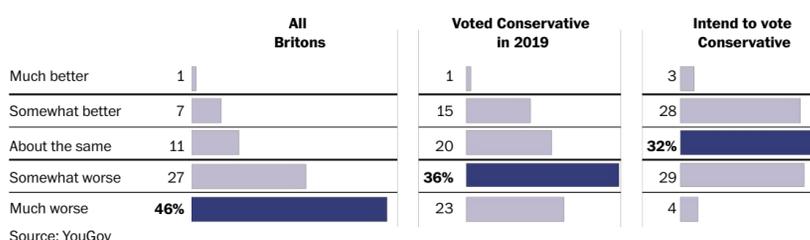
The National Institute of Economic and Social Research lays much of the blame on Brexit. By

14 years under Tory rule

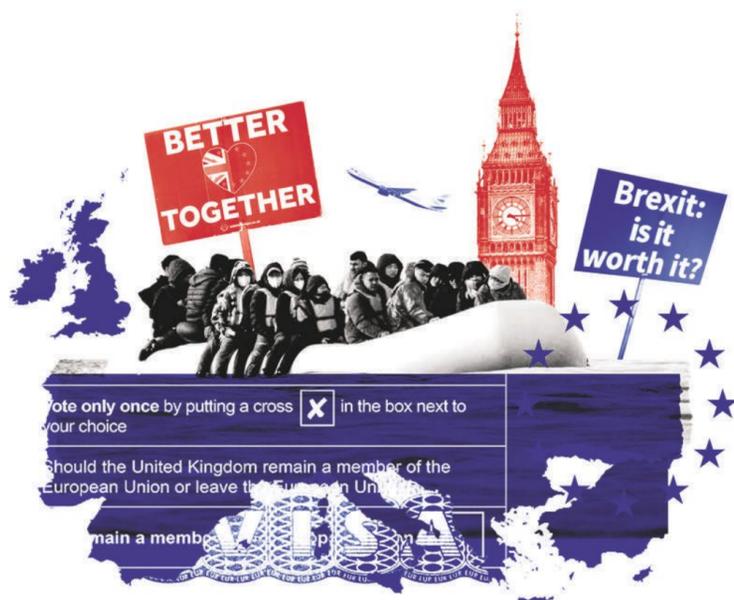
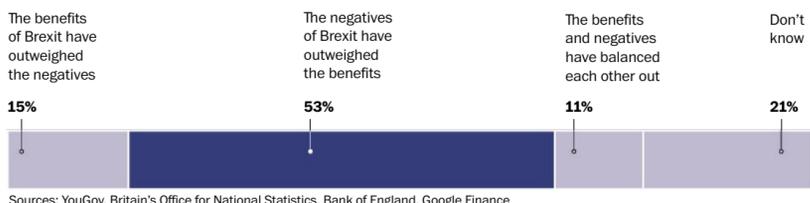


Is Britain in a worse state than in 2010?

Thinking about the condition of Britain, do you think things are currently better, worse, or about the same as they were when the Conservatives first came to power in 2010?



Brexit: Benefits vs. negatives



THE WASHINGTON POST

The fallout from these years has been a focal point of Labour's campaign. Party leader Keir Starmer, likely to become the next prime minister, has pushed for change. But how much of the challenge confronting Britain is the result of bad policies and how much of it was unavoidable?

last year, the institute concluded, the departure from the E.U. had already cost the country up to 3 percent of its real gross domestic product, or roughly \$1,000 per person.

But a scratch beneath the surface reveals conditions that are still more troubling. Growth in GDP — the country's total economic output — has been propelled largely by a population boost caused by immigration and demographic shifts.

Growth in productivity, measured by economic output per hour worked across the country, has lagged, placing Britain far lower than many of its peers. The slowdown began around Cameron's election fourteen years ago.

The Conservative win in 2010 took place just after the global financial crisis shook Britain and many other nations. Some analysts say events for which the government can be blamed, such as Brexit, can't be disentangled from those it cannot, including the financial crisis, the pandemic and the war in Ukraine.

But whatever the cause, the impacts are real. Wages have remained roughly in line with productivity, resulting in what has been described as the longest period of stagnation in British pay for centuries.

Green shoots

The Conservatives can claim some successes, including keeping educational achievement at a high international standard and taking a leading role in supporting Ukraine against Russian invaders. But if there's a green shoot to the Tory years, it's that Britain asserted itself as a world leader in the fight against climate change.

Under May, Britain pledged to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions to "net zero" by 2050. Johnson backed a "green industrial revolution." But Sunak tapped on the brakes. He delayed by five years a ban on the sale of new gasoline and diesel cars, for example, saying Britain must reduce emissions in a "pragmatic, proportionate and realistic way."

Meanwhile, the use of green energy has exploded. In 2023, renewables — notably, wind, solar, biomass and hydro power — generated 47 percent of the country's electricity.

It's an outcome that belies the political chaos of the period — in 14 years, Britain had 10 environment secretaries.

INDIA Crowding, few exits cited in fatal event

Severe overcrowding and a lack of exits contributed to a crowd crush at a religious festival that killed at least 121 people in northern India, authorities said Wednesday.

More than two dozen of the injured were still being treated.

The event on Tuesday was permitted to accommodate only 80,000 people but drew 250,000. It's not clear how many were inside the giant tent set up in a muddy field in a village in Hathras district in Uttar Pradesh state.

Authorities are unsure of what sparked the crowd surge. The state's chief minister, Yogi

Adityanath, told reporters that a crowd rushed toward a preacher to touch him as he was leaving the stage, and volunteers struggled to intervene.

An initial police report suggested that thousands of people then thronged the exits and many were crushed as they fell on the muddy ground. Most of the dead were women.

The chaos appeared to continue outside the tent when people ran toward the preacher as he left in a vehicle, officials said. His security personnel pushed the crowd back, causing more people to fall.

Authorities were searching for the organizers. Police registered a case of culpable homicide against two organizers but excluded the preacher.

— Associated Press

ITALY Slaying conviction upheld for Americans

An Italian appeals court on Wednesday upheld the convictions of two American men in the slaying of an Italian plainclothes police officer during a botched sting operation but reduced their sentences. The new trial was ordered after Italy's highest court threw out their convictions.

The court sentenced Lee Elder Finnegan to 15 years and 2 months in prison and Gabriele Natale-Hjorth to 11 years and 4 months and a fine of \$863.

They were found guilty in the July 2019 slaying of Mario Cerciello Rega. After the first trial, both were sentenced to life

in prison. They were reduced on appeal. Last year, the Cassation Court ordered a retrial.

The former schoolmates from the San Francisco Bay Area had met up in Rome for a vacation. They arranged to meet a small-time drug dealer, who turned out to have been a police informant, to recover money lost in a bad deal. Instead, they were confronted by the officers.

Cerciello Rega was stabbed 11 times with a knife brought from the hotel room.

— Associated Press

DENMARK Polish man charged in prime minister attack

A Polish man was charged on Wednesday with assaulting

Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen last month, his lawyer said.

A 39-year-old man walked up to Frederiksen in a downtown Copenhagen square on June 7 and punched her on her right upper arm. The prime minister suffered minor whiplash but was otherwise unharmed.

Henrik Karl Nielsen, a lawyer for the suspect, who has not been named, said the man will not plead guilty and had no recollection of the episode.

Frederiksen was rushed to a hospital after the attack.

The man was charged with assault against a civil servant or a person carrying out a public duty, Nielsen said. A trial has been set for Aug. 6 and 7 in Copenhagen.

— Associated Press

Chinese officials boarded and then seized a Taiwanese fishing boat operating near China's coast close to a Taiwan-controlled island late Tuesday and took it to a Chinese port, Taiwan's coast guard said. The squid fishing boat was near the Taiwan-administered Kinmen islands, which sit next to the Chinese cities of Xiamen and Quanzhou, but in Chinese waters on Tuesday night when it was boarded and seized by two Chinese maritime administration boats, Taiwan's coast guard said. The Taiwanese boat was operating during China's no-fishing period, the coast guard said, adding Taiwan will communicate with China and urge them to release the fishermen as soon as possible.

— From news services

DIGEST

ISRAEL-GAZA WAR

Gaza hospital is 'completely empty' after Israeli order

BY ANNABELLE TIMSIT,
HAZEM BALOUSA
AND ANIKA ARORA SETH

One of the largest hospitals in southern Gaza is "now completely empty" after medical staff, patients and their families fled the facility following an Israeli evacuation order for parts of Khan Younis, according to World Health Organization Director General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus.

At the same time, there are signs that many of the thousands who fled fearing the new Israeli incursion in Khan Younis are trickling back after being unable to find new shelter in the crowded parts of the Gaza Strip still accessible to them.

The European Hospital in Khan Younis was "one of the largest referral hospitals in the south," Tedros said Tuesday on X. Most of its patients have been referred to Nasser Medical Complex in Khan Younis — a facility that is now "at full capacity" and is facing shortages of essential drugs and medicines, according to Tedros.

The scramble to evacuate the hospital began Monday, when Israel issued evacuation orders for eastern parts of Khan Younis. Saleh al-Hams, who heads the hospital's nursing department, previously told The Washington Post how news of the order flooded the phones of doctors and patients, prompting a scramble to pack up and leave. In the past, Israeli soldiers have detained medical staff who stayed behind to look after patients.

Hams said the European Hospital canceled all scheduled surgeries to evacuate its 400 patients. Some of the patients walked to Nasser Hospital, while others "were dragged in hospital beds ... by their families" and others were taken there in ambulances.

Israeli authorities later said that the European Hospital was not subject to their evacuation order and that there was "no intention" to evacuate it — but the facility had already largely been emptied of its patients and staff.

This leaves the southern Gaza Strip — where many of the hospitals are no longer operational because of Israeli raids and strikes and shortages of medicines, staff, electricity and fuel — one more hospital short, "at a



MOHAMMED SALEM/REUTERS

A wounded Palestinian man, who was evacuated from the European Hospital after the Israel army ordered Palestinians to evacuate the eastern part of Khan Younis, is pushed in a wheelchair as he arrives at Nasser Medical Complex, which is now at "full capacity."

time when access to health care is urgently needed," said Tedros.

For many in Khan Younis, this week's evacuation order was only the latest in a long string of forced displacements. Though the United Nations said up to a quarter-million Palestinians were affected by the order, some have already returned to Khan Younis, saying there is nowhere left in Gaza for them to go.

Rewaa Saafin, 41, her husband, Rami Saafin, 45, and their four children decided to return to their relatives' house in the Bani Suhailla neighborhood, east of Khan Younis, after spending one night in a tent in Mawasi with other relatives.

"All the residents here say that the Israeli operation has ended, and what happened was only an air bombardment, so we have returned. More importantly, we have no place to stay in another area," Rewaa Saafin told The Post.

Raed Hamad, 50, said he had no choice but to quickly return to his relative's house in Qezan al-Najjar, south of Khan Younis. He said his wife had gone to stay temporarily with other relatives, while he and his sons "stayed on the street."

"On Monday, we took some essential items with us, but we couldn't take everything because we didn't know where we would go. Now we have returned despite the danger. There has been no official announcement of the end of the operation, but there is no ground invasion, and many residents have returned to the area," he told The Post.

"It can't be said that the area is safe and has services. Every place in Gaza is damaged, but here we have a place to sleep," he added.

The humanitarian crisis in Gaza is "catastrophic and rapidly escalating," 12 former U.S. government and military officials

who resigned over the Biden administration's handling of the war in Gaza wrote in a joint open letter published Tuesday.

The signatories of the letter, who previously worked at the State Department, White House, Army and U.S. Agency for International Development, among others, wrote that U.S. policy toward Israel and Gaza since the war and even before has "contributed to immense humanitarian harm" and failed "to contribute to the peace and safety of all in the Middle East, and particularly that of Israel."

"The Administration's policy in Gaza is a failure and a threat to U.S. national security," they wrote.

Over the past few months, the resignations have provided a public view into the heightened levels of internal dissent within government institutions over U.S. policy toward Israel since the Oct. 7

attack by Hamas. One of the former staffers who signed the open letter, Lily Greenberg Call, cited her Jewish upbringing and ties to Israel in her own resignation letter in May.

Here's what to know

An Israeli airstrike on a car in southern Lebanon killed a Hezbollah commander on Wednesday, according to the militant group and Lebanon's state-run news agency. The commander, identified as Mohammed Naamah Nasser, was the third senior Hezbollah operative killed since the group began trading fire with Israel at the outset of the Gaza war. The Israel Defense Forces took responsibility for the strike, with spokesperson Daniel Hagari writing on social media that Nasser had served as a commander since 2016 and was responsible for shooting from southwest Lebanon into Israel.

Israel has carried out its largest seizure of land in the occupied West Bank in more than three decades, the anti-settlement watchdog group Peace Now said in a statement Wednesday. The seizure of approximately five square miles of land in the Jordan Valley amounts to the largest land appropriation since the early 1990s, according to the group's data. More than nine other square miles of West Bank territory had been declared "state land" this year alone, a method Israeli governments have used to wrest sovereignty over Palestinian-controlled lands. The latest land seizure was carried out in late June, but announced Wednesday, the group said.

Israeli police forcefully removed an illegal settlement in the occupied West Bank on Wednesday, leading to a confrontation with Jewish settlers, according to local media. Israel's security cabinet last week approved legalizing five settler outposts and greenlighted plans to build thousands of new homes for settlers elsewhere in the West Bank, according to the Times of Israel. Washington condemned the move, with Vedant Patel, principal deputy spokesman for the State Department, saying Tuesday during a news briefing that "unilateral actions like settlement expansion and legalization of outposts ... are detrimental to a two-state solution."

Israel sent \$116 million of withheld tax revenue to the Palestinian Authority in the first such transfer since April, both finance ministries said on Wednesday. Israeli Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich agreed to send part of the last three months' withheld tax revenue after gaining concessions from Israel's cabinet last week, including the legalization of new settlements in the West Bank. Israel has withheld the share of the funds that the authority uses for administrative expenses in Gaza. Smotrich accuses the authority of supporting Hamas, and he deducted funds for electricity, water and treatment costs for Palestinians in Israeli hospitals. Even after the stated deductions, Palestinian officials say the amount is less than the total tax revenue collected each month.

Kareem Fahim and Yasmeen Abutaleb contributed to this report.

Israeli hostage's mother is on 'mission of my life'

ISRAEL FROM A1

Netanyahu, who faces competing pressures from the far-right and ultra-Orthodox parties who make up his coalition. If his government survives, it will not convene again until late October.

Zangauker believes this is the last chance to save her son, 24-year-old Matan. Since his parents divorced at a young age, he has helped his mother run the house and, in recent years, cared for his younger sister, who has a debilitating nerve disease.

"This is the mission of my life," Zangauker told The Washington Post on a recent afternoon in a Tel Aviv cafe, near the bridge where she addresses tens of thousands of Israeli demonstrators nearly every Saturday night.

"I will do everything possible to take back the mandate that I gave Netanyahu," she said. "I have nothing to lose."

A mother's mission

Zangauker is the face of an unprecedented fissure in Netanyahu's base, which has seen him through countless controversies and made him the longest-serving prime minister in Israeli history.

"The psychological concept in which Netanyahu was considered the only option for head of state has been broken," said Gayil Talshir, a political scientist at Hebrew University, pointing to polls that show a more than 20-point drop among his core supporters since Oct. 7.

Sixty-six percent of Israelis do not want Netanyahu to contest the next elections, including 37 percent from his own Likud party, according to a poll published last week by Israel's Channel 12. A majority also said they believe he is "abandoning the hostages."

Critics fear that Netanyahu, in a bid to keep his faltering government afloat, could capitulate to his far-right coalition partners, who are excluded from war decisions but have been lobbying for

fringe policies such as an Israeli reoccupation of the Gaza Strip.

Such "delusional, messianic" ideas could further endanger her son, Zangauker believes.

"If Sinwar hears this and Matan is next to him, he will slit his throat open," she said, a reference to Yehiya Sinwar, Hamas's military chief, believed by Israel's military to be in hiding in subterranean tunnels, surrounded by dozens of Israeli hostages.

Zangauker's dark hair frames a gaunt face and sunken eyes. She smokes instead of eating. She hasn't cooked a meal since Oct. 6, when she hosted Matan and his girlfriend, Ilana Gritzewsky, for their weekly Friday night dinner, a family tradition.

Though she struggles each night to shut her eyes, she refuses to take sleeping pills, saying she needs to remain "sharp" for her mission.

She has met twice with Netanyahu, who has said for months that returning the hostages is a top goal, though not the top goal, which he describes as "total victory" against Hamas — an objective even Israeli military officials have conceded is out of reach.

When she was face-to-face with the prime minister, she was shocked by his attempts at "deception," she said, brushing off her desperate pleas for information. When Zangauker last met with him, before the Jewish holiday of Passover, she asked if she should set a place for Matan at the table. "The state of Israel is doing everything it can to return the hostages," she remembers him saying.

When he refused to elaborate, she erupted in anger. He apologized that she was hurt but said her ire was misdirected, Zangauker said.

Netanyahu did not ask the relatives to tell stories about their loved ones, she said, as they have in meetings with other officials. Instead, he delivered a "monologue about his own leadership, about Yoni," she said, referring to Netanyahu's older brother, who



HEIDI LEVINE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Einav Zangauker has paid a price for her opposition to Israeli leader Benjamin Netanyahu. Old neighbors have accused her of exploiting her son as a "political card" and of "disgracing" her people.

was killed in an iconic hostage rescue in the 1970s.

She and the other hostage families fumed again at the end of the meeting, when Netanyahu's wife, Sara, entered the room and sat quietly, watching. In January, Sara Netanyahu told another group of hostage families that public criticism of her husband's handling of the war undermined Israel's leverage against Hamas.

The prime minister's office declined to comment on the meeting.

With Israel close to wrapping up military operations in the southern city of Rafah and the war in Gaza potentially entering a new phase, Zangauker worries Netanyahu will continue to resist a hostage deal in favor of rescue missions.

The Israel Defense Forces has rescued only seven hostages alive during the war, including four last month in a bold and bloody raid in central Gaza. But it was unrealistic to expect similar missions could rescue the remaining captives, Israeli military spokesman Rear Adm. Daniel Hagari said last month, especially since

many are believed to have been moved from aboveground homes to Hamas's expansive tunnel network.

"Will you send 18-year-old soldiers into booby-trapped tunnels, just to be killed?" Zangauker wondered, addressing Netanyahu. "Without a deal, you're sentencing the hostages to death."

A political awakening

Netanyahu has always relied on voters like Zangauker: working-class Jews with roots in North Africa and the Middle East who reject liberalism and view themselves as Israeli patriots.

Zangauker is a single mother of Moroccan descent from Ofakim, a southern town built for immigrants that has historically been a Likud stronghold. She always voted for Netanyahu, and she was proud to do it. She bragged when she and her daughter appeared in one of his election campaign live streams.

A year ago, as angry Israelis filled the streets warning that Netanyahu's move to undermine the courts threatened the country's democracy, she sided with the police cavalry, cheering as

they hosed down protesters with water cannons.

"I thought ... they deserved it," Zangauker said. "I didn't understand what they were doing. I didn't ask questions. And now I'm there" — on those same streets, facing off against the same police.

Around 30 hostage family members have joined the anti-government protests; others demonstrate more quietly at the Tel Aviv plaza now known as "Hostage Square." Former Likud supporters with children held in Gaza have called to say they are praying for Matan, she said. But they are too afraid to join her.

"They don't have the courage," Zangauker said. "I tell them, I am not angry at you for not going out."

But she has paid a price for opposing Netanyahu. Old neighbors have accused her of exploiting her son as a "political card," of "disgracing" her people.

Zangauker no longer cares. She has received no information about Matan since the morning of Oct. 7, when she got him on the phone as he held the handle of the door to the bedroom he

shared with Ilana. It was also their safe room. In the background, Zangauker said, she heard shooting, the roar of motorcycles and shouts in Arabic as militants overran their kibbutz of Nir Oz.

"I love you, please don't cry," Matan told his mother.

Minutes later, as gunmen approached, he and Ilana jumped out of their bedroom window. They were abducted separately. It took 10 days for the Israeli government to declare Zangauker a hostage. Two months later, on Nov. 30, Ilana was among 105 captives released during a week-long cease-fire with Hamas.

Ilana, still recovering from an injured jaw, a broken pelvis and partial hearing loss, has joined Zangauker on the streets.

She makes sure that Matan's two sisters — "left without a functioning mother," Zangauker said — are fed and taken care of.

In January, Zangauker, Ilana and Matan's sisters set up a tent in the rain outside Netanyahu's private residence in Caesarea. In February, they stood together as police blasted them with water cannons. They have met with, and confronted, politicians in the halls and committee rooms of the Knesset, pleading with them to secure a deal.

During a recent Saturday night demonstration, in her first public speech, Ilana spoke about the horrors of captivity and the agonizing confusion of her return to Israel.

"Not a single minister bothered to call and ask about me," she told the crowd. When she finished, shaking, she ran into Zangauker's arms.

The women have plans for when Matan returns home. She and Ilana will go on a long trip abroad, Zangauker laughed. Then Matan and Ilana will get married.

"We won't even ask him!" she joked.

Her smile faded quickly, though, as she added that she was ready for a long road ahead.

"We will be doing this for twenty years," she said, if that's what it takes. "We will not allow this to be normalized."

Lior Soroka contributed to this report.

BY ADELA SULIMAN

LONDON — British voters will head to the polls Thursday in a contest that could see the ruling Conservative Party give up the keys to 10 Downing Street after 14 years in power.

These are parliamentary elections, so the public will technically be voting for their lawmakers rather than choosing Britain's next prime minister. But the leader of the winning party will end up leading the country — and the party leaders do have a major influence over how people vote.

Here are some of the key players, and interesting personalities, in the elections.

Conservative leader: Rishi Sunak, 44

Prime Minister Rishi Sunak made history as Britain's first prime minister of color, having South Asian heritage. He is also the first Hindu leader of the United Kingdom.

Sunak is extremely wealthy — something the British press and opposition politicians have highlighted. His wife, Akshata Murty, is an Indian heiress, and the Sunaks have a combined personal wealth that makes them richer than King Charles III, according to the Sunday Times Rich List.

Sunak enjoyed a spell of popularity earlier in his career, as finance minister, when he was dubbed “Dishty Rishi” by the tabloid press. But his time as prime minister has been dogged by claims that he is out of touch, and he has faced criticism over the country's cost-of-living crisis, long waiting times in Britain's National Health Service and a controversial policy to deport asylum seekers to Rwanda.

His call for snap summer elections took many by surprise — including within his own party — and prompted the Economist newspaper to call him “Rishi the Rash.” Even his election announcement didn't go smoothly — he was drenched in pouring rain as he called the vote, prompting jokes about the prospects for his party, which is widely expected to fare badly, with some analysts predicting its biggest electoral loss in decades.

Fun fact: Despite his political woes, Sunak has at least outlasted his predecessor, Liz Truss, who spent fewer than 50 days in office. Truss became so unpopular so quickly that she was widely com-

Key U.K. election players: The rich one, the ‘boring’ one and Trump’s buddy



PHIL NOBLE/POOL/REUTERS



KIRSTY WIGGLESWORTH/AP



STEFAN ROUSSEAU/PA/AP



JONATHAN BRADY/PA/AP

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Prime Minister Rishi Sunak of the Conservative Party. Labour's Keir Starmer and actor Idris Elba with relatives of knife-crime victims. Reform UK leader and Brexiteer Nigel Farage. The Liberal Democrats' Ed Davey falls in a press stunt.

pared to a head of iceberg lettuce, in jokes that she had the shorter political life span.

Labour Party leader: Keir Starmer, 61

Keir Starmer leads the opposition Labour Party, which is widely expected to win this year's elections.

Starmer is frequently portrayed by the press and critics as dull, uncharismatic or politically timid. Britain's Spectator magazine asked last year: “Is Keir Starmer too boring to be prime minister?” Another commentator dubbed him “No Drama Starmer” but argued that his “boringness” might appeal to voters tired of the

“chaos” under the Conservative government, which went through five prime ministers in 14 years.

Starmer has stressed that Labour would be a security-focused ruling party, guarding the borders and the economy and putting more police on the streets to crack down on petty crime.

Starmer was knighted in 2014 for his services to criminal justice, after his time as director of public prosecutions — one of the most senior criminal prosecutor roles in the country. He was the first member of his family to attend university and has often sought to emphasize his working-class background.

Fun fact: Starmer managed to

find time for a “Swift” campaign pitstop, attending the Taylor Swift concert in London last month.

Reform UK leader: Nigel Farage, 60

Despite never having been elected to Britain's Parliament, Nigel Farage has had an outsized influence on the country's politics over the last few decades, with his anti-immigration platform, which has appealed to right-leaning voters, and his dominant role in the “Brexit” campaign that led to British voting in 2016 to leave the European Union.

As leader of the recently created right-wing Reform UK party, Farage will be making his eighth

attempt standing for Parliament — and the populist politician appears to have a decent shot this time.

His party, though much smaller than the Labour and Conservative parties, has made headlines — for the impact it could have taking votes from the Conservatives, and for racist or offensive comments made by several of its supporters or candidates, whom the party has sought to distance itself from.

Farage also recently made headlines for claiming that the West provoked Russian President Vladimir Putin to invade Ukraine, sparking condemnation from other politicians.

Former president Donald

Jewish voters who deserted Britain's Labour over antisemitism are returning

BY WILLIAM BOOTH

LONDON — Jewish people in Britain — immigrants, intellectuals, unionists — helped build the Labour Party in the last century. They abandoned it in droves when the party was led by Jeremy Corbyn, who, according to an independent human rights watchdog, allowed antisemitism to soar.

In the last general election, in 2019, Labour got just 11 percent of the Jewish community's vote.

Now it appears many British Jewish voters are set to return — with opinion polls reporting that a third to nearly half say they will support Labour in Thursday's election, which is forecast to make Keir Starmer the next British prime minister, maybe by a landslide. The boost for Labour appears to coincide with a reduction of Jewish voter support for the center-right Conservative Party and the progressive Liberal Democrats.

Tom Clifford, a researcher at the polling group Survation, which is tracking the vote, called it a “remarkable revival.”

To be sure, Labour's overall comeback is eye-popping. It was trounced by the Conservatives five years ago. But among those willing to give Labour a second chance are Jewish voters who paid particular attention to how the party addressed antisemitism within its ranks.

“It's night and day. The first thing Starmer said when he became Labour leader was issue an apology for the party's antisemitism,” said Mike Katz, chair of the Jewish Labour Movement, which is affiliated with the Labour Party but refused to campaign for most Labour candidates in 2019.

When Starmer took over the Labour Party in 2020, he put down a marker: that he and Labour should be judged on whether they could bring Jewish supporters back. He called antisemitism “a stain” on the party.

Under Starmer, Labour suspended and eventually expelled Corbyn in what some have described as a “purge” of the hard left. The party also adopted the recommendations of the country's human rights commission on dealing with antisemitism complaints.

Jewish leaders and voters who spoke to The Washington Post said Labour no longer feels so alienating.

“A lot of Jewish people wanted to go back to the Labour Party. They didn't want to leave in the first place, but felt forced to,” said Judy Trotter, an educator at London's Jewish community center, JW3.

Trotter called Labour “a natural home.”

Starmer has said he is an atheist, but his wife, Victoria, comes from a Jewish family. He told the

Guardian that they occasionally go with their teenage children to a liberal synagogue in north London and often say prayers for Shabbat.

After he said in another interview that he will continue to try to stop working at 6 p.m. on Fridays, Conservatives this week accused him of wanting to be a part-time prime minister. Starmer responded, “I would have thought to anybody it's blindingly obvious that a Friday night is quite important in some religions and faiths.”

He has sought to convey that the Labour Party is a safe space for British Jews at the same time that antisemitism has been surging. Community Security Trust, a monitoring group, tracked a record 4,103 antisemitic incidents in Britain in 2023. The incidents included everything from social media trolling to assaults on the street. The majority occurred after the Oct. 7 Hamas attack and the start of the Israel-Gaza war.

The war has provoked impassioned protests in Britain, renewed debate about when criticism of Israel crosses into antisemitism and forced political leaders to newly articulate their position on the Middle East — long a thorny issue for Labour.

Starmer's stance on the war has been closely aligned with Prime Minister Rishi Sunak's and President Biden's. He supports a two-state solution between Israel and

the Palestinians. He has backed Israel's right to defend itself. He has called for the return of hostages, humanitarian aid for Gaza and adherence to international law.

But he was criticized — within Labour and outside it — for being slow to shift from “humanitarian pause” to “cease-fire that lasts” to “immediate cease-fire.” And he took heat for an interview comment that seemed to suggest that Israel had the right to cut off power and water to Palestinians. (The party said he had been responding to an earlier question about Israel's right to defend itself.)

Starmer quelled a revolt within Labour, but not before 10 senior party lawmakers quit their policy roles and a collection of local government figures resigned in protest. Labour's stance on the war was also blamed for losing the party votes in May's local elections in areas with large Muslim populations.

A general election vote-intention survey by the group More in Common showed that Labour has maintained a comfortable lead in districts with significant Muslim populations, though support for smaller, alternative parties has been rising.

Some critics say Starmer risks making Muslim voters feel alienated, as Jewish voters felt under Corbyn's Labour.

Before he became leader of the party in 2015, Corbyn was a long-

serving, almost-fringe-left backbencher from a liberal north London constituency. He was a staunch supporter of Palestinian rights. He once called Hamas and Hezbollah his “friends.”

After he rose to power, British newspapers revealed that Corbyn hosted a 2010 panel where Israelis were compared to Nazis. In 2012, he defended a London mural that appeared to depict Jewish bankers playing monopoly on a board balanced on the bent backs of the workers.

Under Corbyn, the party's refusal to fully adopt the widely accepted definition of antisemitism promulgated by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance was a last straw for many Jewish voters. Labour resisted the idea that it may be antisemitic to compare contemporary Israeli policies to those of the Nazis or to claim that Israel's existence is a racist endeavor.

Adam Langbein, director of the pro-Labour think tank Progressive Britain, describes himself as a leftist, dovish Zionist. He said that at party meetings five years ago, he felt targeted. “It didn't matter the subject, they tried to sideline you. There was a distrust of Jews.”

Russell Langer, public affairs director for the Jewish Leadership Council, said that Labour under Corbyn constituted the darkest days, and that the crash in Jewish

Trump has previously described Farage as “a friend of mine,” while Farage has boasted that Trump “learned quite a lot from me.” The two had a high-profile photo op in 2016, shortly after Trump's election win, and Farage interviewed Trump this year on the right-leaning GB News channel, in a sign of their ongoing political friendship.

Fun fact: Farage was featured in a popular British reality TV show last year in which he had to live in a jungle camp, sleep outdoors, and eat a pizza topped with animal genitalia as part of a challenge.

Liberal Democrats leader: Ed Davey, 58

Ed Davey took over the Lib Dems, as they are commonly known in Britain, in 2020. They are a minority party, with British polls placing them fourth ahead of this election.

The party is often seen in competition with the Conservatives and Labour for moderate voters. However, in this election there's been widespread speculation that the Lib Dems and Labour are avoiding targeting each other's parliamentary seats in a bid to oust the Conservatives from power.

In this election campaign, Davey has become best known for his high-profile press stunts. He has fallen off a paddleboard into a lake; ridden a giant roller coaster; splashed and skidded down a waterslide; and undergone a make-over on television.

“If you do it the traditional way, you make a speech at a lectern, you might get a tiny bit of coverage but people aren't that engaged with it,” he has said. “I think that by taking a slightly different approach — with a bit of humor, a bit of emotion — you can get people's attention.”

Fun fact: In 1994, before he was a politician, Davey rescued a woman who had fallen between a train track and a station platform, carrying her to safety as a high-speed train was approaching.

Where are all the women?

All the major political parties in England are currently led by men — although two women were recently prime minister — Conservatives Truss and Theresa May. As of February, just over a third of lawmakers in the House of Commons were female, according to parliamentary data, a broadly similar rate to that of Congress.

Still sweeping west, Beryl menaces Jamaica

BY MATTHEW CAPPUCCI,
JUSTINE MCDANIEL,
AMANDA COLETTA
AND SCOTT DANACE

Hurricane Beryl was sweeping by Jamaica as of late Wednesday afternoon, with the eye of the storm passing perilously near the south coast of the island.

The storm was about 65 miles to the southwest of Kingston, the nation's capital, at 5 p.m. Eastern, as its eyewall — or zone of most intense winds — was brushing the island's south coast, the National Hurricane Center said in an update.

Flooding had already begun on the eastern end of the island, and many residents had evacuated their homes. The maximum sustained winds in the eyewall were

estimated at 140 mph, making Beryl a Category 4 hurricane. In Kingston, winds had recently gusted to 81 mph.

The storm first hit Grenada, St. Vincent and other Caribbean islands on Monday, leaving behind widespread destruction and killing at least four. In Jamaica, “devastating hurricane-force winds, life-threatening storm surge, and damaging waves” were on the way, the National Hurricane Center warned. It was possible that Beryl could make landfall in Jamaica as the strongest hurricane to do so since Gilbert in 1988.

Beryl is only the first hurricane of the 2024 season and became the earliest-forming Category 5 on record in the Atlantic. Its early arrival marks the start of what

forecasters have predicted will be a particularly busy hurricane season.

“This is almost like a game changer,” said Oliver Mair, Jamaica's consul general in Miami. “To have this size hurricane so early in the season, it's frightening.”

Beryl was expected to weaken, some but still be “at or near major hurricane intensity” as its center passed near or over Jamaica. Even without Beryl's center making landfall, onshore winds along Jamaica's south coast held the possibility of a serious storm surge of 6 to 9 feet. Hurricane warnings were in effect there and in the Cayman Islands, where Beryl was expected to approach Wednesday night into Thursday.

As the storm closed in, Jamaica ordered evacuations, and Prime

Minister Andrew Holness urged residents under those orders and in any low-lying areas to head to shelters before conditions deteriorated.

A 24-hour curfew was put in place at 6 a.m. Wednesday, Mair said. He cited a “very good response” to the call to evacuate, saying Jamaicans were taking the storm's threat seriously upon hearing of the destruction on other islands. By early afternoon, heavy flooding had already begun on the eastern end of the island, he said.

“Though we have prayed for the best, we know that there will be some level of damage,” Mair told The Washington Post. “There has been a big effort to move individuals from low-lying, flood-prone regions to shelters.”

The hurricane continued to move west after making landfall Monday on Grenada's Carriacou Island. Meanwhile, the battered islands in Beryl's wake were beginning to assess the damage.

Grenadian officials said at a news conference late Tuesday that nearly 98 percent of homes and buildings on the hard-hit islands of Carriacou and Petite Martinique are either damaged or destroyed, including Carriacou's Princess Royal Hospital and its airport. The electrical grid is mostly destroyed, they said, making communications difficult, if not impossible.

Grenadian Prime Minister Dickon Mitchell, who visited Carriacou on Monday, said the hurricane has left the people of Carriacou and Petite Martinique “light-years behind.”

“It is almost Armageddon-like, almost total damage or destruction of all buildings, whether they

be public buildings, homes or other private facilities,” he said. “Complete devastation and destruction of agriculture, complete and total destruction of the natural environment. There is literally no vegetation left anywhere on the island of Carriacou.”

At a separate news conference in Florida on Tuesday, Dianne Perrotte, Grenada's deputy consul general in Miami, said the islands are looking for donations of mattresses, sleeping bags, food and other supplies, as the airports slowly reopen for aid flights.

Grenadian officials have said at least three people were killed by the hurricane. In St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Prime Minister Ralph Gonsalves also reported severe damage and at least one death. Most homes on Union Island were destroyed, Gonsalves said, saying, “Basically, an entire island with 2,500 people is homeless.”

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

How Americans' spending has changed in a half-century

BY ALYSSA FOWERS
AND KEVIN SCHAUL

Fifty years ago, the average American household spent more on clothing than health care, and putting food on the table cost about as much as keeping a roof overhead. Since then, technological advances, globalization and housing shortages have radically reshaped how Americans spend their dollars.

Health-care, housing and education expenses have increased since 1972, while money spent on food, clothing and transportation has declined, according to a Washington Post analysis of Consumer Expenditure Survey data.

The typical American household has also changed. Families have fewer children, and young people are slower to create their own households. More people have college degrees, and retirees make up a swelling share of the population.

Some of the biggest shifts in day-to-day life have left their fingerprints in spending. Home computers and internet access were practically nonexistent in 1984 and now make up 2 percent of household expenses. And tobacco spending has declined sharply since 1972, when it took up more of the average budget than fresh fruits and vegetables.

But other lifestyle changes barely register.

Restaurant food has made up a remarkably steady share of Americans' pocketbooks in the last 50 years, as has entertainment, which includes tickets to shows, audiovisual equipment, pets, hobbies and more. Spending on telephones, including cellphones, has been consistent since 1984, the first year with detailed data on phones.

What Americans buy within those categories, however, has evolved. Cellphones and data plans have replaced landlines and expensive phone bills. Restaurant



H. ARMSTRONG ROBERTS/CLASSICSTOCK/GETTY IMAGES; CHARLES BJØRGEN/STAR TRIBUNE/GETTY IMAGES; MEDIANEWS GROUP/BOSTON HERALD/GETTY IMAGES



spending moved away from lunches toward dinners, especially after 2020.

In contrast, the share of money going toward essentials like food, housing and medical care has dramatically changed.

The biggest shift has been in housing. At its low in 1984, 19 percent of a household's budget went to housing costs. Today, it's 27 percent.

The drastic rise stems from a decades-long housing shortage fueled by the increasing cost of building new homes, according to Laurie Goodman, an institute fellow at Urban Institute's Housing Finance Policy Center.

"Every aspect of [home building] has way outpaced inflation, from labor costs to land costs, which goes back to zoning, to building costs, which go back to building codes," Goodman says.

Renters and homeowners both

felt these rising costs from 1984 to the mid-2000s. After the Great Recession, though, rent expenses continued going up while the cost of homeownership dropped.

While interest rates are high now, they've generally been low since 2000. That's benefited homeowners, who can lock in a rate when they purchase or refinance to lower rates. Renters, on the other hand, are subject to new market rates every time they renew or start a lease.

Food has had the opposite trajectory since 1972. It's gone from 20 percent of household spending to 14 percent over the past half-century, mostly in lower grocery bills. Much of that drop comes from higher-efficiency farming. Farms in 2022 were twice as productive as they were in the 1970s.

"What we see in America pretty early on is a technological bias in favor of capital and equipment,"

says Peter Cooclanis, a professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, "which raised the efficiency of American agriculture. And some of this efficiency gain translated into cheaper food costs."

And while food prices have rapidly risen in the last few years, Americans still put less of their money toward food than people in any other wealthy nation. For instance, spending on groceries in France takes up twice as much household spending as in the United States.

"We have, in a relative sense, the cheapest food in the world," Cooclanis says.

Changes in taste have also played a role. Today's typical American household spends drastically less on meat, especially beef, and more on produce and prepared food.

Prepared foods, snacks, condi-

ments and seasonings — categorized as "miscellaneous" — take up nearly three times the share of supermarket bills as they did in 1972, with prepared foods accounting for most of that increase.

Technological advances helped drive down food expenses but had the opposite effect for health care. More medical knowledge often translates to more medical care.

"We're healthier than we were decades ago," said Larry Levitt, executive vice president of health policy and research organization. "But the increases in health spending have been wildly out of whack with improvements to health."

Other wealthy nations where governments step in to keep health-care costs down have achieved similar or better improvements at far lower costs, according to Levitt. Health spending per capita in the United States is nearly double the average of other wealthy nations.

Health-care costs have also grown because of consolidation, creating an industry dominated by large providers, less competition and higher prices. Researchers estimate that hospital mergers alone accounted for over a billion-dollar increase in private health-care spending between 2010 and 2015.

In contrast to medical services and housing construction, products like clothing and vehicles can be made en masse in countries with lower labor costs and shipped to American consumers.

In 1972, the vast majority of clothing was made in the United States. Fifty years later, that share was 3 percent. Free trade agreements and the declining power of organized labor in the United States helped companies move manufacturing overseas, which reduced the prices of many consumer goods.

And even though Americans

spend far less on clothing today, they're buying five times as much as they did in the 1980s. A similar pattern holds in transportation: American households are more likely to have multiple cars today, but vehicles take up less of their budget.

The Consumer Expenditure Survey doesn't provide a complete view of American budgets. Most kinds of savings and investments aren't included. It counts the full cost of big-ticket items, like cars or college tuition, at time of purchase, rather than in loan payments over time. Still, the data provides an unparalleled view into American spending habits over the last half-century.

In the near term, experts believe health care, which tends to lag inflation, will continue taking up a greater share of pocketbooks. And experts say cost savings in overseas manufacturing will probably temper, preventing further falls in the prices of many consumer goods.

Some long-run changes in consumer spending are predictable: Nearly 1 in 4 Americans will be 65 or older by 2050, probably continuing the rise in health-care expenses.

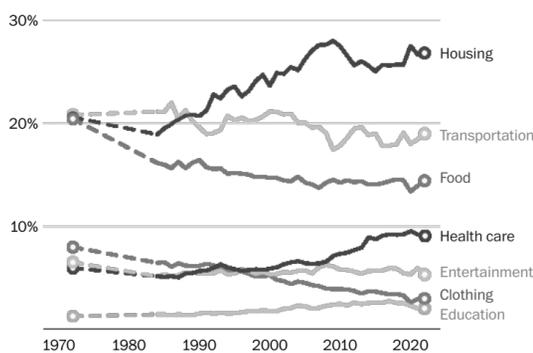
Others are unforeseeable: Five years ago, no one would have predicted the pandemic spike in pet spending. In another 50 years, perhaps transportation dollars will finally go to flying cars.

ABOUT THIS STORY

This story uses data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Consumer Expenditure Survey. Payments toward mortgage principal were added to overall housing costs and total consumer spending to more closely align with the experience of budgeting for housing costs; payments toward Social Security and some types of pensions were excluded because of a 2004 methodology change in estimating tax payments based on income.

Housing is the largest expense for Americans today

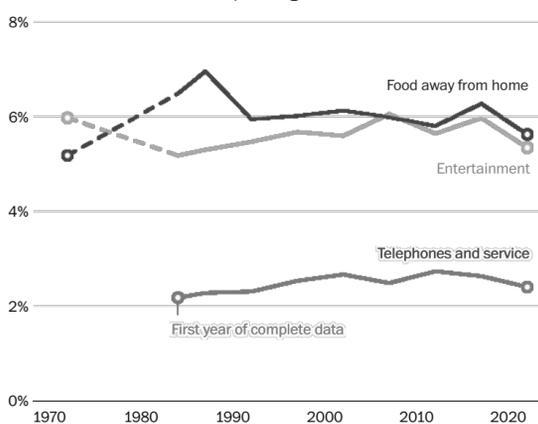
Percent of total household spending



Note: Housing costs include rent, payments towards mortgage principal, mortgage interests and charges, property taxes, maintenance and insurance.

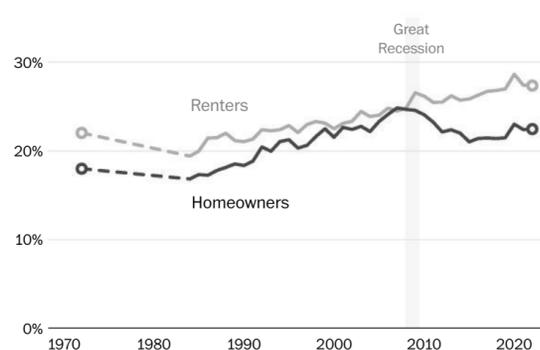
Spending on restaurants, entertainment and phones remains consistent

Percent of total household spending



Homeowners' costs dropped, but renters' costs continued to rise

Housing costs as percent of total household spending



General Motors to pay fine of nearly \$146 million for excess car emissions

BY MAXINE JOSELOW

General Motors will pay a penalty of nearly \$146 million and take other steps to resolve excess emissions from nearly 6 million vehicles on the nation's roads, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Transportation Department announced Wednesday.

The move marks a significant step to ensure compliance with President Biden's most consequential climate rule: carbon dioxide emissions limits for cars. It comes after an EPA investigation found that these vehicles were emitting more than 10 percent higher CO₂ on average than

the automaker's initial compliance reports claimed.

"EPA's vehicle standards depend on strong oversight in order to deliver public health benefits in the real world," EPA Administrator Michael Regan said in a statement. "Our investigation has achieved accountability and upholds an important program that's reducing air pollution and protecting communities across the country."

GM spokesman Bill Grotz said in an email that the automaker is not admitting any wrongdoing, including any violation of the Clean Air Act or other relevant federal laws.

"We believe this is the best course of action to swiftly resolve outstanding issues with the federal government regarding this matter," Grotz said. "GM remains committed to reducing auto emissions and working toward achieving the Administration's fleet electrification goals."

The vehicles in question are model years 2012 through 2018. They include popular SUVs under GM's Chevrolet brand, including the Chevrolet Equinox with front-wheel drive.

The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), a division of the Transportation Department, will impose the

\$145.8 million penalty. In addition, GM has agreed to retire millions of credits that it has received for complying with federal rules.

The automaker will cancel 50 million metric tons of greenhouse gas credits from the EPA, the agency said in a news release, as well as roughly 30.6 million gas mileage credits from NHTSA, spokeswoman Lucia Sanchez said in an email.

Dan Becker, director of the Center for Biological Diversity's Safe Climate Transport Campaign, said the announcement underscores the importance of federal laws and oversight.

"This demonstrates why it's

important to have laws rather than just trusting automakers who say they will make cleaner, more efficient vehicles," Becker said. "And it shows why EPA and NHTSA need to be constantly vigilant to protect our air and atmosphere."

The action announced Wednesday pales in comparison to the Volkswagen emissions cheating scandal, often known as "Dieselgate." In 2015, VW admitted to equipping around 11 million cars worldwide with software designed to cheat emissions tests. The German automaker later agreed to pay total fines of roughly \$20 billion.

"Obviously this is not as large

as Dieselgate," said Dave Cooke, senior vehicles analyst at the Union of Concerned Scientists. "But 6 million vehicles is no small number."

The Biden administration has sought to step up enforcement of the nation's bedrock environmental laws. Last year, the Justice Department and the state of California reached an agreement with the truck engine manufacturer Cummins to resolve claims that the company installed devices to defeat emissions controls on hundreds of thousands of engines. The \$1.6 billion penalty was the largest ever under the Clean Air Act.

DIGEST

STOCK MARKET

U.S. indexes set more records

Wall Street's record-breaking rally kept going Wednesday after weak reports on the U.S. economy kept the door open for possible cuts to interest rates.

The S&P 500 rose 0.5 percent to set an all-time high for a second straight day and for the 33rd time this year. The Dow Jones Industrial Average slipped 23 points, or 0.1 percent, while the Nasdaq composite added 0.9 percent to its record set the day before. Trading ended early for the day ahead of the Fourth of

July holiday.

Tesla again helped boost the market and rose 6.5 percent a day after reporting a milder drop in sales for the spring than analysts feared. It was one of the strongest forces pushing upward on the S&P 500, along with Nvidia. The darling of Wall Street's rush into artificial-intelligence technology climbed 4.6 percent to bring the chip company's gain for the year so far to 159 percent.

The action was stronger in the bond market, where Treasury yields slid following a flurry of reports that came in weaker than expected.

— Associated Press

RESTAURANTS

Chains undecided on plant-based food

Do Americans want plant-based options at fast-food restaurants? Two recent moves show restaurant chains are still undecided.

Panda Express said it is reintroducing plant-based chicken — which it developed with California-based Beyond Meat — at hundreds of U.S. stores. Beyond Orange Chicken will be available for a limited time, Panda Express said.

But last week, McDonald's revealed it has pulled the plug

in the United States on the McPlant, the plant-based burger it co-developed with Beyond Meat.

During an appearance at the Wall Street Journal's Global Food Forum, McDonald's U.S. President Joe Erlinger said the company's 2022 test of the McPlant at stores in San Francisco and Dallas was "not successful in either market."

— Associated Press

ALSO IN BUSINESS

China has requested far more patents than any other country when it comes to generative AI, the U.N. intellectual property agency said, with the United

States a distant second. The technology, which offers the potential to boost efficiency and speed up scientific discoveries but also raises concerns about jobs and workers, was linked to about 54,000 inventions in the decade through 2023, the World Intellectual Property Organization reported.

Southwest Airlines has adopted a "poison pill" following activist investor Elliott Investment Management taking a significant stake in the company. The airline said the shareholder rights plan is effective immediately and expires in a year. Southwest

shareholders would need to give prior approval for an extension. Shareholder rights plans, or "poison pills," allow existing shareholders to acquire shares at a discounted rate to discourage a takeover by an outside entity. Southwest's plan is triggered when a shareholder acquires 12.5 percent or more of its common stock, which would let all other shareholders buy stock at a 50 percent discount. Southwest said that it adopted the rights plans because of several concerns, including Elliott's approximately 11 percent stake in the airline company.

— From news services

BY DANIEL WU

The crowd of about 30 demonstrators that gathered at the Boston Common park in late April had a message to share. They were energetic and loud. They came armed with slogans, which they plastered on colorful poster boards and yelled in rhyming chants as passersby gawked. After about 40 minutes of demonstrating, they marched to the offices of the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority to deliver their agenda.

And two months later, they got what they wanted. Last Wednesday, the agency emailed the campaign organizers to inform them that Boston's public transit network, the T, had acceded to their single demand.

The MBTA, in the face of public pressure, stuck large, cartoonish googly eyes on the front of several of its trains.

"We just wanted one small thing, and we rallied for it, and we got it," Arielle Lok, one of the organizers behind March for Googly Eyes on the T, told *The Washington Post*.

Phillip Eng, the general manager and chief executive of the MBTA, said the march's demand was unexpected and unique — but easy to agree to.

"When something like this comes up, and it's just a little opportunity to add a little levity to the day, people embraced it," Eng said. "I guess we're a little surprised by the amount of attention it's gotten."

Lok and co-organizer John Sanchez, both 22, said the campaign began as nothing more than a lighthearted plot to bring a spot of whimsy to Boston's commuters. Lok said she was inspired by the reindeer-themed decorations applied to buses around Christmas in Vancouver, where she had previously lived. Could she and Sanchez convince the MBTA to do something similar?

"It was just like, 'How funny would it be to do this?'" Lok said.

"We were like, we want to have a march, and we want to gather the people of Boston for this noble cause," Sanchez said.

Lok and Sanchez, co-workers at an environmental start-up, made a webpage for March for Googly Eyes on the T in April and laid out their case for sticking wide, cartoonish eyes on Boston's trains — "Your day immediately becomes 10 times better. The T train is your friend. It has PERSONALITY. It cares about you. It sees you."

The joke could have ended there. But about a week before the march was scheduled — when Lok and Sanchez were the only two RSVPs — the pair enlisted friends to put up posters advertising the event around Boston and in dorms, pitched the story to local newspapers, and sent links to subreddits and community forums. Interest picked up.

"I had two amazing people reach out and just [donate] a couple hundred dollars to buy equipment for posters ... because they had grown up in Boston and wanted to see it happen," Lok said. "That was just a lovely moment of people really coming together to see something silly."

At noon on April 29, about 30 people came to take up Lok and Sanchez's cause. The pair distributed signs with slogans including "Give the T vision," "Eye

Organizers had a vision. Now Boston's trains do, too.

When riders asked the transit authority to add googly eyes to the T, officials saw it through



MASSACHUSETTS BAY TRANSPORTATION AUTHORITY/AP



CLEO THOR

After an April 29 march, above, protesters persuaded the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority to add googly eyes to four light-rail trains and a commuter rail train. "There's nothing better than committing to a bit like this," said co-organizer John Sanchez.

believe in the MBTA" and "The T that sees ... you home." The crowd jumped up and down, rattling the pupils in the googly eyes stuck to their posters. Sanchez led chants with a loudspeaker: "Dot your I's and cross your T's, googly eyes on T trains, please!"

Lok and Sanchez said they were shocked by the turnout, which included strangers who learned about the event after it was shared by social media accounts run by public transit enthusiasts. Some brought their own signs and googly eyes.

"There was so much energy," said Francisco Turribiate, a computer science student at Boston University who learned about the march from a group chat. "Everyone seemed just really excited to start this. And there was a lot of laughing."

The march ended a few blocks south, at MBTA's headquarters. Several amused employees returning from their lunch breaks stopped to talk to the demonstrators, Lok and Sanchez said.

"We gave them a firm handshake and a giant googly eye," Sanchez said.

That caught the attention of Eng, the chief executive. A staffer who had been handed an eye from the crowd told Eng about the demonstration later that day, he said.

"I gave my chief operating officer a call and said, 'Hey, we can have a little fun with this,'" Eng said.

Eng and Ryan Coholan, MBTA's chief operating officer, decided they couldn't decorate all of MBTA's fleet but placed stickers of large plastic eyes on the front of five trains — four on the green light-rail line and one on the MBTA's commuter rail — on June 14. Sightings of the wide-eyed trains, beaming at passengers like cartoon characters, began to circulate on social media.

The "googly eye" trains are still a rare surprise on a network that operates hundreds of trains a day. Lok and Sanchez said they didn't know their march had worked until MBTA spokesperson Joe Pesaturo emailed them with photos of the newly decorated trains.

"John and I were in the same office, and I just ran up all the stairs, and I was just like, screaming," Lok laughed. "I was like, 'John, we did it! There's eyes on the T.'"

Lok and Sanchez are still hunting for the googly eye trains in Boston — both of them commute on the T, they said — and are reeling from the success of their tongue-in-cheek campaign. They will have time to keep searching. MBTA does not have a timeline or immediate plans to remove the decorations, Eng said.

"I think every agency is looking to just do a few things that make people's lives easier and more enjoyable," Eng said. "This was an easy one to do, and we're glad we're able to be part of it."

Lok and Sanchez said the campaign felt like a college prank — if a college prank could be so wildly successful as to compel the leadership of a sprawling public agency. They're mulling what to do next.

"There's nothing better than committing to a bit like this," Sanchez said. "And bringing people together for it, and everybody doing something for the silliness of it."

FTC votes to block Tempur Sealy from purchasing Mattress Firm stores

BY JACLYN PEISER

The Federal Trade Commission voted Tuesday to block mattress maker Tempur Sealy from buying retail chain Mattress Firm, a merger that regulators said would suppress competition and lead to higher prices.

"Through emails, presentations, and other deal documents, Tempur Sealy has made it abundantly clear that its acquisition of Mattress Firm is intended to kneecap competitors and dominate the market," Henry Liu, director of the FTC's Bureau of Competition, said in a news re-

lease. "This deal isn't about creating efficiencies; it's about crippling the competition, which would raise prices on an essential good and could lead to layoffs for good paying American manufacturing jobs in nearly a dozen states."

The \$4 billion merger, announced in May 2023, would combine the mattress manufacturer, which owns brands Stearns & Foster and Tempur-Pedic, with the nation's largest mattress retailer. Regulators said that vertical acquisition would give the company "enormous power at multiple parts of the

mattress supply chain" and potentially cut off access to the biggest retail chain for other mattress suppliers.

In addition, reduced output could lead to layoffs of thousands of workers, most of whom are employed in the United States, and close down factories, the FTC warned.

In a statement, Tempur Sealy countered that the bedding industry is "highly competitive" and that there are many options for consumers when it comes to brands, price points, purchasing channels and bricks-and-mortar storefronts. "Additionally, brick-

and-mortar retailers and direct-to-consumer bedding brands sell millions of bedding products online each year," the company said.

"We continue to believe the combination of Tempur Sealy and Mattress Firm will unlock incremental benefits for all stakeholders, particularly consumers," it added. "Mattress Firm's strong retail presence complements Tempur Sealy's manufacturing capabilities, facilitating more targeted innovation, improving the customer experience."

The FTC alleges the acquisition could "result in higher mat-

tress prices, decreased product quality and choice, or reduced innovation." It would also undercut rivals in Mattress Firm store locations by limiting available floor space, awarding sales associates higher commissions for selling Tempur Sealy products, and other steps that would "steer customers away from competitors' products and toward Tempur Sealy's mattresses," it said.

Tempur Sealy, which hopes to close the transaction in late 2024 or early 2025, said labor unions representing their employees have not opposed the merger. The company also said it has

already guaranteed contracts with other brands and manufacturers.

The FTC's vote is the latest effort by the Biden administration to crack down on mega-mergers, including in the retail industry. In February, federal regulators filed suit to block the merger of supermarket giants Kroger and Albertsons, which regulators said would eliminate competition and threaten consumers' access to affordable groceries. The FTC also went after the fusion of fashion conglomerates Tapestry and Capri Holdings.

Tesla exceeds expectations as EV sales rebound

BY HANNAH ZIEGLER

Tesla had a better-than-expected second quarter for car sales.

The company said Tuesday that it delivered about 444,000 vehicles to customers in the second quarter, down about 5 percent year-over-year but a 15 percent increase from the first quarter — and more than forecast by Wall Street analysts, who generally ex-

pected less than 440,000. Tesla shares rallied more than 10 percent on the news Tuesday and were up 6.5 percent Wednesday.

The sales numbers reported Tuesday mark a "comeback performance" from Tesla after a disastrous first quarter, Wedbush Securities analyst Dan Ives said.

"After what's been a very choppy six months, the mojo is back in the Tesla story," he said.

There was a consensus view

that Tesla would miss Wall Street analysts' estimates, Ives added, making the second-quarter sales "surprising to even the most bullish investors." Company observers had been weighing the effects of high interest rates and weaker consumer sentiment about electric vehicles.

Tesla has been facing a softening market for electric vehicles. Sales are still growing faster than those of gasoline vehicles, but Tes-

la and other carmakers have had to offer discounts and incentives over the past year in an attempt to attract a broader market beyond early EV adopters.

Before this year, Tesla had reported an annual sales decline in only one other quarter, at the height of pandemic lockdowns in 2020. Tuesday's report marks the first time the company has seen annual sales decline in back-to-back quarters, but the company

had hinted at the trend earlier — during a January earnings call, chief executive Elon Musk said Tesla would experience a "notably lower growth rate" this year as the company invests in a next-generation vehicle it plans to start building in 2025.

In April, the company said it delivered 387,000 vehicles, down more than 20 percent from the previous quarter and an 8.5 percent drop year-over-year. That same month, Tesla reported a 9 percent decline in annual revenue for the first quarter.

Automakers competing with

Tesla in the EV market saw stronger quarterly sales results.

General Motors on Tuesday said it sold 696,000 vehicles during the quarter, a year-over-year increase of 0.6 percent and the company's best quarterly sales result in more than three years. GM's EV deliveries rose 40 percent from a year earlier.

EV and hybrid sales also fueled success for Toyota. The company sold more than 247,000 electrified vehicles in the second quarter, representing 40 percent of the period's total deliveries and a 63 percent year-over-year increase.

THURSDAY OPINION

MARC FISHER

Don't expect Biden's delegates to show independence

On this Fourth of July, almost 4,000 Americans, elected as delegates to support President Biden at next month's Democratic National Convention, face a potential opportunity to declare their independence. Do they honor their pledges to the voters sending them to Chicago to cast a ballot for Biden? Or do they follow their consciences in a different direction?

I asked several delegates elected from the District, Maryland and Virginia how they intend to make their decisions, and though none are yet ready to vote for anyone other than Biden, they have varying views about their obligations.

What does political independence mean in this situation? Delegates are party loyalists, yet many of them have spent the past eight years bashing Republicans for failing to show some independence from Donald Trump — especially those Republicans who privately (and sometimes publicly) say they find Trump appalling.

Now, many Democrats face a conundrum of their own: They saw last week that the man they are pledged to support looks like he'd have considerable difficulty doing the job for four more years. Aren't they now the ones called upon to show some independence, whether in Chicago next month or in a virtual roll call this month designed to ensure Biden gets on every state's ballot — and to squash talk of replacing him?

For Troy Donté Prestwood, a public relations consultant elected as a delegate from Washington's Ward 8, the painful evening he spent watching the president fail to communicate anything other than his own diminished capacity was not enough to change Prestwood's commitment to vote for Biden. But it did require him to think things through.

"It would be natural for people to say, 'Are we sure, are we really sure?' based on the debate performance last week," said Prestwood, who will be going to his second convention. "But our concerns were quickly swatted down because we know who Joe is. We know Joe has a speech impediment. We know Joe is 81. This is Joe Biden. So I wasn't disturbed, though I certainly wanted him to do better."

To Prestwood, being elected a Biden delegate is a commitment to vote for Biden, unless "something extraordinary was to happen." Like what? "Certainly, if Joe Biden were to step aside, we are then free to nominate someone else." Short of that, however, Prestwood is sticking with his ticket.

Convention rules say delegates "shall" vote "in all good conscience" for the person they are pledged to support. As I read the language, that's not an ironclad requirement — a delegate's good conscience could direct a change. The party simply expects that unless something elemental changes, you vote for the person you were elected to support.

Carole Lieber, a delegate from Arlington, embraced Biden's 2020 presidential bid because she believed he was the best chance to restore some unity to a deeply divided land. She's sticking with him because she sees no reason to doubt his ability to do the job, and she believes her pledge is basically absolute.

"For me, a pledge is a commitment," Lieber said, "and my moral code tells me I have to stick with Joe Biden."

Lieber, who worked for 25 years as a human resources official in the federal government, was disturbed by the Biden-Trump debate but mainly because "there was no fact-checking from the moderators." Biden's freezes and word salads struck her not as evidence of a slowed and struggling president but rather as "someone trying to find his words without stuttering."

Even if Lieber concluded Biden wasn't up to the job, she still would not switch candidates but instead resign. "I strongly feel that you honor your pledge or you step aside," she told me. "There are alternate delegates."

Across the Potomac, in Silver Spring, Jheanne Wilkins is a delegate to the convention and a legislator in Maryland's General Assembly. She's sticking with Biden unless he directs his supporters otherwise.

"I haven't been contacted by a single voter who wants us to change our candidate," she said. "Joe Biden's been effective for 3½ years. I've also had tough debates as an elected official, and I'm glad I wasn't cast aside. An hour and a half does not determine if you're able to be president."

Charles Wilson, chair of the D.C. Democratic Party and a delegate, was "very concerned" by Biden's debate performance. "We're all worried," he said. "His advisers should have postponed the debate. But we're all in full support of Joe Biden. He's done a tremendous job."

These and other delegates I spoke to believe Biden saved the nation from the rot and cynicism of a second Trump term. Out of gratitude, loyalty and fear of the damage Trump might wreak, they are sticking with Biden, even the Biden they saw in the debate.

They're not blind to the president's decline, but they're not remotely ready to do anything about it. Call it denial, call it loyalty, call it a failure to recognize how deeply unpopular their candidate is. Whatever you call it, don't hold your breath for a show of independence in Chicago.



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Delegates for Joe Biden during the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia in 2016.



TRUMBULL COLLECTION/YALE UNIVERSITY

"The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776" by John Trumbull.

How did revolutionary America produce so many geniuses?

BY GORDON S. WOOD

As we approach the 250th anniversary of the American Revolution, we are bound to look back at the Founding Fathers — or the Founders, as our anti-patriarchal climate now prefers — with somewhat different feelings from those we formerly had. Although most generations of Americans conceived of the Founders as larger-than-life, "a forest of giant oaks," as Abraham Lincoln called them, we have tended to diminish them, seeing them as seriously flawed in matters of race, social equality and the role of women.

It is true: They did think of themselves as aristocrats, and they were not embarrassed by their superiority to ordinary people. Many of them were enslavers, although some were the first in the world to legally abolish African slavery. And there were certainly no women among them, for they mistakenly believed that women were too gentle and fragile to survive in the rough-tough world of politics.

Still, when we set aside our present-minded criticism of the Founders' backwardness, it is difficult to deny the originality of their thought and the creativity of their politics. They inspire in us both a sense of awe and an acute sense of loss. We know that they possessed political and intellectual capacities well beyond our own, and we know that we will never see their likes again. What accounts for the originality and creative genius of this singular generation of political leaders?

These notable North Americans lived in colonial societies that were different from the society of metropolitan England, the center of the British Empire. They were well aware of the luxury and sophistication of London and were often embarrassed by the cultural deficiencies of their simpler provincial societies. But these differences from the self-satisfied mother country, disconcerting as they were, ultimately became important sources of their originality and creativity.

It is astonishing that such extraordinary leaders were produced from a population of just a few million. Every colony on the eve of the Revolution had its share of brilliant politicians. Massachusetts had John and Samuel Adams. New York had Alexander Hamilton and John Jay. Pennsylvania had James Wilson and John Dickinson. But Virginia had the most.

On the eve of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the colony of Virginia contained only about 350,000 White inhabitants — roughly the size of present-day Wichita, Kan. — yet this relatively small population created a dazzling array of leaders: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Patrick Henry, George Mason, John Marshall, James Monroe and others. All these men served in Virginia's legislature and were used to dealing with an electorate. Of all the colonies, Virginia had the largest percentage of White inhabitants qualified to vote in elections, and it usually had the highest rate of electoral participation as well. Despite the colony's extensive experience with elections, however, Virginians still lived in a pre-democratic world.

These Virginian leaders and the leaders in the other colonies knew they lived in enlightened times, and they were eager to adopt the new prescriptions for becoming polite and civilized, prescriptions that were associated with classical republicanism. Traditional monarchists still defined aristocracies by the pride of their families, the size of their estates, the lavishness of their display and the arrogance of their bearing. But others increasingly downplayed or ridiculed these characteristics, instead emphasizing those involving graciousness and civility. Jane Austen's "Pride and Prejudice" was all about getting these proper, enlightened values straight.

America's revolutionary leaders — by English standards, minor gentry at best — worked hard to adopt the new liberal characteristics that had come to define what it meant to be truly civilized — politeness, taste, sociability, learning, compassion and benevolence — and also what it meant to be good political leaders: an aversion to corruption and courtier-like behavior. These enlightened and classically republican ideals, values and standards came to circumscribe and control their behavior. Life became a theater, and the leaders became actors and characters. Jefferson was obsessed with politeness, and it became the source of much of his success in life. Washington always acted as if he were a character on a stage.

The revolutionary leaders thus committed themselves to behaving in a certain moral, virtuous and civilized manner. The intense, self-conscious seriousness with which they made that commitment is what ultimately separates them from later generations of

American leaders. But that commitment also sets them sharply apart from the older world of their fathers and grandfathers. They sought, often unsuccessfully but always sincerely, to play a part, to be what Jefferson called "natural aristocrats" — those who measured their status not by birth or family but by enlightened values and benevolent behavior.

They had good reason for doing so, for they were men of high ambition yet of relatively modest or unrefined origins, and this combination made achieved rather than ascribed values naturally appealing to them. Almost all the revolutionary leaders — even the second and third ranks of leadership — were first-generation gentlemen. That is, almost all were the first in their families to attend college, to acquire a liberal arts education and to display the new 18th-century marks of an enlightened gentleman. Of the 89 men who signed the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, only eight are known to have had fathers who attended college. (The revolutionary leaders who did not attend college, such as Washington, Benjamin Franklin and Nathanael Greene, usually made up for this lack with intensive self-cultivation in liberal enlightened values.) As the physician Benjamin Rush noted in 1790, "Many of the first men in America are the sons of reputable mechanics or farmers."

Jefferson's father, Peter Jefferson, was a successful Virginia planter and surveyor who married into the prestigious Randolph family. But he was not a refined and liberally educated gentleman. He did not read Latin, he did not know French, he did not play the violin, and, as far as we know, he never questioned the idea of a religious establishment or the institution of slavery.

It is astonishing that such extraordinary leaders were produced from a population of just a few million. Every colony on the eve of the Revolution had its share of brilliant politicians. And these leaders knew they lived in enlightened times.

His son Thomas was very different. Indeed, all the revolutionaries knew things that their fathers had not known, and they were eager to prove themselves by what they believed and valued, by their virtue and disinterestedness — that is, their enlightenment.

There was one prominent revolutionary leader who did not seek to play the role that the others did. On the face of it, Aaron Burr had all the credentials for being a great Founder. He was a Revolutionary War veteran, a Princeton graduate, and a charming and wealthy aristocrat. Burr eventually became a senator from New York and vice president of the United States. But unlike the other revolutionaries, Burr possessed a notable lineage. John Adams said that he had "never known, in any country, the prejudice in favor of birth, parentage, and descent more conspicuous than in the instance of Colonel Burr." Burr was the son of one president of Princeton and the grandson of another: Jonathan Edwards, the most famous theologian in 18th-century America.

Because of his distinguished ancestry, Burr took his aristocratic status for granted and felt no need whatsoever to emphasize his virtue. He never thought about politics and government the way the other Founders did. He never expressed any ideas on political principles or constitutional matters and seems to have had no vision for the nation. Compared with his colleagues, he wrote very few letters, always worried that they might "miscarry" and reveal his many nefarious schemes. Consequently, he always seemed to be promoting his own interests at the expense of the public good. His deviant character and behavior made him the great exception among the Founders that proves the rule.

Many 18th-century Englishmen shared these enlightened values and sought to become more cultivated and civilized, but they lacked the intensity and urgency of their North American cousins. English politics were dominated by about 400 noble families whose fabulous scale of landed wealth, political influence and aristocratic grandeur was unmatched by anyone in North America. The English aristocrats were arrogant, complacent about their constitution and unwilling to think freshly

about most things. When they thought about the outlying and underdeveloped provinces of their greater British world at all, they tended to look down upon them with disdain. In the eyes of the English ruling class, not only North America but also Scotland was contemptible and barely civilized.

The Americans and Scots, as provincial peoples living on the edges of the metropolitan English world, felt this disdain and reacted accordingly. Both lacked the presence of the hereditary noble families that were at the ruling center of English political life. America had never permanently attracted any of the great aristocratic English families, and after the Acts of Union in 1707, the Scottish nobles had tended to migrate to London, where the action was. Consequently, in both North America and Scotland, unlike in metropolitan England, the uppermost level of society and its politics were dominated by minor gentry — male professionals or relatively small landowners — who were anxious to have their status determined less by their ancestry or the size of their estate and more by their behavior or their learning. On the eve of the Revolution, Washington was one of the wealthiest planters in Virginia, yet his estate's earnings of about 300 Virginia pounds a year put him, according to a visiting Englishman, "in point of rank only equal to the better sort of yeoman in England."

Both the Scots and the North Americans were keenly aware of the degrees of civilization and spent much time writing and reading essays on the stages of social progress from rudeness to refinement. The Scots invented the stadial theory that explained the stages of social progression based on subsistence. Both the Scots and the North Americans knew that they lived in cruder and simpler societies than the English and that England was well along in what was seen as the final stage of social development — commercial society — and had much to offer them in the ways of politeness and refinement. Both the Scots and the North Americans, moreover, were acutely aware of the contrast between civilization and what they saw as the nearby barbarism of the Highland clans and the North American Indian tribes.

Yet at the same time, both the Scots and the Americans knew that the polite and sophisticated metropolitan center of the empire was steeped in luxury and corruption. England had sprawling, poverty-ridden cities, overrefined manners, gross inequalities of rank, complex divisions of labor and widespread manufacturing of luxuries — all symptoms of social decay.

These provincial peoples were ambivalent about being part of the British Empire. Proud of their simple native provinces but keenly aware of the metropolitan center of civilization that was London, the North Americans and the Scots each had the unsettling sense of living in two cultures simultaneously. Although this experience may have been disturbing, it was at the same time stimulating. It helps explain why North America and Scotland became remarkable places of enlightenment and intellectual ferment in the English-speaking world during the late 18th century. Scottish intellectuals such as David Hume, Adam Smith, Francis Hutcheson, Adam Ferguson, John Millar and Lord Kames matched if not exceeded the American Founders in brilliance and creativity.

Living so close to what they regarded as savagery and barbarism, the Scottish and North American leaders felt compelled to think freshly about the meaning of being civilized. In the process, they put a heightened emphasis on learned and acquired values at the expense of the traditional inherited values of blood and kinship. Contemptuous of the pretension and luxury of metropolitan England, they enthusiastically adopted the new, enlightened 18th-century ideals of gentility and public service.

Both provincial peoples would have endorsed the views of a second-level Founder, William Livingston, New Jersey's first governor, who at the very outset of the Revolution set forth prescriptions for proper enlightened behavior:

"Let us abhor Superstition and Bigotry, which are the Parents of Sloth and Slavery. Let us make War upon Ignorance and Barbarity of Manners. Let us invite the Arts and Sciences to reside amongst us. Let us encourage every thing which tends to exalt and embellish our Characters. And in fine, let the Love of our Country be manifested by that which is the only true Manifestation of it, a patriotic soul and a public Spirit."

These prescriptions for a healthy and civilized society seem relevant today.

Gordon S. Wood is the author of "The Radicalism of the American Revolution," winner of the 1993 Pulitzer Prize for history.

OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

A July 4 speech

What if Mr. Biden spoke these words?

MY FELLOW Americans, Today, we celebrate not just the birth of our nation but the life it has lived. How have we endured, grown, prospered? Our extraordinary framers were steered by a revolutionary premise: Our union would never be perfect. We would not be governed by an all-powerful king or sovereign. We would always be a work in progress as a nation and as individuals. Each generation would build on the efforts of its predecessors. This was essential for an enduring republic.

The framers were shaped by hardship — they carried out a revolution at the edge of a wild frontier. They knew there are seasons to a life — and seasons of service. They knew, too, that relying on a single individual, a king, might create the illusion of strength but would be at its core fragile.

Over the past few days, I have been reflecting on all this. My season of service is nearing its close. This was a hard truth to face. But it is the natural course of things — as evident as the progression from spring to summer, from fall to winter. This is why I have decided to withdraw from the campaign

for president of the United States.

This moment echoes one George Washington faced as he approached the end of his second term. Fear of instability and of the unknown, of who would come next, counseled against risking a premature departure. John Adams was pugnacious. Thomas Jefferson was radical. But Washington stood aside, though the Constitution at the time did not require it. He looked past ambition and self-regard to what the nation needed most at that moment, declaring through his actions that the United States would not depend on one indispensable man. Power would be transferred regularly and peacefully.

A large part of me still wants to stay in the fight. But, at this moment, the nation needs something I cannot provide: a leader with the energy to run a vigorous campaign and then to work for America, at all hours, for the next four years.

I've often spoken about how I began my career in public service as a senator at age 30. During this time, I have seen the end of the Cold War, the invention of the internet and more; in so many ways, unimaginable scientific and social breakthroughs have become real. I have also witnessed the sharpening of partisan divisions and the coarsening of our

nation's politics.

These regrettable trends did not start with Donald Trump. But the former president has exploited and exacerbated them, encouraging Americans to diminish their fellow Americans, even to rise against our democracy, as they did on Jan. 6, 2021. Mr. Trump's unique danger lies in his claim that only he can lead the nation. I will not make the same mistake. Nor will I do anything that would ease his return to power. Staying in the race could do just that.

The question on American minds when Washington stepped aside was: What now? I owe Americans an answer to that question, too. The Democratic National Committee, senior Democratic leaders and I have agreed on an orderly process to select our next nominee, which will include debates between now and our convention in August. My vice president, Kamala Harris, has graciously and courageously agreed to participate. Though Democratic primary voters cannot be included at this late date, their delegates will make the final choice.

Between now and November, I will do all I can to support the next Democratic nominee — and to encourage Americans to rediscover the optimism

and energetic spirit that built this nation. Last week, Mr. Trump described a country in deep and unprecedented crisis. His story of America was fiction. This is not the country I see.

Four years ago, the pandemic was raging. More than 10 million Americans were out of work. Many businesses and schools were closed. People were exhausted by Mr. Trump's chaos. Today, our economy is the envy of the world, thanks to 15 million new jobs, extraordinarily low unemployment and a start-up boom. Record numbers of Americans have health insurance, and we have made historic investments in our infrastructure and in the fight against climate change. Our allies respect us again, as we have rallied the free world against Russian aggression.

Americans, I invite you to search your soul as I have. Are we so unsure of ourselves that we will empower a would-be king, one who has been given expansive powers by an activist Supreme Court? Or will we look back on Washington's example, in the spring of American life, and recognize that our independence is built on service, sacrifice, a willingness to assume the best in one another and the belief there will be better seasons to come?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

This Fourth: The 'eve of destruction'? Or an opportunity for optimism?

Unphased by this spring's campus protests, I grew more hopeful about America's future after attending one commencement ceremony that wasn't canceled — our granddaughter's graduation from preschool. Hearing "Eve of Destruction" on the car ride home didn't dampen my optimism. There are understandable concerns about the nation's direction, but as bad as things seem today, Barry McGuire's No. 1 hit from 1965 reminded me we have gotten through worse.

Instead, I was inspired by patriotic toddlers waving flags, singing and sharing their American dreams. Eighteen rising kindergartners, hands over hearts, recited the Pledge of Allegiance. Then, they belted out every lyric of "This Land is Your Land," Woody Guthrie's World War II-era anthem adopted by my generation's antiwar, civil rights activists.

They were like the Lady Liberty inscription dressed in miniature caps and gowns. Sure, not "your tired, your poor, your huddled masses," (this private preschool in Loudoun County is one of the nation's wealthiest) but a small world melting pot — not a Mary or John in the bunch. Adhavan, Aditya, Atticus, Blakely, Charvita, Christian, Claire, Colin, Everett, Fiona, Louie, Mars, Nishka, Noah, Samara, Arzoi, Shikhar, Viaansh. Newly potty-trained, fully diversity trained.

True, Primrose School is ground zero for petty squabbles about children's books and bathrooms, hardly the oppressions that tossed millions of immigrants to America's shores.

Most heartening was hearing "A Student Commentary on the Future," each 4-year-old declaring what they want to be when they grow up. A builder, a zookeeper, two scientists. Several more called into public service: police officer, firefighter, astronaut. Six doctors. One "baby." A "hospital," and a financially savvy "plastic surgeon." Three youngsters surprisingly embraced rewarding, albeit boring, careers as dentists. Another: life in the wild as a tiger. Our granddaughter dreamed big. A natural-born schmoozer, she wisely opted not to follow grandpa's steps into lobbying. When I questioned why she chose a profession some might consider a stretch, she unhesitatingly, without explanation, doubled down on "unicorn."

Some answers sounded rehearsed, not unexpected in a region where high achieving parents stay up all night on elementary school science projects. These Primrose grads might eventually aspire to become the next LeBron James or Taylor Swift. Our resilient democracy can survive a few additional celebrity heroes (please, no more social media influencers).

America might not be on the eve of destruction, but public opinion polls support Merle Haggard's view that the "good times" are "really over for good." I'm betting the other way, on these budding citizens and their worthy dream jobs within reach in what remains the land of opportunity. If we can only keep the grown-ups out of the way.

Roger Cohen, Vienna

Just as it's been said, "Dance as if no one is watching," celebrate the Fourth of July as if it's the last for the United States. There will be no guard rails, no one to say, "Sir, you can't do this." Armored vehicles will tear up Pennsylvania Avenue. Donald Trump's generals will bow and kiss his ring. There will be no reason to celebrate democracy, since it will no longer exist. So Americans of all beliefs, religious or secular, patriots or MAGAs, "Embrace your independence" because, come November, our democratic republic will be a MAGA autocracy, and all celebrations will be homage to the king. Unless ...

Gail Karp, Silver Spring

Building a 'more perfect union'

The Post's June 30 front-page article "As isolation and pessimism mount, teacher tries to get teens to the polls," about Shannon Salter's civics class in

Allentown, Pa., paints a powerful portrait. It highlights the challenges that our democracy faces, as well as the challenges that educators face in a society where trust has waned and where the effects of the pandemic linger on schooling. Since the article's publication, civics educators have told us they feel heard and seen.

The skeptical youth of Allentown, along with the millions who report feeling alienated from institutions, deserve urgent attention. We might well be losing a generation's desire to help build a "more perfect union." Young people are withdrawing. They voice disappointment in the future of our country's prospects in classrooms such as Ms. Salter's every day. In the post-pandemic environment, our youths need immediate, exciting ways to participate. A solid civic education cultivates a series of habits of citizenship — listening to others, knowing how to disagree productively, discerning truth and, of course, voting. These skills, combined with knowledge and perspective, build agency and hope. Beyond that, we need to give young people opportunities to get involved in our constitutional democracy and show them that it can work. The future of our nation is on the line.

Louise Dubé, Cambridge, Mass. The writer is chief executive of iCivics.

The Post's excellent article missed a crucial point. Shannon Salter's students and other nonvoters have seen so many troubles persist for so long that they

ANN TELNAES

Above the law



ANN TELNAES The Washington Post 7/2/2024

telling states to submit fake electors — are considered official acts.

To quote Justice Sonia Sotomayor in her dissenting opinion: "This new official-acts immunity now lies about like a loaded weapon, for any President that wishes to place his own interests, his own political survival, or his own financial gain, above the interests of the Nation." The irony here is that the Supreme Court decision seems to be saying that a president's actions must be protected from a vindictive successor — yet, this rule could protect Mr. Trump, who publicly vowed to prosecute his successor, if he becomes a vindictive successor.

The court has violated a cornerstone of democracy, that no one is above the law. It is a devastating blow to our form of government. The days of holding a president accountable, as we did with Richard M. Nixon, are gone. The imperial presidency is now officially here.

Salvatore Misuraca, Washington

Americans must immediately move to protect our democracy and the rule of law. Two constitutional amendments are desperately needed. The first would reverse the Supreme Court decision on presidential immunity and clarify that presidents and all public officials are equal before the law, not immune from prosecution and conviction. The second would clarify the right of all Americans to vote in free and fair elections that are not dominated by the power of money.

This will require both great leadership and vigorous grass-roots organizing. Legal and political leaders — such as Judge J. Michael Luttig, retired justice Stephen G. Breyer, former representative Liz Cheney and former Georgia representative Stacey Abrams — should quickly draft bipartisan constitutional amendments along these lines. This must be linked to a broad-based campaign involving millions of Americans in joining to protect our rights by using the democratic procedures for amending the Constitution that our Founding Fathers provided to protect the soul of America.

Andrew Mott, Chevy Chase

Lights in the dark

Regarding the June 24 article "A twinkling spectacle draws gasps nightly in a dark Utah farm field":

You don't have to travel to Utah to see spectacular firefly displays. You can come to Laytonville, Md. We have the privilege of viewing what are known as synchronous fireflies, one of only a few species of fireflies that are known to synchronize their flashing light patterns. They shine together right in our backyard, even though the internet suggests that this species only is in Pennsylvania and North and South Carolina.

Since solstice, every night from 9:30-10:30 p.m. we are mesmerized by thousands of lights in our tree canopy, from the ground to 50 feet in the air. They flash in unison, an amazing display of coordinated crescendos until a spectacular finale low to the ground as they begin to descend to mate with their counterparts in our grass — like ocean waves of light illuminating our forest floor beyond our fence in a blinding, almost musical, dance of light.

Ray Schoenke, Laytonville, Md.

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OPINION

RUTH MARCUS

Court stakes are too high to continue the Biden gamble

“For all practical purposes, today’s decision almost certainly means that there are virtually no limits on what the president can do,” President Biden said Monday night of the Supreme Court’s 6-3 ruling granting former presidents broad immunity from criminal prosecution.

He’s right. And that raises the question: How should that grim assessment influence his decision about whether to remain in the race?

For Biden, the courts should be top of mind, in three ways:

First, during Donald Trump’s first term, the court served as a generally reliable bulwark against an out-of-control president. No longer. The lesson of *Trump v. United States* is that the courts will not shield us. They are enablers of presidential overreach, not brakes on it.

Trump and his lawyers insisted that presidents couldn’t function without the guarantee of immunity from prosecution after leaving office. The reality is that presidents functioned for more than two centuries with the understanding that the criminal law applied to their official acts and that they could be prosecuted after leaving office. The court’s ruling to the contrary doesn’t remove a chilling effect on responsible presidents; it enables rogue ones, like Trump.

Second, the ruling underscores the importance of who gets to wear the robes — and who has the power to appoint them. Trump named 234 judges out of the 890 authorized, including three justices who ruled in his favor Monday. Biden has named 201 — and, by the way, the Senate should make confirming pending nominees a priority.

As we have painfully learned over the past several years, it matters enormously who sits on the lower federal courts. Now more than ever, as the Supreme Court’s decisions — such as last week’s one eliminating deference to federal agencies — have increasingly shifted power to the judiciary.

A Trump presidency would reinforce and enhance that reality. On the Supreme Court, it would likely mean the retirements of Justices Clarence Thomas and Samuel A. Alito Jr. and their replacement by equally conservative but younger ideologues. That conservative majority would last for decades, well beyond Trump’s second term. The damage that the current supermajority has inflicted would be entrenched and expanded.

Set out a likely — and chilling — shortlist of possible Trump appointees a few months back, but it bears repeating in light of the term’s cataclysmic end and Biden’s similarly cataclysmic debate performance.

It includes three judges from the ultraconservative U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit: James Ho, a former Thomas clerk; Andrew Oldham, who clerked for Alito; and Kyle Duncan, a target of student protests when he spoke at Stanford Law School. This is a court so conservative that it has been repeatedly slapped down by the Supreme Court, including in three out of 10 appeals from its rulings this term.

Others on the short list: Amul Thapar of the 6th Circuit, who wrote a book last year praising Thomas; Elizabeth Branch of the 11th Circuit, who joined Ho’s boycott of hiring clerks from Yale Law School after student protests of conservative speakers there; Lawrence VanDyke, who has been a strident dissenter on the liberal-leaning 9th Circuit; and Patrick Bumatay, also of the 9th Circuit.

As I wrote earlier, “These are not your George W. Bush-era Republican nominees. For the most part, they would make Trump’s first-term picks look mild by comparison.”

Finally, Biden should take to heart the tragic lesson of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who rebuffed entreaties to retire when a Democratic president could have named her replacement and thereby prevented the current supermajority.

Ginsburg’s self-centeredness is an indelible blot on her distinguished record. Biden needs to ask himself: Does he risk the same, except with even more dire consequences? Is that how he wants history to remember him?

Of course, to answer that question requires reaching a conclusion about whether Democrats’ chances of retaining the White House — more pointedly, of keeping Trump out of it — are better or worse with Biden on the ticket.

This is not an easy choice — though it may get slightly easier in the next several days, as additional polling emerges about the impact of Biden’s debate performance and as Biden embarks on a cleanup tour, including an interview with ABC’s George Stephanopoulos.

Democrats face two dangerous paths. Biden’s road to reelection was already treacherous before the debate disaster. Yet the alternate path presents the enormous peril of a party riven by divisions over the choice to replace him and perhaps producing a nominee who also can’t win in November. Perhaps, as I said, polling will help.

Absent more evidence, my reluctant conclusion is that Biden should step aside. Before the debate, I thought that the risks created by replacing him outweighed the potential benefit. Now that calculus has been reversed. Voters can’t be expected to unsee what they witnessed or chalk it up to one bad night and move on.

And now the Supreme Court has enormously upped the ante of a second Trump term. “The president is now a king above the law,” Biden said, quoting the dissenting justices.

His greatest service would be to do what is required to save us from King Trump.



President Biden and first lady Jill Biden arrive in Westhampton Beach, N.Y., last week.

KAREN TUMULTY

Only Jill Biden can save her husband’s presidency

There could hardly be a less opportune moment for America’s first lady to be gazing from the cover of *Vogue*, decked out in a \$4,990 Ralph Lauren Collection silk tuxedo dress, accessorized with earrings that cost nearly as much.

More jarring, at a time when so much is riding on the deliberations that are going on between Jill Biden and her husband, is the quote at the bottom of the photo: “We will decide our future.”

The reaction has been scathing: *Their future?* Is this really all about them?

To be fair, that line on the cover, which also appeared in *Vogue*’s fawning profile, was lifted from a stump speech about women’s empowerment.

But the statement the first lady offered the magazine after President Biden’s calamitous debate performance was no more reassuring. She insisted the president “will always do what’s best for the country,” even as she defiantly declared that he “will not let those 90 minutes define the four years he’s been president. We will continue to fight.”

What is best for the country is not for the Bidens to continue that battle, at least not in the way they have so far.

If the president chooses to stay in the race, he must be a very different kind of candidate — and a very different kind of president. He must take off the protective shrink-wrap in which he has been enveloped and step out more from behind his teleprompter. Most of all, this moment calls for complete candor about whether this 81-year-old man is fit for

another four years in the most grueling job on Earth.

No one knows the truth of his condition better than his wife, who is, by all accounts, his closest confidante. But the president’s tendency to retreat into the counsel of his own family likely will not serve either him or the nation well. Nor will his palace guard’s declaration that what the country saw last Thursday was no more than a “bad night.”

Let us hope that the conversations between the couple are more honest than the cringeworthy, infantilizing performance that Jill Biden gave when they appeared onstage at a post-debate watch party. “Joe, you did such a great job!” Jill said. “You answered every question! You knew all the facts!” She needs to tamp down the reflexes with which she shoved a heckler off the stage at one of her husband’s campaign events in 2020.

I admire Jill Biden and have long believed that the first lady is the White House’s most undervalued and underutilized asset.

She is the first presidential spouse to insist upon continuing to pursue her own career while residing at the White House, teaching English at a community college after showing grit to get her doctorate in education at age 55. That position offers her a connection to the real world of people who struggle to get ahead in a way that few inside the rarefied atmosphere of 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. can understand. She has also taken on the causes of military families, including the spouses who are frustrated by their limited career options in a life that requires uprooting every few years.

Then there is the personal backstory of how she rescued a family — a father and two little boys — that had been shattered by the loss of a wife and mother, a baby daughter and sister.

“I never imagined, at the age of 26, I would be asking myself: How do you make a broken family whole?” she recounted in her speech to the virtual Democratic National Convention in 2020. “Still, Joe always told the boys, ‘Mommy sent Jill to us,’ and how could I argue with her? And so we figured it out together.”

If what the president and his wife determine together now is that he should stay in the race, Jill Biden must step up to ensure that he can perform at his highest capacity, whatever that is. Even as he faces demands to appear more often in unscripted settings, she must fight the schedulers and political hands who will also argue that the president be everywhere at once. She must make sure he gets rest when he needs it. She must assume a Nancy Reagan-esque role as the in-house enforcer.

And if they decide the time has come to call an end to his half-century of public service, Jill Biden will be called upon, once again, to show strength and resilience to help bring him, his party and the nation through the turbulence that lies ahead.

Yes, “first lady” is a title that comes with no job description. Each has had to figure it out on her own. But few have had quite the moment of testing that faces Jill Biden now. And that line on *Vogue*’s cover is right. The Bidens will indeed decide their future — and the rest of ours as well.

COLBERT I. KING

Let us declare independence from the monarchical presidency

On this Independence Day 2024, we find ourselves, as a nation, back under a monarchy’s hold on America. Credit this astonishing turn of events to Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., plus the Supreme Court’s five other royalists who joined him to fashion a decision that bestows upon the American president immunity from accountability for “official” acts that might leave him open for prosecution were he an ordinary citizen. In her ferocious dissent, Justice Sonia Sotomayor said the majority’s decision makes the president a “king above the law.” So here we are, having defeated King George III in 1783, only to end up two centuries later with an American sovereign with powers that would make previous tyrants drool.

Were that not enough, the country is faced with the prospect of twice-impeached felon and former president Donald Trump returning to the White House. The thought of the mendacious, narcissistic, vengeful Trump with those powers is terrifying. Dismiss the notion that “there’s no telling what he would do.” We know better. Trump and his inner circle have *told* us what he’ll do.

It falls to people who cherish and live by democratic values to stave off that danger. The courts won’t do it. President Biden, healthy or otherwise, cannot do it by himself. Only we, the people, can do what needs doing, to wit: reject Trump and all that he stands for at the polls on Election Day.

Yes, votes are there to keep Trump out of the Oval Office, as they were in the previous presidential election. Trump, simply put, can’t win with only

his base of MAGA supporters and fellow travelers, no matter how rabid they are.

Don’t get hung up for the moment on who should be the Democratic standard-bearer. There’s plenty of time to get that sorted out. And there is a rich field of possibilities, should Biden, upon reflection and after broad consultations regarding his health and ability to serve, decide that now is the time to hand on the torch to an able successor.

We, the people, can do what needs doing, to wit: reject Trump and all that he stands for at the polls on Election Day.

I trust Biden to make the right call. I became a Senate staffer around the time Biden joined the Senate in 1973. As with other Washington watchers, I have seen Biden’s victories and setbacks through the years. Biden, above all else, is a patriot. He will do what’s in the country’s best interest.

Better to keep focused, and spread the word to family, friends and neighbors, about the world that awaits them if Trump takes the oath of office.

Prosecutions will warp into persecutions. Political foes, real and imagined, in the press and online and in the politicians’ suites, will be subjected to

Trump’s whims and power. Pardons and clemency will rain down like manna on Jan. 6, 2021, insurrectionists. Russian President Vladimir Putin will once again have a friend in the White House and an ally against NATO and the West. Immigrants and people from Muslim-majority countries will face an aggressively hostile federal government. Civil rights and LGBTQ+ progress will grind to a halt. The economy will function on behalf of the haves, to the detriment of the have-nots and the left-out. Oh, sure, Trump will go all out to create “Black jobs” — his racist reference to work left for people of color to perform.

So, right now and until Election Day, no matter who is at the top of the ticket, concentrate on defeating Trump and regaining Democratic control of the House and preventing a GOP takeover in the Senate. Visualize Trump and a Republican-controlled Congress. Can you imagine a Republican House doing anything to rein Trump in? A Republican Senate doing anything but acquiescing to any underqualified, politically subservient appointment he chooses to make? Can mules whistle? Armed with Roberts’s ruling, dictator Trump could operate with impunity.

Thus, here we are on the Fourth of July with democracy on the line.

Let this be the day a second Declaration for Independence is launched, proclaimed on behalf of people who reject the notion of an imperial president, and who hold dear democratic ideals and principles. Let us pledge to defend it with our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

Let us begin today.

GEORGE F. WILL

Don’t despair, ‘normal’ U.S. politics are abnormal

On this July 4 commemoration of the grandest day in humanity’s political history, Americans wonder whether their politics will ever again be normal. Jon Grinspan has a strangely reassuring message: Normal is abnormal.

He curates, on Constitution Avenue, the politics collection at the National Museum of American History, whose bazillion artifacts include: the teacup Abraham Lincoln placed on a windowsill before departing for Ford’s Theatre on April 14, 1865. Hoods worn by prisoners who were hanged for complicity in Lincoln’s assassination. The Emancipation Proclamation printed as a tiny (about 3 inches by 2 inches) booklet distributed by Union soldiers to Black Southerners. A bug-with-flapping-wings lapel pin worn by “gold bugs,” who were gold-standard voters in late-19th century campaigns about the national currency.

And two torches: One was carried by the same partisan in nighttime parades during presidential campaigns from 1860 to 1904. The other was carried during the 2017 neo-Nazi rally in Charlottesville, Va.

Political torches, like the parades they illuminated, were extinguished in the century that began in 1900 as American politics became calmer — and voter participation plunged. Today’s relative civility — really — is, Grinspan says, the residue of a long reaction against the tumults of post-Appomattox presidential campaigns, in which a perpetually excited public elected generally unexciting presidents.

Grinspan, 40, a University of Virginia PhD, recalls that while writing “The Age of Acrimony” (2021), he would cross the National Mall, encountering tourists wearing red MAGA caps, and anti-MAGA protesters waving signs saying “This Is Not Normal.” He would return to artifacts telling of politics “more heated than anything we’ve seen.”

Politics during the span of a single lifetime in the 19th century witnessed the loudest campaigns and highest voter participation in U.S. history. Turnout averaged 77 percent in presidential years, and was highest among the poor and working class. Many in the upper crust recoiled from the contamination of participation.

In the resonant year 1876, when the nation’s population was 45 million, the Philadelphia World’s Fair welcomed 10 million visitors, who, Grinspan says, marveled at “a wondrous future of telephones and typewriters, hamburger steaks and syrupy soda water.” Ten years later, an Atlanta pharmacist mixed carbonated water with a syrup — the birth of what became Coca-Cola.

But the years after Appomattox included a presidential impeachment and three presidential assassinations. Boys born the day Lincoln died were not old enough to vote when James Garfield was shot in 1881; boys born that day were not yet voters when William McKinley was murdered in 1901. Gunfire reportedly punctuated all Philadelphia elections between 1870 and 1900. In 1884, the Republican National Committee shipped 600 revolvers to Cincinnati poll watchers. Americans worried that carnage comparable to the 1871 Paris Commune (perhaps 20,000 dead) was coming.

On trams or trains, a European visitor marveled, Americans polled one another about impending elections. The public, diversified by immigration, had, Grinspan says, few shared holidays or folk festivals but was united around the “new democratic folk culture” provided by political campaigns, often lubricated by lager in working-class saloons. In an atomized, highly mobile society of the uprooted and restless (in one Wisconsin county, 89 percent of teenage males there in 1860 were gone by 1870, and 90 percent of those in 1870 were absent in 1880), individuals found “communal momentum” in being mobilized by parties.

“Young men marching in torchlit processions,” Grinspan says, achieved fraternity. In a society churned by Darwinian strivers, “the parties offered a countervailing sense of community”: Life might be unequal, “but during campaigns, Americans wrapped themselves in the same uniforms, lit the same torches.” But “the same forces that made the political culture so popular could be its undoing.”

The growing middle class, repelled by mass tumults, wanted a politics of sober individualism. An advocate for eight-year presidential terms thought this might tranquilize “a nervous and excitable people like ourselves.” The most telling reform was the secret ballot.

Hitherto, voting was done in often raucous public places, voters casting ballots printed by the parties, so straight party-line voting was the norm. With secrecy came privacy: A curtain emphasized the individual alone with his conscience, insulated from crowds. Parades were replaced by pamphlets: In 1896, Republicans printed them in German, Italian, Swedish, Greek, Polish and Yiddish.

In Germany, Italy and elsewhere, uniformed, torch-bearing marchers were coming. But America, Grinspan notes, “experienced a twentieth century generally calmer than the nineteenth.” On this less-than-happy national birthday, if you pine for normality, be careful: Which one?

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MARYLAND
 Baltimore City approved a ballot measure that would establish a "Baby Bonus" for parents if passed. **B3**



OBITUARIES
 Once-promising soccer star Pål Enger, 57, traded the pitch for a 1994 heist of "The Scream." **B4**



OBITUARIES
 Russell Morash, 88, made Julia Child a celebrity chef and was the godfather of how-to television. **B4**

CAPITAL LETTERS



PHOTOS BY MICHAEL A. MCCOY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Engraving veterans' send-offs

At a rate of about 30 a day, Adam Johnson inscribes headstones at the National Memorial Cemetery at Quantico

BY JONATHAN EDWARDS

Adam Johnson starts his morning driving through the National Memorial Cemetery at Quantico. He winds past thousands of gravestones, memorials to the men who fought on distant shores:

- Europe.
- Korea.
- Vietnam.
- Iraq.
- Afghanistan.

There are graves of wives, too, and women who served in war. But mostly men.

The headstones are light gray in color, lined up in precisely spaced rows. Some list only the dates of birth and death and the deceased's military rank. Others say "Beloved husband" and "Always in our hearts" and "Love you bud."

Soon, Johnson arrives at a shed on the southern part of the 725-acre cem-



TOP: Adam Johnson moves a few gravestones at the National Memorial Cemetery at Quantico, in Triangle, Va., on April 23. **ABOVE:** Johnson has been Quantico's dedicated inscriber for about three years.

etry. He parks his car, lifts up the shed's door and opens a UPS package. Inside are personalized stencils that Pinter Memorials has sent from its headquarters in Florida.

It's hot outside. Weather experts predict record highs for the day.

Time to get to work.

Johnson started inscribing veterans' gravestones almost by accident. In 2016, he was working a factory job in Wytheville, Va., making brake parts for tractor trailers. His brother-in-law worked for Vets USA, a company that inscribed gravestones, and told Johnson he could make more money in such a job but would have to move to Michigan. So, he did.

In 2021, he left Vets USA to work for Pinter Memorials, which assigned him to work at what was then Quantico National Cemetery, and now, after a

SEE GRAVESTONES ON B2

Deal on tuition benefits in Va.

SENATE, HOUSE SET TO VOTE THIS MONTH

Bill would lift restrictions on military program

BY LAURA VOZZELLA

RICHMOND — Virginia's House and Senate will reconvene later this month after striking a deal to repeal new limits on a costly college tuition program for military families, defusing an issue that had inflamed veterans' groups in an important election year.

Both chambers will return to Richmond on July 18 to vote on legislation that will fully repeal restrictions that were meant to rein in the soaring costs of the Virginia Military Survivors and Dependents Program. Identical House and Senate bills also will provide \$45 million a year for the next two years — on top of \$20 million a year already in the two-year budget — to cover the cost, lifting that burden from the universities and from other students, who had some of the expense passed on to them.

In reaching that deal, the Senate dropped recent demands that the limits be reinstated after a year and that students maintain a D average in their major to remain eligible.

The breakthrough came Tuesday, one day after the Senate reconvened to consider lifting the restrictions but walked away empty-handed for the second time in two weeks. Following that disappointment, Democrats publicly sparred with each other and Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) over the impasse in the hours before they

SEE TUITION ON B3

Md. accepts \$50 million cleanup for Key Bridge

Contract was awarded in April on emergency basis for clearing debris

BY MICHAEL LARIS

Maryland's Board of Public Works voted Wednesday to approve a \$50 million contract for clearing debris from the Patapsco River following the collapse of Baltimore's Francis Scott Key Bridge in March.

The Maryland Transportation Authority awarded the contract to Skanska U.S.A Civil Southeast on an emergency basis in April, weeks after the container ship Dali lost power and destroyed the span.

While the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers oversaw clearing of the federal shipping channel, which fully reopened June 10, the Skanska crews were busy removing vast amounts of mangled steel and buckled concrete that had collapsed into other parts of the Patapsco.

That work allowed vessels that did not need the full 50-foot depth of the main federal channel to resume trade with the Port of Baltimore. The U.S. firm is part of Skanska Group, the Sweden-

SEE BRIDGE ON B3

What to know about road closures, Metro changes for July 4

BY DANNY NGUYEN

Fourth of July celebrations will deliver their annual dose of chaos to downtown D.C. on Thursday as roads, bridges and other areas close and transit options change.

Around noon, the National Independence Day Parade will bring a procession of bands, floats, military and specialty units, and celebrities that will block a stretch of Constitution Avenue NW. Thousands will fill the National Mall in the evening to watch the annual fireworks display, which the National Park Service claims will be "one of the most spectacular in recent memory."

Here's what you need to know to get around D.C. on Thursday.

Metro rides will be free after 5 p.m.

Thousands will inundate Metrorail stations as they head to the Mall for Fourth of July festivities. Beginning at 5 p.m. on Thursday, the Metro will offer free rides on all rail and bus lines and on paratransit services. Park-

ing in Metro-owned garages and lots will also be free.

The waived fares will be in effect until midnight, when the rail system closes. Metrorail fare gates will be open and riders will not need SmarTrip cards to use the transit system.

Metro is increasing service on some rail lines all day to relieve congestion. The Red Line — along which four stations are shuttered for summer construction — will offer trains every six minutes. Other train lines will operate on normal schedules until 5 p.m. Then trains on the Orange, Blue and Silver lines will arrive every 10 minutes, and trains on the Green and Yellow lines will operate every six minutes.

The agency warns that the Smithsonian Metrorail station could become overcrowded after fireworks end, and suggests riders use nearby stations, including Metro Center, Federal Triangle, Archives, Gallery Place and Union Station. The Foggy Bottom station, which is also nearby,

SEE CLOSURES ON B2



MAANSI SRIVASTAVA/THE WASHINGTON POST

If you're watching the Fourth of July fireworks on the National Mall and need a way to get there, beginning at 5 p.m., Metro will offer free rides on all rail and bus lines and paratransit services.

At Quantico, inscriber finds his own way to serve

GRAVESTONES FROM B1

name change, is the National Memorial Cemetery at Quantico. Johnson has been its dedicated inscriber for about three years. At a clip of about 30 a day and 120 a week, he's finished thousands of gravestones for veterans and their family members.

His writing is what they and their descendants see when they visit their loved ones once or twice a year, perhaps more, perhaps less. It's important that the writing looks crisp, clean. Nothing should distract from the ritual of mourning.

"This is the way I serve," he says. "I do the best possible job that I can on every one of the stones because they deserve it."

Wearing a protective nylon suit, he uses a blaster that shoots sand at 150 pounds per square inch to inscribe into granite and marble veterans' names, ranks, service branches, wars they've served in, and their dates of birth and death.

He peels back the plastic on the back of the stencil and aligns it with the border of a gravestone for the gravestone's border. When he's satisfied, he presses his hand against the stencil and, in a wiping motion, pushes it against the granite. Then he grabs a metal roller and runs it over everything.

This headstone is for the wife of a private who served in World War II. She chose a Presbyterian cross, one of about 70 emblems available to top a gravestone.

"I get a lot of eagles, too, [and] doves," he says as he rolls.

When he's done, cemetery employees will haul the slabs across

the grounds to install them at the veterans' graves.

At 2:52, Johnson emerges from the backroom for the last time and shuts off the air compressor. He's done with inscribing for the day and quickly escapes the blast suit. At 3:13, he starts using a razor scraper to peel off the stencils and finishes them off by using a hunk of rubber to rub off any remaining stencil glue.

"One of my favorite things about granite is how sharp the turn out is, how nice the lettering and everything looks," he says while scraping the stencil and glue off the headstone of a former Army private who served in World War II before becoming a "beloved husband, father, grandpa" and dying at the age of 97.

"There's never any chipping away or anything like that," Johnson adds. "It's always just pristine."

At 3:45, Johnson loads up a dolly with the first two stones, wheels them down a wooden ramp, wiggles them off and leans them against wooden pallets that have been placed on the side of a building. By 4:15, he's brought all of them out.

It's 4:48. Johnson scans the shed one last time, then trudges to the parking lot. On the way back through the cemetery, he passes the gravestones that he carved weeks, months and years ago.

He'll be back in his shed tomorrow. Dozens of blank granite gravestones will be waiting for him to turn them into final send-offs for veterans he never met in life but feels compelled to honor in death.



PHOTOS BY MICHAEL A. MCCOY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Members of a U.S. Marine Corps honor guard perform ceremonial duties during an interment ceremony for a veteran at the National Memorial Cemetery at Quantico on April 23. The completed gravestone for Kathleen Louise Pouchan after inscription. Johnson wears a protective suit while using a sand blaster to engrave a headstone at Quantico. His inscriptions include veterans' names, ranks, service branches, wars they've served in, and their dates of birth and death.

Road closures and Metro changes to watch out for in D.C. on Fourth of July

CLOSURES FROM B1

could become "entry only" after the fireworks to prevent congestion. The Arlington Cemetery station, another alternative to the Smithsonian station, will be open until midnight.

Metrobus riders who use the following lines should consider using Metrorail instead, as the buses will travel through tough-to-navigate routes that could cause delays on Thursday: 16E, 38B, 33, 32, 36, 42, 43, 52, 64, 70, 74, 79, 90, 92, G12, G14, P6, S2 and X2.

Access to the Mall

There will be four public entry points for visitors on foot directly to the Mall, open from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m.:

- 17th Street SW, just south of the World War II Memorial
- 15th Street NW at Madison Drive NW
- 15th Street SW at Jefferson Drive SW
- Constitution Avenue NW between 23rd Street NW and Henry Bacon Drive NW

Two other access points do not lead directly onto the Mall:

- East Basin Drive at Inlet Bridge, west of the Jefferson Memorial
- West side of Arlington Memorial Bridge

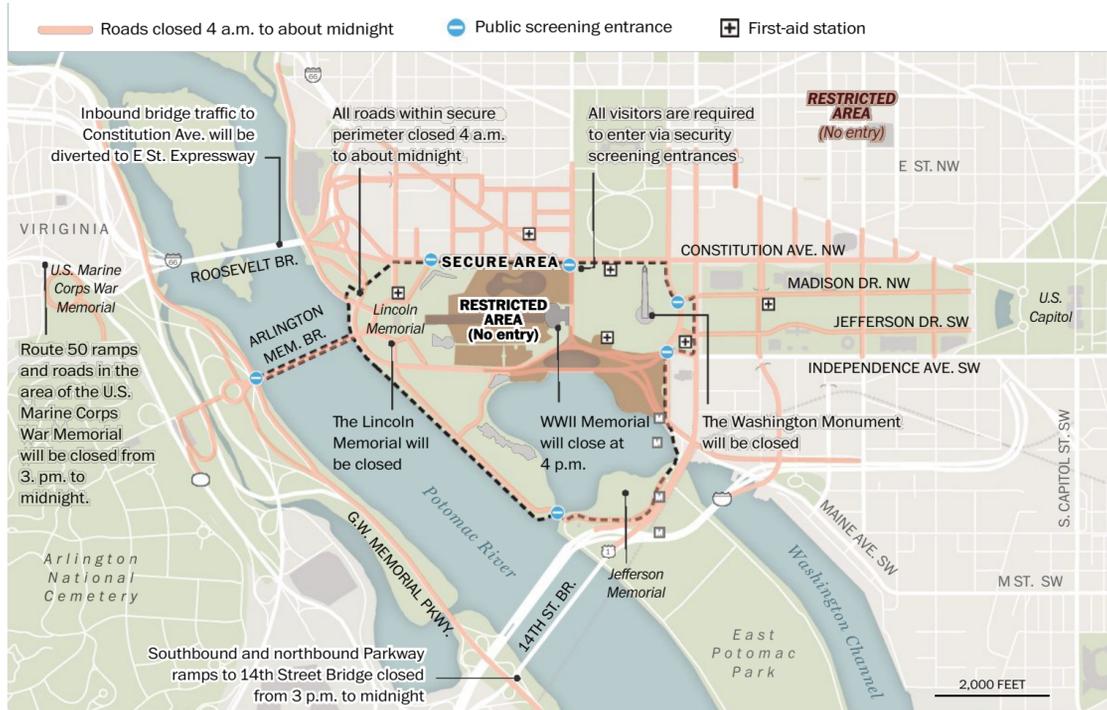
Fireworks can also be viewed from these locations along George Washington Memorial Parkway:

- The U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial and the Netherlands Carillon
- Lyndon Baines Johnson Memorial Grove on Lady Bird Johnson Park (access to the Potomac riverfront is possible via the bike/pedestrian tunnel that runs underneath the Boundary Channel Bridge, a.k.a. the "Humpback Bridge")
- Gravelly Point, north of Reagan National Airport
- Washington Sailing Marina at Dainerfield Island

Road closures

The following roads will be closed from 4 a.m. Thursday to around midnight, according to the National Park Service:

- Arlington Memorial Bridge



and Arlington Memorial Circle, to and including Lincoln Memorial Circle

- Rock Creek Parkway south of Virginia Avenue NW to Lincoln Memorial Circle, including all approaches and ramps
- Parkway Drive from Rock Creek Parkway to Lincoln Memorial Circle
- Henry Bacon Drive NW from Constitution Avenue to Lincoln Memorial Circle
- Daniel Chest French Drive SW from Independence Avenue SW to Lincoln Memorial Circle
- Lincoln Memorial Circle and all approaches and ramps into and out of Lincoln Memorial Circle, including Henry Bacon Drive NW, Daniel Chester French Drive SW, 23rd Street NW and 23rd Street SW
- The ramp from the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Bridge to Constitution Avenue NW and In-

dependence Avenue SW and Ohio Drive SW; all inbound traffic from the bridge will be directed to the E Street Expressway

- Constitution Avenue NW from 23rd Street NW to 15th Street NW
- 23rd Street SW from Independence Ave SW to Lincoln Memorial Circle and Constitution Avenue to Lincoln Memorial Circle
- 17th St NW from Constitution Ave NW to Independence Ave SW
- Homefront Drive SW
- 15th Street NW from Constitution Avenue NW to Independence Avenue SW
- Raoul Wallenberg Place SW to Maine Avenue SW
- Independence Avenue SW from 14th Street SW to 23rd Street SW, including the merge with Rock Creek Parkway
- Ohio Drive SW from 23rd

Street SW to Inlet Bridge

- Madison Drive NW from 15th Street NW to 3rd Street NW
- Jefferson Drive SW from 15th Street SW to 3rd Street SW
- East Basin Drive SW east of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial to Ohio Drive SW
- West Basin Drive SW from Ohio Drive SW to Independence Avenue SW
- The ramp from southbound and northbound George Washington Memorial Parkway to Memorial Avenue
- The ramp from northbound Virginia Route 110 to Memorial Avenue
- The ramp from Virginia Route 27 to Memorial Avenue
- The right lane of northbound George Washington Memorial Parkway from the 14th Street Bridge to Theodore Roosevelt Island

The following routes are

- closed from Thursday at 3 p.m. to around midnight:
- Eastbound Route 50 ramps to George Washington Memorial Parkway and roads in the immediate area of the U.S. Marine Corps War Memorial
- Southbound and northbound George Washington Memorial Parkway ramp to 14th Street Bridge
- Access to East Potomac Park from I-395 will be by National Park Service permit only after 4 p.m.

Concurrently, the District will close several streets for parades across the city:

- The following streets will be closed for the Palisades Parade from 10 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.:
- MacArthur Boulevard from Whitehaven Parkway to Arizona Avenue NW
- Edmunds Place from Sherier Place to MacArthur Boulevard

NW

- Sherier Place from Edmunds Place to Dana Place NW

The following streets will be closed for the Barracks Row Parade from 8 a.m. to noon:

- Eighth Street SE from Pennsylvania Avenue to Virginia Avenue
- D Street SE from Seventh Street to Eighth Street

The following streets will be closed for the Takoma Park Parade from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m.:

- Carroll Street NW from the D.C.-Maryland border to Maple Street NW
- Maple Street NW from Carroll Street NW to the D.C.-Maryland border

The Third Street Tunnel will remain open for travel into and out of the city.

Site closures

The following sites will be closed or operate with alternate hours over the Fourth of July:

- The National Mall will be closed between 14th Street and the Lincoln Memorial from 4 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Thursday for a security sweep. Visitors who enter the area after 1 p.m. will be screened.
- The Lincoln Memorial, including the steps and access ramp, will be closed on Thursday.
- The Washington Monument, which closed at 1 p.m. Wednesday, will reopen at 9 a.m. Friday.
- Access to the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial will be limited after 8 p.m. The memorial will remain open, but the public will not be able to access it from Independence Avenue after 8 p.m. Access will be available from West Basin and Ohio drives.
- The World War II Memorial will close at 4 p.m. Thursday. Cleanup of the memorial will begin immediately following the fireworks show, and the site will open after the cleanup is complete.
- Paddle boats at the Tidal Basin will not operate Thursday.
- Big Bus Tours will not operate on the Mall on Thursday.
- The D.C. Circulator's National Mall route will not operate Thursday.
- East Potomac Tennis Center will close at 3 p.m. Thursday.



The Guide to Offers
The Washington Post

Enter for the chance to win a pair of tickets to the Totally Tubular Festival on July 14 at The Anthem

In an electrifying nod to the 1980s music scene, legendary bands and performers including Thomas Dolby, Thompson Twins' Tom Bailey, Men Without Hats, Bow Wow Wow and Modern English have joined forces to announce the "Totally Tubular Festival." This extraordinary lineup will take fans on a journey through some of the decade's most iconic hits like "She Blinded Me With Science," "Hold Me Now," "The Safety Dance," "867-5309/Jenny," "I Want Candy" and "I Melt With You."

See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)



MARYLAND

Baltimore City will put 'Baby Bonus' question on ballots

BY EMILY OPILO

A ballot question that would establish a fund to issue payments to parents of newborn children in Baltimore City, in hopes of fighting child poverty, has been approved to appear on ballots this fall.

The Maryland Child Alliance, a coalition of teachers and advocates that collected more than 13,000 signatures in support of the effort, was notified Monday by the Baltimore City Board of Elections that the group met the 10,000-signature threshold necessary to secure a spot on the ballot.

The question, which is among many circulated for the ballot this year, would create a Baby Bonus fund that would issue one-time \$1,000 payments to parents upon the birth or adoption of a child.

Organizers argue the payments will improve the lives of children and families, benefiting the broader economy. The first months of a child's life are critical to development, but that's also when parents are at their most economically vulnerable, said Nate Golden, president of the Maryland Child Alliance.

"Families can't afford the things that they need, and you're left with this terrible recipe where that could impact a kid forever," Golden said. "We want all kids lifted out of poverty, but where do you get the most bang for your buck? It's with babies and newborns."

If approved by voters, the fund, which is structured in the image of Baltimore's Children and Youth Fund, would cost the city at least \$7 million annually to make \$1,000 payments to the roughly



Felicia Ross votes with her daughter in Baltimore in 2016. The Maryland Child Alliance's effort would establish a fund to issue one-time \$1,000 payments to parents upon the birth or adoption of a child.

7,000 families who welcome a child each year. It would be up to the Baltimore City Council and the mayor to figure out where to get the money necessary to fill the fund.

While the fund is aimed at curbing child poverty, the payments would be universal, not income-qualified. Golden said making the fund universal would make it easier for the city to administrate, but also make it more nimble to assist parents who may be missed by other tax credits.

"We want to make sure we help

the families that are always getting forgotten by every level of government, and the easiest way to do that is a universal payment," he said.

The Baltimore proposal closely resembles a program that began in Flint, Mich., this year. There, parents are given \$1,500 during a pregnancy and an additional \$500 during an infant's first year. Like the Baltimore proposal, there are no income restrictions. Baby bonuses are more common overseas where they have at times been used to bolster low fertility rates. Numerous European coun-

tries offer universal benefits.

Baltimore has already been experimenting with other forms of city-subsidized income. A guaranteed income pilot program has been issuing \$1,000 in unconditional monthly cash assistance to a select group of Baltimore parents since August 2022. A study conducted at the halfway point of the pilot, which is due to expire this month, showed participants increased their monthly income and the number living in independent situations also increased. Participants' unemployment remained

more than twice as high compared with the average Baltimore resident, though labor force participation jumped from 64 percent to 71 percent.

Unlike the Baby Bonus, the pilot program had an income requirement. Participants had to be young parents, ages 18 to 24, who had income at or below 300 percent of the federal poverty level — about \$69,000 for a three-person household.

The topic of guaranteed income has become popular among liberals in recent years, but the idea remains polarizing. Supporters of guaranteed income believe a widespread system could break cycles of poverty, while critics suggest it would encourage counterproductive spending.

Ballot questions, such as the Baby Bonus, can be placed on the ballot in Baltimore via petitions that garner at least 10,000 signatures from qualified city voters. City ballot measures almost always pass. Voters in Baltimore haven't rejected a ballot question since 2004, when they were asked to lower the age requirement to serve on the Baltimore City Council.

The Baby Bonus ballot question is the second approved by the election board so far this year to appear on November ballots. The first approved was a measure, sponsored by the People for Elected Accountability & Civic Engagement, asking voters to slash the size of the City Council by half. David Smith, executive chairman of Sinclair Broadcast Group and co-owner of the Baltimore Sun, principally funded that petition drive.

Also likely to appear on the ballot is a question that would ask voters to reduce and cap the

city's property tax rate. That measure, proposed by a group called Renew Baltimore, submitted more than 23,000 signatures to the election board last month. Signatures have also been submitted by groups hoping to create a community wealth building fund and a fund to advocate for a regional transit authority.

Last month, a group led by former mayoral candidate Thiru Vignarajah began collecting signatures in support of a ballot question that would ask voters to establish a dedicated park system that could not be disrupted by private development. The proposal is aimed at derailing the proposed redevelopment of Harborplace, which calls for 900 apartments to be built in a conjoined tower on the city's waterfront.

The deadline to submit signatures for proposed ballot questions is July 29.

Baltimore has seen increased petitioning activity in recent years as it has become apparent that the process is the fastest track for citizens — in some cases the most wealthy or well-funded — to pass laws. The cost of campaigns to place questions on the ballot have likewise ballooned. The People for Elected Accountability & Civic Engagement has spent more than \$326,000 this cycle in support of its council-slashing measure, while Renew Baltimore has dropped more than \$268,000, campaign finance records show.

The Baby Bonus campaign has bucked that trend, however. Records show organizers spent just \$3,553. Golden said most petitions were circulated by volunteers.

— Baltimore Sun

Virginia Assembly takes step toward repealing rules on military tuition benefits

TUITION FROM B1

struck the deal.

"A full, clean repeal with additional financial support for the VMSDEP program, unencumbered by any other provisions, is great news for our military heroes, first responders, and their families," Youngkin posted on X after the deal became public Tuesday.

On Wednesday, Youngkin announced that the presidents of every state college and university had assured him that no student will be adversely affected by the restrictions before their anticipated repeal.

Senate Finance and Appropriations Committee Chairwoman L. Louise Lucas (D-Portsmouth) said the terms were agreeable to her given that the state's Joint Legislative and Audit Review Commission has already begun to review the program and make recommendations by Sept. 1. She also noted that a separate work group on the program "will provide us with the answers we need to ensure this program will be sustainable long-term to serve veterans and their families."

"Making education affordable for all students is a priority for us

all," Lucas, who will carry the bill in the Senate, said in a statement.

Del. Luke E. Torian (D-Prince William), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, will carry the bill in the lower chamber.

"This agreement ensures that there is a full repeal of the changes adopted in May to the VMSDEP and related tuition waivers and provides financial certainty for military families attending college as I had hoped for," Torian said.

The program was created in 1930 to aid the families of World War I veterans and has been expanded over the years to include out-of-state residents, graduate students and relatives of service members with non-combat-related injuries. The price tag has risen sharply in recent years, from \$12 million in 2019 to more than \$65 million last year. Universities have borne the cost or passed it onto other students.

The restrictions, which took effect Monday with the start of the state's fiscal year, limit eligibility to Virginia residents pursuing undergraduate degrees. They also require participants to tap federal aid, such as Pell Grants, before accessing the state program. Stu-

dents already in the program were grandfathered in, as was anyone who applied to college before May 15.

Tucked in the state budget that won bipartisan support from the House, Senate and Youngkin in May, the restrictions were meant to address the program's rising costs. Fierce pushback from families followed, and Youngkin and

"Making education affordable for all students is a priority for us all."

Sen. L. Louise Lucas (D),
chair of the Finance and
Appropriations Committee

legislators quickly pledged to come up with a fix

Tensions rose Tuesday, as Youngkin claimed in a Channel 8 TV interview that Democrats had sneaked new limits on the program into the state budget without his knowledge.

"We had struck a deal that they were going to send me a clean

budget," Youngkin said on TV. "And then they tucked in some of this language at the last minute."

In fact, Senate Majority Leader Scott A. Surovell (D-Fairfax) and House Speaker Don L. Scott Jr. (D-Portsmouth) noted, the plan to curb the swelling costs had originated with Youngkin's office.

"I think Governor Youngkin and the Republicans in the legislature have done an excellent job of gaslighting the public as to who's actually to blame for this," Surovell said. "They ought to take a long, hard look in the mirror." Scott said he was "disappointed" in Youngkin for making the claim. Youngkin knew exactly where things stood, Scott said, pointing out that the governor acknowledged the issue in the state Capitol hallway as he spoke with military family advocates on his way in to signing the budget.

"I was standing right there, I was a witness," Scott said, referring to an interaction that was recorded on video and posted to X. "I wish and I hope he would stop seeing this as a political opportunity when it's so important that we take care of these heroes and their families. ... It's cynical and beneath the governor to try to do this."

Youngkin's office did not respond to a request for comment on the Democrats' criticism.

Also Tuesday, Lucas lashed out on X at Missy Cotter Smasal — the Democrats' nominee in the competitive 2nd Congressional District — because the candidate had tweeted praise for the House's proposed fix Monday.

"How dare you attack me for trying to find a long term, sustainable solution to an issue that you KNOW that I care so deeply about," Lucas responded in a post that warned Smasal to "stay the hell [out] of my and Don's business."

Smasal, who hopes to unseat fellow Navy veteran Rep. Jen Kiggans (R) in the Virginia Beach-area seat, made no mention of Lucas or the Senate in her post. Her campaign did not respond to a request for comment on Lucas's criticism.

Lucas said Tuesday that she was upset with Smasal for appearing to pick sides in the House-Senate battle. She said she also was upset because Smasal did not show up as expected for a Democratic event in Chesapeake on Friday — hours before former president Donald Trump held a rally there, and one day after President

Biden's widely panned debate performance.

Smasal's campaign did not publicly explain her absence at the time and a state Democratic Party spokeswoman said the morning of the event that she had had no communication with the Smasal campaign about her absence.

On Tuesday, Smasal's campaign said she had told organizers she had an earlier event on Friday, and when the time for the veterans news conference changed, Smasal was no longer able to attend.

"Missy could not attend the Veterans Against Trump event on Friday because of a scheduling conflict," campaign manager Brenna Crombie said.

Lucas chastised Smasal on X for "walking out on Joe Biden."

"For me personally, I'm going to ride or die with Joe Biden. I don't care if they have to roll him in on a wheelchair with oxygen tanks on him. Better him in any condition than the tyrant Trump," Lucas told The Washington Post on Tuesday. "I'm not going to fight against anybody who's the nominee, but if they do something I don't like, I'm going to let them know."

Gregory S. Schneider contributed to this report.

Md. board approves multimillion-dollar contract to clear debris at Key Bridge

BRIDGE FROM B1

based construction conglomerate.

Gov. Wes Moore (D), a member of the board that must approve major contracts, said Wednesday that Skanska's work was "critical ... to efficiently and safely be able to clear the debris." Comptroller Brooke E. Lierman (D) and Chief Deputy Treasurer Jonathan D. Martin also voted yes.

Skanska said its crews finished their work on the water last month and cut apart and prepared the salvaged steel for recycling.

The transportation authority "anticipates that this work is eligible for federal reimbursement," according to procurement documents released by the board, and Maryland officials said federal emergency relief dollars have been used for the project.

According to the procurement documents, the authority pushed ahead with the emergency contract with Skanska "due to the risk of underwater demolition, the urgency of completion, and additional coordination with other salvage/recovery companies."

Skanska was also selected because it had already been working on demolishing the Nice/Middleton Bridge across the Po-



ABOVE: A fishing boat passes Baltimore's Francis Scott Key Bridge, which was struck in March, on the Patapsco River last month. RIGHT: Workers dismantle the collapsed Key Bridge on April 4.

tomac River. Since it was already mobilized there, "it was expedient for the contractor to perform" the Patapsco work following the Key Bridge disaster, according to the documents. Using competitive bidding to procure

the contract would have delayed the debris removal by at least eight months, the documents said.

The authority, "based on prior guidance," initially believed it was not required to report the

contract to the Board of Public Works, according to the documents. But board staff, on advice from the attorney general's office, told the authority on May 31 that an exemption to such reporting did not apply, the documents



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

say.

Marshall Brown, representing the Laborers-Employers Cooperation and Education Trust, raised objections at Wednesday's meeting. He said there was enough time for competitive bidding and raised concerns the costs could rise above \$50 million.

"We disagree that Skanska was the only feasible contractor with the capability and resources for this job," said Brown, whose group is a partnership between Laborers' International Union of North America and contractors. "Our contractors were never contacted by the state, or even to survey their capabilities."

Bruce Gartner, executive director of the Maryland Transportation Authority, said agency engineers used their professional judgment to act quickly in a harrowing situation with incomplete information.

"We knew that we had responsibility for the side channels," Gartner said. The contract allowed those channels to open early for commercial traffic, and allowed for movement around the disaster site, without needing to wait on the Army Corps.

"We didn't know what we didn't know at that time. So, we moved quickly with Skanska," Gartner said.

OBITUARIES

RUSSELL MORASH, 88

Father of do-it-yourself TV who made Julia Child a star

BY EMILY LANGER

Russell Morash, a behind-the-scenes presence in public television who made Julia Child a celebrity chef and created the fix-it show "This Old House," prototypes of an enduringly popular TV genre that has inspired millions of viewers to don an apron or tool belt with do-it-yourself gusto, died June 19 at a hospital in Concord, Mass. He was 88.

The cause was a brain hemorrhage, said his wife, Marian Morash.

Mr. Morash, son of a carpenter, was widely considered the godfather of how-to television. Hired by WGBH in Boston in the late 1950s, he became a producer and director and spotted the talent of future stars including Child, whom he introduced to the airwaves, in all her exuberance, with "The French Chef" in 1963.

A struggling gardener, Mr. Morash drew on his own mishaps, including a woodchuck in his broccoli patch, to create the show that became "The Victory Garden," which debuted with horticulturalist James Underwood Crockett in 1975 and schooled audiences in the art of cultivating vegetables, fruits and flowers.

"You just ask these craftsmen to tell us what they do and what they're thinking about when they're doing it."

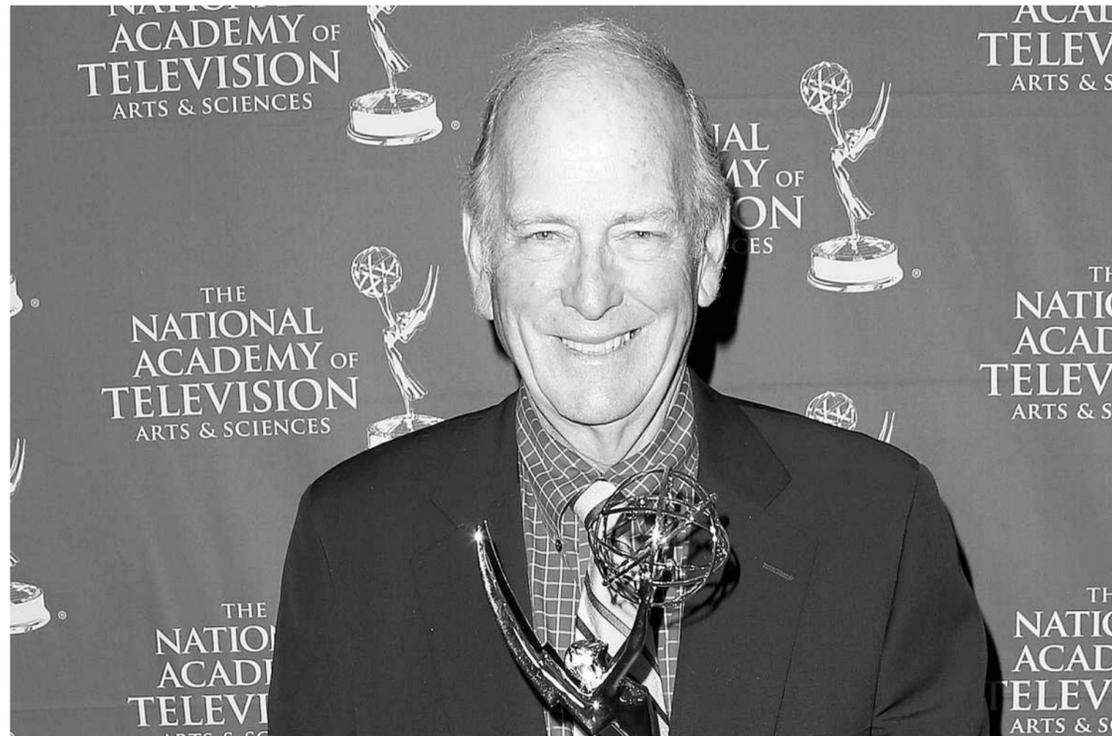
Russell Morash, in an interview with the New York Times in 1999

Four years later, Mr. Morash put handyman Bob Vila on the air as the original host of "This Old House," a ratings juggernaut that according to PBS was "TV's original home-improvement show."

Today entire cable channels — among them the Food Network and HGTV — exist to satisfy the kitchen cravings and solve the home-repair problems that many viewers lack the confidence to tackle on their own.

Mr. Morash "pioneered the whole genre of do-it-yourself lifestyle television," said Ron Simon, head curator at the Paley Center for Media in New York City. Mr. Morash, he added, had a special touch for drawing viewers to the screen — and then sending them out to try what they had learned.

In addition to teaching viewers how to baste and braise, what to do about root rot, or how to install wainscoting, Mr. Morash's shows responded to a fundamental human curiosity, one that



FREDERICK M. BROWN/GETTY IMAGES



JAMES SCHERER FOR WGBH

TOP: Russell Morash attends the Daytime Creative Arts Emmy Awards Gala in 2014 in Los Angeles. ABOVE: Mr. Morash, second from right, Julia Child and other colleagues on set circa 1978.

surges up in childhood and for many people never abates, about how things work.

"Most of us live our lives without ever seeing what goes beyond our cars, houses, buildings and grounds, even our meals," Mr. Morash told the New York Times in 1999. "All of these are done by others, without our being present. We come home at night and cut a check."

He recalled that his father at

one stage of his carpentry career worked at a firm that made optical systems. During the lunch hour, physicists and rocket scientists would gather in his workshop for advice on home repairs. "My God," Mr. Morash recalled his father exclaiming, "these men and women of such education are coming to me!"

In his line of work in television, Mr. Morash correctly perceived that viewers would flock

to TV experts much as his father's colleagues had turned to him.

Mr. Morash gave Child a regular spot on TV after seeing her promote her opus "Mastering the Art of French Cooking" on a book show. With a voice that he described as "somewhere between Eleanor Roosevelt and Tallulah Bankhead plus a couple of packs of Marlboros a day," she would be, he was certain, a hit. Over the

years, until her death in 2004, Child became perhaps the most celebrated TV chef of her generation.

Before "This Old House" debuted, "the words 'do it yourself' hadn't been put together," Mr. Morash told Boston magazine in 2009. "People did not have power tools, did not do their own repairs. They hired people."

For the first season of the show, WGBH restored an old Victorian house in Dorchester, Mass., revealing to viewers the potential of homes that at first glance might look like tear-downs. "This Old House" made addicts of fans who followed the hammering and pounding of a renovation to experience the glory in the end.

Mr. Morash, who received a slew of Emmys, as well as a lifetime achievement award from the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, told an interviewer he was "thrilled" for his shows to be imitated in their modern-day cable iterations, which, he noted, are far more heavily produced than his were.

Working with a shoestring budget, he and his colleagues avoided stops and cuts whenever possible, watching, he said, as the show "just came together."

"I'm not doing the third act of Hamlet," Mr. Morash joked to the Times. "You just ask these craftsmen to tell us what they do and what they're thinking about when they're doing it."

Russell Frederick Morash Jr.

was born on Feb. 11, 1936, in Boston and grew up in Lexington, Mass. His mother was a homemaker and later a secretary. His father was his first instructor in D.I.Y. trades.

Mr. Morash became involved in the dramatic arts in high school and studied theater at Boston University, where he graduated in 1957. He declined an offer to work as an assistant stage manager for a Samuel Beckett play in New York to stay in Boston with his future wife, whom he married in 1958.

By her account, Mr. Morash walked in the door at WGBH and landed a job as a camera operator, pushing around what he described as "one of these refrigerator-sized cameras." Shortly thereafter, he began directing and producing — "which was really his personality," Marian Morash said — and never stopped.

In his early years at the station, despite having little knowledge of French, he oversaw the foreign-language instructional program "Parlons Français." He quickly demonstrated his versatility, working on a children's show, public-affairs programming and a series jointly produced with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology called "MIT Science Reporter."

He moved into his signature D.I.Y. programming, his wife said, because of his exasperation with the state of his garden. She recalled him saying, "You know what we need is a gardening show — so that I can learn, and maybe other people would like to learn."

Marian Morash, a cookbook author and James Beard Award-winning chef, was a close collaborator in her husband's career, working with Child as her executive chef as well as appearing on "The Victory Garden" in segments teaching viewers how to cook what they had grown.

Besides his wife, the former Marian Fichtner of Lexington, survivors include two daughters, Victoria Evarts of Concord and Kate Cohen of Lexington; a twin brother; a sister; five grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.

Mr. Morash's later shows included "The New Yankee Workshop" with master carpenter Norm Abram. He never lost faith, his wife said, that "people like to know things like he liked to know things."

He also hoped, he said, that his programs might help keep the peace in households that turned to the TV for help in the kitchen, in the garden and at the workbench.

"Husbands and wives are watching together," Mr. Morash told the Times, "comparing their homes to the ones we're showing and resolving their differences about renovating projects. We hope we're settling arguments."

PÅL ENGER, 57

He traded playing soccer for stealing art, most notably 'The Scream'

BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

Pål Enger, a once promising Norwegian soccer player turned art thief who pulled off the sensational 1994 heist of Edvard Munch's famed "The Scream" painting from the National Gallery in Oslo, died June 29 at age 57.

The death was confirmed by Tina Wulf, press officer at Vålerenga Fotball, an acclaimed Oslo soccer club for which Mr. Enger played as a teenager. The Norwegian newspaper Dagbladet said Mr. Enger died in Oslo.

Mr. Enger served his first prison sentence at the age of 19, before he kicked off a long string of art and jewelry thefts in 1988 when he climbed into a window at the Munch Museum in Oslo and stole the artist's painting "Love and Pain."

Then on Feb. 12, 1994 — the opening day of the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway — Mr. Enger managed to steal the "The Scream" from the National Gallery.

In the 50-second theft, videotaped by a security camera, two thieves climbed a ladder, broke a window and emerged with the painting, then with a value of at least \$55 million. They left a postcard saying: "Thanks for the poor security."

News of the theft made headlines around the world. After his



BJØRN SIGURDSSØN/NTB SCANPIX/AP

capture, Mr. Enger became an instant national celebrity in Norway with documentaries and an international television series made of his story, including the 2023 documentary "The Man Who Stole The Scream."

The painting was recovered undamaged after about three months when Mr. Enger confessed that he had hidden it in a secret compartment located in a

Pål Enger, center, sits in court during his appeal case in Oslo in 1997. Enger pulled off the 1994 art heist of Edvard Munch's famed "The Scream" at the National Gallery in Oslo. The painting, seen above right in 2008, was recovered after about three months.

living room table at his family's home.

Mr. Enger was repeatedly convicted of art and other thefts and drug crimes over decades, and he continued to court media attention. In 1999, he absconded while on an outing from a minimum-security prison and tormented police by turning up in a cafe frequented by celebrities in Oslo and granting television and



STIAN LYSBERG SOLUM/SCANPIX NORWAY/AP

newspaper interviews. He was later rearrested after attracting attention by wearing sunglasses late at night.

During a prison stay in 2007 he started painting — first animals and later abstract motifs. He debuted as a professional artist in 2011 with a series of abstract paintings exhibited at a Norwegian gallery.

The self-confessed art aficionado didn't stop stealing, however. In 2015, Mr. Enger was charged with stealing a total of 17 paintings from a gallery in central Oslo. According to Norwegian media, police arrested him after he left his wallet and ID card at the scene.

His former lawyer Nils Christian Nordhus, cited by Dagbladet, described Mr. Enger as a "gentleman" thief who "many will miss" in his home country.

"Many people wonder how good a footballer Pål Enger could have become if he had stuck to a career," Vålerenga Fotball General Manager Svein Graff said, adding that Mr. Enger had responded that he was not the best soccer player but he was the best criminal so he had chosen to follow that career.

Mr. Enger was not married but told newspaper VG in 2011 that he had "four children with four different mothers from four countries."

2022

THE EARLY

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DEATH NOTICE

COX

WILLIAM A. COX (Age 88)
It is with regret that we notify the members of Steamfitters Local 602 of the death of Retired Brother William A. Cox on June 4, 2024. Private services were held by the family. Notice #1965.
Christopher M Madello
F.S.T.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

LASSER

JANE LASSER
Jane Lasser, of Potomac, Maryland, passed away on Monday, July 1, 2024, at the age of 97. She is survived by her loving sons, Dr. Michael (Caryn) Lasser and Robert (Maria) Lasser; her beloved grandchildren, Jeffrey, Phillip (fiancée Aimee Epstein), Ricky (Emily), Joshua and Ethan; great granddaughter Maisie and many generations of loving nieces and nephews. She was predeceased by her devoted husband Marvin; dear parents Max and Reba Shapiro; and her caring siblings, Dora Gerber and Leonard Shapiro.

Services were held at Mt. Lebanon Cemetery on Wednesday, July 3, 2024. Please omit flowers. Contributions in her memory may be sent to the Jewish National Fund, 78 Randall Avenue, Rockville Centre, NY 11570 or Ridewood Benevolent Care Fund, 3140 Gracefield Road, Silver Spring, MD 20904. The family was in mourning at the home of Michael and Caryn Lasser on Wednesday following interment.
www.sollevinson.com

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DEATH NOTICE

IN MEMORIAM

MATTHEWS



ROBERT MATTHEWS "Bob"
Missing you always!
We love you, wife, Lettie; son, Robert D.; grandchildren, Robert J., Bryan, Courtney, Crystal, and great-grandchildren, Seven and Nylah Rae

DEATH NOTICE

ROSCOE



MICHAEL JOSEPH ROSCOE SR.
MARCH 25, 1958 - JUNE 12, 2024
Passed away peacefully on June 12, 2024. He is survived by wife Tracey Gaskins; six children; grandchildren; four siblings; nieces and nephews; and a host of other relatives and friends. Visitation will be held on July 9, 2024 12:30 to 2:30 p.m. at J.B. Jenkins Funeral Home, 7474 Landover Road, Hyattsville, MD. Interment will be held on July 11, 2024 at 11:15 a.m. at Cheltenham Veterans Cemetery, Rosaryville, Maryland.



DEATH NOTICE

SIEGEL

DAVID ALAN SIEGEL

David Alan Siegel, age 72, of Potomac, MD passed away on June 28, 2024, after a long battle with Parkinson's disease. He is survived by his wife of 42 years, Susan Siegel, daughter Jennifer Siegel, and a host of relatives and friends.

After graduating from Stony Brook University and New York Medical College, Dr. Siegel embarked on a career as a pediatrician and pediatric emergency physician. He spent decades providing compassionate care for children, whether through his private practice, developing a new pediatric residency program at INOVA Fairfax Hospital for Children, or serving as the inpatient director of medical services at Connecticut Children's Hospital.

Throughout his life, he selflessly gave his time, expertise, and heart to those in need—whether family, friend, or stranger. His happiest moments were those spent with his family, as he was a deeply devoted husband, father and uncle.

Following the events of September 11, 2001, he dedicated the remainder of his career to ensuring that proper care would be provided to children and pregnant women in response to potential terrorist events. He served as the obstetric-pediatric representative from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, developing medical countermeasures for chemical agents, as well as the NIH representative to

a federal task force overseeing the development of a national disaster preparedness education and training program. He was the primary editor and author of the acute patient care section of the Chemical Hazards Emergency Medical Management Website, a database designed to enable healthcare providers to plan for, respond to and mitigate the effects of mass-casualty incidents.

A graveside service will be held on Sunday, July 7, 2024, 10 a.m. at Judean Memorial Gardens, 16225 Batchellors Forest Road, Olney, Maryland. Family will be observing Shiva at the home of Susan Siegel from 5 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to The Michael J. Fox Foundation (michaeljfox.org) or Magen David Adom (afmda.org). Services entrusted to Sagel Bloomfield Danzansky Goldberg Funeral Care.
www.sagelbloomfield.com

DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

ALLING



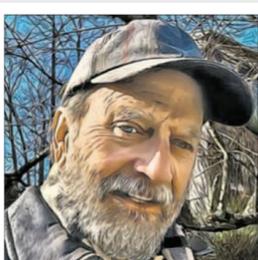
CAROLINA DOMÉNICA ALLING (Age 83)
(AGE 83)

Of Fort Belvoir, VA, formerly of Brandywine, MD, passed June 30, 2024. She is the beloved wife of 60 years to Francis William

Alling, Jr.; loving mother of Joseph Alling and Mary Alling Anderson; son-in-law Brian; and cherished grandmother of Linsey, Zachary, and Joshua Anderson. Carolina was dedicated to her family, friends, colleagues and students. She touched the lives of so many during her life and teaching career of 32 years at Prince Georges County Maryland Public Schools. Her kindness and support has positively influenced generations. She will be dearly missed by all who knew her and will live in the hearts of those who loved her. Viewing will be held at Jefferson Funeral Chapel, 5755 Castlewellan Dr., Alexandria, VA on Wednesday, July 10 from 4 to 8 p.m. Mass of Christian Burial will be held at St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church, 8908 Old Branch Ave., Clinton, MD 20735 on Thursday, July 11 at 10 a.m. Interment Resurrection Cemetery. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made in Carolina's memory to the Parkinson's Foundation at www.parkinson.org. Please sign the family guestbook online at www.jeffersonfuneralchapel.com

DEATH NOTICE

MOSELEY



PHILLIP DUANE MOSELEY
"CAPTAIN PHIL"
September 1, 1946 - June 26, 2024

Phillip D. Moseley, a cherished husband, father, grandfather, and esteemed professional, passed away peacefully and suddenly at his home in Alexandria, Virginia, on June 26, 2024, surrounded by his loving family.

Born on September 1, 1946, in Honolulu, Hawaii, Phil's life was a tapestry of diverse experiences and accomplishments. A true "Renaissance man," Phil began his career with the South Texas and San Antonio Chambers of Commerce, roles that served as the springboard for his defining 22-year tenure with U.S. Representative Bill Archer (Texas) on Capitol Hill. There, he made a significant impact, serving as the House Ways and Means Committee's Minority—and later, Majority—Chief of Staff. Phil was known

as one of the most capable, thoughtful, and politically astute staff members of Congress, earning respect and admiration from colleagues and Members of the Congressional leadership alike.

After his illustrious career in public service, Phil transitioned to government relations consulting, finishing as a Partner with Ernst & Young. In 2005, he retired to follow new musings in coastal Carolina. This next and final chapter of his life was filled with a variety of passions. These included fishing the blue waters with the Yellow Rose, rediscovering his love for singing and songwriting with his guitar (philmosley.net), exploring photography with image composition and editing, and discovering new skills in woodworking.

Above all, Phil loved his family deeply and worked tirelessly throughout his life to provide them with the financial and emotional support needed for their own success and happiness. He is survived by his devoted wife, Norah Horrocks, his daughter, Kendall, and his son, Clay. Phil was also a proud "Pop Pop/Cappy" to his four grandsons, Zane, Jude, Charlie, and Alex, and the beloved companion to sweet Rosie.

A memorial service to celebrate Phil's extraordinary life and legacy will be held at 11 a.m. on Saturday, July 13 at the Beverley Hills Community United Methodist Church in Alexandria, VA. There will be a reception following the ceremony.

In lieu of flowers, the family requests that donations be made to the American Diabetes Association (www.diabetes.org) in Phil's honor.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

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800-627-1150 ext 4-4122

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Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party.
Email deadline - 3 p.m. daily
Phone-in deadline - 4 p.m. M-F
3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2023 RATES: (PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY

Black & White
1" - \$160 (text only)
2" - \$370 (text only)
3" - \$525
4" - \$575
5" - \$725

SUNDAY

Black & White
1" - \$191 (text only)
2" - \$405 (text only)
3" - \$580
4" - \$610
5" - \$790

6" + for ALL Black & White notices \$160 each additional inch Mon - Sat \$191 each additional inch Sunday

MONDAY-SATURDAY

Color
3" - \$670
4" - \$725
5" - \$885

SUNDAY

Color
3" - \$710
4" - \$810
5" - \$985

6" + for ALL color notices \$268 each additional inch Mon - Sat \$299 each additional inch Sunday

Notices with photos begin at 3" (All photos add 2" to your notice.)

ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID

MEMORIAL PLAQUES: All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque

Additional plaques start at \$26 each and may be ordered.

All Paid Death Notices appear on our website through www.legacy.com

LEGACY.COM Included in all death notices Optional for In Memoriams

PLEASE NOTE:

Notices must be placed via phone or email. Photos must be emailed. You can no longer place notices, drop off photos and make payment in person. Payment must be made via phone with debit/credit card.

The Washington Post

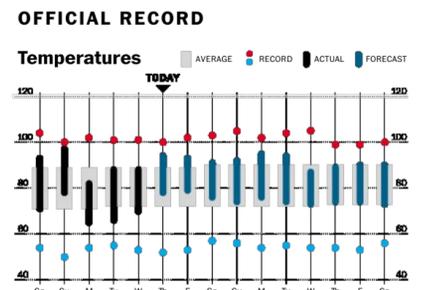
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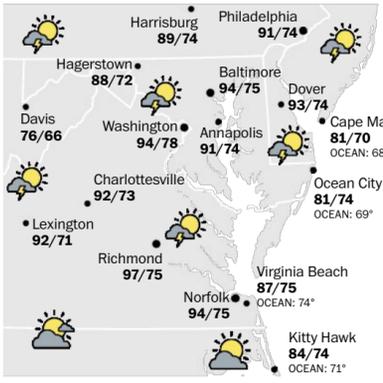
Storms likely after a sunny start

 Plan on plenty of morning sun with bubbling clouds into the midday. By noon, temperatures will probably be approaching 90 degrees. Highs should reach the mid-90s in the immediate area. Dew points rising to and past 70 make it feel more like 100 or above. Scattered storms are set to develop in the afternoon, and a few could be intense, with brief heavy rain and isolated flooding, plentiful lightning and pockets of damaging wind gusts. Odds favor diminished rain chances by fireworks time.

Today	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday
Heavy t-storm	T-storm	Heavy t-storm	Partly sunny	Hot	T-storms
94° 78°	93° 79°	91° 76°	92° 74°	95° 76°	94° 74°
FEELS*: 104°	FEELS: 103°	FEELS: 101°	FEELS: 97°	FEELS: 98°	FEELS: 101°
CHANCE PRECIP: 55%	P: 40%	P: 80%	P: 20%	P: 25%	P: 75%
WIND: SSW 6-12 mph	W: SSE 6-12 mph	W: SW 4-8 mph	W: NE 6-12 mph	W: E 6-12 mph	W: NW 7-14 mph
HUMIDITY: High	H: Very High	H: Very High	H: Moderate	H: High	H: High



REGION



Pollen: Moderate
Grass: Moderate, Trees: Moderate, Weeds: Moderate, Mold: Moderate

Air Quality: Moderate
Dominant cause: Ozone

UV: Very High
9 out of 11*

Blue Ridge: Today, mainly cloudy. A heavy thunderstorm this afternoon, but dry in southern parts; humid in northern parts. High 74 to 78. Winds west 6-12 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy. Low 65 to 69. Winds west-southwest 6-12 mph.

Atlantic beaches: Today, partly sunny; an afternoon thunderstorm, except dry in the south. High 81 to 94. Winds south 8-16 mph. Tonight, a heavy thunderstorm around, but dry in the south. Low 71 to 76. Winds south-southwest 7-14 mph.

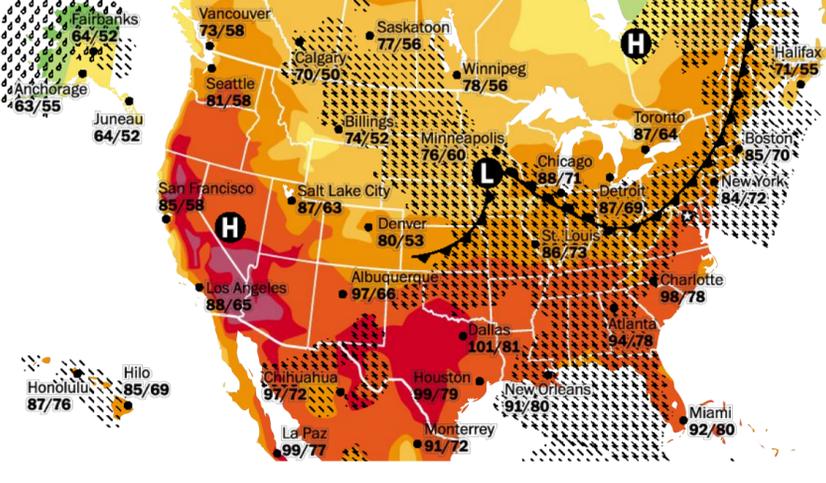
Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, partly sunny, a heavy thunderstorm in the afternoon. Wind southwest 4-8 knots. Waves 0-1 foot. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, partly sunny. Wind south 8-16 knots. Waves 1-2 feet on the Lower Potomac; 1-3 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.80 feet today, with no change of 2.80 Friday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides

(High tides in **Bold**)

Location	1:40 a.m.	7:14 a.m.	2:46 p.m.	7:53 p.m.
Washington				
Annapolis	5:00 a.m.	11:44 a.m.	4:29 p.m.	10:31 p.m.
Ocean City	1:09 a.m.	6:44 a.m.	12:47 p.m.	7:18 p.m.
Norfolk	3:09 a.m.	8:57 a.m.	2:51 p.m.	9:26 p.m.
Point Lookout	12:40 a.m.	7:55 a.m.	12:36 p.m.	6:26 p.m.

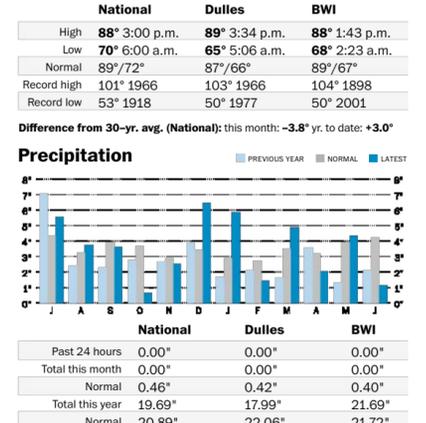
NATION



Yesterday's National High: Needles, CA 115° Low: Pahaska, WY 25° for the 48 contiguous states

World High: Kahnuj, Iran 119° Low: Linenee, Australia 9° excludes Antarctica

NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow	Des Moines	80/62/t	80/61/pc	Oklahoma City	97/71/t	87/67/pc	WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	82/67/t	94/72/t	Detroit	87/69/pc	79/63/t	Omaha	78/62/t	80/61/pc	Addis Ababa	73/57/sh	71/56/sh
Albuquerque	97/66/s	93/67/s	El Paso	100/79/r	96/74/s	Philadelphia	91/74/t	90/75/t	Amsterdam	65/57/pc	63/60/sh
Anchorage	63/55/c	64/53/r	Fargo, ND	76/60/t	81/58/t	Phoenix	114/88/s	118/88/s	Auckland	56/38/s	55/46/s
Atlanta	94/78/t	92/76/t	Hartford, CT	87/70/t	91/72/t	Pittsburgh	84/71/t	87/68/t	Baghdad	111/89/pc	118/90/pc
Austin	99/75/pc	101/73/s	Honolulu	87/76/sh	88/75/sh	Portland, ME	77/65/t	80/64/pc	Athens	85/69/c	88/72/pc
Baltimore	94/75/t	94/76/t	Houston	99/79/s	96/79/s	Portland, OR	91/63/s	98/64/s	Bangkok	89/79/t	90/80/t
Billings, MT	74/52/t	79/53/t	Indianapolis	80/71/t	84/64/t	Providence, RI	81/68/t	81/69/pc	Beijing	89/73/t	94/75/r
Birmingham	92/79/t	88/76/t	Jackson, MS	94/78/t	91/75/t	Reno, NV	101/67/s	105/68/s	Berlin	67/50/sh	72/55/c
Bismarck, ND	73/56/t	81/58/t	Jacksonville, FL	90/75/t	94/73/t	Richmond, VA	97/77/pc	99/79/t	Bogota	68/51/c	66/50/r
Boise	91/63/s	96/65/s	Kansas City, MO	80/62/t	80/63/s	Reno, NV	101/67/s	105/68/s	Brussels	68/53/pc	70/60/c
Boston	85/70/t	85/71/pc	Las Vegas	112/86/s	115/87/s	Richmond, VA	97/77/pc	99/79/t	Buenos Aires	55/38/c	52/36/s
Buffalo	85/66/pc	89/70/t	Little Rock	96/77/pc	91/71/t	Sacramento	107/64/s	109/65/s	Cairo	102/80/s	97/78/s
Burlington, VT	86/67/pc	88/70/pc	Los Angeles	88/66/s	92/65/s	St. Louis	86/73/t	84/68/pc	Caracas	79/69/t	80/65/t
Charleston, SC	94/75/pc	95/77/pc	Louisville	87/76/t	88/68/t	St. Thomas, VI	88/79/t	88/82/c	Copenhagen	66/53/sh	64/54/sh
Charleston, WV	82/70/t	87/70/t	Memphis	95/78/t	89/71/t	Salt Lake City	87/63/s	93/68/pc	Dakar	86/77/s	84/78/c
Charlotte	98/78/pc	96/77/t	Miami	92/80/pc	92/79/t	San Diego	78/67/pc	77/67/pc	Dublin	63/49/pc	61/48/sh
Cheyenne, WY	73/47/t	78/52/pc	Milwaukee	82/69/pc	75/63/t	San Francisco	85/58/s	85/59/s	Edinburgh	60/51/r	63/45/pc
Chicago	88/71/pc	80/64/t	Minneapolis	76/60/t	74/60/r	San Juan, PR	88/79/t	90/80/t	Frankfurt	72/52/c	75/55/c
Cincinnati	81/71/t	83/64/t	Nashville	94/77/t	88/69/t	Seattle	81/58/s	87/60/s	Geneva	75/53/pc	81/60/pc
Cleveland	85/68/c	85/66/t	New Orleans	91/80/t	93/79/t	Spokane, WA	87/61/s	91/63/s	Ham., Bermuda	82/73/s	81/74/s
Dallas	101/81/s	91/75/t	New York City	84/72/t	84/73/t	Syracuse	89/67/pc	92/73/t	Helsinki	68/54/c	65/53/r
Denver	80/53/s	82/58/s	Norfolk	94/75/pc	95/77/pc	Tampa	92/79/t	93/81/t	Ho Chi Minh City	89/77/t	93/77/t
						Wichita	86/63/t	87/63/s	Hong Kong	92/82/t	93/83/t



Moon Phases

July 5: New, July 13: First Quarter, July 21: Full, July 27: Last Quarter

Solar system

Planet	Rise	Set
Sun	5:48 a.m.	8:37 p.m.
Moon	4:03 a.m.	8:04 p.m.
Venus	6:26 a.m.	9:11 p.m.
Mars	2:23 a.m.	4:19 p.m.
Jupiter	3:29 a.m.	6:01 p.m.
Saturn	11:57 p.m.	11:24 a.m.

City	Today	Tomorrow	City	Today	Tomorrow
Islamabad	92/76/t	88/74/t	Rio de Janeiro	82/70/s	82/71/s
Istanbul	83/71/pc	85/71/s	Riyadh	109/85/s	109/88/s
Jerusalem	93/71/s	90/67/s	Rome	81/65/s	84/63/s
Johannesburg	62/35/s	64/34/s	San Salvador	86/69/t	83/70/t
Kabul	98/69/s	95/65/s	Santiago	59/35/pc	62/37/r
Kingston, Jam.	90/80/t	88/80/r	Sarajevo	74/53/pc	84/54/pc
Kolkata	90/81/t	90/81/t	Seoul	86/74/c	83/72/r
Kyiv	87/63/pc	79/60/s	Shanghai	101/82/t	101/82/s
Lagos	84/75/r	85/75/sh	Singapore	88/78/t	89/78/t
Lima	66/60/pc	69/61/s	Stockholm	64/50/pc	62/50/sh
Lisbon	91/64/s	83/62/s	Sydney	63/54/r	62/53/r
London	68/55/pc	67/56/sh	Taipei City	97/79/t	99/80/t
Madrid	96/70/pc	98/70/pc	Tehran	102/81/s	103/79/s
Manila	90/79/t	90/80/t	Tokyo	92/81/pc	93/80/c
Mexico City	77/56/c	78/55/sh	Toronto	87/64/pc	81/67/t
Montreal	86/65/pc	85/68/pc	Vienna	76/62/pc	81/64/pc
Moscow	92/66/s	90/59/pc	Warsaw	74/56/c	73/57/pc
Mumbai	90/83/t	89/83/t			
Nairobi	76/56/c	75/57/sh			
New Delhi	89/81/t	90/79/t			
Oslo	59/47/r	63/49/sh			
Ottawa	85/63/sh	83/68/pc			
Paris	72/52/c	76/62/c			
Prague	69/54/c	73/53/c			



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Welcoming the Fourth

A stack of hay rolls are adorned with American flags and a spray-painted message on the Virginia Beef Corp. farm in Haymarket, Va., as it gets in the July Fourth spirit on June 30.

Finally time for Kamala to fall into the race?



Monica Hesse

So, Kamala. Armchair pundits have spent the week following that unholy debate pondering various ways to get President Biden off the ticket — a brokered convention? An act of God? — only to remember that there's a potential backup plan: Vice President Harris is already in line to be Biden's successor, so if she could now win over enough voting delegates, it would solve Democrats' unseemly election problem without having to somehow involve California Gov. Gavin Newsom.

"The Democratic nominee in 2024 should be Kamala Harris," wrote former Ohio congressman Tim Ryan, who himself ran for president in 2020. South Carolina kingmaker, Rep. James E. Clyburn, said he would support Harris if Biden dropped out. A Tuesday CNN poll showed Harris performing better against Donald Trump than Biden, as well as several other theoretical candidates including Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer and Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg.

Overnight, the #KHive rolled out of retirement, joined by a cohort of potentially ironic supporters who loved the vice president's meme potential even if they haven't fully considered her political potential. If your social media timeline was filled this week with obscure references to coconut trees, it was all an lol reference to a 2023 White House event, in which Harris publicly recalled the chiding words of her mother: "I don't know what's wrong with you young people. You think you just fell out of a coconut tree?" The vice president then elaborated on this bit of wisdom with an equally meme-able phrase: "You exist in the context of all in which you live and what came before you."

Now come the posts: *Born to fall out of a coconut tree, forced to live in the context. Look, this burgeoning, unstoppable freight train of a candidacy didn't just fall out of a coconut tree. It exists in a context.*

"Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this coconut tree!"

And so on.

Perhaps there's something appealing, after Biden mumbled and stumbled through last week's debate, about a Democratic candidate who can say something kinda loopy-sounding without everyone worrying that her mental faculties are expiring in real time. In the context of which we are all currently living, Kamala's youthfulness has suddenly

SEE HESSE ON C2



EMMA KUMER/THE WASHINGTON POST; DOROTHEA LANGE; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Diverting focus

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Trump wants to numb us to horrific images his plans would create

BY PHILIP KENNICOTT

In his increasingly rambling public speeches, Donald Trump seems to be talking in some version of Tamarian, a language first heard more than 30 years ago in a 1991 episode of "Star Trek: The Next Generation." Spoken by a potentially hostile alien leader, Tamarian baffles the universal translator because it doesn't consist of nouns, verbs and adjectives or any of the usual building blocks of language, but rather of allusions to myth, literature and history, densely packed but meaningless unless you know the context.

Trump is now so bonded to his base that he need merely allude to "the snake" or MIT or names like Rachel Morin and Laken Riley for the crowd to know that these stand for, respectively, a fable

about immigrants and misplaced trust, a Trump relative who taught at MIT decades ago and victims of crimes allegedly perpetrated by men who entered the country illegally. Recently, a new reference has crept into the Trumparian lexicon: the Woman with Two Beautiful Children, or the Beautiful Woman with a Good Family. It appears when Trump discusses the most ambitious and cruel item on his policy agenda, the deportation of millions of undocumented immigrants, potentially as many as 11 million people who will be rounded up, herded into camps and returned — somehow — to countries they may not have seen in decades and that may be hostile and dangerous to them.

SEE CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK ON C3

APPRECIATION

Towne left his mark on cinema, often uncredited

BY TY BURR

"I want to write a movie for Jack."

"What kind of movie?"

"A detective movie. Maybe Jane Fonda for the blonde."

"What's it about?"

"Los Angeles. In the '30s. Before the war."

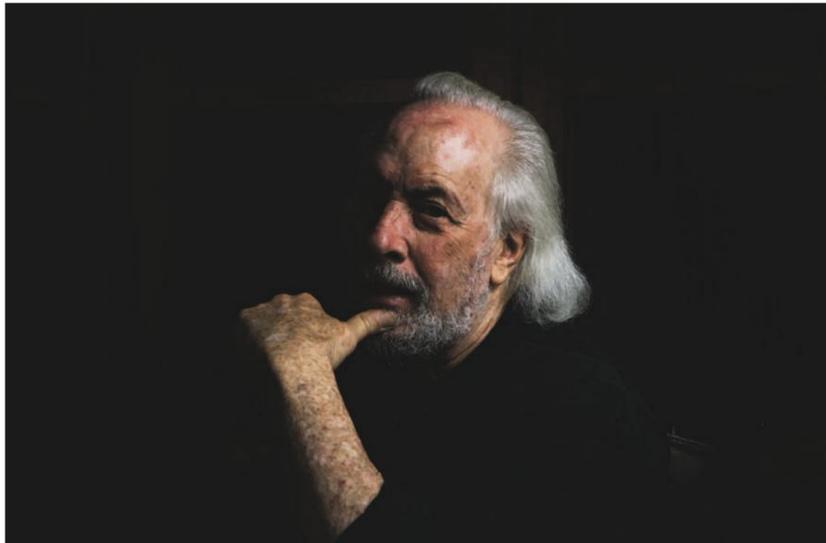
"What happens?"

"I don't know. That's all I know."

Thus spake screenwriter Robert Towne to his then-girlfriend, Julie Payne, one night in 1970. And therein lies the seeds not only of "Chinatown" (1974), one of the greatest dark fables America has ever told about itself, but the legend of Towne himself, the most celebrated screenwriter of the New Hollywood era of the 1970s and a shadowy, mercurial figure behind the titles.

Towne, who died Tuesday in Los Angeles at 89, won a single Oscar, for writing "that movie for Jack [Nicholson]," as Sam Wasson recounts in his 2020 book "The

SEE APPRECIATION ON C2



PETER MORRIS/THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD/FAIRFAX MEDIA/GETTY IMAGES

Robert Towne, who wrote scripts for "Chinatown," "Shampoo" and the first two Mission: Impossible films, was influential as a script doctor for such works as "The Godfather" and "Bonnie and Clyde."

Paramount would merge with production firm Skydance under deal

BY ANDREW JEONG AND TAYLOR TELFORD

After months of mercurial negotiations, the media company behind Tom Cruise films "Top Gun: Maverick" and the Mission: Impossible franchise has agreed to a deal to gain control of the legacy media titan that owns CBS, MTV and Paramount Plus.

Skydance Media has reached a tentative deal to acquire National Amusements, the holding company with a controlling stake in Paramount Global, according to a person familiar with the matter, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to speak freely about the potential agreement. The reported \$1.75 billion deal still needs approval by a special committee of Paramount's board.

Skydance's agreement to buy National Amusements, which holds 77 percent of voting shares

in Paramount, also permits a 45-day "go-shop" period in which Paramount may search for a better offer.

Even with a deal reached between Skydance and Paramount negotiators, much remains unresolved, according to Jamie Lumley, an analyst covering media for Third Bridge Group. The previous attempt at a Skydance agreement fell apart just a few weeks ago, Lumley noted.

"Renewed hope that both parties will be able to get a deal over the line is being tempered by concerns that we've been here before," Lumley said Wednesday in comments emailed to The Washington Post.

If the deal is finalized, it would signal a new era for Paramount, which has been facing significant challenges as it adapts to the hypercompetitive entertainment landscape, and resolve some un-

SEE PARAMOUNT ON C2

Husband berated me for using up butter, so I left. Now he wants a 2nd chance.



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

Dear Carolyn: My husband and I separated due to a disagreement 10 months ago. As always, I picked up our son after

work and then fixed dinner — my responsibility because my husband says he needs to decompress after work. I used the last of the butter making the mashed potatoes, and my husband berated me for 15 minutes for not having any butter to put on top of the potatoes. As I was cleaning up, it occurred to me how often this happens. If things are not perfect for him, he blows up at me. Before the baby, I spent so much effort ensuring that everything was to his liking, but since the baby, I can't keep up.

I tried to think of what he ever does to make me happy and came up empty.

I tried to talk to him about this, but he kept twisting it that I was mad at him for wanting butter on his mashed potatoes. I insisted on counseling, and that's what he kept telling the therapist. She told us therapy wouldn't work if he was going to stonewall like that. He laughed about it on the way home, saying he showed her.

I took our son and moved out. My husband told me, "Come back when you grow up." That was two months ago.

Since then, I've realized how much easier life is without him. I just have to care for my son and not scramble around trying to make everything perfect for my husband, so there's actually a little time for me.

My husband finally realized I'm serious and is begging for another chance, saying he'll treat



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

therapy seriously and do more for our son, but I don't want to try again. Is that awful? Do I owe it to our son and my husband to make myself try again?

— *Better Without*

Better Without: You owe it to your son *not* to try again with someone emotionally unwell.

Such gloating control and mental abuse is unhealthy for anyone in its range.

Great that your husband's willing to "treat therapy seriously," or says he is. But they're different things, and neither is the try-again point. First, he may just miss being fed.

Second, he could mean it but still never grow enough for a good enough marriage — one you'd want to be in and want your child to learn from.

Third, he may do all the work and become Santa Claus, and if you don't want to move back, that's enough.

If you want to return, then treat his reversal as his very, very first step of the minimum steps before you'll even discuss it:

1. Admitting he needs therapy. Solo, not couples. For serious emotional problems that make him unhealthy to live with.
2. Doing all the hard work.
3. Learning that if any of this work is to get you back, then it's still about him, not you.
4. Being the best, maturest single co-parent he can be. Understanding it's his only functional path forward.
5. Proving — over time and under duress — that having

things "to his liking" is no one's problem but his or his paid staff's.

This is information only, not a nod for reconciling. You owe your son a healthy home, not one with his father in it. Solo counseling for you might help.

A reader's thought:

• You'll notice he didn't consider his behavior a problem when he was hurting you, but his behavior finally started hurting him, so now it's a problem! You should ask him why he didn't take your unhappiness seriously before. I'd love to know the answer.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/gethax.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at washingtonpost.com/livechats.

No one could rescue a troubled movie script like Robert Towne

APPRECIATION FROM C1

Big Goodbye: Chinatown and the Last Years of Hollywood." But his writing and his influence stretched far beyond "Chinatown" or the other movies on which he received credit — movies such as "The Last Detail" (1973), "Shampoo" (1975), "The Firm" (1993) and the first two Mission: Impossible films (1996 and 2000).

A storied script doctor from the 1970s into the new century, Towne was the man you called in when your screenplay had painted itself into a corner and you needed a genius to get you out. Because he took payment but rarely credit for his surgical efforts, we owe Towne more than we realize. The heartbreaking scene between Don Corleone (Marlon Brando) and his son Michael (Al Pacino) at the end of "The Godfather" (1972)? Towne wrote it (and Francis Ford Coppola thanked him for it in his Oscar acceptance speech). The scene in "Bonnie and Clyde" (1967) where the gang kidnaps a man (the young Gene Wilder) who turns out to be a mortician, and the air suddenly gets sucked out of the movie's high spirits? Towne moved it earlier in the movie and rewrote it to cast the necessary pall of doom over the title couple.

"The Parallax View" (1974), "The Missouri Breaks" (1976), "Marathon Man" (1976), "Heaven

Can Wait" (1978), "Reds" (1981), "Fatal Attraction" (1987), "Crimson Tide" (1995), "Armageddon" (1998) — all undercover Robert Towne rewrite jobs. Said a producer who worked with him on "The Last Detail," according to Peter Biskind's 1999 book, "Easy Riders, Raging Bulls": "He had this ability ... to leave a sense of moisture on the page, as if he just breathed on it in some way. There was always something that jolted your sensibilities ... the feeling that something accidental and true to the life of a human being had happened there."

The irony is that "Chinatown," the movie that cemented Towne's status among his peers and in pop-culture history, had its ending rewritten by director Roman Polanski over the screenwriter's vocal protests. Urged by Payne to research the dirt behind Los Angeles's founding, Towne wove a historical civic crime — the theft of the city's water in the 1930s — into his detective story, and he compounded the sin by making John Huston's villainous businessman, Noah Cross, an incestuous monster who had fathered a child by his own daughter Evelyn (Faye Dunaway). In Towne's version, Evelyn shoots her father dead. In Polanski's film, Evelyn dies, evil triumphs, and the rich get away with it. "Forget it, Jake. It's Chinatown."

Flashback to a few years earlier, when Towne was pitching the



PHOTOS BY EVERETT COLLECTION

TOP: Director Robert Towne and Michelle Pfeiffer on the set of "Tequila Sunrise" (1988), one of four movies he directed. **RIGHT:** Jack Nicholson in "Chinatown" (1974). Towne initially hatched the idea with only a vague conception, telling his girlfriend he wanted to "write a movie for Jack."

script to producer Robert Evans. According to Wasson's book, Evans said, "It's set in Chinatown?" Towne replied, "No. Chinatown is a state of mind."

Exactly. Without Polanski's ending, the film might not have lasted, might not continue to resonate right up to this very week in



American history. But without Towne's understanding of that "state of mind" — the murk we can't see through, the hidden connections we'll never fathom — "Chinatown" might never have existed in the first place.

There are darker sides to his story. Film historians such as Biskind and Wasson have documented how cocaine fueled the work and destroyed the lives of not just Towne but many of his New Hollywood peers. The four movies he directed — "Personal Best" (1982), "Tequila Sunrise" (1988), "Without Limits" (1998) and a brave, foolhardy adaptation of John Fante's 1939 L.A. novel "Ask the Dust" (2006) — have their glories but also their self-indulgences. And Towne's secretive writing collaborations with former roommate and lifelong friend Edward Taylor, revealed at length in Wasson's book, remain to be clarified. (Taylor styled himself as a "consultant" to the few who knew about the unpaid and uncredited relationship, but his input on the story structure of "Chinatown" and other Towne scripts may have been substantial. A subject for further research.)

And yet, in his ego and his talent, his idealism and soul-searching doubt, Towne was at least as much the author of the films he wrote as the men who directed them. And he was as much an architect of America's post-'60s cultural "state of mind" — impassioned, conspiratorial, hopeful, damned — as anyone could claim to be. If movies, at their best, are stories we tell about ourselves, Robert Towne told the truth.

Ty Burr is the author of the movie recommendation newsletter Ty Burr's Watch List at tyburrswatchlist.com.

Under deal, firm behind recent Cruise films would control legacy media titan

PARAMOUNT FROM C1

certainty about the legacy media juggernaut's future. Media watchers have been captivated by the fitful negotiations, which have dragged on for months.

Paramount declined to comment. Representatives for Skydance could not be immediately reached.

The proposed acquisition reflects Skydance's growth ambitions and Paramount's efforts to address \$14.6 billion in long-

term debt and play catch-up with rivals Netflix and Disney. National Amusements is led by Shari Redstone, the daughter of media mogul Sumner Redstone, who died in 2020.

Paramount has hemorrhaged money in its quest to capture a corner of the streaming market, but the company has said it expects Paramount Plus to turn a profit in the United States next year. The owner of CBS, Showtime, Black Entertainment Television, Nickelodeon and MTV

has seen its market value plummet by more than half since 2019. Shares of Paramount were up more than 6 percent Wednesday afternoon.

In April, in the midst of the takeover battle, Paramount ousted CEO Bob Bakish and replaced him with an "Office of the CEO" consisting of three executives who lead some of the company's key assets: CBS CEO George Cheeks; MTV, Showtime and Paramount Media Networks CEO Chris McCarthy; and Nickelode-

on and Paramount Pictures CEO Brian Robbins. They've been tasked with slashing Paramount's costs as the company tries to cut its debt.

Santa Monica, Calif.-based Skydance was founded in 2010 by David Ellison, the son of billionaire Oracle co-founder Larry Ellison. It quickly established itself in Hollywood, helping to produce hit films such as "Mission: Impossible — Ghost Protocol" (2011), the action thriller "Jack Reacher" (2012) — both of which

starred Tom Cruise — and "World War Z" (2013), starring Brad Pitt.

More recently, the company has ventured into animation and sports content.

The tentative deal comes less than a month after the two sides announced they had ended talks concerning a potential merger, according to the Associated Press.

Other big names in entertainment reportedly have sniffed around National Amusements in

recent months and could throw a wrench into the deal during the "go-shop" period, including Barry Diller, the media mogul who tried unsuccessfully to buy the studio in the 1990s. Diller's digital media conglomerate, IAC, has signed nondisclosure agreements with National Amusements, the New York Times reported this week, a prelude to dealmaking.

The Wall Street Journal first reported news of a Skydance agreement Tuesday.

MONICA HESSE

Kamala Harris and the coconut tree of hope

HESSE FROM C1

taken on the quality of a political superpower. The woman can dance. She's pop-culture fluent. Plenty of people remember the way that, as a senator from California, she mopped the floor with Brett Kavanaugh at his Supreme Court confirmation hearings and would like to see how Trump fares in a debate against a 59-year-old former prosecutor.

For Democrats, a big problem with the former president has always been that while he might be vile, volatile and vain, he's also funny. His jokes — or the weird things he says or posts, that other people turn into jokes — stick in the public consciousness. ("Despite the constant negative press covfefe"; "This is a tough hurricane, one of the wettest we've ever seen from the standpoint of water"; "Frederick Douglass is an

example of somebody who's done an amazing job and is being recognized more and more.") Maybe the only way to combat his buffoonish-uncle vibe is with, as *Choir* Sicha put it in *New York Magazine*, a "three-drinks-in" auntie vibe. Dark Brandon is fading; behold, the rise of Momala Coconuts.

I'll remind you that this is the opposite of how Harris was perceived as recently as last week. Throughout the Biden-Harris term, the conventional wisdom has been that she is the less popular of the pair, and that the mere threat of a Harris presidency would be enough to make independents abandon Biden entirely and vote for Trump instead. Why? Pick your insult: Kamala was a cop. Kamala was too oily. Kamala flamed out of the 2020 primary. Kamala reminded you of your ex-wife. There was something unpleasant about Kamala's



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Vice President Harris delivers remarks during a Biden campaign event at Girard College in Philadelphia in May.

voice.

Some of this might have had a kernel of truth. People I've talked to who have interacted with her privately say she's lovely in person but doesn't always translate well on camera. I've been in the same room with her only once. After the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*, Harris convened a roundtable of reproductive-rights activists to discuss how to at least preserve

access to medication abortions, which they feared would be the next target of conservatives (they were right). Journalists were allowed to observe only part of that meeting. But I do remember watching the authoritative and comfortable way that Harris addressed the issue of women's health care, and contrasting it with a president who seemed as though he would sooner take an

acid bath than even utter the word "abortion" out loud.

She wasn't Joe, and that is why we are talking about her now, and this is why voters and pundits are excited about her now, and this is why voters and pundits rejected her in 2020. Because while there might have been kernels of truth in naming all of her flaws, evaluating Kamala in the specific is impossible to do without evaluating Kamala in context.

And the context of Kamala is that whatever people consciously think of her personally is impossible to separate from what people subconsciously think of her as a Black woman. Whether they'll accept her. Whether they say that they'll accept her but that other people won't. Whether they're lying to themselves on either count. Or, as the Black List founder Franklin Leonard posted on X, "The number of 'I don't have a problem with Black women. I'm just worried that people in the midwest have a problem with Black women' conversations I've [been] forced into in the last week is going to have consequences, and I can't necessarily predict what they are."

So, Kamala.

People like her again, apparently. What changed? Heck if I know, except that maybe we have grown as a nation in the past week. Maybe what it took to recalibrate people's minds was believing they had watched Biden become, by dint of decrepitude, less electable than the proverbial Unelectable Woman. What I do know is that there is no room for sexism in foxholes. If you want to have a do-over at electing Kamala Harris, then you put aside your hand-wringing, nitpicking, delegate-mapping, crystal balling, *is-she-presidential*-ing, and you go all in for Kamala.

And this goes for whatever comes next: whichever candidate, whichever scenario. If you're worried about who will sit in the White House, stop gaming out who a hypothetical Midwesterner will vote for, because plenty of us actual Midwesterners will vote for all kinds of people. If you're worried about the bad vibes, stop creating them. If you're worried about electability, remember that what makes a candidate electable is when you elect them into office.

Trump's unconscionable effort to diminish our photographic conscience

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK FROM C1

The Woman with Two Beautiful Children is an attempt to preempt or neuter outrage, anger and sorrow about an act for which the only recent precedents are deeply un-American: the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II and the 1954 deportation of more than a million Mexican Americans by the Eisenhower administration, an event known by the terrible slur "Operation Wetback."

The image occurs in its clearest form in a speech Trump gave in Detroit on June 15. He began with his signature promise: "On Day 1 of my new administration, we will begin the largest deportation operation in American history." The next part needs to be read in full and then parsed: "And it doesn't make me happy to say that either. And you know what's going to happen? We'll get 10 terrorists and then one woman with two children that are beautiful children, and that'll be the front page of every newspaper."

This echoes language from a June 4 interview he gave on "The Will Cain Show" on Fox News ("You'll get rid of 10 really bad ones and one beautiful mother"). Paraphrased into English, Trump is saying: For every 10 (or 10,000 or 10 million) bad people we deport, the media will fixate on images that depict the suffering of a few good people, perhaps an attractive woman with beautiful children, which will cause outrage and make it difficult to continue the deportation. This idea probably has roots in comments made during his 2016 presidential campaign, when the desperate plight of Syrian refugees was in the news and Trump claimed they were a "Trojan horse" for terrorists to enter the United States.

Trump is referencing a hypothetical image of something that hasn't yet happened, and encouraging Americans to harden their hearts against its emotional power. He is extending his frequent dehumanization of immigrants — as animals and criminals — into what might be called the photographic conscience, the visceral power of images to galva-



ABOVE: Timothy H. O'Sullivan's 1863 Civil War photograph "A Harvest of Death" was accompanied by a caption that articulated the photographic conscience: "Let them aid in preventing such another calamity falling upon the nation."

RIGHT: Supporters cheer as Donald Trump speaks at Turning Point Action's convention in Detroit last month. In his speech, Trump gave one of his clearest statements of the Woman with Two Beautiful Children trope.



TIMOTHY H. O'SULLIVAN/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

nize public sentiment and reorder the priorities of political life.

The history of the United States, a polity that grew to imperial status during the age of photography, mass media and television, has been shaped by our susceptibility to powerful images of trauma and pain. The suffering of the Dust Bowl and the Depression lives on, condensed in the memory, through an image by Dorothea Lange, of an attractive migrant woman with two beautiful children seeking solace on either shoulder. The Vietnam War lives on in the nightmarish vision of children fleeing from a napalm strike, foremost among them a naked, screaming girl named Kim Phuc. Trump is familiar with the

photographic conscience from images that circulated during his first administration. In June 2019, images of tiny 2-year-old Valeria Martinez from El Salvador, lying with her father face down and dead in river's-edge reeds of the Rio Grande, sparked outrage at the Trump administration's policy of limiting access to asylum seekers. Even some Republican politicians said they were horrified by the image. The photographic conscience can be summed up in phrases that gained currency after images of Nazi death camps began to circulate in 1945, "never again" and "never forget." The caption of an 1863 Timothy H. O'Sullivan photograph of corpses in a field after the Battle of Gettysburg is an early American expression of the idea: "Such a picture conveys a useful moral. ... Here are the dreadful details! Let them aid in preventing such another calamity falling upon the nation."

After Richard M. Nixon saw Nick Ut's wrenching image of the 9-year-old Kim Phuc, he said, "I'm wondering if that was fixed." Trump, who frequently invokes claims of fake news and lies even though there are easily available transcripts, photographs and video to refute his claims, isn't suggesting that forthcoming images of suffering migrants will be manufactured or fake — though he will likely make that claim, too. At the moment, Trump is doing something more ominous. He is perverting the logic of the photographic conscience. No longer do we see an image of terrible suffering and say, never again. Rather, we imagine the dreadful details of terrible suffering, and then steel ourselves to look away.

Trump puts it slightly differently. In his speeches, adjacency and proximity matter more than logic as he moves from thought to thought. Trump almost always follows his promise of a massive deportation with what may be genuine or performative expressions of regret: "It's never an easy thing to do, but we have no choice." And: "We have no choice. We don't want to do that. We have no choice." The phrase echoes how he often framed the words for which he is most

famous: "I have no choice. You're fired." from "The Apprentice," two decades ago.

In fact, the photographic conscience is all about choice, about the possibility that seeing something unfathomably terrible can cause a rift or rupture in our personal and collective consciousness. In her 1977 book "On Photography" — published a year after the 1972 napalm images of Kim Phuc — Susan Sontag remembered the first time she saw photographs of Nazi atrocities.

"Nothing I have seen — in photographs or in real life — ever cut me as sharply, deeply, instantaneously," she wrote. "When I looked at these images, something broke. Some limit had been reached."

At least some of the photographs Sontag saw were undoubtedly made by the U.S. Army, which also required German civilians to view the results of the Nazi dehumanization of Jews, directly through tours of the camps, and in newsreels and other media. A June 18, 1945, picture of the war's aftermath shows two German children standing in front of a shop window. Plastered on the glass is a U.S. poster with images of the death camps, titled "You Should Know About It." Yet more evidence of the U.S. belief that once seen, these acts of barbarity could never be unseen. And that would help lay the groundwork for a new Germany, democratic and peaceful.

Sontag agonized throughout her writing on photography about its power to desensitize. "Images anesthetize," she wrote. That was half a century ago, before the internet, cellphone cameras and the digital fire hose of images that has saturated our consciousness. What Trump is doing with his imaginary Woman with Two Beautiful Children trope is another form of anesthetization, helping us imagine the unimaginable so that when we see it, nothing breaks, no limit is reached.

He would have us pre-see what should never be seen. And someday our children may stand before those images and wonder, did no one see this coming?

TELEVISION

7/4/24	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00
4.1 WRC (NBC)	• NBCNe..	• Hollywo..	• July Fireworks (Live)	• July Fireworks	• News				
4.2 WRC (IND)	Roseanne	Roseanne	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Nanny
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	• Fox 5	• TMZ	• Copa Tonight (Live)	• Soccer Argentina vs. TBA (Live)	• Fox 5				
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• Wheel	• Jeopard..	• Fun Videos	• News					
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	• InsideEd.	• ET	• Sheldon	• Ghosts	• Elsbeth	• Fire Country	• Fire Country	• Fire Country	• 9 News
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	• Rosa	• Fútbol	• Conmebol Copa América 2024 (Live)	• Noticias					
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	• FamFeud	• FamFeud	• Fox 5 News	• FamFeud	• Puzzier				
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	• Context	• To Dine	• A Capitol Fourth 2024 (Live)	• Farm					
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• PBS News Hour	• PBS News Hour	• A Capitol Fourth 2024 (Live)	• Amanp..					
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	• Dmv-The Beat	• Dmv-The Beat	• A Capitol Fourth 2024 (Live)	• Dmv-The Beat	• BBCNe..				
50.1 WDCW (CW)	• Neighbor	• Neighbor	• Conners	• Conners	• Master..	• Animals	• DC News Now	• DC News Now	• Seinfeld
66.1 WPXW (ION)	• Chicago P.D.	• Chicago P.D.	• Chicago P.D.	• Chicago P.D.	• Chicago Fire	• Chicago Fire	• Chicago Fire	• Chicago Fire	• Chicago
A&E	The First 48	The First 48	The First 48	The First 48	The First 48	The First 48	The First 48	The First 48	First48
AMC	(5:30) Movie: Rocky II ★★★ (1979)	(5:30) Movie: Rocky II ★★★ (1979)	(5:30) Movie: Rocky III ★★★ (1982) A merciless contender forces Rocky into a title match.	(5:30) Movie: Rocky III ★★★ (1982) A merciless contender forces Rocky into a title match.	(5:30) Movie: Rocky III ★★★ (1982) A merciless contender forces Rocky into a title match.	(5:30) Movie: Rocky III ★★★ (1982) A merciless contender forces Rocky into a title match.	(5:30) Movie: Rocky III ★★★ (1982) A merciless contender forces Rocky into a title match.	(5:30) Movie: Rocky III ★★★ (1982) A merciless contender forces Rocky into a title match.	Movie: Rocky IV ★★ (1985)
Animal Planet	Gator Boys	Gator Boys	Swamp Wars	SwampW..					
BET	Movie: Lethal Weapon 4 ★★ (1998)	Movie: Lethal Weapon 4 ★★ (1998)	Movie: Lethal Weapon 4 ★★ (1998)	Movie: Lethal Weapon 4 ★★ (1998)	Movie: Lethal Weapon 4 ★★ (1998)	Movie: Lethal Weapon 4 ★★ (1998)	Movie: Lethal Weapon 4 ★★ (1998)	Movie: Lethal Weapon 4 ★★ (1998)	2024 BET Awards
Bravo	Below Deck	Below Deck	Below Deck	Below Deck	Below Deck	Below Deck	Below Deck	Below Deck	Below Deck
Cartoon Network	King/Hill	King/Hill	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	American	American	American	American
CNN	The Fourth In America (Live)	The Fourth In America (Live)	The Fourth In America (Live)	The Fourth In America (Live)	The Fourth In America (Live)	The Fourth In America (Live)	The Fourth In America (Live)	The Fourth In America (Live)	Fourth
Comedy Central	(:10) Office	(:45) Office	(:20) The Office	(:55) Office	Office	Office	Office	Office	Office
Discovery	Caught!	Caught!	Caught!	Caught!	Caught!	Caught!	Caught!	Caught!	Caught!
Disney	Bunk'd	Bunk'd	Bunk'd	Bunk'd	ZOMBIES	ZOMBIES	ZOMBIES	ZOMBIES	Jessie
E!	Movie	Movie: American Wedding ★★ (2003)	Movie: American Wedding ★★ (2003)	Movie: American Wedding ★★ (2003)	Movie: American Reunion ★★ (2012)				
ESPN	AKC Diving Dogs Challenge	AKC Diving Dogs Challenge	Hot Dog	SportCtr (Live)					
ESPN2	The 2024 ESPYs Nomination Special	The 2024 ESPYs Nomination Special	PPA Tour Pickleball	Orange County Cup	30 for 30 The Good, The Bad, The Hungry				
Food Network	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners
Fox News	The Ingraham Angle	The Ingraham Angle	The Ingraham Angle	The Ingraham Angle	The Ingraham Angle	The Ingraham Angle	The Ingraham Angle	The Ingraham Angle	Bret Baier
Freeform	(4:10) Movie: A... mile-wide ships.	(:50) Movie: Independence Day ★★★ (1996) Earthlings vs. evil aliens in 15-mile-wide ships.	(:50) Movie: Independence Day ★★★ (1996) Earthlings vs. evil aliens in 15-mile-wide ships.	(:50) Movie: Independence Day ★★★ (1996) Earthlings vs. evil aliens in 15-mile-wide ships.	(:50) Movie: Independence Day ★★★ (1996) Earthlings vs. evil aliens in 15-mile-wide ships.	(:50) Movie: Independence Day ★★★ (1996) Earthlings vs. evil aliens in 15-mile-wide ships.	(:50) Movie: Independence Day ★★★ (1996) Earthlings vs. evil aliens in 15-mile-wide ships.	(:50) Movie: Independence Day ★★★ (1996) Earthlings vs. evil aliens in 15-mile-wide ships.	The 700 Club
FX	(6:00) Movie: The Avengers ★★★ (2012)	(6:00) Movie: The Avengers ★★★ (2012)	Movie: Avengers: Age of Ultron ★★★ (2015) The Avengers reassemble to battle a technological villain.	Movie: Avengers: Age of Ultron ★★★ (2015) The Avengers reassemble to battle a technological villain.	Movie: Avengers: Age of Ultron ★★★ (2015) The Avengers reassemble to battle a technological villain.	Movie: Avengers: Age of Ultron ★★★ (2015) The Avengers reassemble to battle a technological villain.	Movie: Avengers: Age of Ultron ★★★ (2015) The Avengers reassemble to battle a technological villain.	Movie: Avengers: Age of Ultron ★★★ (2015) The Avengers reassemble to battle a technological villain.	Movie: Avengers: Age of Ultron ★★★ (2015) The Avengers reassemble to battle a technological villain.
Hallmark	Movie: The Most Wonderful Time of the Year ★★★ (2008)	Movie: The Most Wonderful Time of the Year ★★★ (2008)	Movie: The Most Wonderful Time of the Year ★★★ (2008)	Movie: The Most Wonderful Time of the Year ★★★ (2008)	Movie: The Most Wonderful Time of the Year ★★★ (2008)	Movie: The Most Wonderful Time of the Year ★★★ (2008)	Movie: The Most Wonderful Time of the Year ★★★ (2008)	Movie: The Most Wonderful Time of the Year ★★★ (2008)	Movie: A Christmas... Murder...
Hallmark M&M	Murder, She Baked	Murder, She Baked	Murder, She Baked	Murder, She Baked	Murder, She Baked	Murder, She Baked	Murder, She Baked	Murder, She Baked	Murder...
HBO	(5:55) Movie: Godzilla ★★ (2014)	(5:55) Movie: Godzilla ★★ (2014)	Movie: Godzilla: King of the Monsters ★★ (2019)	Movie: Godzilla: King of the Monsters ★★ (2019)	Movie: Godzilla: King of the Monsters ★★ (2019)	Movie: Godzilla: King of the Monsters ★★ (2019)	Movie: Godzilla: King of the Monsters ★★ (2019)	Movie: Godzilla: King of the Monsters ★★ (2019)	(:15) Movie: Dune: Part Two ★★★ (2024)
HGTV	DreamHo... DreamHo..	DreamHo... DreamHo..	Zillow						
History	(6:00) America-Story	(6:00) America-Story	America the Story of Us	(:05) America the Story of Us					
Lifetime	Castle	Castle	Castle	Castle	Castle	Castle	Castle	Castle	(:05) Castle
MASN	MLB Baseball New York Mets at Washington Nationals	MLB Baseball New York Mets at Washington Nationals	MLB Baseball New York Mets at Washington Nationals	MLB Baseball New York Mets at Washington Nationals	MLB Baseball New York Mets at Washington Nationals	MLB Baseball New York Mets at Washington Nationals	MLB Baseball New York Mets at Washington Nationals	MLB Baseball New York Mets at Washington Nationals	In Depth With Graham Bensinger
Monumental	Beyond the WNBA Basketball	Beyond the WNBA Basketball	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	WNBA Basketball
MSNBC	(6:00) R. Maddow	(6:00) R. Maddow	Rachel Maddow Show	Movie: Love & the Constitution					
MTV	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous
Nat'l Geographic	Jaws vs. Boats	Jaws vs. Boats	Jaws Invasion	Jaws Invasion	Shark Bite Capitals	Shark Bite Capitals	Shark Bite Capitals	Shark Bite Capitals	Lost Beasts:
Nickelodeon	(6:00) Movie: Hotel Tr...	(6:00) Movie: Hotel Tr...	Movie: The Secret Life of Pets ★★★ (2016)	Movie: The Secret Life of Pets ★★★ (2016)	Movie: The Secret Life of Pets ★★★ (2016)	Movie: The Secret Life of Pets ★★★ (2016)	Movie: The Secret Life of Pets ★★★ (2016)	Movie: The Secret Life of Pets ★★★ (2016)	Friends
NWSN	On Balance (Live)	On Balance (Live)	Reagan: Portrait of	Reagan					
Paramount	Yellowstone	Yellowstone	Yellowstone	Yellowstone	Yellowstone	Yellowstone	Yellowstone	Yellowstone	Yellowstone
Paramount+Sho	(6:00) Movie: Tropic Thunder ★★★ (2008)	(6:00) Movie: Tropic Thunder ★★★ (2008)	Movie: Forrest Gump ★★★★★ (1994) A slow-witted Southerner experiences 30 years of history.	Movie: Forrest Gump ★★★★★ (1994) A slow-witted Southerner experiences 30 years of history.	Movie: Forrest Gump ★★★★★ (1994) A slow-witted Southerner experiences 30 years of history.	Movie: Forrest Gump ★★★★★ (1994) A slow-witted Southerner experiences 30 years of history.	Movie: Forrest Gump ★★★★★ (1994) A slow-witted Southerner experiences 30 years of history.	Movie: Forrest Gump ★★★★★ (1994) A slow-witted Southerner experiences 30 years of history.	Movie: The Hateful Eight ★★★ (2015)
Syfy	Twilight Zone	Twilight Zone	Twilight Zone	Twilight Zone	Twilight Zone	Twilight Zone	Twilight Zone	Twilight Zone	Twilight Zone
TBS	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Jokers
TCM	(5:30) Movie: Yankee Doodle Dandy (1942)	(5:30) Movie: Yankee Doodle Dandy (1942)	Movie: On the Waterfront ★★★★★ (1954)	(:15) Movie: ...					
TLC	7 Little Johnstons	7 Little Johnstons	7 Little Johnstons	7 Little Johnstons	7 Little Johnstons	7 Little Johnstons	7 Little Johnstons	7 Little Johnstons	Doubling Down
TNT	(6:00) Movie: Jurassic Park III ★★ (2001)	(6:00) Movie: Jurassic Park III ★★ (2001)	Movie: Suicide Squad ★★ (2016) Armed supervillains unite to battle a powerful entity.	Movie: Suicide Squad ★★ (2016) Armed supervillains unite to battle a powerful entity.	Movie: Suicide Squad ★★ (2016) Armed supervillains unite to battle a powerful entity.	Movie: Suicide Squad ★★ (2016) Armed supervillains unite to battle a powerful entity.	Movie: Suicide Squad ★★ (2016) Armed supervillains unite to battle a powerful entity.	Movie: Suicide Squad ★★ (2016) Armed supervillains unite to battle a powerful entity.	Movie: Justice League ★★ (2017)
Travel	Beyond the Unknown	Beyond the Unknown	Beyond the Unknown	Beyond the Unknown	Beyond the Unknown	Beyond the Unknown	Beyond the Unknown	Beyond the Unknown	Unknown
truTV	(6:00) Movie: Happy G...	(6:00) Movie: Happy G...	Movie: Happy Gilmore ★★ (1996)	Jokers					
TV Land	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	King
TV One	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford
USA Network	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU	Law-SVU
VH1	Wild/Out	Wild/Out	Wild/Out	Wild/Out	Wild/Out	Wild/Out	Wild/Out	Wild/Out	Wild/Out
WNCN	NEW Shark Vacuum!	NEW Shark Vacuum!	7News at...	National					

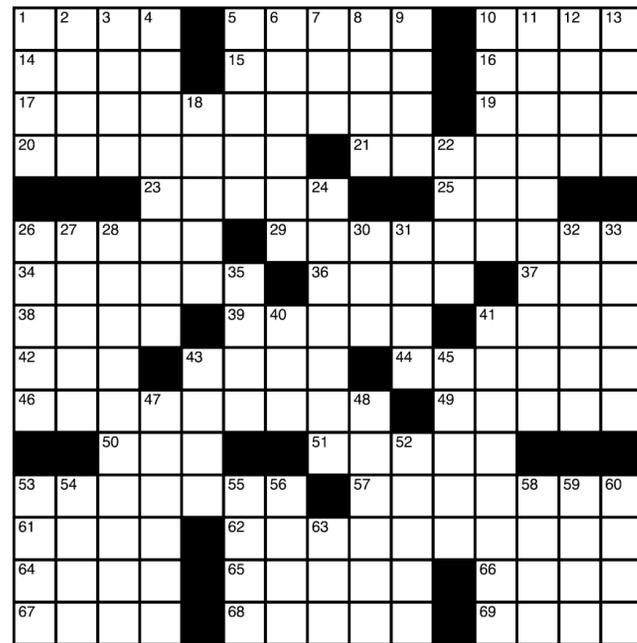
LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs ◆ High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Tom Pepper & Zhouqin Burnikel

ACROSS

- Cronies
- Bird in the National Audubon Society logo
- Above, in Augsburg
- With 43-Down, "M*A*S*H" star
- Writer Mary who specializes in popular science
- Party with glow sticks
- Hatha to Ashtanga?
- Change the locks?
- "I said ENOUGH!"
- Insta, X, TikTok, etc., informally
- Runs smoothly
- Wilson of Heart
- TMZ subject
- Stuffed teddies that look like a green Jedi master?
- Anxious feeling
- Headlight part
- Toe bean locale
- Play things
- In flight
- Mother of Clytemnestra
- Storefront sign abbr.
- Java spot
- "Yeah, there is a resemblance there"
- Tex-Mex snack that improves the performance of an Alpine singer?
- Anaheim team, to fans
- Condition often treated with ERP
- Flower at the center of a financial bubble in the 1630s
- Marshy habitat
- Artificial surface sports injury
- "lol 2 funny"
- Dice toss style named after a "Hamlet" jester?



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7/4/24

DOWN

- Is worth it
- Tons
- Italian lake
- Stir-fry ingredient
- Overthrow, e.g.
- Fall apart, as plans
- Operated
- Heart charts, for short
- James of "The White Lotus"
- Like Boo Boo and Smokey
- Slapstick prop
- Not good at all
- Gym count
- Gives the cold shoulder to

WEDNESDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION



Self-published author struggles with jealousy, despair going into a bookstore

Asking Eric
R. ERIC THOMAS

Welcome to "Asking Eric," a new daily advice column by R. Eric Thomas, which replaces Amy Dickinson's "Ask Amy."

Dear Eric: I'm a self-published fiction author. I'm really struggling with jealousy and despair. Every time I see a published book or step into a bookstore, I feel this wave of sadness. I'm trying to get my books out there, get whatever reviews I can, and promote myself on social media, but it feels impossible.

A friend recently told me she won't try out a new author unless they have thousands of good reviews on Amazon or Goodreads.

My last book got about 20 good reviews after weeks of hustling.

How do I keep going? How can I redirect my thoughts when the

jealousy/despair hits?
— Exhausted Author

Author: I worry you're tracking your achievements using someone else's yardstick. You've published a book. At some point in the past, that was the goal. So, you have already achieved one metric of success. Of course, we all harbor dreams of acclaim, but those dreams are so rarely right-sized. Do you want to be a famous author, or do you want to be an author who is reaching readers who appreciate you?

This is a field where jealousy waits around every corner, but other people's success doesn't take anything away from us. You're not in competition with other authors but with your own expectations. Ask yourself: If you got thousands of reviews, would that feel like enough? You are already enough, so let's reframe your goals to help you feel that more often.

Your friend is entitled to her own selection process, but

thousands of reviews is an unrealistic number. To get that, any author, even the Emily Henrys and John Grishams, needs the support of dozens if not hundreds of people employed by the big publishing houses. Meanwhile, you worked your tail off and got those 20 reviews on your own. That's huge!

If there's an author whose career you want to emulate, reach out to them to find out the nuts and bolts of how they got to where they are, but make sure that comparison will help you. As writer Freddie deBoer recently pointed out in an issue of his Substack newsletter titled "Publishing is Designed to Make Most Authors Feel Like Losers Even While the Industry Makes Money," "writing is also an intensely personal endeavor, and so rejection by the various apparatchiks who decide who in and who's out can feel especially cruel." Have a good think about whose approval you want (hopefully your own) and

what you're trying to achieve. Remind yourself that the authors you see may have different goals than you and probably also feel that old jealousy.

Last, I can't say enough about building relationships with independent booksellers and librarians. Get to know the ones in your area. Even if you're solely publishing e-books, these pros can help you understand the decision-making that leads readers to books, and eventually to those online review sites.

Dear Eric: I am in my mid-60s. Sometimes when I meet people I haven't seen for a long time, say from college, I hear "you haven't changed a bit." Back then, I had shoulder length hair. Today I'm bald, and what hair I have left is cut very short. How do I respond to such nonsense while maintaining a good attitude toward them?
— Hair Yesterday, Gone Today

Hair: I understand your

sentiment as a fellow member of the shaved-head club (it's cheaper! It's cooler! But oh, the sunburns!).

Still, you should take the compliment in the spirit it's given. Of course you've changed physically, but maybe your energy is the same. Or maybe they just think it's flattering. If the mood suits say, "Oh, I've changed — I got even better!"

Dear Eric: My partner (husband) and I have been together for 18 years. My sister-in-law created a "family tree" and gave copies to all family members as a gift. On closer inspection, my "husband" was left off the family tree, indicating that I am single. My sister-in-law and her family do not believe in gay marriage. What should I do about this slight?
— Missing Marriage

Marriage: It's a good thing your relationship's existence isn't dependent upon your

sister-in-law doesn't believe in. Long-term relationships aren't Santa Claus or the Easter Bunny, they're mostly taking out the garbage and texting each other things to pick up from the grocery store. (They're also emotional support, caretaking and commitment, and all that good stuff.)

I'm sure you've already had this banging-your-head-against-the-wall conversation with your in-law, but you should voice your displeasure about the tree as a way of setting an expectation about the respect you want. Once you've said your piece, throw the "gift" in the trash and order your own correct tree and give it to your family.

Send questions to R. Eric Thomas at eric@askingeric.com or P.O. Box 22474, Philadelphia, PA 19110. Follow him on Instagram and sign up for his weekly newsletter at erictthomas.com.

2024 Tribune Content Agency, LLC.

MOVIE DIRECTORY

DISTRICT

AMC Georgetown 14
3111 K Street N.W.

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 7:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 12:50

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:00

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:40

The Bikeriders (R) CC: 10:00

Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 11:20-11:30

Thelma (PG-13) CC: 10:00

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 10:20

Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) CC: 9:50

Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 12:30

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 11:20-4:10

Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 1:00-4:15

Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 10:10

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 10:30

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 3:20

Inside Out 2 2D (PG) CC: 11:15

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 11:40-6:30

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - DC Bryant Street
630 Rhode Island Ave NE

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:15

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:15

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:00

Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:45

The Bikeriders (R) 12:00

Kinds of Kindness (R) 10:00

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:30

Inside Out 2 3D (PG) 11:00

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 11:30

Angelika Pop-Up at Union Market
550 Penn Street NE - Unit E

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:40

Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:50

Fancy Dance (R) 11:30

Avalon Theatre
5612 Conventional Ave

Ghostlight (R) 11:30

Thelma (PG-13) 12:00

Atlantic Plumbing Cinema
607 V Street Northwest

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 1:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 1:00

Inside Out 2 (PG) 1:15

The Imaginary (PG) 4:30

Landmark E Street Cinema
555 11th Street Northwest

Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:25

The Bikeriders (R) 12:30

Daddio (R) 12:45

Janet Planet (PG-13) 1:30

Kinds of Kindness (R) 12:00

Thelma (PG-13) 12:15

Regal Gallery Place
701 Seventh Street Northwest

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 1:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:40

The Bikeriders (R) 10:30

Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:50

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 11:50

MARYLAND

AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center
6633 Columbia Road

Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb (1964) (PG) 6:00

Ballad of Narayama (Narayama bushiko) (1983) (NR) 4:30

The Hateful Eight 70mm (R) 8:15

The Bikeriders (R) CC: 2:00

Equinox Flower (Higanbana) (NR) 11:00AM

1900 (Novecento) (NR) 12:00

The Bikeriders (R) 6:45-9:10

Flipped 12:00

Kinds of Kindness (R) 1:30

AMC Academy 8
6189 Greenbelt Road

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:50

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 10:45

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:10

Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:10

Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 10:00

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 10:30

Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 4:00

Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 12:35

AMC Annapolis Mall #11
1000 Annapolis Mall Road

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:15

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 10:10

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:45

The Exorcism (R) CC: 10:50

The Garfield Movie (PG) CC: 4:10

Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 12:00

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 10:45

Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 11:50

Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 10:00

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:05

Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 7:10

AMC Center Park 8
4001 Powder Mill Rd

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:15

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 10:45

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:30

The Garfield Movie (PG) CC: 7:30

Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 11:30

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 10:45

AMC St. Charles Town Ctr 9
1115 Mall Circle

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:15

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 1:00

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 2:50

AMC Columbia 14
10300 Little Patuxent Parkway

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 7:00

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 7:50

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:20

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 10:00

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 12:00

The Garfield Movie (PG) CC: 12:00

Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 11:30

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 10:45

AMC Dine-In Rio Cinemas 18
9811 Washington Center

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:30

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:45

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 12:30

IF (PG) CC: 10:45

The Garfield Movie (PG) CC: 10:15AM

Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) CC: 1:15

Kalki 2898 AD (Telugu) 10:40

The Bikeriders (R) CC: 2:50

Daddio (R) CC: 11:20

Kill (Hindi) (R) CC: 10:30

Thelma (PG-13) CC: 10:45

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 13:00

Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) CC: 11:00

Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 10:30

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) CC: 12:00

Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 11:15

Hijack 1971 (R) 7:45-10:15

Escape 7:15-9:50

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 10:30

Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 10:00

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 10:30

AMC Magic Johnson Capital Center 12
800 Shoppers Way

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:45

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 12:30

Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 12:15

Thelma (PG-13) CC: 4:00

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 2:15-4:45

Greenbelt Cinema
129 Centaway

Blazing Saddles (R) 8:00

Big Hero 6 (PG) 1:00

The Bikeriders (R) 7:45

Thelma (PG-13) 5:45

Landmark Bethesda Row Cinema
725 Woodmont Avenue

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:00

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 12:30

Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:15

Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) CC: 3:35

Kill (Hindi) (R) CC: 6:50

Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 12:15

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 1:00

Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) CC: 12:00

Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 12:15

AMC Montgomery 16
701 Democracy Boulevard

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 10:15

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:30

Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 10:00

The Garfield Movie (PG) CC: 10:15

Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:45

Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 10:00

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 1:45

AMC St. Charles Town Ctr 9
1115 Mall Circle

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 2:00

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 1:00

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 2:50

AMC St. Charles Town Ctr 9
1115 Mall Circle

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:30

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 1:00

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 2:50

AMC St. Charles Town Ctr 9
1115 Mall Circle

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:30

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:30

Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 1:00

Inside Out 2 3D (PG) 11:15

Something to Stand For with Mike Rowe 3:30

Kalki 2898 AD (Telugu) 3:05-10:45

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 9:05

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:20

Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) 11:00

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 9:20

Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:10

Blue Luck The Movie - Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 11:45

Inside Out 2 3D (PG) 12:00

Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 11:15

Hijack 1971 (R) 7:45-10:15

Escape 7:15-9:50

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC:

CLASSIC DOONESBURY



PICKLES

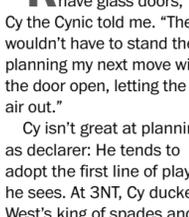


BRIDGE

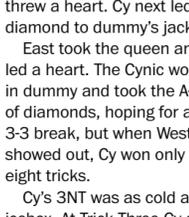
E-W VULNERABLE
NORTH
8632
A06
AKJ2
A9
WEST
KQJ94
J542
8
Q53
EAST
5
1087
Q10973
J874

The bidding:
SOUTH WEST NORTH EAST
Pass Pass 1 Pass
1NT Pass 3NT All Pass
Opening lead - K

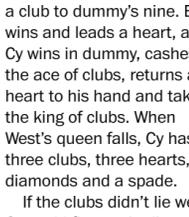
RED AND ROVER



FRANK AND ERNEST



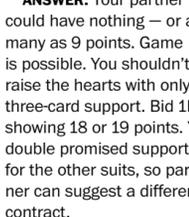
CLASSIC PEANUTS



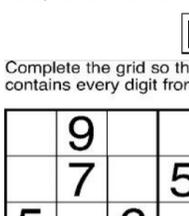
RHYMES WITH ORANGE



LIO



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE



BLONDIE



SUDOKU

Sudoku grid with numbers and empty cells. Includes difficulty rating: ★★★★★

RED AND ROVER



FRANK AND ERNEST



CLASSIC PEANUTS



RHYMES WITH ORANGE



LIO



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE



BLONDIE



AGNES



WUMO



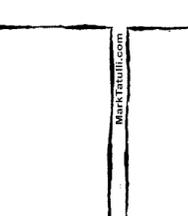
MIKE DU JOUR



MARK TRAIL



MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



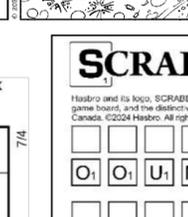
BALDO



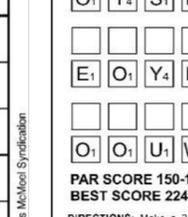
SALLY FORTH



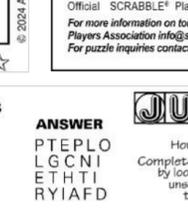
SHERMAN'S LAGOON



CURTIS



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



SCRABBLE GRAMS

Scrabble Grams board with letters and rack numbers.

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS

Jumble Crosswords puzzle grid with clues and answers.

CLUE

ACROSS
1. Overthrow
5. Stick
6. Offering
7. ___ night
DOWN
1. Mogul
2. Type of artist
3. Ablaze
4. Cure

ANSWER

PTEPLO
LGCNI
ETHI
RYIAFD
NOTCYO
EIPRNTA
HEGTDLI
DMEYRE

BONUS

CLUE: There are eight living species of this bird.

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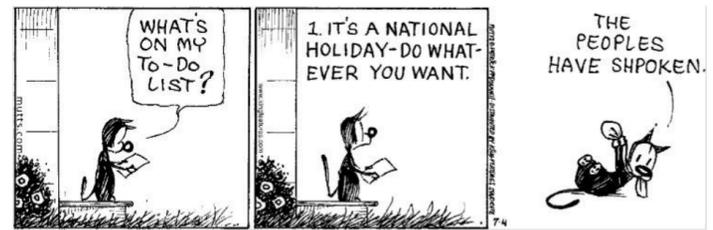
ANSWER

PTEPLO
LGCNI
ETHI
RYIAFD
NOTCYO
EIPRNTA
HEGTDLI
DMEYRE

BONUS

CLUE: There are eight living species of this bird.

MUTTS



ZITS



HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | JULY 4
You identify with like-minded people working for a common goal. You find this fellowship to be reassuring and rewarding. You have a strong sense of justice. New beginnings, adventures and major changes in your life are likely. Keep your eyes open for new opportunities, perhaps a leadership role.

HEART OF THE CITY



JUDGE PARKER



Moon Alert: Avoid shopping or making important decisions from 4:30 p.m. to 5 p.m. today. After that, the Moon moves from Gemini into Cancer.

ARIES (MARCH 21-APRIL 19). This is a laid-back day. Take it easy. Stock the fridge and enjoy family and friends at home. You might redecorate or tweak your digs before you entertain. A slight confusion about travel and daily conversations might exist.

FRAZZ



CANDORVILLE



TAURUS (APRIL 20-MAY 20). This is an easygoing day, but it's a poor day for financial decisions. Be cautious about how you spend your money, because you might be extravagant or make poor choices.

GEMINI (MAY 21-JUNE 20). As this day begins, you'll feel a heightened excitement because the Moon is in your sign. Double-check all important communications with parents and authority figures to remove misunderstandings.

GARFIELD



BARNEY AND CLYDE



CANCER (JUNE 21-JULY 22). This day becomes stronger and more suited to you as it wears on, because the Moon will move into your sign to join the Sun and Venus already in Cancer. You'll find it easy to be warm and charming with others.

LEO (JULY 23-AUG. 22). With Mercury in your sign now, you're eager to talk to others. You feel you have something to say. You want to be heard. Having said that, other influences in your chart show that you're happy to be low-key and watch life from the sidelines.

DUSTIN



FLASH GORDON



VIRGO (AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). As this day begins, you're high-viz, which means people notice you more than usual. Do be aware that some confusion might take place when talking to parents, partners or close friends. Be clear about what you want.

LIBRA (SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). Be clear about plans, because there's room for confusion this morning. Later in the day, you're high-viz, which means everyone notices you! Fortunately, they will admire you.

PRICKLY CITY



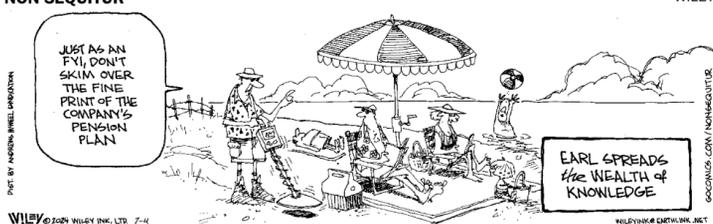
LOOSE PARTS



SCORPIO (OCT. 23-NOV. 21). Tread carefully if you have financial discussions this morning, especially about how to divide or share something. An element of confusion can encourage misunderstandings and false assumptions.

SAGITTARIUS (NOV. 22-DEC. 21). Be patient with partners, spouses and close friends this morning, because assumptions and confusion might be challenging. However, by the afternoon, all is well and you will see how to use the resources of others so that everyone can benefit.

NON SEQUITUR



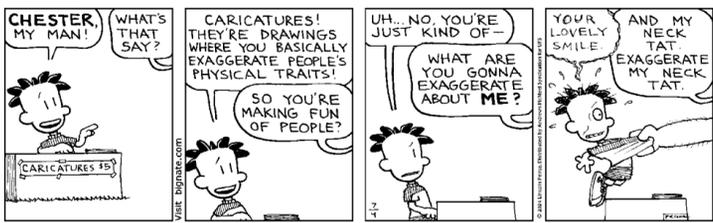
BABY BLUES



CAPRICORN (DEC. 22-JAN. 19). Be easygoing and cooperative this morning. If something sounds confusing, postpone decisions until the afternoon. By then you'll know what you want to do and how you want to do it.

AQUARIUS (JAN. 20-FEB. 18). Issues with children, as well as romantic partners, might be confusing this morning. Fear not, because later in the day everything will be clearer and things will fall into place. Be patient with chaos at home.

BIG NATE



ON THE FASTTRACK



TOUR DE FRANCE

Mark Cavendish, 39, breaks Eddy Merckx's record for stage wins after sprinting to his 35th in Saint-Vulbas. **D2**

SOCCER

UEFA is investigating Turkish player Merih Demiral after he celebrated a goal with an ultranationalist gesture. **D2**

SOCCER

The American Outlaws, the U.S. men's team's largest fan group, calls for Coach Gregg Berhalter's ouster. **D5**



TOLGA AKMEN/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

After her slog to the U.S. Open title in 2023, Coco Gauff breezed through the first week at the Australian Open and French Open before a strong start at Wimbledon.

Taking care of business

As efficient and precise as ever, Gauff has cruised into the third round at Wimbledon

BY AVA WALLACE

WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND — The tennis star is managing her downtime like most anyone these days: voluntarily spiking her anxiety by watching “The Bear,” then winding back down with a good book — currently Caleb Azumah Nelson’s “Small Worlds” and before that famed drag queen RuPaul’s newest memoir.

She has hobbies that she’ll pick up on and off, including crochet and French lessons. She said she might pop by London’s West End on Wednesday night to see a show.

When you’ve got as much free time as Coco Gauff does these days, you’ve got to do something to fill the hours.

Gauff, the No. 2 seed at Wimbledon, zipped through her second-round match Wednesday against Romanian qualifier

Anca Todoni, 6-2, 6-1, in 1 hour 6 minutes. That set up a third-round battle with Britain’s Sonay Kartal that’s sure to draw plenty of eyes at the All England Club.

The quick victory was a continuation of a pattern this year for the 20-year-old American, a contrast to the early-round matches of last year’s Grand Slams. In 2023, Gauff often slogged her way through tight two-set matches or gritted her teeth through three-set doozies. She had to win four three-set matches to earn the U.S. Open title.

This year, Gauff cruised through the first week at the Australian Open and French Open, playing one three-set match in the quarterfinals of each tournament before losing in the semifinals.

“I’m just getting better at taking care of business and trying to clean up and make sure that these matches don’t go three

sets,” Gauff said of her early-round success.

She chalked up her newfound precision to increased confidence after her U.S. Open win. Gauff captured the title in New York with what she said wasn’t her best tennis, which gave her added conviction when staring down Grand Slam draws this year.

It also helped her feel comfortable leaning into her most aggressive tennis. That serves her well on Wimbledon’s grass courts, where the speedy surface makes it more difficult to win points on defense.

“You kind of want to be the first person to strike,” Gauff said.

She dictated from start to finish against Todoni, pummeling the ball when serving and winning 85 percent of points on her first serve.

“I’m just going for it more and accepting

SEE WIMBLEDON ON D3

Wimbledon, second round | 6 a.m., ESPN

Wood has a moment, helps end Nats’ skid

NATIONALS 7, METS 5

BY SPENCER NUSBAUM

The moment called for James Wood, and Wood was up to the moment.

It came in the seventh inning Wednesday at Nationals Park, with the Washington Nationals grinding their way back from a five-run deficit against the New York Mets. With two outs, moments after Lane Thomas had tied the score with a double, Wood came up with a chance to give the Nationals their first lead. Against another tough left-hander, the rookie lashed a single up the middle, scoring Thomas in what would become a 7-5 win that snapped a three-game skid.

Wood, the 21-year-old uber-prospect who officially arrived Monday, collected his first RBI with the knock off Jake Diekman. Moments before, he chatted with Jesse Winker in the on-deck circle, listening to the veteran’s

SEE NATIONALS ON D3

Mets at Nationals
11 a.m., MASN

Frustrated United sees winless run stretch to 10

FC CINCINNATI 3, D.C. UNITED 2

BY STEVEN GOFF

D.C. United’s leading scorer and its coach watched from Audi Field’s suite level while several others were reduced to spectators for an MLS match Wednesday night pitting a struggling team that had not won at home since April against an MLS Cup contender that had not lost on the road since April.

What began with a terrible blunder turned into a competitive affair before United ran out of juice and dropped a 3-2 decision to FC Cincinnati, extending its winless streak to 10.

United (4-10-8) has not won since May 11 in Atlanta (0-7-3) and has failed in seven straight at home (0-4-3).

Like Saturday, when it earned a 2-2 draw at the New York Red Bulls, United was not deterred by

SEE D.C. UNITED ON D5

D.C. United at Orlando City
Saturday, 7:30 p.m., Apple TV Plus

In just a couple of days, Caps remade their roster

GM MacLellan said he would be aggressive — and he has been

BY BAILEY JOHNSON

In the past two weeks, the Washington Capitals have turned over nearly one-third of their roster.

Out the door went goaltender Darcy Kuemper, defenseman Nick Jensen, forward Beck Malenstyn, a handful of draft picks — one second-round pick and three third-rounders — and free agent forwards Max Pacioretty and Nicolas Aube-Kubel, whom the Capitals never planned to re-sign. In came

forwards Pierre-Luc Dubois, Andrew Mangiapane, Brandon Duhaime and Taylor Raddysh, goaltender Logan Thompson and defensemen Jakob Chychrun and Matt Roy.

General Manager Brian MacLellan said he planned to be aggressive this offseason, and he has been.

“Pretty excited about it. Our group did a good job,” MacLellan said Wednesday. “We had a good draft, good free agency and a couple good trades. We’re excited to start the season. ... We added some size, some speed, some youth, and solidified some depth throughout the lineup: forward, defense, goaltending.”

Chychrun and Roy were the headline moves Monday, the opening day of free agency, as the

SEE CAPITALS ON D3

James agrees to two-year deal to stay with Lakers

Alongside his oldest son, the four-time NBA MVP will play a 22nd season

BY BEN GOLLIVER

LOS ANGELES — With his former podcast co-host as his new coach and his oldest son as his new teammate, LeBron James wasn’t going to leave the Los Angeles Lakers.

James agreed to a two-year contract worth up to \$104 million to remain with the Lakers, a person with knowledge of the situation confirmed Wednesday. The new agreement will carry the 39-year-old forward through his 41st birthday.

ESPN first reported the agreement, which includes a player option for the 2025-26 season



BRANDON DILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

LeBron James, who has played for the Lakers since 2018, agreed to re-sign with the team on a two-year deal worth up to \$104 million.

and a no-trade clause. Additionally, the Lakers agreed to sign James’s 19-year-old son, Bronny James, to a

four-year, \$7.9 million rookie contract that includes a team option on the final season.

The Lakers, who lost to the

Denver Nuggets in the first round of the playoffs, expressed every intention of continuing the partnership, which began in 2018 and was highlighted by the 2020 championship. James, who has flirted with retirement in recent years, was coy about his future during his end-of-season news conference in April, dodging a question about whether he had played his last game with the Lakers. The four-time MVP then turned down his \$51.4 million player option for the 2024-25 season so he could sign a more lucrative deal.

But James, the NBA’s all-time scoring leader and its oldest active player, will suit up for his 22nd season in the fall. Former NBA player JJ Redick, who co-hosted the “Mind the Game” podcast with James in recent months, succeeds Darvin Ham as coach of the Lakers.

SEE JAMES ON D3

THE DAY IN SPORTS

TOUR DE FRANCE

Cavendish sets record with his 35th stage win

Mark Cavendish wrote a new chapter of Tour de France history in what is expected to be his last appearance at cycling's biggest race.

The Isle of Man sprinter broke Eddy Merckx's long-standing record for career Tour de France stage wins with his 35th victory Wednesday in Saint-Vulbas, France.

The 39-year-old sprinted for the win in the fifth stage of the Tour, pulling away some 100 meters from the finish line despite being bunched in. He crossed the line ahead of Jasper Philipsen and then celebrated with his teammates.

Sixteen years after his first stage win, Cavendish spoke of his constant hunger for victory.

"I always needed to win one more, more, more," said Cavendish, who was joined on the podium by his children. "It takes a lot to get there every year. I've got incredible people around me."

Two-time champion Tadej Pogacar narrowly avoided a crash and finished nestled in the main pack in 35th place. While he retained the race leader's yellow jersey, the day belonged to Cavendish.

He equaled Merckx's mark of 34 wins during the 2021 Tour and got close to No. 35 in the seventh stage last year, when he was narrowly beaten by Philipsen. He crashed a day later and broke his right collarbone.

Merckx, a Belgian considered the most dominant rider in cycling history, won his 34 individual stages from 1969 to 1975.

Cavendish's decision to give it one more shot paid off.

"I just wanted to get the run-in to do it. I'm a little bit in disbelief. Astana put a big gamble on this year to make sure we're good at the Tour de France," Cavendish said. "We've done it."

PRO BASKETBALL

Sports betting scandal yields a felony charge

Former Toronto Raptors player Jontay Porter will be charged with a felony connected to the sports betting scandal that spurred the NBA to ban him for life, court papers indicate.

Federal prosecutors in Brooklyn filed what's known as a criminal information sheet Tuesday. The document doesn't specify a court date or the charge (or charges), but it does show the case is related to an existing prosecution of four men charged with scheming to cash in on tips from a player about his plans to exit games early.

An NBA investigation found in April that Porter tipped off bettors about his health and then claimed illness to exit at least one game, creating wins for anyone who had bet on him to underperform expectations. Porter also gambled on NBA games in which he didn't play, once betting against his own team, the league said. ...

Giannis Antetokounmpo looked like a player intent on leading Greece to its first Olympic berth since 2008.

Antetokounmpo had 32 points in 19 minutes, going 11 for 11 from the field, as Greece rolled to a 109-82 win over the Dominican Republic in Group B of the Olympic qualifying tournament in Piraeus, Greece.

The tournament is one of four that opened Tuesday to settle the final four spots in the men's basketball field for the Paris Olympics.

Other tournaments are taking place in Latvia, Puerto Rico and Spain. ...

Kemba Walker is returning to the Charlotte Hornets — as a player enhancement coach.

Walker, who announced his retirement from the NBA on Tuesday, is Charlotte's career leading scorer with 12,009 points.

He was one of several assistants who were hired to be on new coach Charles Lee's staff. Walker was a four-time NBA all-star.

HOCKEY

Kraken's Campbell is first woman on bench

Jessica Campbell will become the first woman to work on the bench of an NHL franchise after the Seattle Kraken hired her as an assistant coach.

Campbell spent the previous two seasons working as an assistant coach for Seattle's American Hockey League affiliate alongside head coach



KIM LUIBROOK/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Incroyable!

Mark Cavendish won the fifth stage of the Tour de France for his record-setting 35th career victory at cycling's top competition.

SPOTLIGHT: SOCCER

Turkish player is investigated for gesture

BY GLYNN A. HILL

UEFA, the governing body of European soccer, opened an investigation of "alleged inappropriate behaviour" by Merih Demiral on Wednesday, a day after the Turkish defender celebrated a goal at the European Championship with a hand gesture associated with a far-right, ultranationalist group.

Demiral scored twice Tuesday, lifting Turkey to the quarterfinals of the tournament with a 2-1 win over Austria. After he scored his second goal in the 59th minute, he pinched his fingers together. The gesture resembled the so-called "wolf salute," a symbol of ultranationalist Turkish group Ulku Ocaklari, known as the Grey Wolves.

"In relation to the 2024 UEFA European Championship Round of 16 match between Austria and Turkey played on 2 July 2024 in Leipzig, Germany, an investigation has been opened in accordance with Article 31(4) of the UEFA Disciplinary Regulations in relation to the alleged inappropriate behaviour of the Turkish Football Federation player, Merih Demiral," UEFA said in a statement.

After scoring at European Championship, Demiral made hand symbol of far-right group

The Grey Wolves have been accused of numerous killings, especially during the 1970s, when Turkey endured fighting between right- and left-wing groups. Thousands were killed during that period, and the Grey Wolves were among the most prominent right-wing groups enacting politically motivated violence, often against leftist groups, experts have said.

Austria in 2019 barred the "wolf" salute, making the gesture punishable by fines up to about \$4,300 as part of a broader push to ban symbols of "extremist organizations." France banned the group in 2020, with a government spokesman accusing it of "extremely violent" actions. The gesture is not banned in Germany, which is hosting the continental tournament.

Still, German politicians condemned Demiral's actions, with interior minister Nancy Faeser saying such symbols "have

no place in our stadiums." That in turn drew condemnation from Omer Celik, the spokesman for Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's party, with which the Grey Wolves are aligned. Celik called Faeser's comments and UEFA's investigation "unacceptable," adding, "It would be appropriate for those looking for racism and fascism to focus on the recent election results in different countries in Europe."

Asked about the gesture following Tuesday's match, Demiral said it was just an innocuous expression of national pride.

"It has to do with this Turkish identity because I'm very proud to be a Turk. And I felt that to the fullest after the second goal," he said. "So that's how I ended up doing that gesture. I'm very happy that I did that. I saw people in the stadium who were doing that sign. So that reminded me that I also had that in mind."

UEFA said it appointed an inspector to investigate Tuesday's incident. It gave no timetable for a decision; Turkey's quarterfinal match against the Netherlands is scheduled for Saturday in Berlin.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

MLB	
11 a.m.	New York Mets at Washington » MASN, WJFK (106.7 FM), WTEM (980 AM), WDCN (87.7 FM)
2:20 p.m.	Philadelphia at Chicago Cubs » MLB Network
4 p.m.	Baltimore at Seattle » MASN2, WYYY (97.9 FM), WBSN (630 AM)
7:20 p.m.	San Francisco at Atlanta » MLB Network
10:30 p.m.	Arizona at Los Angeles Dodgers » MLB Network (joined in progress)
WNBA	
10 p.m.	Washington at Las Vegas » Monumental Sports Network, WTEM (980 AM)

GOLF	
6:30 a.m.	DP World Tour: BMW International Open, first round » Golf Channel
4 p.m.	PGA Tour: John Deere Classic, first round » Golf Channel

SOCCER	
9 p.m.	Copa América, quarterfinal: Argentina vs. Ecuador » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
9 p.m.	USL Championship: FC Tulsa at Colorado Springs » CBS Sports Network

TENNIS	
6 a.m.	ATP/WTA: Wimbledon, second round » ESPN

Dan Bylsma, who was hired in May to take over the top job with the Kraken. That prompted immediate questions about whether Campbell would be making the move to Seattle as well.

She will, breaking through another barrier for women in hockey. Emily Engel-Natzke was hired by the Washington Capitals in 2022 as a video coach, making her the first woman with a full-time assistant role in the league.

"During our tenure in Coachella Valley, I saw firsthand Jessica's commitment to player development," Bylsma said. "Her ability to establish relationships

with her players ... was an important factor in this hire."

Campbell was a decorated player in the NCAA, in the Canadian Women's Hockey League and for Canada's national team.

She said it was during her time running her own business as a skating and skill development coach that the idea of coaching in the NHL felt like an aspiration worth pursuing.

"I realized this is what I want to do. These guys are showing up for my skates in numbers, and maybe I want to pursue this goal in a different light, get behind the bench. And I felt like what I was teaching, what I was

working with them on was translating, and it was hitting in a different way," Campbell said. ...

Anton Lundell and the Florida Panthers agreed to a six-year, \$30 million contract, ensuring the Stanley Cup champions have all eight of their leading scorers back to defend their title.

Lundell was a restricted free agent. He had 13 goals and 22 assists in 78 games this past season, and his production was even better in the playoffs — 17 points in 24 games on the way to the Stanley Cup.

The last of those playoff points was an assist to help set up

Carter Verhaeghe's opening goal in Game 7 of the Stanley Cup finals, where Florida topped Edmonton, 2-1, to clinch the franchise's first title.

The 22-year-old Finnish center has spent three seasons with the Panthers since they took him with the No. 12 pick in the 2020 draft.

Though Florida has kept much of its scoring, it continued to lose talent this offseason. Of note, the Detroit Red Wings are signing winger Vladimir Tarasenko to a two-year contract that is worth \$9.5 million.

Tarasenko, 32, is the sixth player from Florida's Game 7 lineup to leave in free agency, not

an uncommon theme around the NHL as other teams look to replicate that success. The 2019 (with St. Louis) and 2024 Stanley Cup winner will count \$4.75 million against the salary cap through the 2025-26 season on a deal that has a no-trade clause in the first year and limited protection in the second.

After adding Tarasenko, Detroit traded one of his former Blues teammates, sending forward Robby Fabbri and a conditional fourth-round pick in 2025 to Anaheim for 22-year-old goaltending prospect Gage Alexander.

SOCCER

Kansas City's stadium will host NWSL final

The championship game of the National Women's Soccer League will be played Nov. 23 at CPKC Stadium, the home of the Kansas City Current and one of the first purpose-built stadiums for a professional women's team in the world.

The \$120 million, privately funded facility opened this year on the banks of the Missouri River, just north of downtown Kansas City, Mo. The Current has sold out every match at the 11,500-seat stadium.

Last year's title game drew a record 25,011 to Snapdragon Stadium, home of the NWSL's San Diego Wave and the San Diego State University football team. ...

Wrexham star striker Paul Mullin is set to miss the start of the new season after undergoing "minor spinal surgery."

Mullin also will miss Wrexham's summer tour to the United States and Canada in which the Welsh club, owned by actors Rob McElhenney and Ryan Reynolds, will play Bourmemouth, Chelsea and the Vancouver Whitecaps.

Mullin has scored more than 100 goals in his three seasons at Wrexham, which gained promotion to England's third division in April.

MISC.

Berry finds team after Stewart-Haas closes

NASCAR Cup Series rookie Josh Berry signed to drive the Wood Brothers' No. 21 car next season after the shuttering of his current team, Stewart-Haas Racing.

The team said Berry, 33, signed a multiyear contract. He takes over the No. 21 ride from Harrison Burton.

Berry joined Stewart-Haas this season and drove the No. 4 machine for the retiring Kevin Harvick.

After a slow start, Berry has gained momentum with four top-10 finishes in his past seven events.

Those included thirds at Darlington in May and at New Hampshire last month. ...

South African police discovered the body of former high jump world champion Jacques Freitag after he went missing last month, local media reported.

The reports said the 42-year-old, who won the 2003 world title in Paris and competed at the 2004 Athens Olympics, had been shot. His family declined to comment.

Police said they found the body in a field near a cemetery in Pretoria. The body had not been formally identified by family members.

Freitag's sister, Chrissie Lewis, had appealed for help on social media to find Freitag, who went missing in the pre-dawn hours June 17 after leaving his mother's house. Lewis said he had struggled with drug addiction after his athletics career ended. ...

Ex-Kansas stars Mario Chalmers and Sherron Collins are among 16 former men's college basketball players who sued the NCAA and multiple conferences, claiming they are profiting from the unauthorized use of their names, images and likenesses in promoting and monetizing the NCAA tournament.

Chalmers hit a three-pointer with 2.1 seconds left to force overtime in the 2008 national championship game against Memphis; the Jayhawks won the title in the extra period. The lawsuit says the NCAA and Turner Sports Interactive, another defendant, have profited from replaying Chalmers's shot without paying him.

The Big East, Pac-12, Big Ten, Big 12, SEC and ACC also are defendants in the class-action lawsuit, filed Monday in U.S. District Court in the Southern District of New York.

— From news services

Wood comes through in the clutch as Nats rally past Mets to end losing streak

NATIONALS FROM D1

tips about how to handle Diekmann's slicing sweeper.

The southpaw deployed the pitch on each of his final four offerings of the at-bat. On the final one, Wood heeded Winker's advice.

"I kind of didn't listen the first couple of pitches," Wood said with a grin in the clubhouse. "It was great. He walked me through it a bit. ... I was just trying to get a piece of one."

The Nationals' bullpen held after that, and Luis García Jr. added his second homer of the night an inning later as insurance. But after a hitless night following his debut, Manager Dave Martinez moved Wood up to the No. 3 spot in the lineup, and the rookie added another first to his growing list of them — this one his first multi-hit game (2 for 3 with that RBI, a run and a walk). He also stole his first base after beating Diekmann.

"Just looking at him, he's a big guy," García said. "He looks huge out there. But he's a very good ballplayer. ... We had confidence in him. We knew he was going to drive that run in."

On Tuesday, Wood was responsible for the Nationals' two hardest-hit balls, both of which went for groundouts. After the game, he said he wasn't concerned — sometimes, he said, the ball just doesn't find a hole. On Wednesday, it did.

"He's got a nice two-strike approach, which is great, and he



RAFAEL SUANES/USA TODAY SPORTS

"I was just trying to get a piece of one," James Wood said of his go-ahead RBI single off a sweeper.

stayed in the middle of the field, which is what we preach all the time with two strikes," Martinez said. "He's going to show the power. He is. But for him to come up here and do what he's doing ... is huge."

The timing coincided with Martinez front-loading his lineup with his best hitters — CJ Abrams at the top, followed by Thomas, Wood and Winker. Three of those hitters boast an OPS over .800 since June 1. The

fourth was named the top prospect in baseball by Baseball America on Wednesday.

Whether that lineup could match the Mets, baseball's top offense since June 1, was a shaker premise given the constraints from the back half of the lineup. That appeared even more tenuous when lefty Mitchell Parker was roughed up for five runs on three homers in six innings, putting his team in a 5-0 hole.

But this night, the bottom of

that lineup produced. Ildemaro Vargas, who sports an OPS under .500 since the start of June, poked an RBI single through the infield to make it 5-1 in the fifth. In the sixth, after Wood and Winker singled, García blasted a three-run homer to right to make it 5-4.

On May 31, the Nationals were four games under .500, while the Mets were nine games under. New York has moved to 42-42 since then and is the only team in

MLB averaging more than six runs over that stretch. The Nationals are now 40-46, the by-product of a shaky offense and a bullpen in a tailspin after a series of late-inning meltdowns.

But Wednesday, the bullpen answered the call. Jacob Barnes, Robert García, Hunter Harvey and Kyle Finnegan — all of whom had played a role in recent heartbreaks — combined for three scoreless innings. And Wood's hit ultimately made a winner of Barnes.

"I didn't want it to go to extra innings — let's put it that way," Martinez said. "I was just making a joke: Vargas would have had to pitch tomorrow. ... But I got confidence in all those guys. They've been pitching well. The last two days shouldn't dictate who they are."

Notes: Before Wednesday's game, the Nationals recalled catcher Riley Adams from Class AAA Rochester, optioning catcher Drew Millas to the Red Wings in a corresponding move.

The Nationals hope Adams can inject some life into the offense. In 25 games with Washington, he sported a .635 OPS; in 22 with Rochester, his OPS sat at .946. Millas, a defense-first catcher, had a .519 OPS in 11 games.

The Nationals sent Adams down in June to give him consistent at-bats and some experience at first base amid their limited depth at the position. Given that he played just four games at first base with Rochester, though,

NATIONALS ON DECK

vs. New York Mets
Thursday 11:05 MASN a.m.

vs. St. Louis Cardinals
Friday 6:45 MASN
Saturday 4:05 MASN
Sunday 1:35 MASN
Monday 4:05 MASN

at New York Mets
Tuesday 7:10 MASN
Wednesday 7:10 MASN
July 11 1:10 MASN

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)

Martinez said they would use him at that position only off the bench. He is slated to start at catcher Thursday.

"Getting the swing back, getting the timing back to where I wanted it was certainly a big focus," Adams said. "Felt pretty comfortable [at first base]."

The Nationals sent lefty reliever Jose A. Ferrer (right teres muscle strain) to Class AA Harrisburg for a rehab assignment. The Nationals want to see him pitch on back-to-back days before they recall him. He has been touching 99 mph without issue but has yet to pitch in a game at any level this season.

MacLellan's aggressive mind-set produces results as Caps overhaul their roster

CAPITALS FROM D1

Capitals reshaped their defense. Washington traded Jensen and a third-round pick to the Ottawa Senators for Chychrn, who is in the final year of a contract paying him \$4.6 million per season, and signed Roy as a free agent to a six-year, \$34.5 million deal.

"The Chychrn thing — the offense, the shot, the ability to jump in the play — and then Roy is stabilizing," MacLellan said. "And I think [Roy] has a little more offense, too, in his game, where he can jump into plays. He's a good skater. So, the group skill set now seems to fit better now than it did before."

The Capitals had been interested in Chychrn previously; his name regularly popped up in trade rumors before he was sent to the Senators by the Arizona Coyotes in March 2023. The time was right this offseason to get the

deal done, and while Chychrn was surprised at first, he quickly found joy in the move.

"This situation was a little bit different in the sense that I was just trying to live my life, be present," Chychrn said, contrasting this move with his previous trade. "I got engaged this summer — just trying to be with loved ones, with family, do my best to prepare myself. Getting ready for the season and just kind of let the chips fall where they need to, where they're supposed to. And I think that's exactly what happened."

Roy and Chychrn expressed their excitement about the moves the Capitals made over the past several weeks — and it was particularly exciting for Roy, who was enticed to sign with Washington in part because of the flurry of activity.

"Every player wants to win. You want to go to a winning



BRUCE BENNETT/GETTY IMAGES

"Pretty excited about it. Our group did a good job," General Manager Brian MacLellan said of the Capitals' busy offseason.

team," Roy said. "That was part of my mind-set coming in. I thought Washington was checking all the boxes and making some good moves toward that."

Although the Capitals sneaked into the playoffs last season, it was no secret to anyone in the organization that they would need to add talent to the roster if they wanted to remain competitive.

MacLellan has used the phrase "threading a needle" to describe what he's trying to do to retool the roster and stay competitive while not sacrificing the future in the process. So far this offseason, he has found a way to do just that.

Duhaime and Raddysh will bolster the fourth line at a low cost, Chychrn and Roy upgrade the defense, Mangiapane is motivated after a down year last season, and Dubois is a potential home run swing. The Dubois trade, MacLellan said, received a

thumbs-up emoji from captain Alex Ovechkin.

"We're better," MacLellan said. "I just think it's a better-slotted team. It should be better offensively. We'll find that out later. It's overall just a deeper, better-structured team than it was last year."

The moves MacLellan made aren't without risk — the trade for Dubois, who has a complicated past and has yet to consistently put it all together, is the most notable example — but they're risks the Capitals have to take at this point in their core's life cycle.

"We've been trying to take risks," MacLellan said. "Looking for upside in players. Trying to find players that we think we can create an environment where they're more successful. That's been our philosophy — versus let's just tank it and go down and try and win the lottery, which is a painful approach. ... We are taking a lot of risks."



JOHN MCDONNELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

LeBron James, the NBA's all-time leading scorer, has a chance to become the first person in league history to play alongside his son.

James sticks with Lakers, agreeing to two-year deal

JAMES FROM D1

LeBron James and Bronny James, whom the Lakers selected with the 55th pick in last week's draft, will have the opportunity to become the first father-and-son duo to play together in NBA history, fulfilling one of James's long-held dreams.

"When I think about the Los Angeles Lakers, I think about a franchise where basketball history unfolds and takes place," Lakers General Manager Rob Pelinka said at a news conference last week. "In the history of the NBA, there's never been a father and a son that have shared an NBA basketball court. That feels like something that could be magical."

The Lakers, who selected Tennessee guard Dalton Knecht with their first-round pick, appear

poised to return much of their roster from last season. Anthony Davis, a nine-time all-star, will continue to anchor the front line, and guard D'Angelo Russell opted to return by picking up his \$18.7 million player option. The Lakers also re-signed guard Max Christie and continue to have Austin Reaves, Rui Hachimura, Jarred Vanderbilt and Gabe Vincent, among other returners, under contract.

James's new contract will push his total career earnings past \$500 million. The exact value of his contract will be determined by the Lakers' position relative to the NBA's new "second apron" spending bracket. The Lakers intend to stay below the second apron line for team salaries, which was set at \$188.9 million for the 2024-25 season.

Gauff isn't wasting time in first week at Wimbledon

WIMBLEDON FROM D1

the misses," Gauff said. "Today, I had a really low first-serve percentage in the first set, and maybe in the second it got higher." She put 38 percent of her first serves in during the first set, 53 percent in the second.

The victory keeps Gauff in good position to make a deep run in a fairly open women's draw. Top-ranked Iga Swiatek is the favorite and plays unseeded Petra Martić of Croatia in the second round Thursday, and 2022 Wimbledon champion Elena Rybakina remains a threat. She plays Germany's Laura Siegemund in the second round Thursday.

But third-seeded Aryna Sabalenka withdrew Tuesday with a shoulder injury, and later in the day, reigning champion Marketa Vondrousova became the first defending champ to lose in the first round in 30 years, ensuring this will be the seventh straight tournament that Wimbledon crowns a different women's winner.

Gauff took note of that as she examined the champions wall at the practice facility on Wimbledon's grounds.

"It was a lot of different names, which is something new — not new, kind of new, post-Serena [Williams], post-a lot of the legends," Gauff said. "It just shows there's a lot of talent on the women's tour and it's anybody's game. ... My outlook, I mean, it gives you confidence obviously when you see that the field isn't stacked. I guess stacked in the way where there's one player dominating or three players dominating. I think everybody has an equal shot, and



MOSA'AB ELSHAMY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Second-seeded Coco Gauff beat Anca Todoni on Wednesday to advance to Wimbledon's third round.

it's just about who can perform better that week."

Naomi Osaka, the four-time Grand Slam champion who is seven months into her comeback after giving birth a year ago, was another big name to fall Wednesday. She lost to No. 19 seed American Emma Navarro, 6-4, 6-1, in a 59-minute sprint on Center Court.

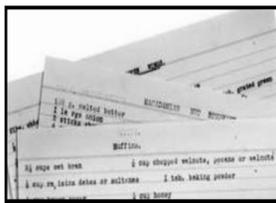
Osaka looked rattled from nearly the beginning, and Navarro was able to take advantage, winning 82 percent of points on

her first serve. The 23-year-old former NCAA champion at Virginia moved into the third round in her second Wimbledon appearance with gutsy tennis, keeping points short and playing a clean match — she had just five unforced errors.

"Obviously she has a really big serve, so I knew that was going to be something that I was going to have to deal with today," Navarro said of Osaka. "I tried to move my positioning around against first

serves. I don't know — maybe that got in her head a little bit. I wanted to try to make her hit the serve that she doesn't want to hit, and I didn't want her to know where I'm going to be at in terms of positioning."

Navarro won 50 percent of the points off Osaka's first serve in the second set as she moved to close out the match and sent the former U.S. Open and Australian Open winner home from her first Wimbledon appearance since 2019.



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The Washington Post

S0115-4x1

BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10 STR
Philadelphia	57	29	.663	-	7-3 W-3
Atlanta	47	37	.560	9	5-5 W-1
New York	42	42	.500	14	6-4 L-1
Washington	40	46	.465	17	3-7 W-1
Miami	30	56	.349	27	4-6 L-3

Nationals 7, Mets 5

METS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Lindor ss	4	0	0	0	2	249	.248
Nimmo lf	3	0	0	0	1	248	.248
Martinez dh	4	1	1	0	1	277	.277
Alonso 1b	4	0	0	0	1	244	.244
Vientos 3b	4	1	2	0	1	297	.297
Torres c	3	2	4	0	0	261	.261
Taylor cf	3	1	1	0	0	225	.225
Iglesias 2b	3	0	0	0	0	346	.346
Gamel rf	2	1	0	0	1	333	.333
Alvarez ph	1	0	0	0	0	298	.298
McNell lf	0	0	0	0	0	213	.213
TOTALS	32	5	5	1	7	-	-

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Scott ss	3	1	1	0	0	235	.235
Thomas 1b	3	1	1	0	0	300	.300
Wood lf	3	1	2	0	0	260	.260
Ruiz c	4	0	0	0	0	209	.209
Garcia 2b	3	2	4	0	0	261	.261
Meneses 1b	4	0	1	0	0	235	.235
Vargas 3b	4	0	1	0	0	253	.253
Young cf	3	0	0	0	0	265	.265
TOTALS	32	7	9	7	3	-	-

NEW YORK	001	220	000	-	5	0
WASHINGTON	000	013	21X	-	7	9

LOB: New York 1, Washington 4. 2B: Martinez (14), Gamel (1), Winker (13), Thomas (9). HR: Taylor (5), off Parker. Vientos (11), off Parker; Lindor (15), off Parker; Garcia (8), off Scott; Garcia (9), off Adcock. RB: Taylor (22), Vientos 2 (9), Lindor 2 (43), Vargas (18), Garcia 4 (40), Thomas (35), Wood (1). SB: Wood (1), Nimmo (7).

METS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Scott	5.0	6	4	2	2	994.32	4.32
Ottavino	1.0	0	0	0	1	134.54	134.54
Dickman	2.0	2	2	1	2	1274.73	1274.73
Adcock	1.1	1	1	0	1	173.38	173.38

NATIONALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Parker	6.5	5	5	0	5	843.61	843.61
Barnes	1.0	0	0	0	0	143.82	143.82
Garcia	3.0	0	0	0	1	139.46	139.46
Harvey	0.0	0	0	0	0	64.32	64.32
Finnegan	1.0	0	0	0	0	111.98	111.98

WP: Barnes (4-2); LP: Dickman (2-3); S: Finnegan (23). PB: Torres (1). T: 2:40. A: 32,391 (41,376).

HOW THEY SCORED

METS THIRD

Tyrone Taylor homers. Jose Iglesias flies out. Ben Gamel strikes out swinging. Francisco Lindor grounds out.

METS 1, NATIONALS 0

METS FOURTH

Brandon Nimmo grounds out. J.D. Martinez doubles. Pete Alonso flies out. Luis Garcia walks. Jose Iglesias singles. Luis Garcia strikes out swinging. Luis Garcia scores. Jacob Young grounds out into double play. Idemaro Vargas to second. Jose Yeneses out at third. CJ Abrams strikes out swinging.

METS 5, NATIONALS 1

Lane Thomas flies out. James Wood singles. Jesse Winker singles. James Wood to third. Keibert Ruiz pops out. Luis Garcia homers. Jesse Winker scores. James Wood scores. Jose Yeneses flies out.

METS 5, NATIONALS 4

Luis Garcia walks. Jose Yeneses singles. Luis Garcia to second. Idemaro Vargas singles. Jose Yeneses to second. Luis Garcia scores. Jacob Young grounds out into double play. Idemaro Vargas to second. Jose Yeneses out at third. CJ Abrams strikes out swinging.

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Reds 3, Yankees 2

Andrew Abbott took a two-hit shutout into the seventh inning before reliever Fernando Cruz got Aaron Judge to ground into a double play, guiding Cincinnati past New York.

Noelvi Marte hit a two-run homer for the Reds, and Stuart Fairchild also went deep.

REDS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Indra 2b	3	0	0	0	1	327	.327
De La Cruz ss	4	0	0	0	1	251	.251
Candelario 1b	3	0	0	0	1	240	.240
Steer lf	4	0	0	0	1	239	.239
Stephenson c	3	1	1	0	1	238	.238
Marte 3b	4	1	2	0	1	267	.267
Fairchild cf	3	1	1	0	1	233	.233
Espinal dh	3	0	0	0	1	190	.190
Diaz c	3	0	0	0	2	077	.077
TOTALS	30	3	3	3	13	-	-

YANKEES	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Volpe ss	5	0	1	0	0	256	.256
Soto rf	3	0	0	0	0	300	.300
De La Cruz lf	3	0	0	0	1	240	.240
Davis 1b	3	0	0	0	0	083	.083
Rice ph-1b	0	0	0	0	0	1270	.1270
Torres 2b	4	0	0	0	0	223	.223
Verdugo lf	4	1	1	0	1	249	.249
LeMahieu 3b	3	0	1	0	1	185	.185
Jones dh	3	1	1	0	0	1265	.1265
Grisham ph-dh	1	0	0	0	0	1157	.1157
De La Cruz lf	3	0	0	0	1	239	.239
Wells ph-c	0	0	0	0	0	213	.213
TOTALS	30	2	5	2	8	-	-

CINCINNATI	020	010	000	-	3	0
NEW YORK	000	000	200	-	2	5

LOB: Cincinnati 3, New York 9. 2B: Jones (1), Volpe (15). HR: Marte (1), off Rodon; Fairchild (5), off Rodon.

REDS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Abbott	6.0	3	1	0	4	238.28	238.28
Cruz	3.0	1	1	2	0	139	139
Sims	1.0	0	0	0	0	38.6	38.6
Wilson	1.0	0	0	0	0	15.49	15.49
Diaz	1.0	0	0	0	0	4.45	4.45

YANKEES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Rodon	5.0	3	3	2	8.45	8.45	
Tokhin	1.0	0	0	0	1.116	1.116	
Kahle	1.0	0	0	0	1.224	1.224	
Holmes	1.0	0	0	0	3.257	3.257	

WP: Abbott (8-6); LP: Rodon (9-6); S: Diaz (19). Inherited runners-scored: Cruz 1-1, Wilson 2-0, Tokhin 1-0. WP: Abbott. Cruz. T: 2:37. A: 47,466 (47,309).

Pirates 5, Cardinals 4 (10)

Bryan Reynolds and Oneil Cruz had run-scoring singles on consecutive pitches in the 10th inning as Pittsburgh rallied to beat St. Louis.

CARDINALS	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
Winn ss	5	0	3	1	0	293	.293
Raymond rf	3	1	1	0	0	280	.280
Contreras c	3	1	2	0	0	263	.263
Goldsmith 1b	5	0	2	0	0	220	.220
Donovan lf	4	0	0	0	1	267	.267
Adams 2b	4	0	0	0	0	1224	.1224
Crawford dh	3	1	1	0	0	179	.179
Fermin ph-dh	1	0	0	0	0	243	.243
Gorman 2b	4	0	0	0	0	3189	.3189
Castro 3b	4	0	0	0	0	196	.196
Carlson ph-cf	1	0	0	0	0	264	.264
TOTALS	36	4	8	4	12	-	-

PIRATES	AB	R	H	B	BB	SO	AVG
McCutchen dh	4	1	1	0	1	232	.232
Reynolds rf	3	1	1	0	0	273	.273
Cruz ss	5	2	1	0	1	240	.240
Olivares rf	4	0	0	0	0	228	.228
Teller 1b	4	2	3	1	0	243	.243
Gonzalez 2b	4	0	0	0	0	223	.223
Hayes 3b	4	0	2	0	0	233	.233
Bart c	3	0	0	0	0	239	.239
Triolo pr	0	0	0	0	0	202	.202
Henderson	2	1	2	0	0	176	.176
Joe ph	1	0	0	0	0	247	.247
Taylor cf	1	0	0	0	0	190	.190
TOTALS	36	5	11	5	2	7	-

ST. LOUIS	000	010	020	-	4	0
PITTSBURGH	000	010	020	-	5	11

One out when winning run scored. LOB: St. Louis 8, Pittsburgh (8). Cruz (14). HR: Contreras (7), off Holderman; Teller (5), off Gallegos.

CARDINALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO
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HANNAH FOHLIEN/USA TODAY SPORTS

Gabriel Pirani's elegant second-half goal was not enough to lift United, which hasn't won since May 11.

Scuffling United's winless streak is 10

D.C. UNITED FROM D1

its many disadvantages. Martín Rodríguez knotted the score in the first half and substitute Gabriel Pirani cut into a two-goal deficit with a gem in the second.

But United does not have the tools to win such games, and after enduring three late threats, Cincinnati (14-4-3) tied the MLS record for consecutive road victories with seven.

"It's getting frustrating," midfielder Jared Stroud said. "Every week is starting to blend together. It's not a good situation right now. We're obviously missing some guys. But we gave them the game. Mistakes happen, but we can't compound them. Just another loss."

Serving a one-game suspension for yellow card accumulation, Coach Troy Lesesne witnessed from afar his team's fight and resilience but also its shortcomings.

"Our group is not giving in — that's clear," he said. "But we are also not getting the points we need. We have to credit the group for continuing through really hard circumstances right now, the results and where we are as a squad. But the flip side of that is we have to do better."

United was without striker Christian Benteke, MLS's second-leading scorer with 14 goals. He served a suspension for yellow card accumulation — four days after serving a red-card suspension. Cristian Dájome also was suspended. Three regulars were sidelined with injuries.

United's night got off to a perfectly wretched start in the

10th minute. Matti Peltola played the ball back to goalkeeper Tyler Miller. With Kevin Kelsy pressuring, Miller's first touch got away from him. His second touch was deflected by Kelsy into the air and into the net.

"We need to stop giving away goals," Lesesne said.

Shortly after Cincinnati's Roman Celentano made a terrific save on Stroud, United answered in the 24th minute.

Rodríguez busted through a cluster of players in the penalty area and drove a low shot into the far corner for his first goal in three injury-impacted seasons.

The deadlock lasted 15 minutes. Pavel Bucha beat center back Lucas Bartlett to Luca Orelano's entry pass into the penalty area and steered the ball past the charging Miller.

Bucha added his second goal in the 63rd minute, beating Miller to the far corner for 15 yards.

United stirred again in the 69th minute, when Pirani used sensational footwork in the box to beat two defenders and then lift an angled shot over Celentano for his second goal of the season.

Lesesne said he was heartened by his team scoring two goals again in Benteke's absence, but neither resulted in much-needed victory.

"The hardest part about this stretch is that we're so close in so many ways," Bartlett said. "We're on the cusp of it. ... We have some big guys coming back, and we're going to get through it."

Here's what else to know about United's loss:

Player shortage continues

Because United does not field a third-division developmental team — it's the only franchise in MLS without one — it has fewer options for short-term call-ups. Hence, D.C. has had a full bench of nine subs just a few times this year.

Defender Hayden Sargis and midfielder Jeremy Garay were recalled from loans to second-flight USL Championship teams.

United has long talked about launching a developmental squad in Baltimore, but that remains years away. Aside from Sargis and Garay, the bench Wednesday included Pirani, 17-year-old defender Matai Akimboni and two goalkeepers. Akimboni and Pirani were the only subs to play.

New players in attendance

United's new signings, Austrian left back David Schnegg and MLS veteran forward Dominique Badji, were in attendance ahead of formal announcements this week. With the transfer window opening July 18, they are likely to debut in the July 20 friendly against Scottish champion Celtic at Audi Field.

All-star youth

United academy midfielder Gavin Turner was invited to the MLS NEXT All-Star Game, featuring top prospects, July 23 in Columbus, Ohio — the day before the All-Star Game between MLS and Mexico's Liga MX. Turner, 17, is a D.C. homegrown candidate who could end up signing abroad; he has trained with West Ham in England.

Fan group calls for Berhalter's firing

American Outlaws: 'Accountability' needed after Copa América exit

BY STEVEN GOFF

In the wake of the U.S. men's national soccer team crashing out of Copa América, its largest fan organization called for Coach Gregg Berhalter's dismissal.

"There needs to be accountability and a plan to move forward for the USMNT," the American Outlaws said in a statement Wednesday. "It's time to make a change in the head coaching position."

Favored to reach the quarterfinals, the U.S. team was eliminated in the group stage of the 16-team tournament after losing its final two matches. On Monday, a 1-0 defeat to Uruguay in Kansas City, Mo., combined with Panama's 3-1 victory over Bolivia in Orlando, sent Uruguay and Panama to the next stage.

Shortly after the Uruguay match, the U.S. Soccer Federation announced: "Our tournament performance fell short of our expectations. We must do better. We will be conducting a comprehensive review of our performance in Copa América and how best to improve the team and results as we look towards the 2026 World Cup."

Sporting Director Matt Crocker, who rehired Berhalter in June 2023, is expected to complete the review next week. The team is not scheduled to play again until September.

Berhalter, 50, is in his second term after guiding the U.S. team to the round of 16 at the 2022 World Cup. Since his reappointment last summer, he has a 7-6-1



WILLIAM PURNELL/EPAA/SHUTTERSTOCK

Gregg Berhalter, who was rehired as the coach of the U.S. men's national team in June 2023, has lost five of his past nine matches.

record — 3-5-1 in the past nine matches, including a 2-1 loss to Panama last week in which the Americans played shorthanded most of the game after Tim Weah's red card. The only victory in the past five games was against Bolivia, South America's worst team, in the Copa América opener.

Featuring Argentina, Brazil and other South American titans, Copa América provided the most competitive environment for the U.S. program before the 2026 World Cup is staged in the United States, Mexico and Canada. It also offered the opportunity to attract new fans to the team and the sport.

"American soccer fandom is ready to reach levels we've never seen before, but we continue to miss opportunities," the American Outlaws said. "... Change is necessary to prepare to compete at a home World Cup. We cannot

miss this incredible chance to create a lasting impact on the game of soccer in this country, and we feel that a new head coach is an important step at this point."

Founded in 2007, the American Outlaws boast more than 30,000 members in 200 chapters, including a few overseas. Fans travel to venues around the country and the world for pregame festivities and synchronized support inside stadiums. Boosted by the American Outlaws, U.S. men's and women's teams have enjoyed large fan support at recent World Cups.

Note: B.J. Callaghan, Berhalter's top assistant, was appointed head coach of Nashville SC. He had reached an agreement with the MLS organization before Copa América. That also was the case with goalkeepers coach Fabian Otte, who left the U.S. team to join Liverpool.

PRO BASKETBALL

WNBA EAST W L Pct GB New York 17 3 85.9 0 Connecticut 15 4 78.9 1 1/2 Atlanta 7 11 38.9 9 Chicago 7 11 38.9 9 Indiana 8 10 38.1 9 1/2 Washington 5 15 25.0 12 WEST W L Pct GB Minnesota 14 5 73.7 — Seattle 13 6 64.7 2 Las Vegas 11 6 64.7 2 Phoenix 10 10 50.0 4 1/2 Los Angeles 4 15 21.1 10 Dallas 4 16 20.0 10 1/2

TUESDAY'S RESULTS

Washington 82, at Los Angeles 80 at New York 76, Minnesota 67 Chicago 85, at Atlanta 77 at Las Vegas 88, Indiana 69

WEDNESDAY'S RESULT

Washington at Las Vegas, 10 Connecticut at Minnesota, 8

THURSDAY'S GAMES

Washington at Las Vegas, 10 Connecticut at Minnesota, 8

FRIDAY'S GAMES

Atlanta at Dallas, 7:30 Chicago at Seattle, 10 Las Vegas at Los Angeles, 10

SATURDAY'S GAMES

Washington at Minnesota, 8 New York at Indiana, 1

Mercury 104, Wings 96

Phoenix 27 29 27 21 — 104 Dallas 18 25 33 20 — 96

PHOENIX

Allen 20:01 5-8 0-0 1-3 0 2 14 Copper 32:15 14-20 3-3 1-1 1 5 34 Griner 33:05 10-14 4-4 2-8 1 1 2 24 Cloud 30:15 3-7 4-5 0-2 10 4 11 Taurasi 30:29 2-10-11 0-5 4 3 16 Cunningham 26:27 2-3 0-0 0-3 4 5 5 Sutton 11:48 0-2 0-0 0-0 2 0 0 Herbert Harrigan 15:45 1-2 1-4 0-0 3 3 3 Mac 6:55 0-1 0-0 1-2 0 2 0

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .554, FT .913. 3-Point Goals: 11-23, 47.8 (Allen 4-5, Copper 3-4, Taurasi 2-6, Cunningham 1-2, Cloud 1-3, Herbert Harrigan 0-1, Mack 0-1, Sutton 0-1). Team Rebounds: 3. Team Turnovers: None. Blocked Shots: 3 (Griner 2, Allen, Cloud, Copper). Steals: 6 (Griner 3, Cloud 2, Cunningham). Technical Fouls: Cloud, 4; 4; 4 fourth.

DALLAS

Howard 33:38 11-15 13-17 6-11 1 3 36 Ogunbowale 39:54 8-22 7-7 1-6 5 4 26 Kelsey 30:15 3-10 0-0 0-0 3 3 3 Sheldon 24:01 1-3 0-0 0-1 2 3 2 Sims 37:53 5-11 3-4 1-1 6 3 13 K.Brown 22:56 3-6 0-0 4-8 2 4 6 Uzun 18:24 2-2 0-0 0-0 1 1 7 Billings 7:59 1-1 1-2 0-2 1 0 3 Lopez Sénéchal 0:06 0-0 0-0 0-0 0 0 0

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .493, FT .735. 3-Point Goals: 5-17, 29.4 (Ogunbowale 3-10, Howard 1-2, Uzun 1-2, Sheldon 0-1, Sims 0-2). Team Rebounds: 13. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 2 (K.Brown, Uzun). Steals: 10 (McCowan 3, Sims 3, Howard, K.Brown, Ogunbowale, Sheldon). Technical Fouls: Uzun 2, Howard, Sims). Steals: None. At: 6,129 (7,000). T: 2:05.

Mystics 82, Sparks 80

Washington 18 20 14 30 — 82 Los Angeles 22 21 21 16 — 80

WASHINGTON

Hines-Allen 23:47 7-13 1-2 3-7 4 1 16 Kricheldorf 10:25 0-2 0-0 0-0 0 0 0 Dolson 26:45 4-6 1-1 0-8 4 0 3 Atkins 31:02 5-9 0-0 0-2 5 2 12 Vanloo 28:18 5-10 0-0 0-4 1 15 Walker-Kimbrough 28:18 6-10 2-5 1-2 4 1 17 Edwards 21:15 3-8 0-0 1-5 0 3 6 Melbourne 16:20 1-5 2-2 0-0 0 2 4 Engstler 13:20 1-3 0-0 1-4 1 2 2

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .478, FT .600. 3-Point Goals: 12-26, 46.2 (Vanloo 5-9, Walker-Kimbrough 3-5, Atkins 2-3, Dolson 1-3, Hines-Allen 1-5, Edwards 0-1, Engstler 0-2). Team Rebounds: 6. Team Turnovers: None. Blocked Shots: 2 (Edwards, Walker-Kimbrough). Turnovers: 12 (Atkins 3, Vanloo 3, Edwards 2, Dolson, Hines-Allen, Melbourne, Walker-Kimbrough). Steals: 5 (Walker-Kimbrough 2, Atkins, Melbourne, Vanloo). Technical Fouls: None.

LOS ANGELES

Jackson 29:51 5-12 0-0 3-5 4 4 12 Talbot 29:56 4-8 5-8 2-8 3 2 17 Hamby 36:54 7-12 3-6 1-11 7 3 16 McDonald 35:35 6-13 0-0 0-3 6 17 Nurse 23:22 3-7 0-0 1-1 0 7 Burrell 14:41 1-3 0-0 1-1 0 4 3 Yueru 14:01 1-3 2-2 1-3 1 0 3 Clarendon 9:19 1-1 0-0 0-0 2 2 2 Dantas 2:08 0-1 0-0 0-0 0 0 0

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .467, FT .611. 3-Point Goals: 13-30, 43.3 (Talbot 4-6, McDonald 3-7, Nurse 2-6, Burrell 1-2, Hamby 1-4, Yueru 0-1). Team Rebounds: 8. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Burrell). Turnovers: 14 (Hamby 3, Cooke 2, Jackson 2, McDonald 2, Talbot 2, Yueru 2, Nurse). Steals: 5 (Talbot 3, Hamby, McDonald). Technical Fouls: None. At: 9,164 (18,997). T: 1:57.

Aces 88, Fever 69

Indiana 24 13 22 10 — 69 Las Vegas 26 20 19 23 — 88

INDIANA

Samuelson 27:38 1-6 2-2 0-1 0 3 4 Smith 26:16 2-7 1-7 3-14 1 3 5 Boston 35:32 9-17 0-0 5-11 2 1 18 C.Clark 37:45 4-12 4-4 0-6 11 5 13 Mitchell 35:26 9-20 0-0 2-4 1 2 23 Fagbenle 16:04 1-7 0-0 3-7 1 2 2 Wallace 12:22 1-4 0-0 0-1 2 0 2 Wheeler 6:49 1-3 0-0 0-1 2 2 2 Dantas 2:08 0-1 0-0 0-0 0 0 0

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .364, FT .538. 3-Point Goals: 6-26, 23.1 (Mitchell 5-10, C.Clark 1-7, Wheeler 0-1, Boston 0-2, Wallace 0-2, Samuelson 0-0). Team Rebounds: 3. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 4 (Boston, Fagbenle, Samuelson, Smith). Turnovers: 15 (C.Clark 6, Samuelson 4, Mitchell 2, Smith 2, Wheeler). Steals: 5 (Boston, C.Clark, Fagbenle, Wallace, Wheeler). Technical Fouls: None.

LAS VEGAS

Wilson 36:10 13-22 2-3 2-9 1 2 28 Young 38:11 5-16 3-3 2-4 10 1 15 Stokes 26:06 1-2 0-0 2-12 0 3 2 Gray 37:55 1-8 2-2 0-1 1 4 4 Plum 37:22 11-20 6-7 1-6 5 3 34 A.Clark 23:54 0-2 2-2 0-5 2 3 2 Martin 11:26 0-0 0-0 0-1 0 0 0 Gustafson 3:24 0-0 0-0 0-1 2 0 0 Colson 3:22 1-1 0-0 0-0 1 3 3

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .451, FT .822. 3-Point Goals: 9-25, 36.0 (Plum 6-11, Young 2-8, Colson 1-1, A.Clark 0-1, Stokes 0-1, Gray 0-3). Team Rebounds: 5. Team Turnovers: None. Blocked Shots: 7 (Wilson 5, Gray, Stokes). Turnovers: 10 (Plum 3, A.Clark 2, Gray 2, Gustafson, Martin, Young). Steals: 7 (Gray 2, Stokes 2, Wilson 2, Plum). Technical Fouls: None. At: 20,366 (18,000). T: 1:53.

CYCLING

Tour de France

5TH STAGE

A 110-mile ride from Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne to Saint Valbas.

- 1. Mark Cavendish, Great Britain, Astana Qazaqstan Team, 4:08:46. 2. Jasper Philipsen, Belgium, Alpecin-Deceuninck, same time. 3. Alexander Kristoff, Norway, Uno-X Mobility, same time. 4. Arnaud De Lie, Belgium, Lotto DSTNY, same time. 5. Fabio Jakobsen, Netherlands, Team DSM, Firmenich PostNL, same time. 6. Pascal Ackermann, Germany, Israel-Premier Tech, same time. 7. Arnaud Demare, France, Arkéa-B&B Hotels, same time. 8. Gerben Thijssen, Belgium, Intermarkete-Wanty, same time. 9. Biniam Girmay, Eritrea, Intermarche-Wanty, same time. 10. Marijn Van Den Berg, Netherlands, EF Education-EasyPost, same time.

ALSO

- 43. Matteo Jorgensen, United States, Team Visma/Lease a Bike, 4:08:46. 69. Neilson Powless, United States, EF Education-EasyPost, same time. 148. Sean Quinn, United States, EF Education-EasyPost, same time.

OVERALL STANDINGS (YELLOW JERSEY)

- 1. Tadej Pogacar, Slovenia, UAE Team Emirates, 23:15:24. 2. Remco Evenepoel, Belgium, Soudal Quick-Step/Bel, 23:15:24. 3. Jonas Vingegaard, Denmark, Team Visma/Lease a Bike, 23:15:24.

SCOREBOARD

MLS

EAST W L T Pts GF GA Inter Miami CF 14 3 5 47 50 31 Cincinnati 14 4 3 45 36 25 Columbus 10 3 6 36 36 18 New York City FC 11 8 2 35 32 25 New York Red Bulls 8 3 5 36 27 Charlotte FC 9 8 5 32 24 23 Nashville 6 7 8 26 24 37 Toronto FC 7 12 3 24 30 39 Atlanta 6 9 6 24 29 27 Orlando City 6 9 6 24 27 36 New England 7 11 1 22 20 36 CF Montreal 5 9 7 22 30 45 New York Red Bulls II 5 10 6 21 28 39 Philadelphia 5 9 8 20 36 39 D.C. United 4 10 8 20 30 42

WEST

Los Angeles FC 12 4 4 40 41 23 LA Galaxy 11 3 7 40 41 27 x-Real Salt Lake 10 3 7 37 40 23 Vancouver 9 7 4 31 33 28 Colorado 9 8 4 31 38 35 Portland 8 7 6 30 39 35 x-Houston 8 6 6 30 27 23 Minnesota United 8 8 5 29 34 35 Seattle 7 7 8 28 26 26 Austin FC 7 8 6 27 30 30 St. Louis City SC 4 7 10 22 29 35 FC Dallas 5 10 5 20 27 32 Sporting KC 4 12 5 17 33 44 San Jose 3 16 2 11 29 56

x-Late match

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

D.C. United 2, at New York 2 at Atlanta 2, Toronto FC 1 at CF Montreal 4, Philadelphia 2 Colorado 3, at New England 1 Cincinnati 1, at FC Dallas 0 at Houston 1, Charlotte FC 0 at Sporting KC 2, Austin FC 0 Miami 2, at Nashville 1 at Vancouver 4, St. Louis City SC 3 at Los Angeles FC 3, Colorado 0 at Portland 3, Minnesota 2 LA Galaxy 3, at San Jose 0 at Seattle 2, Chicago 1

WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS

Cincinnati 3, at D.C. United 2 Miami 2, at Charlotte FC 1 at New York City FC 2, CF Montreal 0 Orlando City 2, at Toronto FC 1 at New England 2, Atlanta 1 at Chicago 4, Philadelphia 3 Vancouver 3, at Minnesota 1 at St. Louis City SC 2, San Jose 0 at Columbus 2, Nashville 0 Houston at Real Salt Lake, late

THURSDAY'S MATCHES

Portland at FC Dallas, 8:30 Sporting KC at Colorado, 9:30 Los Angeles FC at LA Galaxy, 10:30

SATURDAY'S MATCHES

D.C. United at Orlando City, 7:30 Miami at Cincinnati, 7:30 Toronto FC at Columbus, 7:30 Vancouver at CF Montreal, 7:30 New York City FC at Austin FC, 8:30 Atlanta at Real Salt Lake, 9:30 New England at Seattle, 10:30

SUNDAY'S MATCHES

Los Angeles FC at Houston, 8:30 FC Dallas at Sporting KC, 8:30 St. Louis City SC at Colorado, 9:30 Minnesota at LA Galaxy, 10:30 Nashville at Portland, 10:30 Chicago at San Jose, 10:30

FC Cincinnati 3, D.C. United 2

CINCINNATI 2 1 1 3 D.C. UNITED 1 1 2

First Half: 1, Cincinnati, Kelsy, 5, 10th minute; 2, D.C. United, Rodriguez, 1 (Ku-Dipietro), 24th; 3, Cincinnati, Bucha, 3 (Orellano), 39th. Second Half: 1, Cincinnati, Bucha, 3 (Asad), 63rd; 5, D.C. United, Pirani, 2 (Rodriguez), 69th. Goals: Cincinnati, Roman Celentano, Alec Kann; D.C. United, Tyler Miller, Alex Bono, Nate Croxford. Yellow Cards: Santos, D.C. United, 14th; Kelsy, Cincinnati, 51st; Kubo, Cincinnati, 82nd. Cincinnati, Roman Celentano, Kipp Keller (Bret Halsey, 78th), Ian Murphy (Alvas Powell, 72nd), Miles Robinson, DeAndre Yedlin, Luciano Acosta, Pavel Bucha, Obinna Nwobodo, Kevin Kelsy (Sergio Santos, 60th), Luca Orellano (Yamil Asad, 60th), Gerardo Valenzuela (Yuya Kubo, 61st). C. United, Tyler Miller, Lucas Bartlett, Aaron Herrera, Christopher McVey (Gabriel Pirani, 46th), Matti Peltola, Pedro Santos, Mateusz Klisch, Theodore Ku-Dipietro, Martin Rodriguez, Jared Stroud (Matai Akimboni, 78th), Jacob Murrell.

New York City FC 2, Montreal 0

MONTREAL 0 0 0 0 NEW YORK CITY FC 1 1 2

First Half: 1, New York City FC, Martinez, 7 (Wolf), 9th. Second Half: 2, New York City FC, Martinez, 8 (Wolf), 56th. Goals: Montreal, Jonathan Sirois, Sebastian Breaz; New York City FC, Matt Fresso, Luis Barraza. Yellow Cards: Campbell, Montreal, 52nd; Sands, New York City FC, 90th+5.

Orlando City 2, Toronto FC 1

ORLANDO CITY 2 0 0 2 TORONTO FC 1 0 1 First Half: 1, Toronto FC, Etienne, 2 (Petretta), 5th minute; 2, Orlando City, Ojeda, 2 (Angulo), 27th; 3, Orlando City, Gomis, 45th. Second Half: None. Goals: Orlando City, Pedro Gallese, Jose Carlos Mercaido; Toronto FC, Sean Johnson, Luka Gavran. Yellow Cards: Petretta, Toronto FC, 63rd; Flores, Toronto FC, 71st; O'Neill, Toronto FC, 79th; Cartagena, Orlando City, 75th; Gallese, Orlando City, 79th; Enrique, Orlando City, 88th; Insigne, Toronto FC, 90th+5.

Inter Miami CF 2, Charlotte FC 1

INTER MIAMI CF 1 1 1 2 CHARLOTTE FC 1 0 1

First Half: 1, Miami, Taylor, 4 (Alba), 30th minute; 2, Charlotte FC, Ayeghem, 6, 41st. Second Half: 3, Miami, Tomaschi, 3 (Gressel), 86th. Goals: Miami, Drake Callender, CJ Dos Santos; Charlotte FC, Kristijan Kahlina, David Bingham. Yellow Cards: Kryvtsov, Miami, 21st; Ayeghem, Charlotte FC, 49th+2; Gomez, Miami, 53rd; Aviles, Miami, 67th; Alba, Miami, 90th+3. Red Cards: Ayeghem, Charlotte FC, 90th+6.

Revolution 2, Atlanta United 1

ATLANTA 0 1 1 1 NEW ENGLAND 2 0 2

First Half: 1, New England, Vrioni, 6 (Jones), 11th minute; 2, New England, Vrioni, 7 (Buck), 45th. Second Half: 3, Atlanta, Rios, 4 (Hernandez), 90th. Goals: Atlanta, Brad Guzan, Josh Cohen; New England, Alay Ivacic, Henrik Ravas. Yellow Cards: Gregersen, Atlanta, 37th.

St. Louis City SC 2, Earthquakes 0

SAN JOSE CITY SC 2 0 0 2 EARTHQUAKES 0 0 0

First Half: 1, St. Louis City SC, Lowen, 2 (Vassilev), 28th minute; 2, St. Louis City SC, Kijima, 1 (Vassilev), 41st. Second Half: None. Goals: St. Louis City SC, Roman Burki, Ben Lucot, Christian Olivares. Yellow Cards: Reid, St. Louis City SC, 56th; Vassilev, St. Louis City SC, 61st; Lopez, San Jose, 66th; Costa, San Jose, 72nd.

Whitecaps 3, Minnesota United 1

VANCOUVER 2 1 1 3 MINNESOTA 1 0 1

First Half: 1, Vancouver, White, 9 (Gauld), 4th minute; 2, Vancouver, Laborda, 2 (Gauld), 17th; 3, Minnesota, Hlongwane, 6, 30th. Second Half: 4, Vancouver, Berhalter, 2 (Gauld), 60th. Yellow Cards: Vancouver, Yehoi Takako, Joe Bendik, Isaac Boehmer; Minnesota, Alec Smir, Oscar Herrera. Goals: Vancouver, White, 9 (Gauld), 4th minute; 2, Vancouver, Laborda, 2 (Gauld), 17th; 3, Minnesota, Hlongwane, 6, 30th. Second Half: 4, Vancouver, Berhalter, 2 (Gauld), 60th. Yellow Cards: Vancouver, Yehoi Takako, Joe Bendik, Isaac Boehmer; Minnesota, Alec Smir, Oscar Herrera. Goals: Vancouver, White, 9 (Gauld), 4th minute; 2, Vancouver, Laborda, 2 (Gauld), 17th; 3, Minnesota, Hlongwane, 6, 30th. Second Half: 4, Vancouver, Berhalter, 2 (Gauld), 60

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815 Legal Notices SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PROBATE DIVISION WASHINGTON, DC 20001-2131 2024 ADM 000636 Irene D Lombardo aka Dalley Lombardo Louis J Lombardo 7903 Dasset Court, Apt. 303, Annandale, VA 22003 NOTICE OF APPOINTMENT NOTICE TO CREDITORS AND NOTICE TO UNKNOWN HEIRS Kevin R Lombardo, whose address is 2965 Thompson Park Lane, Fairfax, VA 22031 was appointed personal representative of the estate of Irene D Lombardo, who died on April 22, 2024 with a will and without Court supervision. All persons who are heirs and heirs whose whereabouts are unknown shall enter their appearance in this proceeding. Objections to such appointment or to the probate of decedent's Will shall be filed with the Register of Wills, D.C., Building A, 515 5th Street, NW, 3rd Floor, Washington DC 20001, on or before 12/20/2024, or be forever barred. The undersigned, on or before 12/20/2024, or be forever barred. Persons believed to be heirs or legatees of the decedent who do not receive a copy of this notice by mail within 25 days of its first publication shall so inform the Register of Wills, including name, address and relationship.

815 Legal Notices SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA PROBATE DIVISION WASHINGTON, DC 20001-2131 2023 ADM 001449 Gwendolyn J. Grant aka Gwendolyn Ophelia Jeffries Timothy J. Sessing, Esq. 12850 Middlebrook Rd., Ste 308 Bethesda, MD 20814 NOTICE OF APPOINTMENT NOTICE TO CREDITORS AND NOTICE TO UNKNOWN HEIRS Thelma Jean Hines, whose address is 700 Chillum Road, Apt 02, Hyattsville, MD 20782 was appointed personal representative of the estate of Gwendolyn J. Grant aka Gwendolyn Ophelia Jeffries Grant, who died on Nov. 23, 2023 with a will and will serve without Court supervision. All persons who are heirs and heirs whose whereabouts are unknown shall enter their appearance in this proceeding. Objections to such appointment or to the probate of decedent's Will shall be filed with the Register of Wills, D.C., Building A, 515 5th Street, NW, 3rd Floor, Washington DC 20001, on or before 12/27/2024, or be forever barred. The undersigned, on or before 12/27/2024, or be forever barred. Persons believed to be heirs or legatees of the decedent who do not receive a copy of this notice by mail within 25 days of its first publication shall so inform the Register of Wills, including name, address and relationship.

NOTICE OF CONDEMNATION OF THE PROPERTY INTEREST THAT UNION STATION INVESTCO, LLC OBTAINED FROM UNION STATION VENTURE II, LLC BY AN ASSIGNMENT AND ASSUMPTION OF LEASEHOLD INTEREST MADE AS OF JANUARY 25, 2023 LOCATED AT WASHINGTON UNION STATION 50 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., NE, WASHINGTON D.C. 20001 Pursuant to Fed. R. Civ. P. 71.1(d), you are hereby notified that a condemnation action has been filed in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia (the "Court") by Plaintiff, National Railroad Passenger Corporation ("Amtrak"), to acquire by eminent domain your interest in the following property: The property interest that Union Station Investco, LLC ("USI") obtained from Union Station Venture II, LLC ("USV") by an Assignment and Assumption of Leasehold Interest made as of January 25, 2023, in and to the "Subject Property Interest". The Subject Property Interest is located at Washington Union Station at 50 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20001. The action is captioned National Railroad Passenger Corporation ("Amtrak") v. Subsequent Interest in Union Station to an Assignment and Assumption of Leasehold Interest made as of January 25, 2023, et al., Case No. 1:22-cv-01043.

NOTICE OF APPOINTMENT, NOTICE TO CREDITORS AND NOTICE TO UNKNOWN HEIRS Elizabeth H. Peters, whose address is 5025 V Street, NW, Washington, DC 20007 was appointed personal representative of the estate of Charles G. Peters, Jr. aka Charles Given Peters, who died on Nov. 23, 2023 with a will and will serve without Court supervision. All persons who are heirs and heirs whose whereabouts are unknown shall enter their appearance in this proceeding. Objections to such appointment or to the probate of decedent's Will shall be filed with the Register of Wills, D.C., Building A, 515 5th Street, NW, 3rd Floor, Washington DC 20001, on or before 12/27/2024, or be forever barred. The undersigned, on or before 12/27/2024, or be forever barred. Persons believed to be heirs or legatees of the decedent who do not receive a copy of this notice by mail within 25 days of its first publication shall so inform the Register of Wills, including name, address and relationship.

NOTICE OF APPOINTMENT, NOTICE TO CREDITORS AND NOTICE TO UNKNOWN HEIRS Charles G. Peters, Jr. aka Charles Given Peters Christine W Hubbard, Esq. 1069 Double Gate Road, Davisville, MD 21035

NOTICE OF APPOINTMENT, NOTICE TO CREDITORS AND NOTICE TO UNKNOWN HEIRS Elizabeth H. Peters, whose address is 5025 V Street, NW, Washington, DC 20007 was appointed personal representative of the estate of Charles G. Peters, Jr. aka Charles Given Peters, who died on Nov. 23, 2023 with a will and will serve without Court supervision. All persons who are heirs and heirs whose whereabouts are unknown shall enter their appearance in this proceeding. Objections to such appointment or to the probate of decedent's Will shall be filed with the Register of Wills, D.C., Building A, 515 5th Street, NW, 3rd Floor, Washington DC 20001, on or before 12/27/2024, or be forever barred. The undersigned, on or before 12/27/2024, or be forever barred. Persons believed to be heirs or legatees of the decedent who do not receive a copy of this notice by mail within 25 days of its first publication shall so inform the Register of Wills, including name, address and relationship.

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STATE OF INDIANA IN THE SEVENTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT COURT NO. ELKHART COUNTY CAUSE NO. 20D06-2302-DN-79 IN RE THE MARRIAGE OF ANA MARITZA QUINTEROS 1011 BONTRAGER ELKHART, IN 46517 Wife and ARMANDO SALGADO 406 GREEN AVE DR APT 200 HYATTSVILLE, MD 20783 Husband

ORDER GRANTING MOTION FOR FINAL HEARING COMES NOW Kelley S. Schwenzinger, SCHWENZINGER LAW FIRM, in and to the Court in the above-captioned matter, and after having read the following words and figures, to-wit: [H.]

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LOCAL LIVING



Going plastic-free is nearly impossible. These people are trying anyway. **PAGE 4**

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ON THE COVERIllustration by Shikha
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Post**HOW TO**

My house smells bad. How can I get rid of the odor?

BY JEANNE HUBER

Q: How do I cure, not mask, smells that linger in a home from cooking and just living?**A:** Have you ever opened the door to a house for sale and been overpowered by the scent of an air freshener? It's a sure sign that there's something else going on — perhaps a damp basement that reeks of mildew.

For truly fresh air, skip air fresheners that add scents and get rid of what's causing the bad odors, to the extent that's possible. Then let in fresh, outdoor air. And when that's not enough, introduce absorbent materials that capture any remaining odors.

Unpleasant odors from “just living” usually have a specific cause: food scraps left for several days in a wastebasket, food that's gone bad in the refrigerator, a washing machine or pile of laundry that smells like mildew or a gym, a bathroom that smells like a public latrine. There are solutions for each of these.

Garbage smells

To tame the stench from a wastebasket, you can of course empty it more often. Or if that's a pain, try rinsing especially smelly things, such as wrappers from a package of fish, or enclosing them in a plastic bag that once held bread or vegetables. Don't buy plastic bags just for this, though; most households accumulate plenty of plastic wrapping that can corral smelly kitchen discs.

Refrigerator smells

If you open the refrigerator and wince at the smell, it's time to clean it.

- Take out the food and give it a sniff test, or check for visible mold or other signs that it's too old to eat.

- Clear one shelf at a time, starting at the top.

- Rinse off containers with gummy residue from food that spilled on a refrigerator shelf, and clean the shelf before you restock.

- Add lids or another covering to any food that isn't enclosed to help new bad odors from developing.

- Remove the drawers for vegetables and fruit so you can clean inside and under them, because old spills can make a refrigerator smell bad even when the food inside it is fine.

- Baking soda is very effective at absorbing odors, so once you've cleaned and restocked, leave an opened box in the refrigerator to keep off-putting smells from ac-



ISTOCK

To prevent smells from developing in the bathroom, be sure to hang damp towels and use a good exhaust fan.

cumulating.

Laundry smells

Laundry smells can come from the laundry itself or from a washing machine.

- To keep laundry sweet-smelling, avoid tossing damp items in a pile or basket unless you plan to do laundry within a day or two. Instead, hang the items or even drape them over a hamper — whatever it takes to get them dry.

- The sooner you tackle stains, the easier they are to remove. So rinse stains or even scrub them with a little soap and water as soon as you notice them; then let the item dry rather than adding it immediately to the laundry pile.

- Many washing machines do not drain completely at the end of a cycle. If you do laundry only once a week, you're likely to smell a foul odor from that leftover water from a week earlier. Manufacturers suggest wiping down the basket and rim after the last load of a day, running a cleaning cycle periodically and cleaning the filter (if the machine has one). It also helps to leave the door ajar, assuming you don't have young children who might climb into a front-loader.

- If you do multiple loads of laundry each week, try spacing them a couple of days apart. That should flush out the water hidden below the tub before it starts

smelling like a swamp.

Bathroom smells

- In the bathroom, a good exhaust fan, used regularly, goes a long way toward eliminating unpleasant smells. To make it most effective, try cracking the door while the fan is running so it can pull fresh air from your house into the room to replace the steamy air it is sending outdoors.

- Wipe down walls after the last person showers and hang damp towels so they dry quickly.

- Urine smells can develop from splashes into the rim or the back of the toilet seat, or even on nearby walls or the floor. A thorough cleaning is the remedy for that. Put on gloves first.

Cooking smells

Removing cooking odors is a bit more complicated, assuming you don't want to avoid certain foods just because of their lingering smell.

- In good weather, one easy solution if you have access to a deck, balcony or patio, is to cook outdoors on a grill.

- For indoor cooking, an exhaust hood with a fan that's vented to the outdoors works better than one that just pulls air through a filter. Upgrading to a vented fan isn't always possible, so you'll probably need to work with the setup you have.

- Vented hoods have stainless steel baffles or a metal mesh screen to capture grease particles in the air. Over time, the screens can get so clogged with grease that the fan can't pull through much air, leaving your kitchen smellier. Clean the screen, or stainless baffles, by submerging the piece in a sink filled with hot water and hand dishwashing soap. You might want to add some baking soda to help break up grease. Let it soak for about 10 minutes, then scrub with a gentle brush, rinse and leave it on a towel or rack to dry. Some screens are safe to pop into a dishwasher.

- Unvented range hoods have metal mesh filters to capture grease and charcoal filters to trap odors. If the mesh is a separate piece, you can wash that in a similar way. Charcoal filters and combo mesh-and-charcoal filters can't be cleaned because there is no way to rinse the odor-causing particles out of the charcoal. Bosch, an appliance manufacturer, recommends replacing charcoal filters every three to four months, but the frequency can vary depending on how often you cook and whether you do a lot of frying. Go by what your nose is telling you.

- Covering frying pans with an anti-splatter screen can reduce the amount of grease that gets into kitchen air and thus make a filter last longer.

General odor-removal tips

Opening doors or windows is a time-honored way to get rid of odors and let in fresh air, although it can undercut the effectiveness of heating and cooling systems if those are running. Add window screens if you're in an area where mosquitoes or other flying insects are an issue.

What if you do all these things and find your home still plagued by foul air? Consider adding a charcoal filter to your heating and air conditioning system, or buy an air purifier sized for a smelly room. To eliminate odors, you need an air purifier that has a charcoal filter (or a combination of a mechanical filter and a charcoal filter). To be effective, the charcoal filter needs to be replaced regularly. Consumer Reports recommends changing it every three months and budgeting accordingly, because a replacement filter can cost up to \$50.

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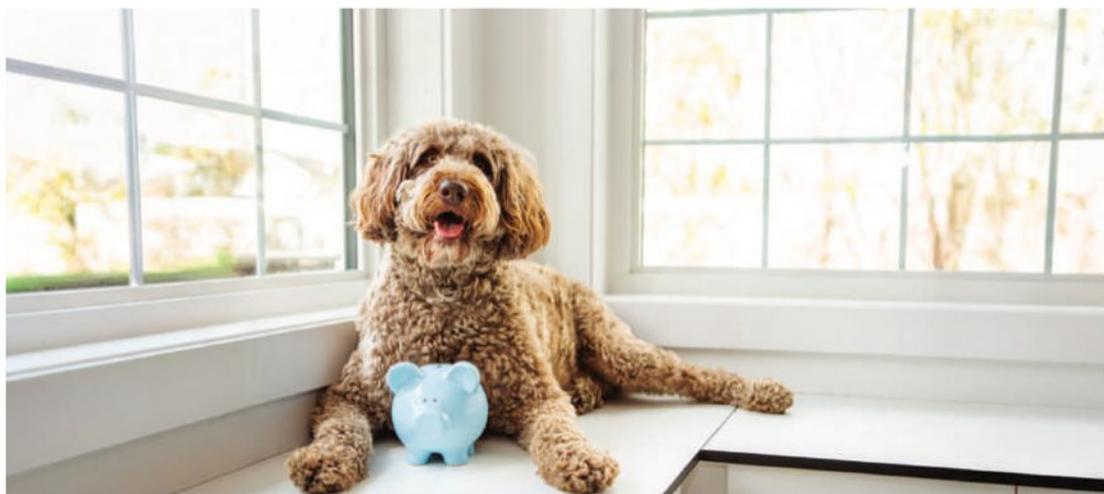
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The 'Plastic Free July' movement asks: Can you avoid the material for a month?

BY JACOB FENSTON

Maybe you've done dry January — the trend that originated in the United Kingdom of cutting out alcohol for the first month of the year. Maybe this is the year to try Plastic Free July.

The idea took root in Australia more than a decade ago, and in recent years it has been gaining popularity in the United States. It all began when Rebecca Prince-Ruiz visited her local recycling sorting center in Perth, Australia, in 2011. She had always thought of herself as being eco-conscious, but after looking around at the heavy machinery sorting an endless stream of bottles, tubs, jars, cans and boxes, she had an aha moment.

"I suddenly realized that filling my recycling bin each fortnight didn't make me the great green citizen I thought I was," Prince-Ruiz says. "The most important thing I should be doing was actually reducing my waste in the first place."

She decided to try to avoid single-use plastic for an entire month. The next month happened to be July.

So Plastic Free July was born.

Since then, the idea has spread around the globe. According to the Plastic Free Foundation, the nonprofit that Prince-Ruiz founded, 89 million people in 190 countries pledged to reduce their plastic use during July last year. The countries with the most participants are China and India.

Over the last five years, participants have avoided more than 1.5 million tons of plastic waste, according to the campaign. That's enough to fill about 80,000 garbage trucks.

Prince-Ruiz says the comparison with dry January is apt, but avoiding plastic may actually be a lot harder for many people than avoiding alcohol. Going plastic-free entails constant small decisions and complications throughout every day — and finding workarounds for nearly every purchase.

Why plastic? What about other waste?

Sending anything to the landfill or incinerator has a negative impact on the environment. But plastic is particularly problematic, experts say.

"Plastics are one of the greatest



ILLUSTRATION BY SHIKHA SUBRAMANIAM/THE WASHINGTON POST



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Plastic Free July, an initiative started in Australia, has spread around the world. Last year, 89 million people in 190 countries joined in. The campaign also reported that over the past five years, participants have avoided more than 1.5 million tons of plastic waste.

threats facing our planet today,” says Melissa Valliant, a spokesperson for Beyond Plastics, a plastic-pollution-fighting nonprofit.

Part of the problem is that plastics are not as easily recyclable as other packaging materials. In fact, less than 6 percent of plastic waste is recycled in the United States. That rate has barely budged in the past two decades. One peer-reviewed study last year found that plastic recycling itself may actually be contributing to microplastic pollution in the environment.

“We are not going to recycle our way out of this problem,” Valliant says.

Plastic waste chokes oceans and the creatures who live there. And plastic production is a major contributor to climate change: The industry emits four times the planet-warming emissions as the airline industry, according to a recent U.S. Energy Department report.

But from the beginning, the Plastic Free July campaign has focused on solutions rather than

the problem. In fact, the campaign’s website contains almost nothing about the harms of plastic, other than its sea turtle logo — a reference to one of the animals most at risk from ocean plastic.

The website offers ideas for plastic-free beginners — small changes like using reusable shopping bags. There are also suggestions for those further along the journey, including making your own toothpaste, sans plastic tube.

Plastic-free doesn’t have to mean zero-plastic

Prince-Ruiz says that first plastic-free month was harder than she’d thought it would be. “I remember going to the supermarket for the first time and going, ‘Oh my gosh, there’s not much I can buy.’”

She came home with a box of pasta and a lot of tomatoes and bananas, and remembers thinking, “How am I going to survive this month?”

Her best advice for newbies: Don’t try to quit plastic cold

turkey. Instead, start with a quick inventory of your plastic use — go through your fridge and pantry and trash — and choose one or two places to work on eliminating or reducing your consumption.

“Try it for a day, try it for a week, try it for a month,” Prince-Ruiz says. “We purposely make the barrier for entry easy.”

Sammy Harper, a graphic and web designer based in Omaha, says his first Plastic Free July, in 2020, was a flop. He ambitiously tried to cut out all plastic for the month and quickly became overwhelmed, beating himself up about it. In the Julys since, he’s focused on one change at a time, starting with replacing plastic water bottles with a reusable Yeti.

“Getting to a perfect state from the get-go is almost impossible,” Harper says.

Frewyni Asress, a D.C. resident who has written about living a zero-waste lifestyle, recommends finding a buddy or two to do the plastic-free challenge with.

“When there’s a community of people participating in some-

thing like Plastic Free July, it really reinvigorates you,” Asress says. “Try to do it with somebody, even if it’s just one person, because it really does make a difference.”

Of course, going plastic-free can be more challenging depending on your circumstances.

In the Midwest, for example, store clerks are not always receptive to the idea of skipping plastic bags, Harper says. On one shopping trip where he was only buying a few things and didn’t need a bag, the checker forced one on him, citing concerns about shoplifting.

“She would not let me leave without a bag,” Harper says.

When Asress started her zero-waste journey in 2016, she was working at a food co-op that had a large bulk section and many plastic-free products. But she found not all plastic-free products worked for her.

“A lot of the hair products that were sustainably packaged or provided in bulk bins were specifically for White people’s hair,” says Asress, who is Black. She

ended up boiling flaxseed and mixing it with shea butter and essential oils to make her own hair gel and moisturizer. “It’s actually way more time consuming than it sounds,” Asress says. Plus, it still didn’t really work for her hair.

Ultimately, she says, going plastic-free or zero-waste shouldn’t just be about creating cute Instagram posts. “It has to be practical, and we have to be able to figure out ways to be able to include everybody.”

It shouldn’t be this hard

Disposable single-use plastic is so ubiquitous, it can be hard to imagine a world without it. Yet many people alive today grew up in such a world: Before the 1960s, for example, many beverages in the United States came in refillable glass bottles.

“We have the technology to make this easy and convenient for consumers,” Valliant says. The key is to move away from disposable containers and packages and go with materials that can be used over and over. Refundable deposit systems can make this economical.

Travel to Latin America, Africa or Asia, for example, and you’ll find refillable soda and beer bottles are still common — each one can be filled, purchased and returned as many as 30 times before it breaks or is worn out.

Valliant says similar reuse is possible elsewhere. A European company, reCIRCLE, provides reusable takeout containers to a network of thousands of restaurants and cafes. You pay a deposit for the reusable cup or bowl, then return it to any participating business to get your money back, or a fresh cup of coffee or bowl of pad thai in a clean reusable container.

In the United States there are some efforts to bring back the refillable glass bottle: Dozens of small dairies use refillable milk bottles, and in Oregon, a handful of craft brewers use refillable beer bottles.

Of course, the onus of creating change shouldn’t be on the consumer, Prince-Ruiz says. But these individual actions add up, she says, and that can help build momentum for more systemic change.

“We see time and time again, whether it’s a jurisdiction banning plastic bags, or introducing container deposit legislation, or a brand switching their packaging, or retail supermarkets introducing reuse and refill, it’s because their consumers and their customers are asking it of them,” she says.

Jacob Fenston is a freelance writer in D.C.



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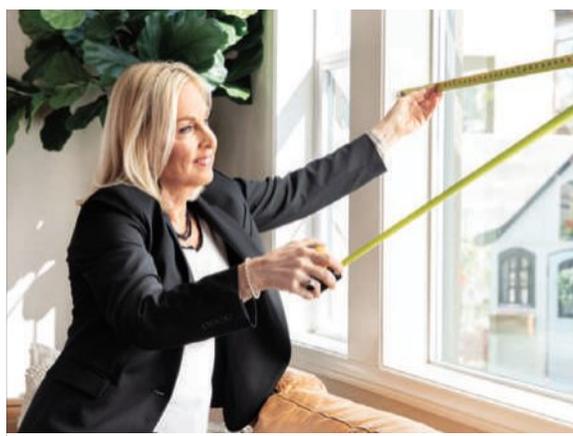


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Why a pet's death can hurt worse than losing a human loved one

BY COLLEEN GRABLICK

My first real pet was an auburn tabby named Lauren with a pinched face and a puffy tail. I picked her up in Silver Spring in September 2021, and by the time we got to my house in D.C. 30 minutes later, I was completely in love.

The immediacy — and intensity — of how I felt about her was surprising and unfamiliar. And so was the emptiness that came with losing her only seven months later. (She was barely 1 year old and had developed FIP, a deadly strain of feline coronavirus that typically affects young cats.)

“When you lose anybody, pet or human, that you’re really close to, it can feel like the world is ending,” says Jennifer Golbeck, a computer science professor at the University of Maryland and researcher of human-animal bonds. “Most people think of their pets as family members. ... Sometimes, they consider their relationships with their dogs closer than their relationships with most of their family members. It’s actually a really profound relationship, and when we lose them, our psychological needs are to grieve them in the same way we would grieve any relationship that is that profound.”

When we adopt pets, we know we’re entering a relationship that will, most likely, end in loss. But for many people, pet grief can nonetheless be surprisingly devastating when it happens. Research shows that grief following the loss of a pet can be comparable to losing a person and, in some cases, even more complicated. Often, this pain is amplified by guilt (“I should’ve taken him in sooner”) and feelings of being misunderstood (“It’s just an animal”), which is all the more reason that pet owners, researchers and counselors are exploring ways to comfort owners through loss and keep their pets’ memories alive.

A unique loss

Golbeck, who also runs a rescue for golden retrievers, says that compared with our human relationships, the ones we form with our animals are “purely good.” Our close relationships with other people, even the most loving, are fraught; they ask us to examine our faults and shortcomings. We misunderstand each other, we hurt each other, we give and take. With pets, there is a simplicity to what they provide us — and what we give them — that can’t be replicated with humans. This can make losing their companionship all the more complex.

“[Dogs] kind of enter your life with a preexisting, unconditional

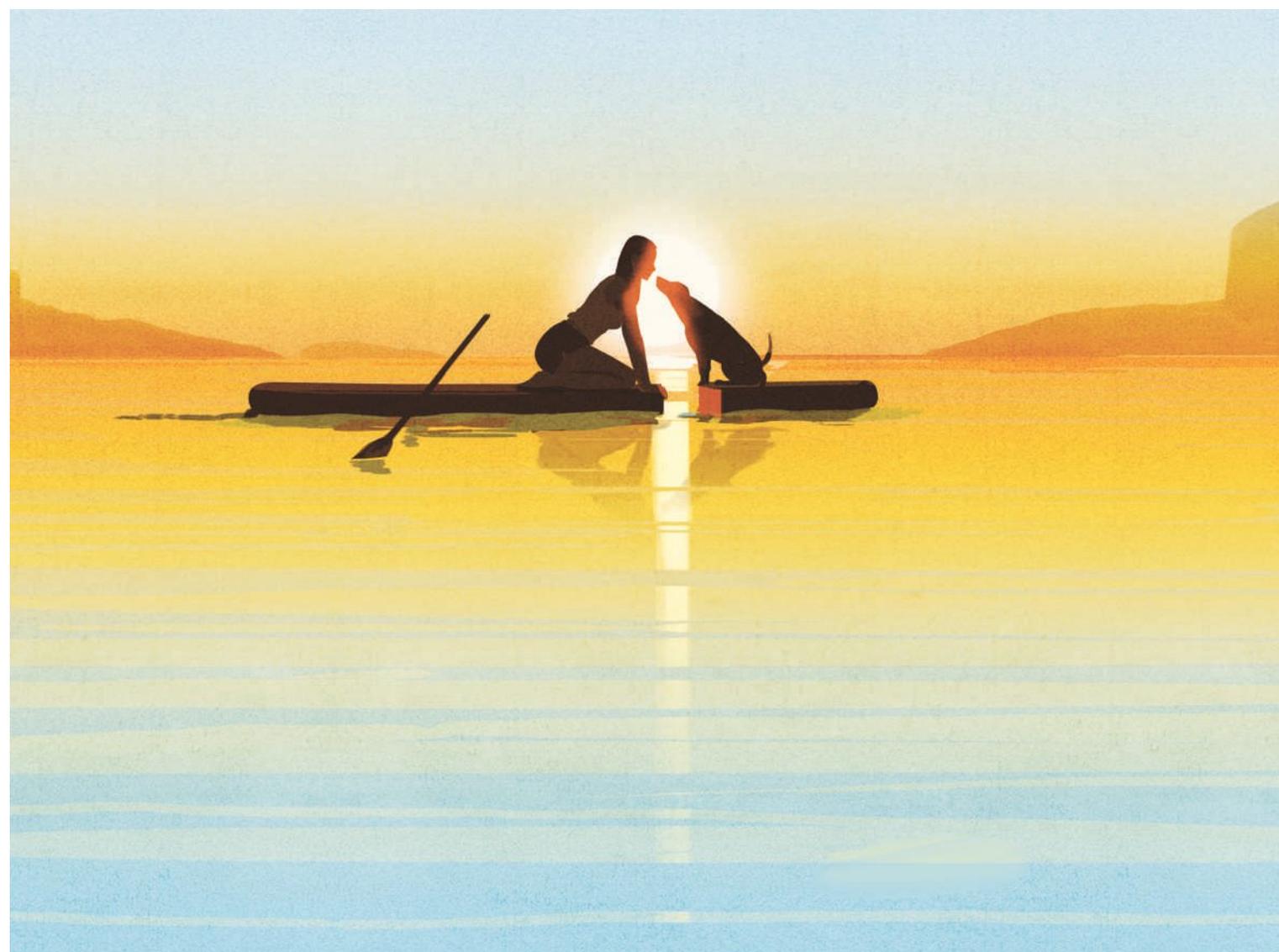


ILLUSTRATION BY FABIO CONSOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

excitement for who you are,” says David Freifeld, a Brooklyn resident who grew up with dogs. He and his wife, Elena, said goodbye to their 4-year-old bernedoodle, Ramy, earlier this year, after he was diagnosed with a dangerous neurological condition. “From the moment [Ramy] came home, he just was like, ‘What do you want to do today? I love you!’”

Ramy’s death was not Freifeld’s first experience with premature loss — when he was in college, his dad died — but he says it was uniquely painful. Before Freifeld’s father died, he had a chance to communicate with him about his death, discussing what his father wanted and making decisions as a family. Obviously, he couldn’t do the same with Ramy, a creature who looked to Freifeld with complete trust.

“It’s a special relationship or a special responsibility that we take on, as the people responsible to keep them safe and healthy and alive ... to then have to make the decision for them to die, it goes against everything,” says Michelle Crossley, an associate professor of clinical mental health counseling

at Rhode Island College and vice president of the Association for Pet Loss and Bereavement. “That’s super challenging for folks to wrap their heads around; people end up experiencing some guilt.”

For the Freifelds, those last five days at home before Ramy was euthanized felt like a sort of one-sided hospice. They knew what was coming, but Ramy looked at them exactly the same.

“Because there’s this profound sense of loyalty, I think most people almost feel like they don’t deserve it, when they have a pet. You feel so responsible for something that is so committed to you,” Freifeld says. “I didn’t want him to feel like we had abandoned him.”

For others, losing a pet means mourning the constant shadow of comfort that’s accompanied them through various phases of life. While we love our parents or friends or relatives, often it’s our pets that are physically there as we traverse milestones such as moving out, getting married or having children. For 22-year-old Jackie Llanos, her schnauzer, Nacho, stuck by her side through a

move to an entirely new country. She, her mom, her three sisters and 4-year-old Nacho emigrated from Bogotá, Colombia, to Stafford, Va., in 2013.

“I think I really clinged to him when I was upset, experiencing all of these changes and not being able to communicate with the other kids,” she says. “He was just always a constant.”

Llanos is now a reporter in Florida, which means her mother had become Nacho’s primary caretaker in recent years. She called Llanos this past May to let her know that Nacho wasn’t eating and that it was probably time to say goodbye. A few hours before the vet appointment that Llanos scheduled for him, the 15-year-old dog passed away at home.

“It feels like the end of childhood in a way,” she says. “It just feels like one less connection back to my childhood in Colombia.”

Mourning alone

Losing a beloved pet can also feel especially lonely. Not only is the home literally emptier, but other (non-pet-owning) humans might have difficulty empathiz-

ing.

“People will grieve in isolation because they don’t want to be invalidated in how distraught they are,” Crossley says. “One of the comments people will say is just, ‘It’s a pet; get another one.’”

Golbeck began researching pet loss while in a master’s psychology course; the class was studying “disenfranchised grief,” or the concept that some deaths are not societally legitimized or publicly mourned. Though they were focused on examples such as AIDS deaths in the 1980s and deaths by suicide and overdose, she realized that pet loss may fall into this category, too.

“The tools that we would normally use for grief, and the kind of support that we get for grief and the loss of people, we don’t get that with [pets],” Golbeck says.

After the death of her cat Rupert, Virginia resident Page Shewey says some people didn’t understand why she was having such a hard time. As a result, she began to question whether the intensity of her grief meant something was wrong with her, or if it

SEE LOSS ON 8

Why losing a pet can be so painful

LOSS FROM 7

somehow meant she hadn't properly grieved the human loved ones she'd lost.

"You don't know what to feel," Shewey says. "You're like, 'Should I not be this upset? Is there something wrong with me for feeling this upset after the loss of a pet?'"

Golbeck says a way to legitimize your grief is to find people who will take it seriously — even if that requires venturing beyond your usual circle. Demand for spots in pet grief support groups has ballooned, especially since the pandemic, and online forums exist for various kinds of pet loss. At the Association for Pet Loss

and Bereavement, Crossley opens old-school chatrooms daily for folks to talk through what they're experiencing.

When Lauren passed, I spent hours online, trawling Q&A forums about pet loss and Facebook groups for owners whose cats were diagnosed with FIP. In the months after she died, just read-

ing the comment section of a TikTok about losing a cat could make me feel a little less perplexed by my emotional response.

Memorializing and moving on

Even if it's not recognized by anyone but you, Crossley says, creating some type of memorial or ritual to honor your pet can help with processing the loss, whether that's creating a planter with their food bowl or saving their collar. If it's painful to encounter constant reminders of your pet — and you can't bring yourself to pack up their things on your own — you may want to enlist a friend or family member to remove and donate the items. (The Freifelds donated Ramy's bed and got teary when the new owner sent a picture of their dog sniffing the fabric, presumably detecting Ramy's scent.)

Crossley has also encouraged people struggling with guilt to write a letter to their pet, expressing everything they wished their pet could know. Then, write a response from the pet's point of view, focusing on the ways in which the person created happy, healthy memories for them both. The "what could I have done differently" feelings won't dissipate immediately, but Crossley says forgiving yourself is key to getting better.

"We used to call it closure, but then closure feels so permanent, as if I will never think about this ever again," she says. Instead, she recommends people view "resolution" as a goal in the grieving process. "With resolution, the thing that I ask folks to respond to is: When was your pet happiest? Was it when you were mad and angry and crying, or were they happy when you were happy? To honor our pets, we can remember them in these happy moments and to not be in so much pain."

After Lauren died, I left her things as they were for a few days; her food bowl next to my bedroom door, the syringe I'd been using to force-feed her water on my dresser, toys strewn around the floor. In bed, I'd cautiously adjust my legs, scanning my comforter for the dark lump that was supposed to be at my feet. But eventually, it got easier. By the following week, I gathered her belongings and moved them to the attic, "just in case" I got another cat.

Less than a year later, I met Mouse, a tabby kitten whom I've grown to love as much as Lauren — just differently. I know losing him will be equally devastating. But as Golbeck says: "In exchange for a lifetime of love and good memories, the price that we pay is the one worst day of our lives."

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Remember those glass blocks from the '80s? They're back.

BY HANNAH HOLLAND

Along with 1980s neon manures and vintage '90s blazers, glass blocks are making a comeback thanks in part to a new fan base on social media. One Instagram reel showcasing several types of the retro building material has racked up more than 5 million views since March. It features cross-hatched blocks, frosted blocks and fluted blocks, underscoring the fact that the latest iterations aren't always quite what you remember from your aunt's gaudy apartment or the restaurant with a smoking section where you celebrated family birthdays.

Glass blocks have more than just good looks going for them. They're a relatively affordable choice for homeowners who want to add architectural interest or natural light without sacrificing privacy. They're even known for enhancing fire safety.

"Glass blocks have this inherent luminosity to them, while also solving ... technical problems," says Brendan Guerin, founding member of the firm Guerin Glass Architects, which operates in Honolulu, Los Angeles and Brooklyn.

Here's why the glass block renaissance just makes sense.

Privacy and light

There's a very good reason glass blocks became so associated with luxury '80s and '90s bathrooms: They let in natural light without exposing inhabitants to the outside world the way a typical window would. This remains a key draw for architects today.

Brad Swartz of Brad Swartz Architects, a firm that specializes in urban spaces in Sydney, explains that glass blocks were an ideal solution when he was tasked with designing a home in an alleyway, along with designer Henry Wilson. The location was dark and tight, with neighbors close by. Swartz stacked glass blocks, etched on one side to enhance privacy, around nearly the entire front of the house.

"The way they let light through is really beautiful and changes throughout the day," he says. This project drew inspiration from one of the most enduring glass block masterpieces: the Maison de Verre, a 1930s residence in Paris distinguished by its glass blocks with circles in the center. Like Swartz and Wilson's alleyway project, the Maison de Verre includes entire walls of the material.

According to west Michigan-based WMGB Home Improvement, a remodeling company that specializes in glass blocks, the

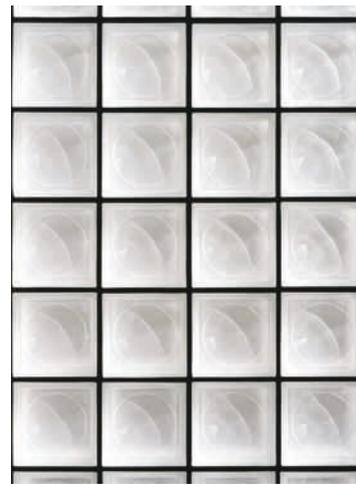


TOM FERGUSON

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: The front facade of the Laneway Glass House is almost entirely glass block. The blocks feature circles in the center, similar to those found at a famous 1930s residence in Paris. Part of the appeal of the glass block wall at the Laneway house is the way it filters light and shadows.



KATHERINE LU



TOM FERGUSON

most popular version it sells has a wavy pattern that diffuses light. However, it provides numerous designs and even colored blocks.

Brent Buck, principal of Brent Buck Architects in New York City, says it's that variation that separates the contemporary glass blocks from the 1980s and '90s ones. "I think when people think of glass blocks, they go, 'Oh, there was one specific type of glass block' and it was ubiquitous for that time period."

Christopher Adams, founder of Pohio Adams Architects, also in Sydney, turned to glass blocks for a past project in a challenging location. The home backed up onto an apartment building, giving many of those neighbors a direct sightline into the property. To shield his clients from prying eyes, Adams encased the first floor with glass blocks. The result? "This lovely, watery light, and you were unaware of the suburban surrounds."

Both Adams and Buck say some of their recent glass block projects took cues from New York City's Soho neighborhood, where you'll find small, circular glass bulbs inlaid on Broadway and Canal streets. They're easily mistaken for art, but they're actually remnants of Soho's past as an industrial center. According to the Soho Broadway Initiative, they were known as vault lights or deadlights, and functioned as tiny skylights that illuminated factory basements. To provide natural light for his client's basement and some architectural interest to a kitchen, Adams similarly "set cast glass pavers into the concrete slab under the timber floor of the kitchen." Along with the filtered light, Adams says, "it creates this beautiful shadow effect when someone walks over it."

Affordability

While cost for individual projects is highly variable, the architects interviewed for this story described glass blocks as an affordable option. Guerin even crunched the numbers for us, estimating that a glass block wall, including labor and installation, would typically cost \$30 to \$40 per square foot. By comparison, he says, a traditional glass wall could run closer to \$100 per square foot.

"The glass blocks have an air pocket in the middle of them," explains Swartz. "They're not solid glass, and that affects the price." But keep in mind that glass blocks are not the same thing as glass bricks, which are generally rectangular, rather than square, and solid glass without an air pocket. This makes them almost

SEE GLASS ON 10

Glass blocks have had a makeover

GLASS FROM 9

prohibitively expensive for most renovators' budgets.

While the Maison de Verre may be the gold standard of glass block architecture, most contemporary projects won't require quite so many glass blocks. These days, Brent says, "they're general-

ly being used as a detail element or a feature. You're only buying a few of them." Which, of course, also saves money.

Safety

Glass blocks can also enhance the safety of a structure. "One reason you'd use glass blocks instead of just a window is that

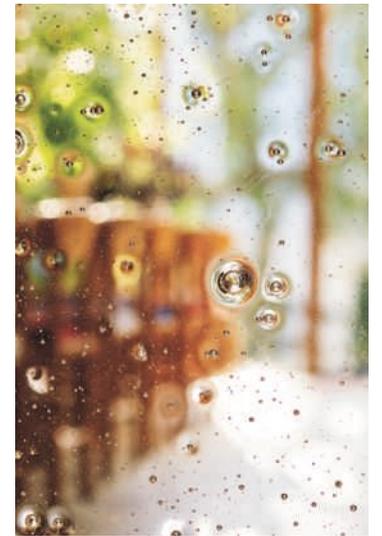
you're trying to achieve a fire rating," Buck says. "That means we can utilize them in places where you wouldn't otherwise be able to put a transparent material." Swartz echoed that point, explaining that their fire-separation properties were one of the original reasons glass blocks came into use. "If there is a fire in

your house, glass will just shatter, whereas the glass blocks will last longer."

Guerin points out that glass blocks share many of the same properties as masonry blocks and can be used, within reason, in a similar way. "There is load-bearing capacity there; there is horizontal wind-loading and, by extension, seismic capacity there to withstand things." The steel rods incorporated while installing glass blocks help, too.

Maybe the most famous example of using glass blocks for structural integrity can be found within the Maison Hermès, the Japanese headquarters of the luxe French brand, in the heart of

MARK IS FRED



CHRISTOPHER STURMAN

Glass blocks have many variations now, such as these with bubbles, used in a project by Brent Buck Architects.

Tokyo's Ginza shopping district. Hermès commissioned Italian architect Renzo Piano in 1998 to build its headquarters in compliance with Tokyo's stringent earthquake and fire regulations. According to the Renzo Piano Building Workshop, "the glass block facade is designed to act like a curtain in the event of an earthquake, allowing it to move via the flexible seals between the blocks by as much as 4mm, absorbing rather than resisting seismic shock."

They're cool

From Maison de Verre to Soho sidewalks, glass blocks have an architectural history that is more cutting-edge and timeless than their 1980s reputation might suggest. "Glass blocks, in my mind, [aren't 1980s Miami]; they're early modernist in 1930s Paris," Guerin says. "Good design grows out of historic appreciation."

And besides, "the blocks are cool," Swartz says. "They're this really old product that has been reused in a more beautiful, modern way."

Hannah Holland is a news producer and freelance writer based in Brooklyn.

Mark Fessenden has always been a true "jack of all trades". Before entering the remodeling business, Mark was a chef for 20 years. He transitioned into the remodeling industry 26 years ago when he started his own company. Mark was drawn to the Fred team in 2001, driven by his passion for bringing solutions and joy to his clients. Mark holds a Certified Lead Carpenter (CLC) designation. Find out how all 35 of us at FRED are here to take on repairs and renovations **just the way you like it.**

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PHOTOS BY JAMES ROH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A guide to no fuss, anxiety-free hosting that's not a dinner party

BY CAITLIN HUSON

Eli McCann snapped a photo of his husband, Skylar Westerdahl, gardening in the front yard of their Salt Lake City home in April, with a friend sitting nearby on their stoop.

It wasn't the photo that went viral on X so much as what McCann wrote: "My husband has been doing gardening all afternoon and he has been scheduling his friends in shifts to come and sit with him while he does it so he has company. He is not asking for their help. He just wants them to be present. He has given each a watermelon popsicle."

Westerdahl didn't think he was doing anything particularly noteworthy by inviting a friend to visit while he worked on his to-do list. But thousands of people praised the genius behind these "friend shifts."

"I think [Westerdahl] figured out the key to having friends as adults," one person commented on the post. "Getting things done



ABOVE: From left, Skylar Westerdahl gardens while Troy Williams, Sunny Washington, Becky Pickle and Eli McCann enjoy a picnic at Westerdahl and McCann's home in Salt Lake City. **LEFT:** Guests enjoy sangria set out by Westerdahl.

and having friend time."

Dining out is getting increasingly expensive, and free places where people can socialize without time limits can be hard to find. Inviting people into our homes seems like the smartest option to combat loneliness and spend time with our friends. But for people who suffer from hospitality-induced anxiety, this may seem daunting.

Westerdahl says hosting a party with lots of people and an elaborate dinner spread feels overwhelming. Inviting a friend over for a chat and a watermelon ice pop, though? "That's a totally

SEE ANXIETY ON 12



PHOTOS BY JAMES ROH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Hosting doesn't have to be elaborate and stressful. Here's how to do it.

ANXIETY FROM 11

different, less stressful situation, and I like it so much more," he says.

Here, experts share why we should host friends in our homes more often — and suggestions for low-stakes, low-stress ways to do it.

Prioritizing time with friends

Making — and keeping — friends in adulthood isn't always easy, but social connections are important for our mental and physical well-being, according to Marisa Franco, a professor at the University of Maryland who teaches a course on loneliness, and the author of "Platonic: How the Science of Attachment Can Help You Make — and Keep — Friends."

"Connection is really just the most important thing in our life," Franco says. "It makes us happier than anything else does. It extends our life more than our diet does, more than exercise."

But it requires work and time — and a place to gather, which can be challenging given the lack of access to free community spaces, such as parks and libraries. Alex Hinand, an entertaining coach in Chicago who helps people organize and host events, favors hosting at home, and he works with clients to find meaningful ways to do that. "Coming

out of covid, we were so used to not letting people into our homes, or going into other people's homes," Hinand says. "I think [hosting] still feels like a very formal affair. But the more we do it, the more comfortable we get, the more we flex and work these muscles, the easier it will become."

Overcoming hosting anxiety

Westerdahl didn't realize there was a name for what he was doing by inviting friends to keep him company while he gardened. "Body doubling" is a productivity strategy for making frustrating tasks more palatable, often used by people with ADHD. The idea is

ABOVE: Skylar Westerdahl takes a break from gardening to hand a glass of sangria to Becky Pickle. BELOW LEFT: Westerdahl, left, and McCann at their home in Salt Lake City. BELOW RIGHT: Westerdahl gardens while hosting friends, including Troy Williams, left, and Sunny Washington.



that having someone there with you helps you stay focused.

Melia Smith of St. Paul, Minn., says body doubling has been a path to hosting friends more often. She and a friend hang out together while they clean their apartments. "It's given me more confidence about not having my space look Instagram-ready, which I didn't realize was weighing on me so much," she says. "It has taken some of the stigma out of showing someone my house when it's not at its best."

This is a concern that Hinand hears often. People feel vulnerable about inviting guests into their homes. In some cases, they worry about being judged for how perfect or imperfect their space is. In other cases, they feel social anxiety: Will my friends show up? Will they enjoy it?

Making yourself vulnerable, though, can benefit your friendships, Franco says. It helps to remember that you tend to view yourself — and your space — more critically than others do. That's a psychological phenomenon known as "the beautiful mess effect."

"When people show you their messiness, it indicates to someone that I trust you enough to see this vulnerable side of me and not judge me, which is why vulnerability tends to make us feel closer," Franco says.

The messiness of being vulnerable, and the literal messiness of our homes, can be stressful and scary, but Hinand says, "It doesn't have to be, and your friends don't want it to be either. They just want to spend time with you and be invited into your safe space."

Abby Daykin of Spokane, Wash., agrees. "If I ever go into anyone's home and it's messy, it feels like a gift," she says. "Like they are telling me they love me and trust me and don't feel the need to perform for me."

Reframing what it means to host

Other barriers to hosting friends, according to Hinand, include time and cost. But if you

reframe what hosting means to you, and let go of the idea that you must put on a fancy menu or lavish party, you can overcome those obstacles as well.

Start by inviting one person over, Hinand says. "Have your best friend over for an art night. Watch your favorite TV show together. Do some of that body doubling. Start small and work your way up."

Even as you add more people to the mix, you don't have to think of new activities or provide anything extra.

A friend of Hinand's hosts art nights once a month. People bring whatever project they're working on, such as watercolors or needlepoint. "It's a dedicated time for all of them to devote to being creative, however they want to be creative," he says.

When planning your gathering, think about your friends' strengths and interests, and look for where they align with yours, Franco says. "Whatever those things are, let's do them together at home."

For example, Stephanie Bennett of Winston-Salem, N.C., puzzles with a friend. "We take turns acquiring puzzles and donating our kitchen table to the cause," she says. Daykin likes to have a friend over to help repot plants. And Jennifer Armstrong, who lives in Bristow, Va., enjoys the "come if you can" potlucks her friends host weekly during the summer.

"Incorporating people into your regular life — however messy or loud or uneventful or boring — makes people feel comfortable and safe together," Armstrong says. "The more you do it, the less hard or overwhelming it seems."

Westerdahl agrees. Whether it's a last-minute "friend shift" or a planned gathering, he says, just pick a spot in your home that you enjoy or feel proud of — whether that's the garden, the dining table or the front porch. "Focus on the good part of where you live," he says. "If you like it, your friends will probably like it too."





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HOUSE OF THE WEEK

This home has hosted high-powered D.C. parties

BY SOPHIA SOLANO

This French Colonial-style house at the end of a quiet cul-de-sac in D.C.'s Massachusetts Avenue Heights neighborhood is somewhat deceiving. Its out-of-the-way location, two miles from downtown Washington, helps camouflage the role it has played as a gathering spot for high-powered business, political and sports leaders.

Seclusion is part of what attracted owners Michelle Fields and Jamie Weinstein to this white, painted-brick house, built in 1966, as the venue for their much-discussed (in some circles) off-the-record dinner parties.

Weinstein, a journalist and political commentator, runs the flagship podcast for conservative digital media company the Dispatch. He began hosting soirees at his Ritz-Carlton Georgetown corner unit in 2012, pairing young reporters with their sources — and subjects — for evenings of privileged discussion. Since 2020, the parties have been held at 3115 Normanstone Terr. NW, now on the market for \$3.29 million.

The get-togethers, Weinstein said, sometimes last four or five hours. There are no planned topics of conversation for the reporters and notable guests, who recently have included New York Mayor Eric Adams, former Microsoft CEO Steve Ballmer, businessman and TV personality Mark Cuban and Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.). Weinstein declared the dinner with Sanders “particularly fiery” in an Instagram post.

Such parties were “top of mind,” Fields said, when she and husband Weinstein bought the house. They wanted one that had plenty of entertainment space and that was removed from the bustle of downtown.

“It helps [guests] open up a little bit more because you’re not in the center of the work world in a certain way,” Weinstein said. “When you’re in D.C., you see the buildings all around and feel work, work, work, work. And when you’re here, you feel like you’re in the country.”

Another consideration favoring a larger house was their growing family. The couple had a 1-year-old child, and Fields was pregnant with a second. They made some child-friendly renovations, including closing off a spiral staircase.

Before Weinstein and Fields lived here, the house was owned for decades by Stanley Rabinowitz, a long-serving rabbi at the Adas Israel Congregation in



TOWNSEND VISUALS/TTR SOTHEBY'S



Washington, where he led services attended by members of Congress, White House officials and visiting Israeli prime ministers.

The house was built in 1966 and has two floors above a finished lower level and more than 5,000 square feet of living area. The front door opens to a foyer with marble floors. On one side is a dining room with hardwood floors and crown molding. The other side has a living room with a

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: The formal living room has French doors that lead to a terrace. The French front doors are flanked by flowers. At the back of the house, the lower level patio sits below a long balcony.

fireplace and French doors that open to a rear terrace. The kitchen — with an island, wine storage and a breakfast area — connects to a family room with oversize paned windows and a vaulted ceiling. This level also has a powder room and a gym.

The second floor has a primary bedroom suite with a fireplace, a balcony, a walk-in closet and a bathroom with a two-sink vanity. There are three more bedrooms

**\$3,290,000**

3115 Normanstone Terr. NW, Washington, D.C.

Bedrooms/bathrooms: 5/6**Approximate square footage:** 5,000**Lot size:** nearly half an acre

Features: This 1966 house has several fireplaces, crown moldings, French doors, paned windows and several outdoor spaces. The property includes a detached two-car garage.

Listing agent: Michael Rankin, TTR Sotheby's International Realty

on this floor, one with an en suite bathroom and two that share a bathroom, one of which has a balcony.

On the lower level, a recreation room with a fireplace connects to an office. This level also has a bedroom with an en suite bathroom, and it has a laundry room and access to a covered terrace.

The property includes a detached two-car garage across the street.

BUYING NEW

Townhouses near Tysons are a residential oasis

BY HOPE HODGE SECK

Tysons in Northern Virginia draws shoppers to malls and commuters to office buildings. Abundant condominium units beckon to eager home buyers. But townhouses and single-family houses have been harder to come by in this decidedly urban D.C. suburb. Regional developer EYA aims to change that with Tysons Ridge, a community of 104 townhouses on the site of what was a 1970s office building.

Tysons Ridge, according to EYA's sales team, was designed to feel like a residential oasis, with trees, walking trails and open spaces for communal activities and meditation.

The layout of Tysons Ridge forms the outline of a house, a nod to what the developer wants residents to find amid the nightlife, shopping and other activities nearby in Tysons, said David Ortiz, the sales manager of the development.

"They want to go out to dinner. They want to have a lifestyle. Maybe they travel," Ortiz said of target buyers at Tysons Ridge. "But, at the same time, they love the fact that when you close the door in our homes, it's respite. And when they walk the sidewalk and paths and sit in our park and Zen garden, it's the same thing. They have these moments of neighborhood calm away from it, even though they're still right here in the heart of it."

That approach seems to have worked. Although all the townhouses except for two model homes remain under construction, with completion expected in summer 2025, all but nine have already sold.

The development has four floor plans offering a range of sizes and named for trendy, walkable U.S. cities: the Brookline (Massachusetts), the Carmel (California), the Evanston (Illinois) and the Durham (North Carolina).

The four floor plans have a loft level with a rooftop terrace, and they have a two-car garage. Some have an optional elevator serving the four levels and an optional multigenerational suite on the entry level.

The multigenerational suite option, EYA sales managers said, responded to feedback from buyers at other developments who expressed a need for a separate space for grown children or parents.

The Brookline has 1,690 square feet with three bedrooms, three full bathrooms and a powder room. The two-car garage makes up the lower level, with stairs ascending to an open-plan living, dining and kitchen space. The kitchen has a breakfast-bar island with a sink, and it has access to an optional 5-by-14-foot deck.

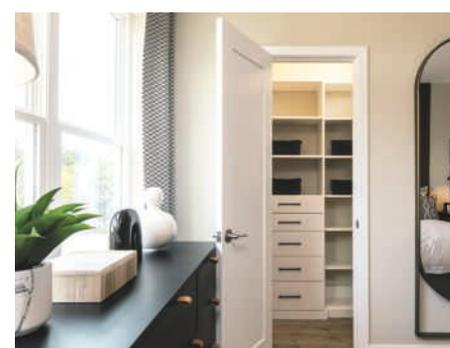
The third level has a primary bedroom suite with two walk-in closets and an en suite bathroom with a two-sink vanity. A second bedroom on this level also has an en suite bathroom. The fourth level has a bedroom with a storage area that can be upgraded to another bathroom. This level also has a loft that opens to an 11½-by-15-foot deck overlooking the front yard.

Prices started at \$999,710, and all have been sold.

The Carmel, with 2,350 square feet, has



PHOTOS BY BENJAMIN C TANKERSLEY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: A view from the kitchen in the Carmel. A closet in the Brookline has built-in shelves. The Tysons Ridge development, which will be completed next summer, is on the site of what was a 1970s office building. The Carmel living area has lots of natural light.



up to five bedrooms and 4½ bathrooms. The garage level includes space for a roomy study with optional French doors and a wall-length closet. The main level is configured like the Brookline, but in a wider layout and with a larger optional deck — 18 feet wide compared with 14. The third level in the Carmel includes three bedrooms instead of two, with a fourth standard bedroom on the loft level.

Prices start at \$1,294,800, and just one Carmel is available.

The Evanston has 2,840 square feet and is 23 feet wide, compared with the 15-foot-wide Brookline. One of the roomier configurations at Tysons Ridge, the Evanston has an optional study or multigenerational suite on the garage and entry level, as well

as space for either an elevator serving all levels or a storage closet on each level.

In addition to features found on other floor plans, the Evanston has a large great room at the rear of the main floor, with options to add a gas fireplace and an adjoining deck. The third level has a second walk-in closet accessible from the primary bedroom suite and the option of a rear extension of the suite.

Prices start at \$1,474,900, and three Evanstons are available.

The development has just two Durham townhouses, the largest model at Tysons Ridge. The Durham, with 3,140 square feet, has all the features that are optional on other floor plans and a few more: The garage level has a mud room and extra

Tysons Ridge

7700 Leesburg Pike, Falls Church, VA (mailing address)

Builder: EYA

Type of home: Townhouse

Price: Starting at \$999,710

Fees: \$195 a month

Units: 104 (9 available)

Bedrooms: 3 to 5

Bathrooms: 2.5 to 4.5

Square footage: 1,690 to 3,140

Sales: David Ortiz and Jamal Smith, (571) 252-3278

Website: eya.com/new-townhomes/tysons-va/tysons-ridge

storage in addition to the garage and the suite/study space. The main level has a pantry in the kitchen and a large family room at the back. The third level has four walk-in closets and a laundry room, with a fifth walk-in adjoining the bedroom on the loft level.

The Durham price starts at \$1,590,777, and one remains available.

The townhouses have energy-efficient features, including argon gas-filled windows for better insulation and reduced heating costs; tankless water heaters; LED lighting; and Energy Star-certified appliances.

Kitchen countertops and bathroom floors are quartz, and main-level floors are finished in scratch-resistant vinyl. All appliances, except for the optional washer and dryer, come standard with the unit. Bathroom fixtures are Kohler; kitchens have Samsung and Bosch appliances.

Community amenities and recreation

Tysons Ridge — in Fairfax County with a Falls Church mailing address — will occupy 6.7 acres, including 2.6 acres of open space. Nearly a full acre is designated for what the developer calls community parks and gathering areas. The gathering spaces will include a fitness area, a short walking trail, a meditation labyrinth, a playground and a fire pit with landscaped seating areas, developers said.

Tysons Ridge is within a five-minute drive of Tysons Corner Center mall, Tysons Galleria mall and the Capital One Center for shopping and entertainment. Idylwood Plaza, with a Whole Foods Market and a Trader Joe's, is a half-mile away. On either side of the community are small county parks with green space for dog walking and recreation.

The Mosaic District, an open-air urban mall that offers activities and performances on a central green space, is five miles away. D.C. is a 12-mile commute via Interstate 66.

Schools: Westgate Elementary, Kilmer Middle, Marshall High School.

Transportation: The Tysons Metro station, on the Silver Line, is less than two miles from Tysons Ridge. The 28A bus stops just outside the development on Leesburg Pike.

ON PARENTING

My husband says our baby is ‘crying for attention.’ What do I do?

BY MEGHAN LEAHY

Dear Meghan: What is the best way for parents to align on parenting styles? And which parenting “style” choices are actually nonnegotiable? I’m already seeing ways my husband and I differ in parenting our 7-month-old. For example, my husband is annoyed and unresponsive because the 7-month-old is “just crying for attention.” I’m anticipating disagreements as our son finds his voice and more independence.

We grew up in fairly stern households with isolation “time outs” as punishment and (for me) spanking for talking back. Unsurprisingly, both of us aren’t great at expressing or talking about feelings. I’m really trying to break that cycle but am having a tough time knowing where to start.

I think my husband would be open to discussion and does care about being a good parent, but I want to make sure that we are aligned on a framework for what “good” means that isn’t falling back on parenting like our parents. I’m not sure that my husband would agree that his parents’ approach wasn’t good, so I think I need another trusted source of info to lay out a better way.

— Looking for a better way

Looking for a better way: I love this question because, it seems to me, parents are more pressured than ever to get on the “same page.” You are somehow meant to be “aligned” and even at times, a mind reader, and I think this notion is killing parents. Of course, get your values together and have thoughtful conversations with your partner, but I find that the pressure of being “aligned” can also squeeze out any grace, room for mistakes and changes, as well as compassion for yourself and your partner.

When it comes to “nonnegotiables,” parents are often surprised that I have a very low bar (practically speaking). No spanking, humiliation, silent treatment, name calling, withholding of love and

affection, or nonsensical punishments and consequences. No physical, emotional, sexual, psychological or spiritual abuse. Almost everything else is up for grabs depending on the child and the family.

I am dismayed but not surprised at your spouse’s “just crying for attention” statement. “Children are wild beasts that need to be tamed” is an old way of seeing children that, even though it’s been debunked by science, still has a grip on parents today. And while your spouse isn’t “abusive” toward your baby, it is a form of neglect to be unresponsive to a baby crying. All babies cry, of course, and it is appropriate to listen for a moment for the “I am falling asleep cry” (for example). However, purposely not responding to teach the baby “a lesson” actually interferes with your baby’s attachment to your partner, and that’s not what your partner wants.

While you don’t want to tell your spouse that he could be irreparably hurting his relationship with his son, you can explain a little attachment 101. A baby cries for attention; that’s all his body and young mind can do. He relies on his parents for everything, and crying is a form of him saying, “Stay near me; I need you.” It is not manipulation, nor does it need to be disciplined out of him. Young children need to stay close to their parents and caretakers to feel safe, and we don’t mature unless we feel safe. A baby’s nervous system regulates, over and

over, with connection. And with common-sense, relationship-first, responsive parenting, you actually never have to “ignore” your child’s needs to teach them a lesson, but that’s another column altogether.

As for parenting styles, every child, even multiple children within the same family, needs something slightly different from their parents. You cannot plan for this; it’s a “learning on the job” kind of gig. If you adopt a highly specific style of parenting early on, it will only get in the way of the actual needs in front of you. Your child is your best teacher, and responding to his cues in his early years is your only needed parenting “style.”

It sounds like both of you are interested in learning and growing individually and together as parents. You don’t need to worry about your spouse understanding that his childhood was tough; that will come in its own time. There are more immediate needs that should be addressed, such as making sure your spouse doesn’t withhold affection from his infant son. I would begin with Daniel Siegel and Mary Hartzell’s book, “Parenting from the Inside Out” and Siegel’s book with Tina Payne Bryson, “The Power of Showing Up.” These science-driven books are full of compassion for caregivers and children and should be on every parent’s bookshelf. I also love Louise Bates Ames’s development books; starting at one year of age, her common-sense and

attachment-based approach is a balm for weary parents.

I would also recommend some good parenting classes or one-on-one coaching. Whether that’s in person or online, please look for something “attachment-based” rather than behavioral. There may come a time for some behavioral modification (rewards and consequences), but your son is still too young for this way of parenting. Look for coaches who won’t shame your husband for holding these old beliefs and ways from his childhood. He is doing the best he can with what he has (as we all are), and the willingness to get support and learn something new is worth its weight in gold.

Finally, I want to offer empathy and compassion for you, your partner and every caretaker reading this who experienced spanking, being sent away, isolation or not being able to express their emotions safely. It leaves deep marks when the people who are supposed to offer us unconditional love physically and emotionally abuse and hurt us. These marks can remain hidden until we begin our parenting journeys, and then we start to behave in ways that we never “chose” and don’t want! While uncomfortable, you and your spouse are being invited to change. You can do it, and your son is relying on you. Good luck.

Send parenting questions to Leahy at onparenting@washpost.com.

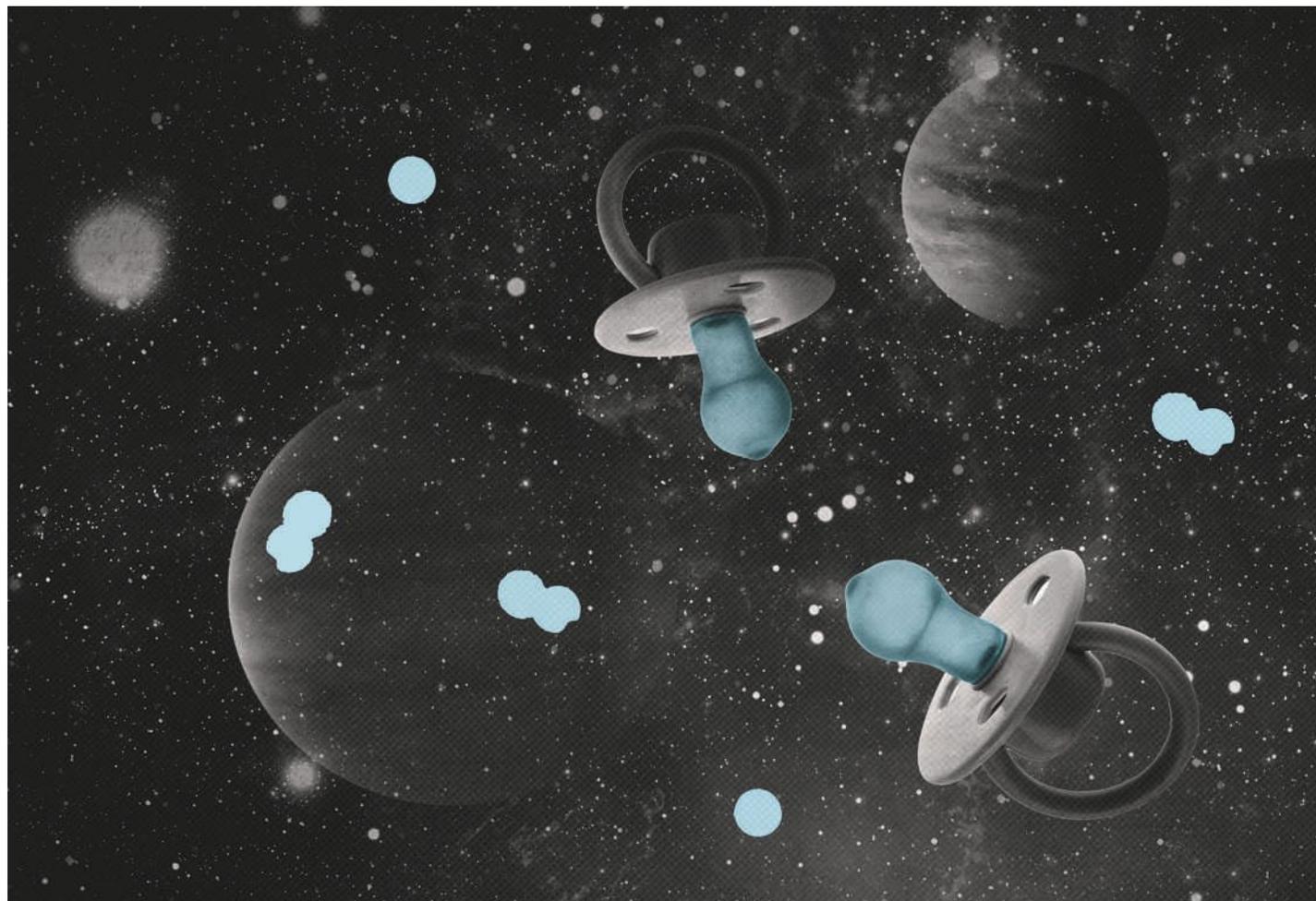


ILLUSTRATION BY MARÍA ALCONADA BROOKS/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

Home Sales

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

These sales data recorded by the D.C. Office of Tax and Revenue were provided by Black Knight Inc.

NORTHEAST

Anacostia Ave., 673, \$583,000.
Bryant St., 1822, \$190,000.
C St., 1645, \$1.01 million.
Clay St., 5927, \$330,000.
D St., 306, \$2.12 million.
Downing St., 1347, \$555,000.
Eads St., 3427, \$432,500.
Edson Pl., 4269, \$836,170.
F St., 1391, \$885,000.
Florida Ave., 623, No. 1, \$738,500.
Gales St., 1710, No. 3, \$390,000.
H St., 1947, \$395,000.
Holbrook Terr., 1102, No. 1, \$325,000.
Just St., 5060, \$410,000.
Kearny St., 1336, \$400,000.
L St., 1629, No. 205, \$295,000.
Lyman Pl., 1724, \$675,000.
Meigs Pl., 1251, No. 2, \$312,000.
Oglethorpe St., 667, \$420,000.
Penn St., 1114, \$730,000.
Quincy Pl., 116, \$550,000.
S St., 2237, \$540,000.
Summit Ct., 3439, \$375,000.
Theodore R Hagans Dr., 3236, \$690,000.
Webster St., 211, \$730,000.
Fifth St., 1120, \$658,000.

10th St., 810, \$799,000.
12th St., 5115, \$475,000.
14th St., 5014, \$550,000.
18th St., 820, No. A, \$245,000.
19th St., 325, \$790,000.
24th St., 564, \$595,000.
48th Pl., 144, \$485,000.
60th St., 306, \$360,000.

NORTHWEST

Albemarle St., 4919, \$1.75 million.
Belmont St., 1336, No. 301, \$1.08 million.
California St., 1860, \$370,000.
Calvert St., 1916, \$1.67 million.
Capitol St. N., 2120, \$962,000.
Cedar St., 343, No. 102, \$535,000.
Clifton St., 1431, \$389,900.
Columbia Rd., 1669, \$345,000.
Connecticut Ave., 2829, No. 302, \$385,000.
Connecticut Ave., 3701, No. 309, \$285,000.
Connecticut Ave., 4600, No. 904, \$310,000.
Decatur St., 716, \$1.02 million.
Eastern Ave., 6622, \$820,000.
Emerson St., 805, \$575,000.
Fairmont St., 751, No. 2, \$599,000.
Floral St., 1433, \$1.24 million.
Foxhall Cres., 4500, \$2.05 million.
Garrison St., 3933, \$2.15 million.

Georgia Ave., 7700, No. 206, \$335,000.
Harrison St., 3840, \$1.66 million.
Harvard St., 1631, \$1.6 million.
I St., 2400, \$885,260.
K St., 2515, No. 508, \$272,000.
Kenmore Dr., 4631, \$1.49 million.
L St., 2425, No. 735, \$650,000.
Logan Cir., 7, No. 10, \$533,100.
M St., 1011, No. 609, \$670,000.
MacArthur Blvd., 5314, \$1.37 million.
Massachusetts Ave., 400, No. 220, \$695,000.
Massachusetts Ave., 1711, No. 419, \$245,000.
McKinley St., 3509, \$1.61 million.
N St., 57, No. 302, \$490,000.
N St., 1745, No. 409, \$1.12 million.
Nebraska Ave., 6217, \$1.3 million.
New Hampshire Ave., 4112, \$751,000.
New Mexico Ave., 2801, No. 1410, \$650,000.
New York Ave., 69, \$936,500.
Northampton St., 3727, \$1.74 million.
Oliver St., 3110, \$1.24 million.
Ontario Rd., 2426, No. 103, \$400,000.
P St., 1718, No. L10, \$300,000.
Park Rd., 737, \$929,500.
Pennsylvania Ave., 2555, No. 419, \$667,250.

Porter St., 3020, \$305,000.
Q St., 1615, No. 207, \$625,000.
Quincy Pl., 67, \$1.08 million.
R St., 3120, No. 206, \$432,500.
Rhode Island Ave., 70, No. 502, \$605,000.
Rittenhouse St., 601, \$699,000.
S St., 711, No. 2, \$175,000.
Stephenson Pl., 3017, \$2.58 million.
T St., 84, No. 1, \$538,000.
Taylor St., 1331, No. 1, \$520,000.
Tewkesbury Pl., 712, \$465,000.
U St., 145, \$1.3 million.
Upshur St., 605, \$1.1 million.
Utah Ave., 5931, \$2.7 million.
Van Ness St., 2939, No. 204, \$227,500.
W St., 27, \$765,000.
Washington Cir., 3, No. 1003, \$460,000.
Westover Pl., 4347, \$1.25 million.
Wisconsin Ave., 2501, No. 301, \$1.01 million.
Wisconsin Ave., 3100, No. 100, \$326,500.
Wyoming Ave., 1848, No. 402, \$522,000.
First St., 1928, \$1.09 million.
Second St., 5424, \$455,000.
Third St., 6202, \$725,000.
Fifth St., 3912, \$920,000.
Seventh Pl., 5017, \$999,300.
Seventh St., 6601, \$875,000.
Eighth St., 7439, \$620,000.

Ninth St., 5908, No. 5, \$585,000.
12th Pl., 2245, \$815,000.
12th St., 7712, \$685,000.
13th St., 1510, \$1.54 million.
14th St., 2125, No. 903, \$1.09 million.
15th St., 2331, No. 404-S, \$452,000.
16th St., 3523, \$1.42 million.
17th St., 2550, No. 510, \$475,000.
19th St., 3205, \$1.35 million.
22nd St., 1177, No. 9H, \$1.78 million.
25th St., 950, \$210,000.
29th St., 6217, \$1.79 million.
34th St., 1671, \$3.9 million.
38th St., 3607, No. 74, \$415,000.
42nd St., 5018, \$1.31 million.

SOUTHEAST

A St., 1841, \$1.08 million.
Ayers Pl., 5011, \$455,000.
Bass Pl., 5453, \$433,000.
Burbank St., 476, \$349,900.
C St., 5409, \$480,000.
Congress Pl., 1413, \$330,000.
D St., 1609, \$998,000.
E St., 600, \$2.25 million.
Fort Dupont St., 1623, \$490,000.
G St., 1432, \$2.45 million.
Hillside Rd., 4644, \$540,000.
K St., 1331, No. 201, \$385,000.
Massachusetts Ave., 3457, \$315,000.

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Home Sales

HOMES FROM 1

N St., 3016, \$745,000.
Newcomb St., 514, \$200,000.
Parkland Pl., 339, \$445,000.
S St., 1838, \$445,000.
Southern Ave., 3820, No. A, \$161,500.
Texas Ave., 3569, \$640,000.
Van St., 1211, No. 805, \$689,900.
Xenia St., 123, \$285,000.
Fifth St., 549, \$1.22 million.
14th St., 251, No. A, \$848,500.
17th St., 521, \$1.19 million.
24th St., 3437, \$410,000.
36th St., 2328, \$625,000.

SOUTHWEST

Elmira St., 161, \$240,000.
Wharf St., 601, \$5.05 million.
Third St., 1101, No. 409, \$289,000.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

These sales data recorded by the Maryland Department of Assessments and Taxation were provided by Black Knight Inc.

ASPEN HILL AREA

Adrian St., 4618, \$475,000.
Columbine Way, 15004, \$755,000.
Heathfield Rd., 4011, \$565,000.
Myer Terr., 14414, \$697,000.
Promontory Ct., 16316, \$922,000.
Waterway Ct., 4, \$1.31 million.

BELTSVILLE AREA

Cherry Hill Rd., 11408, No. 202, \$170,000.

BETHESDA AREA

Bannockburn Dr., 6306, \$2.29 million.
Battery Lane, 5000, No. 501, \$648,000.
Bradmoor Dr., 8606, \$2.44 million.
Burdette Rd., 8300, No. 511, \$1.52 million.
Carlynn Dr., 8424, \$1.26 million.
Chalon Dr., 8804, \$3.95 million.
Dahlonga Rd., 6212, \$2.5 million.
Elsmere Ave., 5201, \$879,000.

Gladwyne Dr., 4524, \$725,000.
Grubby Thicket Way, 7212, \$1.18 million.
Holiday Terr., 7704, \$2.58 million.
Jamestown Rd., 4903, \$1.31 million.
Kentbury Dr., 7905, \$1.82 million.
Lindale Dr., 9512, \$695,000.
Marjory Lane, 6409, \$2.44 million.
Montrose Ave., 10405, No. M2, \$244,000.
Nevis Rd., 7502, \$1 million.
Osceola Rd., 5909, \$1.25 million.
Redwing Rd., 6217, \$2.05 million.
River Quarry Pl., 8206, \$1.31 million.
Sentinel Dr., 5011, No. 61, \$330,000.
Town Gate Lane, 9118, \$1.4 million.
Wadsworth Dr., 9410, \$1.22 million.
Westland Rd., 6401, \$950,000.
Wildoak Dr., 9509, \$2 million.
Winterberry Lane, 6832, \$1.66 million.

BOYDS AREA

Barnesville Rd., 15321, \$670,000.

BRIGHTON AREA

Tanbark Ct., 513, \$1.23 million.

BROOKEVILLE AREA

Quail Hollow Terr., 3020, \$45,000.

BURTONSVILLE AREA

Briarcliff Manor Way, 15112, \$777,000.
Lansdale Ct., 3803, No. 67-11, \$260,000.
Thistlewood Terr., 4343, \$400,000.

CALVERTON-COLESVILLE AREA

Brantford Ave., 1011, \$575,000.
Carters Grove Dr., 1805, \$398,000.
Gordon Rd., 11822, \$732,000.
Hidden Valley Lane, 2434, \$735,000.
Modrad Way, 13703, \$235,000.
Northwyn Dr., 14107, \$740,000.
Serpentine Ct., 1, \$716,000.
Venice Dr., 1006, \$610,000.

CHEVY CHASE AREA

Chevy Chase Blvd., 4919, \$1.54 million.
Coquelin Terr., 3203, \$1.07 million.
Ellingson Dr., 8017, \$1.57 million.
Glenmoor Dr., 3515, \$935,000.
Langdrum Lane, 4801, \$1.93 million.
Park Ave. N., 4550, No. 1001, \$550,000.
Williams Lane, 3818, \$1.8 million.

CLARKSBURG AREA

Bright Sky Dr., 22365, \$906,000.
Cabin Branch Ave., 22217, \$791,600.
Deets Manor Ct., 23309, No. 2142, \$338,000.
Goldeneye Cir., 13504, \$525,620.
Harrier Way, 13561, \$570,110.
Newcut Rd., 22962, No. 2351, \$420,000.
Shaws Tavern Ct., 23208, No. 2228, \$405,000.
Winding Woods Way, 22375, \$880,000.

CLOVERLY-EDNOR AREA

Aylesbury St., 15420, \$630,000.
Foster Rd., 1507, \$660,000.
Piping Rock Dr., 508, \$624,000.
Soapstone Lane, 332, \$735,000.
Wembrough St., 15408, \$615,000.

DAMASCUS AREA

Holsey Rd., 9430, \$565,000.
Lewis Dr., 10116, \$451,000.
Valley Park Terr., 25714, No. G-2, \$365,000.

DERWOOD AREA

Flatwood Dr., 17000, \$875,000.
Granby Rd., 6113, \$707,700.
Millcrest Terr., 7222, \$450,000.
Universal Ct., 7013, \$871,800.

FOUR CORNERS-BURNT MILLS AREA

Biltmore Dr., 9507, \$660,000.
Franklin Ave. E., 707, \$620,000.
Hannes St., 232, \$552,500.
Lorain Ave., 10712, \$740,000.
Marshall Ave., 9700, \$815,000.
Sonata Ct., 2, \$500,000.
Timberwood Ave., 305, \$540,000.

GAITHERSBURG AREA

Benji Ct., 40, No. 129, \$290,000.
Briarstone Lane, 18, \$350,000.
Coriander Dr., 7903, No. 203, \$165,000.
Gaither St., 436, \$300,000.
Harkness Lane, 19120, \$610,100.
Langport Terr., 8208, \$595,000.
Mineral Springs Dr., 7832, \$485,000.
Pompano Terr., 7234, \$695,000.
Sol Pl., 19501, \$614,990.
Sunnyside Ct., 2, \$700,000.
Wye Mill Ct., 312, \$450,000.

GAITHERSBURG-NORTH POTOMAC AREA

Argosy Dr., 206, \$945,000.
Bent Twig Lane, 139, No. 316, \$185,000.
Copley Pl., 524, No. 5-B, \$615,000.
Dufief Ct., 11, \$452,000.
Frances Green Ct., 2, \$1.07 million.
Grand St., 332, \$675,000.
Hemingway Dr., 209, \$835,000.
Kent Gardens Cir., 9, \$919,900.
Morning Light Terr., 12411, \$425,000.
Outpost Dr., 11036, \$485,000.
Potomac Hunt Rd., 12448, \$2.28 million.
Quince Orchard Blvd., 800, No. P1, \$185,000.
Seurat Dr., 15834, \$975,000.
Smoky Bell Lane, 14023, \$1.63 million.
Talley Lane, 12813, \$1.7 million.
Upshire Cir., 106, \$830,000.
Watch Hill Lane, 407, \$640,000.

GERMANTOWN AREA

Ambassador Dr., 13511, \$277,000.
Black Stallion Way, 17806, \$875,000.
Country Ridge Dr., 13119, \$420,000.
Crystal Rock Ct., 17, \$400,000.
Esworthy Rd., 14040, \$985,000.
Harvest Glen Way, 13656, No. D-7, \$189,990.
Larkspur Ct., 20110, \$380,000.
Mossbrook Ct., 19308, \$529,900.

Point Seneca Pl., 18420, \$370,000.
Shadyside Lane, 13108, No. 9-140, \$295,000.
Timber Oak Lane, 20176, No. 166, \$455,000.
Wanegarden Dr., 13728, \$557,000.

KENSINGTON AREA

Blueford Rd., 3105, \$490,000.
Drumm Ave., 10414, \$800,000.
Kensington Pkwy., 9900, \$1.25 million.
Strathmore Ave., 5221, \$821,000.

LAYTONSVILLE AREA

Clematis Dr., 24216, \$982,400.
Goshen Mill Ct., 8821, \$725,000.
Low Meadow Dr., 9609, \$975,000.
Welsh Rd., 24113, \$510,000.

MONTGOMERY VILLAGE AREA

Bazzellton Pl., 19813, \$425,000.
Canal Rd., 9836, \$642,500.
Docena Ct., 27, \$275,000.
Hickory View Pl., 9437, \$390,000.
Mills Choice Rd., 19034, No. 4, \$102,800.
Montgomery Village Ave., 19564, \$202,520.
Octavia Ct., 20016, \$625,000.
Royal Woods Ct., 10319, \$366,500.
Stedwick Dr., 19157, \$395,000.
Village Walk Dr., 19510, No. 2-103, \$324,900.
Walker House Rd., 9904, No. 2, \$215,000.
Whetstone Dr., 9604, \$625,000.

MULLINIX AREA

Ridge Rd., 28745, \$130,000.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ESTATES-HILLANDALE AREA

Piney Branch Rd., 8830, No. 908, \$110,000.

NORBECK-LAYHILL AREA

Alderton Lane, 1320, \$356,250.
Bel Pre Rd., 3900, No. 6, \$180,000.
Camelback Lane, 2601, No. 11-10, \$284,900.
Chippewa Pl., 2124, \$500,000.

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Home Sales

HOMES FROM 2

Cleese Ct., 14913, No. 4-A-B, \$250,000.
Edelmar Terr., 3626, No. 125-B, \$290,000.
Forest Edge Dr., 3511, No. 17-1F, \$165,320.
Greenery Lane, 2305, No. 103-3, \$235,000.
Hutchinson Ct., 6, \$790,000.
Interlachen Dr., 15107, No. 2-521, \$160,000.
Leisure World Blvd. N., 2900, No. 208, \$184,000.
Leisure World Blvd. N., 3200, No. 117, \$445,000.
Leisure World Blvd. N., 3310, No. 529, \$245,000.
Leisure World Blvd. S., 2901, No. 235, \$440,000.
Leisure World Blvd. S., 3221, No. 102-1-A, \$335,000.
Macaulay St., 12615, \$600,000.
Pennfield Cir., 14800, No. 203, \$289,000.
Running Ridge Lane, 14900, \$680,000.
Town Line Rd., 13733, \$620,000.

OLNEY AREA

Broom Dr., 4832, \$900,000.
Clovercrest Way, 2911, \$530,000.
Headwaters Dr., 18112, \$750,000.
Moss Side Lane, 17127, No. 17, \$442,000.
Prince Edward Dr., 17621, \$750,000.
Snowberry Way, 18417, \$855,000.
Tidewater Ct., 3327, No. C7, \$390,000.

POTOMAC AREA

Bells Mill Rd., 8901, \$1.4 million.
Bridle Lane, 10509, \$2.17 million.
Conestoga Way, 9920, \$1.82 million.
Duxford Ct., 9424, \$1.27 million.
Geneva Mason Rd., 8205, \$900,000.
Harness Trail, 8720, \$950,000.
Hornfair Ct., 11516, \$1.21 million.
MacArthur Blvd., 10509, \$1.54 million.
Piney Glen Lane, 12109, \$980,000.
Purcell Ct., 6, \$2.64 million.
Rivers Edge Dr., 12317, \$1.43 million.
Stable Way, 7805, \$1.53 million.
Thrush Lane, 9409, \$1.25 million.
Whiterim Terr., 7718, \$860,000.

ROCKVILLE AREA

Antigua Terr., 10844, No. 77, \$479,000.
Beall Ave., 514, \$740,000.
Bouldercrest Ct., 13, \$975,000.
Braxfield Ct., 12409, No. 520, \$70,000.
Carter Rd., 800, \$770,000.
Crofton Hill Ct., 6, \$800,000.
Empire Lane, 11331, \$675,000.
Fire Princess Ct., 13, \$675,000.
Glenmore Terr., 2295, \$780,000.
Grosvenor Pl., 10101, No. 718, \$279,890.

Grosvenor Pl., 10101, No. 2006, \$7,800.
Grosvenor Pl., 10346, \$1.11 million.
Hungerford Dr., 501, No. 452, \$385,000.
Mannakee St., 401, \$720,000.
Montrose Rd., 6404, \$615,000.
Oakwood Dr., 13326, \$860,000.
Oxbow Rd., 4806, \$385,000.
Prettyman Dr., 339, No. A, \$443,000.
Rockville Pike., 10428, \$350,000.
Royal Fern Pl., 3278, \$374,305.
Talbott St., 119, \$170,000.
Weeping Cherry Dr., 14040, \$1.39 million.
Woodland Phlox St., 3307, \$1.21 million.

SILVER SPRING AREA

Crestridge Dr., 1421, \$1.12 million.
Easley St., 703, \$1.39 million.
Highland Dr., 1510, \$1.11 million.
Lyttonville Rd., 1900, No. 618, \$195,000.
Seminary Rd., 2400, \$888,000.
West Hwy. E., 2310, \$800,000.

TAKOMA PARK AREA

Dogwood Ave., 204, \$1.3 million.
Flower Ave., 8102, \$815,000.
Glenside Dr., 8016, \$800,000.
Hudson Ave., 609, No. 126, \$200,000.
Lee Ave., 116, No. 508, \$214,000.
Sycamore Ave., 7006, \$762,000.

WHEATON AREA

Adams Dr., 4020, \$585,000.
Barrie Ave., 10413, \$525,000.
Bucknell Dr., 10864, No. 202, \$340,000.
Clinton Ave., 10409, \$356,250.
Connecticut Ave., 11609, \$550,000.
Gail Pl., 11605, \$540,000.
Grandview Ave., 12100, \$380,000.
Hyde Rd., 613, \$615,000.
Newport Mill Rd., 11317, \$875,000.
University Blvd. W., 1121, No. 1204B, \$230,000.

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

These sales data recorded by the Maryland Department of Assessments and Taxation were provided by Black Knight Inc.

ACCOKEEK AREA

Blackburn St., 15810, \$363,000.
Byron St., 1101, \$415,000.
Livingston Rd., 14409, \$574,500.
Summerwood Lane, 17310, \$600,000.

ADELPHI AREA

Luray Pl., 905, \$460,000.
New Riggs Rd., 8030, \$510,000.
18th Ave., 6910, \$411,000.
24th Ave., 7205, \$435,000.

BELTSVILLE AREA

Naples Ave., 4810, \$465,000.
Rowlock Aly., 7110, \$435,000.
Ulster Rd., 4211, \$565,000.

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Featured Employers of The Week



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Financial Services and Banking—We Don't Only Think Big Things—At Capital One, We Do Big Things. You're dedicated to your career. You deserve professional satisfaction and personal fulfillment. You belong at Capital One. Here, every day brings another chance to do impactful work that matters: helping millions of customers confidently manage their money, building stronger communities and delivering truly disruptive tech. You'll give your all alongside some of the brightest, most resilient people in the industry—and in return, you'll enjoy the growth opportunities, support...

Relationship Manager V - MMB - Dallas, TX
As a Relationship Manager V (Senior Director) at Capital One, you will develop markets and administer existing loans, demand and time deposits, and cross sell related banking accounts and services. In addition, you will supervise employees and/or assist in supporting...

Senior Manager, Product V - Shopping (Remote - Eligible) - McLean
We are looking for a Product Manager to join our growing team in Capital One Shopping. If you have a remarkable ability to use data to tell a story, form a hypothesis and define...



Adventist HealthCare

Healthcare—We are a faith-based healthcare organization, based in Montgomery County, Maryland. We are the largest employer in Montgomery County with over 6,000 employees! Our comprehensive approach to caring for our community includes three acute-care hospitals - Shady Grove Medical Center, White Oak Medical Center and Fort Washington Medical Center - as well as two Physical Rehabilitation hospitals, Outpatient centers, Imaging Centers, Urgent Care, Home Care Services, Employer Health Programs and Physician Networks. We are nationally...

Electrician, Day Shift, Building Services - Silver Spring
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an Electrician who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As an Electrician, you will be responsible for: Maintaining and installing...

BioMedical Engineering Technician, Day Shift, BioMedical Engineering - Silver Spring
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire a Biomedical Engineering Technician who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Biomedical...



George Mason University

Education—George Mason University is a university with three campuses, each with a distinctive academic focus that plays a critical role in the economy of its region. At each campus, students, faculty, and staff have full access to all the university's resources, while duplication of programs and support services is minimized through the use of technology. In addition to the main campus in Fairfax, the university has campuses in Arlington and Prince William Counties.

Assistant Director, Graduate Programs - Fairfax
Department: Costello College of Business. Classification: Education. Support Spec 3. Job Category: Classified. Staff Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-Time. Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible...

Trainer - Fairfax
Department: Human Resources. Classification: Trainer and Instructor 2. Job Category: Classified. Staff Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-Time. Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Pay Band: 04. Salary: Salary commensurate with education...



Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority

Delivery and Transportation—The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority operates the second largest rail transit system and the fifth largest bus network in the United States. Safe, clean and reliable, "America's Transit System" transports more than a third of the federal government to work and millions of tourists to the landmarks in the Nation's Capital. Metro has earned a worldwide reputation for security and architectural beauty. WMATA is clearly the employer of choice for over 10,000 area residents. The Authority was created in 1967 by an interstate...

Media Relations Manager - Washington D.C.
Are you an experienced public relations professional looking for an exciting opportunity to showcase your skills in a fast-paced media environment? Metro is looking for a dynamic Media Relations Manager to join our Communications team. This position...

Technical Systems Analyst -
The Washington Metropolitan Transportation Authority, Office of Bus Service Planning and Scheduling is seeking a candidate to join our Scheduling System Support team, a small group of analysts who use SQL, Python, and other data science tools to...



Dewberry

Engineering—Dewberry is a leading, market-facing professional services firm with more than 50 locations and 2,000 professionals nationwide. What sets us apart from our competitors are our people. At Dewberry, we seek out exceptional talent and strive to deliver the highest quality of services to our clients. Whether you're an experienced professional or a new graduate, you'll have the chance to collaborate with the best and brightest and work on innovative and complex projects at the forefront of the industry. Our commitment to excellence stems from our...

Accounting Intern - Fairfax
Dewberry is looking for a motivated Accounting Intern to join the Accounting and Finance Department in our corporate office in Fairfax, VA. This is an excellent career opportunity to join a team of professionals while working in a range of duties from preparing and analyzing...

Entry Level GIS Analyst - Fairfax
Dewberry is currently seeking an Entry Level GIS Analyst to join our Resilience Solutions group in Fairfax, VA. This is an excellent career opportunity to join a team of professionals while working in a multidisciplinary consulting and engineering...



Westat

Research—Westat, headquartered in Rockville, Maryland, near Washington, D.C., is an employee-owned research corporation serving agencies of the U.S. Government, state and local governments, businesses, and foundations. We conduct surveys and program evaluations, provide statistical research, and offer related services. Our multiproject environment provides career opportunities in health, energy, education, transportation, the environment, human services, and the workforce. We combine the relevant research area expertise.

Research Analyst - Certified Oncology Data Specialist (CTR) - Rockville
Westat is seeking a Certified Oncology Data Specialist (CTR) for work based out of the Washington, DC area. Westat currently supports several central cancer registry operations and is looking for a candidate familiar...

Lead Research Associate - Health Services - Rockville
Westat has an immediate opening for a Lead Research Associate - Data Analyst to conduct data analytics and programming for projects that use large healthcare datasets such as healthcare claims data. The successful candidate will work...



American Speech-Language-Hearing Association

Associations—The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association was founded in 1925. It is a not-for-profit scientific and professional association for speech-language pathologists, audiologists, and speech and hearing scientists. ASHA is committed to the consumers of our services, the more than 42 million Americans with communication disorders. ASHA's mission is to ensure that all people with speech-language, and hearing disorders receive quality services from well-educated professionals. The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association...

Senior Director, Speech-Language Pathology in Health Care - Rockville
The purpose of this position is to track national trends; recommend, facilitate and coordinate the development of Association practice policies; provide expert practice policy information and technical assistance to...

Continuing Education, Administrative Assistant - Rockville
The purpose of this position is to provide administrative support for activities of the Continuing Education (CE) Team of the ASHA National Office, coordinating and maintaining an effective and efficient flow of work. The incumbent serves as...



Fairfax County Government

Government and Public Services—Fairfax County, Virginia is a diverse and thriving urban county. As the most populous jurisdiction in both Virginia and the Washington metropolitan area, the County's population exceeds that of seven states. The median household income of Fairfax County is one of the highest in the nation and over half of its adult residents have four-year college degrees or more educational attainment. Fairfax County also is home to an extensive commercial office market and is a major employment center. Fairfax County Government is a great place...

Aquatic Assistant Manager (Park/rec Specialist) - Chantilly
Join the Park Authority and our nationally recognized team of professionals! This position works as a part of one of the most highly regarded park systems in the country. With more than 25,000 acres of parkland, nine Rec Centers, eight...

Assistant Golf Course Superintendent (golf Course Supt II) - Oakton
Under the direction of the superintendent, this position assists with the maintenance of a golf course and driving range at Oakmont Golf Center. Operates all golf course equipment including mowers, tractors, utility vehicles and...



Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority

Airport Operations/Management—The Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority operates a two-airport system that provides domestic and international air service for the mid-Atlantic region. The organization consists of approximately 1,700 employees in a structure that includes central administration, airports management, and police and fire departments. In addition to operating Ronald Reagan Washington National and Washington Dulles International Airports, the Airports Authority is responsible for capital improvements at both airports and management of the Dulles Toll Road.

Firefighter II (\$5,000 Sign-on-Bonus) - Washington D.C.
Compensation Grade: F10. Salary Range: \$29,84-\$49,23. Opening Date: June 21, 2024. As a Firefighter II for the Airports Authority, you will help protect the lives of the traveling public by responding to and...

Rates and Charges Specialist - Washington D.C.
Compensation Grade: S21. Salary Range: \$100,655.00-\$145,951.00. Opening Date: June 17, 2024. As a Rates and Charges Specialist, you will maintain and operate the Airports Authority's statistical models to...



Fairfax Water

Science—Fairfax County Water Authority (Fairfax Water) is Virginia's largest water utility, serving one out of every five Virginians who obtain their water from public utilities. Nearly 1.5 million people in the Northern Virginia communities of Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William and Alexandria depend on Fairfax Water for superior drinking water. That's 1.5 million friends, neighbors and family members. We don't need any other reason to demand the highest in water quality standards! Chartered in 1957 by the Virginia State Corporation Commission as a public, non-profit water...

Manager, Operational Technology - Fairfax
Under limited supervision of the Director of Technology, leads, plans, manages, directs, safeguards, and provides the overall stewardship for the Operational Technology (OT) assets. Supervises staff, and manages the Operational Technology Department charged with performing all aspects of the OT infrastructure...



Alexandria City Public Schools

Education—Alexandria City Public Schools is one of the most diverse school systems in the country and we celebrate that diversity. Our students come from more than 80 different countries, speak more than 60 languages, and represent a rainbow of ethnic and cultural groups. They are economically diverse, but all are rich in that the residents of Alexandria are dedicated to ensuring that each and every one of them achieves success. The children of Alexandria have benefited significantly from the strong support of City Council and the Alexandria community over...

Senior Registrar - Alexandria
The Senior Registrar performs specialized clerical and technical tasks related to the data entry and development of the master schedule for the interconnected high school and the International Academy model, provides oversight of the registration and withdrawal...

Principal Northern Virginia Juvenile Detention Home School - Alexandria
This position will supervise and administer the education program in a juvenile detention home; to determine the school's strengths and challenges in order to enhance the student's educational experience and improve...



The MIL Corporation (MIL)

Government Contractor—Established in 1980, MIL provides innovative cyber, engineering, financial, and information technology services to the federal government. Our subject matter experts help advance customer operations through proven tools and methodologies. Dedicated to excellence, service, and support, MIL recognizes that sustained high-quality service delivery is a critical contributor to our success. We are recognized by our clients and industry professionals alike for our integrity, diligence, and expertise across our core service areas: Cyber Services...

Tactical Network & Computer Systems Architect, Advanced (Computer Engineering, Senior Associate) - Lexington Park
Clearance Required: Top Secret. Education Required: BA/BS. US Citizenship Required. The MIL Corporation is seeking an Automation Engineer (RPA, Associate) to work with a Federal client. The Automation...

Automation Engineer (Robotic Process Automation, Associate) - Washington D.C.
Clearance Required: Public Trust. Education Required: BA/BS. US Citizenship Required. The MIL Corporation is seeking an Automation Engineer (RPA, Associate) to work with a Federal client. The Automation...



AARP

Associations—AARP is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, social welfare organization with a membership of nearly 38 million. Our aim is to disrupt preconceived notions about aging, turn goals and dreams into Real Possibilities, strengthen communities and fight for the issues that matter most to people 50-plus and their families; such as health care, employment security and retirement planning.

SVP Public Policy - Washington D.C.
The Senior Vice President, Public Policy oversees AARP's policy research agenda to inform the development of AARP's public policy positions and influence the adoption of solutions in both policy and practice, while leading and directing the operation of the Public...

Development Intern (Fall) - Washington D.C.
Are you interested in learning more about nonprofit fundraising while making a real impact on the lives of older adults? Legal Counsel for the Elderly (LCE) is a charitable affiliate of AARP that provides free legal and social work services to low-income older adults...



City of Alexandria Virginia

Government and Public Services—The City of Alexandria is an award-winning, innovative, and progressive local government that brings together elected leaders, residents, businesses, and staff to foster a thriving community. We are an independent, full-service city, providing the services typically operated by both counties and cities in areas such as public safety, transportation, human services, parks and recreation, planning, and administration. We offer a wide range of exciting career opportunities in a variety of fields, with the resources and expertise...

Chief Human Resources Officer - Alexandria
The City of Alexandria, VA (pop. 154,706) seeks an innovative and dynamic Chief Human Resources Officer (CHRO) who is a proven leader, change agent, and collaborator with the highest ethical standards. With a diverse workforce of...

Recreation Leader III - Head Lifeguard - Alexandria
As a Recreation Leader III, you will have the opportunity to work independently and report to a full-time Recreation Coordinator or Recreation Manager. Your primary responsibilities will involve supervising Lifeguards, Pool Operators, and Instructors during...



Chenega MIOS

Government Contractor—Chenega Corporation's Military, Intelligence, and Operations Support (MIOS) Strategic Business Unit (SBU) provides innovative solutions for federal, DOD, and commercial customers worldwide. Founded in 2005 and headquartered in Lorton, Virginia, Chenega MIOS is a shared services division of Chenega Corporation. As an Alaska Native Corporation, 100% of our profits benefit our Native shareholders through preservation of culture and heritage or being reinvested in the business, truly making Chenega a "Corporation with a higher cause." Chenega MIOS...

Team Lead - IT Service Management Systems Engineer - Saint Louis, MO
Provide day-to-day maintenance (routine, preventative, and corrective) of the ITSM platform to ensure consistent, reliable, and secure service availability for users/customers.

Team Lead - IT Service Management Systems Engineer - Springfield, VA
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