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Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, JULY 14, 2024 · $5

Federal officials investigate incident as an attempted assassination

One spectator is killed, and two others are critically wounded

Trump injured in rally shooting



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

With blood on his face, former president Donald Trump raises his fist during a campaign rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday. Shots were fired minutes into his remarks.

DOING 'FINE' AFTER RUSHED OFFSTAGE

Rooftop gunman was also killed, officials say

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF, HANNAH KNOWLES, MERYL KORNFIELD AND DEVLIN BARRETT

BUTLER, PA. — Former president Donald Trump on Saturday was rushed offstage with blood dripping down his face after a shooting that the authorities are investigating as an assassination attempt. One attendee was killed and two others were critically injured at the campaign rally, the Secret Service said, a shocking turn in a tense election season where concerns about violence had already been running high.

During the rally, "a suspected shooter fired multiple shots toward the stage from an elevated position outside of the rally venue," according to Secret Service spokesman Anthony Guglielmi. The suspected shooter is dead, said Guglielmi, who confirmed the other death and injuries.

Trump, in a social media post Saturday night, said he was shot in his upper right ear and offered his thanks to law enforcement. He also extended his condolences to the families of the person who was shot and killed and the person who was injured. A campaign spokesman said the former president was taken to a medical facility but is "fine."

SEE **TRUMP** ON **A6**

Election: The shooting upends the already dark presidential race. **A9**

Conservatives blame Biden, Democrats for rhetoric

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

Top allies of Donald Trump quickly accused President Biden and his supporters of using rhetoric that led to a shooting and potential assassination attempt Saturday at a Trump campaign rally in Butler, Pa., even as Biden condemned the attack and called on the nation to unite against political violence.

Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), a potential Trump running mate, said in a statement on social media that the shooting was "not just some isolated incident."

"The central premise of the Biden campaign is that President Donald Trump is an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs," Vance wrote. "That rhetoric led directly to President Trump's attempted assassination."

At the time of that statement, there was no public reporting on the motives of the shooter. Trump said he was wounded in his ear at the event, and was rushed from the scene. His campaign released a statement saying "he is fine," while being checked out at a nearby medical facility.

SEE **REACTION** ON **A6**

'Get down, get down, get down!'

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF AND JABIN BOTSFORD

BUTLER, PA. — The gunshots were high-pitched pops, slight and hollow in the open air.

Donald Trump, the former president set to accept the Republican nomination in days, was less than 10 minutes into his speech here to a crowd of tens of thousands. A miles-long line of cars crawled for hours to pass through metal detectors and bag inspections, just like any Trump event, until these green fairgrounds became a sea of red hats.

Trump was almost an hour late, and his supporters waited impatiently under the blazing sun amid thumping music. In the middle of the crowd, opposite the stage, a platform of TV cameras pointed at the stage, with reporters huddled underneath for shade.

Finally Trump walked out, as usual, to chants of "USA" and marveled: "This is a big crowd. This is a big, big, beautiful crowd." A bright-red MAGA cap shaded his eyes, and his white shirt was open-collared in the heat as he leaned his arms on the lectern.

SEE **SCENE** ON **A7**

90 killed as Israeli attack targets a top Hamas leader

This article is by Kareem Fahim, Mohamad El Chamaa, Hajar Harb, Jonathan Baran and Louisa Loveluck

Israeli strikes on a stretch of Gaza filled with displaced residents killed at least 90 people on Saturday, according to the local health ministry, an attack Israel said had targeted top Hamas military commander Mohammed Deif.

It was not clear whether Deif, who heads Hamas's armed wing, the Izzedine al-Qassam Brigades, was killed in the strike. "There is still no absolute certainty" that Deif was among the dead, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said at a news conference Saturday. "But one way or another, we will reach every senior member of Hamas."

In a statement, Hamas called

SEE **GAZA** ON **A20**

Ancestry, slavery and a political dynasty

A Maryland man discovers that Bush presidents' ancestors owned his forebears

BY TARA BAHRAMPOUR

Charles Holman had been researching his family tree for more than half a century when he stumbled upon a piece of information that left him slack-jawed.

Holman, 66 and African American, had spent much of his life collecting loose threads — stories passed down through the generations, birth and death certificates, centuries-old bills of sale, Census Bureau records and DNA matches. His training as a lawyer had taught him to be thorough, and his gentle manner had won over strangers through letters and emails and in person. He had connected with distant relatives both Black and White, who had helped him weave a family tapestry that mirrored America's complicated and fraught racial history.

Along the way, he had attended a gathering of White relatives who shared his name and whose ancestors had enslaved his. He had visited the sites of three

SEE **SLAVERY** ON **A12**



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

Charles Holman had spent decades piecing together his family tree, poring over documents and connecting with White and Black relatives, when he discovered his ties to the Bush family.

RUTH WESTHEIMER
1928-2024

Sex therapist was known for her frank advice on the art of love

BY EMILY LANGER

Ruth Westheimer, a child survivor of the Holocaust who became known to millions as Dr. Ruth, the perky sex therapist whose frankness on her long-running radio and television call-in shows made her a go-to guide for tips on the art and science of lovemaking, died July 12 at her home in Manhattan. She was 96.

Her death was confirmed by Pierre Lehu, a publicist and her co-author on several books, but no cause was noted.

Described as the first superstar sex therapist, Dr. Westheimer was over 50 when she debuted in 1980 on New York's WYNY with "Sexually Speaking." The radio program initially aired in 15-minute installments and was later syndicated and extended to two hours to

SEE **WESTHEIMER** ON **A14**

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Books that can help us make sense of our politics-besieged nation.

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Maika Monroe, star of "Longlegs," has become a defining horror actor.



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BUSINESS
"The Sims" is more than a video game. It helped some change their lives.



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Richard Simmons, the "pied piper of pounds," has died at 76. **A19**

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Biden and the Democrats who fear he can't win are at a standoff. What's next?



Dan Balz
THE SUNDAY TAKE

President Biden cannot simply roll back the campaign to where it was before his debate with former president Donald Trump, not even with fiery speeches like the one he delivered at a rally Friday night in Michigan.

The latest national polls do not show that Biden's debate performance has cost him much support, and there have been too few battleground state polls to draw firm conclusions. Regardless, even if he fends off calls from some leaders within his Democratic Party to step aside, this will not be the same campaign going forward that it was before the debacle in Atlanta.

Because of his faltering performance at the June 27 debate, Biden can count on even greater scrutiny, with less margin for error. As much as he wants this campaign to be about highlighting the risks of a second Trump term, Biden has assured that his own vulnerabilities will be a focus of voters' concerns.

Campaigning on Friday in Michigan, Biden delivered a ferocious new attack against Trump as he sought to shift the focus back on his opponent and show members of his own party that he still has the fight to wage a winning campaign. Biden also insisted again that he will not end his candidacy. "I'm the only Democrat or Republican who has beaten Donald Trump ever," he said. "And I'm going to beat him again. I know him. Donald Trump is a loser."

Biden is dug in, confident that no one can knock him out. Nervous Democrats, fearing a loss to Trump in the presidential race could lead the party to a broader defeat down the ballot, continue to signal, whether bluntly or politely, publicly or privately, that he should reconsider. That sentiment, however, has not achieved critical mass. But neither has Biden yet won the battle to silence his doubters.

Every public statement by a Democratic leader is now parsed for meaning, as was the case with a letter that House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.) sent to his colleagues on Friday. Jeffries said he had taken all their concerns to the president during a private meeting Thursday evening. He did not say he had urged Biden to quit the race, nor did he say in the letter that he believes that Biden should stay in.



NICK HAGEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Tom Moran, 69, a school bus driver, holds a sign outside of President Biden's campaign rally Friday in Detroit. As much as Biden wants this campaign to be about highlighting the risks of a second Trump term, his own vulnerabilities will be a focus of voters' concerns.

Jeffries's statement appeared to be in step with former House speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), whose public remarks earlier in the week indicated that she does not regard Biden's declarations that he is staying in the race as a definitive answer. It is not clear what message Biden has taken away from what she said. Nor is it clear whether those were her last words on the matter.

Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), who has said publicly he is with Biden, nonetheless is carefully watching things, gathering information particularly about prospects for holding the party's slender majority and leaving himself some room to maneuver, according to The Washington Post's Liz Goodwin and Leigh Ann Caldwell.

Friday brought some additional calls from House members for Biden to step aside, but the numbers were not significant enough to change the dynamics. There was no wave, as some had predicted, but no groundswell of support, either. The party appears immobilized as the days tick by. No one thinks this is good, or that it can last indefinitely.

Privately, those with doubts about Biden's ability to win the election see no clear path to victory. His most obvious route — perhaps his only route — is through Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Winning those three states plus one congressional district in Nebraska would put Biden at exactly 270 electoral votes, the minimum needed to be elected. That's a very low ceiling, and it leaves zero margin for error.

Biden's doubters anticipate that the next round of polls in battleground states will show Biden in a more perilous position than before the debate, though no one can be sure. An AARP post-debate poll of Wisconsin released last week showed the president down six percentage points in a state he won by less than a point in 2020. Biden says he doesn't really believe the polls.

A pair of national polls released this week, one a Post-ABC News-Ipsos survey and the other by NPR-PBS News-Marist, showed no change in the balance between Biden and Trump. In both cases, the race was essentially tied before the debate and remains that way.

The Post's average of polls shows movement of almost two points nationally in Trump's direction since the debate. Biden led Trump in polls throughout 2020, won the popular vote by 4.5 percentage points but won Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Georgia and Arizona by a percentage point or less. That he is behind nationally is cause for worry for Democrats because of what it is likely to mean for battleground states.

Biden's news conference on Thursday was a moment when he and his team hoped he could begin to put the issue to rest. Since the debate, Biden has been called on to show more vigor, to hold more rallies and especially to appear in more unscripted settings, such as in interviews or at news conferences.

He has done that, doing some informal events, the kind that in the past showed off his empathy and regular-guy persona. But many Democrats are still on edge, fearful of the consequences of another serious slip up.

During the hour-long news conference, he took more than a dozen questions. Speaking at the conclusion of the NATO summit, he drew some questions about foreign policy, familiar turf that gave him an opportunity to show his command of the issues. At times, however, his lengthy answers were difficult to follow. Was that just the younger, verbose Joe Biden or something more concerning? People read it as they wished.

He also made an unfortunate verbal flub at the beginning when he called Vice President Harris "Vice President Trump." Earlier, he introduced Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky as "President Putin," though he corrected himself almost instantly.

Before the debate, those kinds of small gaffes would have gotten little attention and imbued with less meaning, written off as "oh, that's just Joe." In the post-debate environment, however, Biden is being judged, fairly or unfairly, through a more critical lens, including by elected officials in his party.

That's a clear sign of how the dynamic of the campaign has changed. Biden long has wanted to avoid having the election be mostly about him. He wants this to be a choice between him and Trump. His campaign has been built around a strategy of making voters fear a second Trump presidency so much that they overlook their reservations about the president's age and capacity to serve effectively for another four years.

That was an easier case to make before the CNN debate, where Biden struggled at times to complete sentences, appeared to lose his train of thought, looked distracted — and, to the dismay of many Democrats, was seen as ineffective in prosecuting the case against Trump or correcting the many times Trump lied or distorted the truth.

Many Biden supporters, particularly rank-and-file Democrats, are frustrated to the point of anger that Trump seems to be getting a pass — not only for his record of lies, but also for his often rambling performances and verbal flubs. Some of that anger is aimed at the press, including from Biden on Friday. But the press has also been blamed in some quarters for covering up Biden's decline.

With Biden in trouble and Democrats taking their internal disagreements public, Trump has uncharacteristically stayed out of the way. He will be back in the spotlight soon, though, when the Republicans convene for their national convention on Monday in Milwaukee.

Biden's supporters want more focus on the dangers they see in a Trump victory, from extreme policies like the deportation of millions of undocumented immigrants, to threats of retribution against his opponents to what is contained in Project 2025. These ideas have been highlighted in the media and will be again, but long-standing questions about Biden also have been elevated and won't fade away.

The issue of whether, because of his debate performance, Biden should stay in the race has divided Democrats along racial lines, according to The Post-ABC-Ipsos poll. Majorities of White and Hispanic Democrats say he should pass the torch. Most Black Democrats want him to keep running.

Four years ago, Black Democrats in South Carolina revived his flagging candidacy during the primaries. Then, the fear that Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) was on a path to become the Democratic nominee and, if nominated, would be a weak general election candidate, prompted rapid consolidation around Biden as the safest and best choice to win.

Today nothing is as clear-cut as it seemed then.

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A recap of Alec Baldwin's 'Rust' trial dismissal and what's next

BY FRANCES VINALL AND MARÍA LUISA PAÚL

The involuntary manslaughter case against actor Alec Baldwin was dismissed by a New Mexico judge on Friday, more than two years after the fatal shooting of cinematographer Halyna Hutchins on the set of the film "Rust."

Here's what to know about the ruling and what's next for Baldwin.

What was Alec Baldwin charged with?

Baldwin was filming the as-yet-unreleased Western on Oct. 21, 2021, when the prop revolver he was holding discharged a live round, killing Hutchins and injuring director Joel Souza. Baldwin maintains that he did not pull the trigger before the gun went off in his hands.

"Rust" armorer Hannah Gutierrez-Reed was sentenced to 18 months in prison for involuntary manslaughter in April after prosecutors argued that she was responsible for loading the gun with live ammunition when only blanks were supposed to have been used. Assistant director and safety coordinator David Halls pleaded no contest the same month to a misdemeanor charge of negligent use of a deadly weapon and received six months of probation.

Baldwin was initially charged with involuntary manslaughter in January 2023, more than a year after the shooting, but the charges were first downgraded and then dropped in April that year after prosecutors said "new facts were revealed that demand further investigation and forensic analysis."

In January, a grand jury indicted Baldwin on a charge of involuntary manslaughter, on one count of handling the prop gun negligently and another of causing death "with the total disregard or indifference for the safety of others." That indictment led to the trial that was thrown out Friday.

Why was the case against Baldwin dismissed?

The case was dismissed by Judge Mary Marlowe Sommer, who ruled that the prosecution withheld potential evidence from Baldwin's defense team — a collection of rounds that had been turned in to the Santa Fe County Sheriff's Office earlier this year and may have been connected to the shooting.

The possible evidence related to the question of how live ammunition ended up on set and inside the revolver that killed Hutchins, a key element in the chain of events that led to her death. Marlowe Sommer said it was "intentional and deliberate" that the prosecution had not shared the live rounds with Baldwin's attorneys for evaluation.

The actor's team argued that the evidence may have cast doubt on whether Gutierrez-Reed had brought the live ammunition to the set, and that it was concealed because it was favorable to Baldwin and undercut the prosecution's argument that Baldwin should have known the armorer was young and inexperienced and therefore taken extra precautions.

In her ruling, Marlowe Sommer said that Baldwin's defense team should have been informed of the ammunition earlier and that it was now too late to be incorporated into their defense. That meant not even the declaration of a mistrial could remedy the situation, meaning the case had to be dismissed with prejudice.

What does 'dismissed with prejudice' mean?

Marlowe Sommer dismissed Baldwin's case with prejudice, which means it has been dismissed permanently. There cannot be refiled charges or a retrial on the same charges. However, the prosecution does have the legal option of appealing the dismissal to a higher court.

What's next for Baldwin?

Baldwin is still open to civil cases over the incident. He previously reached a settlement in a case brought by Hutchins's widower, Matthew Hutchins, The Washington Post reported in 2022. Hutchins's attorney, Brian J. Panish, implied in a Friday statement that work had resumed on a civil lawsuit. "We look forward to presenting all the evidence to a jury and holding Mr. Baldwin accountable for his actions in the senseless death of Halyna Hutchins," he said.

Filming on "Rust" was completed after Hutchins's death, though a release date has not been announced. Baldwin's upcoming project is a reality TV show about his home life with his family.

What do legal experts think about the decision?

Erlinda Ocampo Johnson, a special prosecutor who resigned from the case, said Friday in an interview with Chris Cuomo that she left after learning of the potential evidence at the heart of the dismissal. "We have an obligation as prosecutors," she said. "We have an obligation not only to the people, but to the defendant, and our obligation is to make sure that all the evidence is turned over."

Tre Lovell, an entertainment attorney, said in an email that Baldwin should not have been charged. "Actors do not have the ultimate responsibility for safety on a movie set," he said. "There are professionals on the set who have that responsibility and it should stay with them, because they're the experts."

He added: "On movie sets, everyone has a specific duty and obligation, everybody's got a job to do. And the moment you start having people do other people's jobs, it compromises safety and it invites chaos."

Neama Rahmani, president of West Coast Trial Lawyers, said in an email that Baldwin's prosecution was "botched" and that the conviction of armorer Gutierrez-Reed was also "likely be reversed."

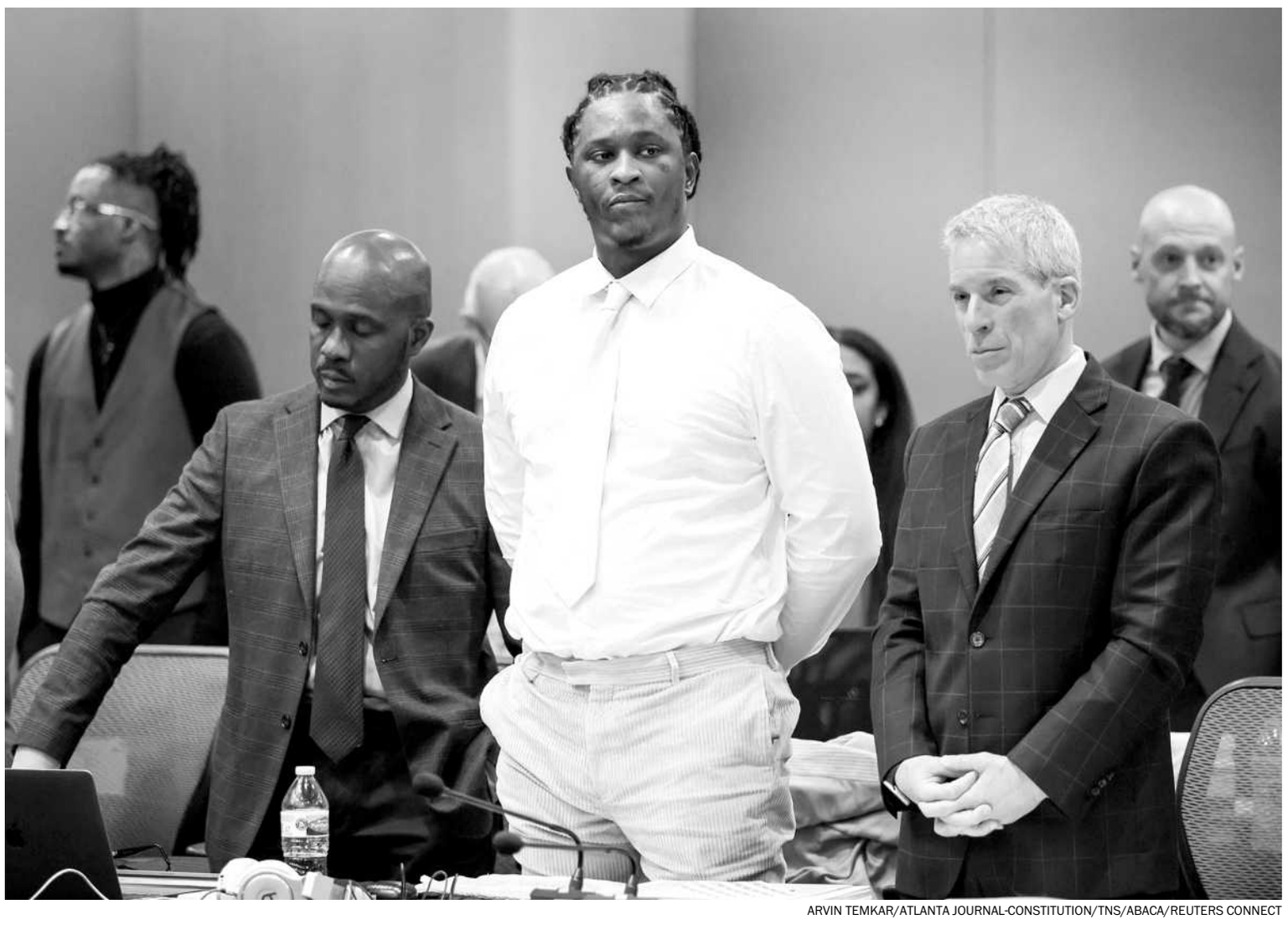
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POLITICS & THE NATION



ARVIN TEMKAR/ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION/TNS/ABACA/REUTERS CONNECT

ABOVE: Atlanta rapper Young Thug, center, stands with his attorneys at the Fulton County Courthouse on Jan. 3 during his trial, which has gone on for 18 months and in which he is accused of leading a savage street gang. BELOW: Young Thug performs in Los Vegas in 2021.

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Young Thug's Atlanta trial has been a long, strange drama

High-profile racketeering case against the hip-hop star is now on hold

BY HOLLY BAILEY



DANIEL DESLOVER/SIPA USA/AP

ATLANTA — A defendant stabbed. A star witness jailed for refusing to testify. Screaming matches between the attorneys and the judge. An 18-month trial with no end in sight. And at the defense table, a renowned Grammy Award-winning hip-hop star who stands accused of being the leader of a murderous street gang.

The criminal racketeering case against Young Thug was already known for its near-daily drama long before the rapper's lead attorney, Brian Steel, was found in criminal contempt last month and ordered to serve 20 days in jail.

"This is crazy! This is like communist Russia!" Steel complained in a courtroom rant days after his contempt charge, which followed his accusation that the judge and prosecutors secretly met with and pressured a key witness to testify.

Last week, Fulton County Superior Court Judge Ural Glanville abruptly halted the trial indefinitely until another judge reviews motions from Young Thug and others who have accused the judge of misconduct and want him recused from the case. That judge has ordered prosecutors to file a response by Wednesday. But Thug has sought to recuse the new judge, citing a campaign contribution Glanville made to her reelection campaign, while another defendant has asked for the recusal hearing to be presided over by a judge from outside Fulton County — requests that, if granted, could even further delay proceedings.

It's unknown when, or if, the case will resume.

Already, the case had been the longest-running criminal trial in Georgia history. Even before the latest turmoil, critics questioned Glanville's handling of the case, including his decision to allow jury selection to drag on for 10 months, as well as weeks-long breaks in testimony and other delays that could push the trial well into, if not beyond, 2025.

Several defendants, including Young Thug, have sought mistrials, which the judge denied.

Prosecutors appeared stunned by the judge's decision to recess the high-stakes case led by Fulton County District Attorney Fani T. Willis (D). She has faced criticism for her embrace of Georgia's anti-racketeering statute to bring sweeping multi-defendant cases, with critics claiming such complicated cases are a drain on an already overwhelmed court system.

The Young Thug trial is widely viewed as a case study of how another one of Willis's high-profile cases might play out if it ever makes it to trial: the racketeering prosecution of former president Donald Trump and more than a dozen allies who are charged with criminally conspiring to try to overturn Trump's 2020 election loss in Georgia. Both proceedings feature a celebrity defendant and an ensemble cast of aggressive Atlanta defense attorneys working in tandem.

But the wild twists and turns in the trial of Young Thug, whose legal name is Jeffery Lamar Williams, have taken on a particular level of fascination. The proceedings, which are live-streamed on the YouTube pages of Atlanta television stations, have attracted thousands of daily viewers drawn in by what often feels like a reality television show.

At one point this spring, Young Thug looked back at them, staring directly into the courtroom camera with a look of exasperation amid the chaos. Clips of the moment quickly went viral.

"Looked straight into the camera like an episode of 'The Office,'" declared ThuggerDaily, one of several social media accounts that offer daily coverage of the trial.

Anthony Michael Kreis, a constitutional law professor at Georgia State University who has been closely tracking the Trump case, said he began watching the Young Thug trial to gauge how a complex RICO case — involving the state's Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act — with multiple defendants might play out.

"I wanted to get a sense of the rhythm," Kreis said. "But what went from kind of a casual peeking-in to understand a Georgia RICO case has become a soap opera that I am fully invested in."

The trial has deep political implications for Willis, who is overwhelmingly favored to win her bid for a second term as the county's top prosecutor in November but has faced lingering questions about her leadership and judgment after she was accused of an improper relationship with the former lead prosecutor on the Trump case.

The 2020 election interference case has been at a standstill for months, as Trump and others appeal a judge's ruling allowing Willis to continue prosecuting that case. In recent weeks, Trump's allies have seized on the Young Thug case to attack Willis — even as they have stopped short of defending the rapper and his alleged accomplices, who stand accused of numerous criminal acts including murder and armed robbery. Courtney Kramer, a Republican lawyer and former Trump White House intern who is challenging Willis this fall, has described the trial as a waste of taxpayer money.

The chaos of the Young Thug trial could have a lasting impact on public support for cases that employ Georgia's expansive RICO law or even lead to the statute being weakened, as some Republicans have threatened.

"There's nothing very attractive about the criminal justice system when viewed through the lens of this trial," said Don Samuel, a veteran Atlanta criminal defense attorney who represents the rapper Gunna, a Young Thug protégé who was jailed for seven months before entering an Alford plea, allowing him to plead guilty to a RICO charge while also maintaining his innocence. "The whole thing is out of control."

A gang leader — or an artist posing as one?

The indictment of Young Thug and 27 alleged associates in May 2022 sent shock waves through Atlanta's hip-hop scene, one of the most vibrant in the country. The rapper was taken into custody at his home in Atlanta's tony Buckhead neighborhood, filmed by a local television station as police escorted him down a driveway in a white tank top, his hands cuffed behind his back.

By then, Young Thug was a sensation beyond his hometown of Atlanta, with his mumble-like delivery and eccentric flow crowning him one of hip-hop's most influential innovators over his decade-plus career. With three chart-topping albums, he was known for transcending genre, collaborating with stars well beyond the rap world and spawning a legion of imitators, with a gender-busting fashion sense that had made him a mainstay in the pages of Vogue.

But Fulton County prosecutors have alleged there was a darker side to the now-32-year-old rapper, casting him as a ruthless leader of a savage street gang known as Young Slime Life, or YSL, at the center of an explosion of violence across Atlanta over the past decade.

Willis, a longtime prosecutor who was elected district attorney in 2020, had been in office for just over a year when she announced charges against a cultural icon of the city. But as she would later do with Trump, Willis insisted she was not cowed by Young Thug's status.

"It does not matter what your notoriety is, what your fame is," Willis declared. "If you come to Fulton County, Georgia, and you commit crimes, and certainly if those crimes are in furtherance of a street gang, then you are going to become a target and a focus of this district attorney's office, and we are going to prosecute you to the fullest extent of the law."

The initial 56-count indictment charged Young Thug on just two counts: participation in criminal street gang activity and conspiring to violate Georgia's anti-racketeering law as the alleged leader of YSL. In August 2022, he was indicted on six additional drug and weapons charges including possession of an illegal machine gun.

Young Thug is standing trial with five others after a majority of the defendants reached plea deals or had their cases severed.

Though he was not charged individually, Young Thug was implicated in more than a dozen alleged acts in furtherance of the gang conspiracy. Among other things, prosecutors have alleged he rented the car used in the 2015 killing of a rival gang leader, Donovan Thomas, and later that year threatened to shoot an Atlanta-area mall security guard in the face. The indictment also claims alleged YSL members discussed getting his permission to kill the rapper YFN Lucci, the alleged leader of a rival street gang, a plot that was never carried out.

In a controversial move, prosecutors have cited Young Thug's social media posts and lyrics to bolster their claims that he is a gang leader, accusing him of flashing the gang's alleged hand sign and rapping about YSL's alleged crimes.

The rapper, who has been held without bail since his arrest more than two years ago, has pleaded not guilty to all counts. Steel, his attorney, has accused prosecutors of attacking Black art and wrongly targeting his client based on a fictional persona aimed at selling records.

Steel has claimed YSL stands for Young Stoner Life and is nothing more than a record label. He has described his client as a "studio gangster," not a real one, and said his stage name, Thug, stands for "Truly Humble Under God" — a nod to his client's impoverished upbringing in the violent projects of South Atlanta.

"What is happening in this case is wrong," Steel said last year.

Prosecutors allege the persona is real, not art. During opening statements, lead prosecutor Adriane Love read lines from Rudyard Kipling's poem "The Law of the Jungle."

"For the strength of the pack is the wolf, and the strength of the wolf is the pack," Love recited. The members and associates of YSL, Love told the jury, "moved like a pack, with the defendant Jeffery Williams as its head."

Days later, the courtroom camera panned to Young Thug seated at his front-row defense table. He wore a sweater emblazoned with a cartoon wolf.

Historically long trial quickly went 'off the rails'

Almost immediately, the case was chaotic and unlike anything ever seen in a city that has been no stranger to headline-grabbing trials.

The case was assigned to Glanville, a 29-year veteran of the Fulton County courts who was appointed in late 2022 as chief of the Atlanta Judicial Circuit. A brigadier general in the U.S. Army Reserve, Glanville also serves as chief judge of the U.S. Army Court of Criminal Appeals — a military background that some close to the case believed would instill needed discipline in a complicated proceeding.

But from the start there were logistical problems, including finding a courtroom big enough to fit the six defendants and their attorneys.

Starting in January 2023, Glanville summoned more than 2,000 Fulton County residents as he sought to impanel a jury. The process was expected to take several weeks, but it ultimately stretched well into the fall, prompting private complaints among attorneys on both sides that Glanville was being too lenient about excusing potential jurors who didn't want their lives disrupted.

"That was the first clue that this was going off the rails," said Chris Timmons, a former Atlanta-area prosecutor who has tried numerous RICO cases. "Ten months to seat a jury?"

Just days into jury selection, a co-defendant was seen walking up to Young Thug and handing him what prosecutors later said was a Percocet pill. Another co-defendant later was searched by deputies who found bags of marijuana sewn into his underwear. A defense attorney was arrested the next day when he tried to enter the courtroom with his prescription pills. Later, a Fulton County sheriff's deputy assigned to courtroom security was fired, arrested and charged with passing contraband to a co-defendant with whom she was accused of having an inappropriate relationship.

Opening statements finally began Nov. 27, but in early December the trial was halted after co-defendant Shannon Stillwell was stabbed multiple times by another inmate at the Fulton County Jail. Amid speculation the attack could be related to the trial, Glanville ordered Stillwell, upon his release from the hospital, to be "kept separate from the other defendants in this case at all times."

Glanville postponed proceedings until early 2024, and when it resumed, the case continued to move at a glacial pace. At least two witnesses have been jailed, and another admitted he was "high" on the stand.

Proceedings rarely started on time, and five-to-10-minute breaks throughout the day often stretch to a half-hour or more. In April, Glanville threatened to hold court on the weekends.

"If you don't want your Saturday and Sunday sucked up, I think we need to work a little harder," Glanville warned the attorneys. But he has not followed through.

By June, more than seven months after opening statements, prosecutors were not yet halfway through their list of more than 200 witnesses. Jurors heard testimony on roughly half of the trial's first 100 days, and they haven't been in court since June 17.

The pace slowed even further amid lingering questions about the June 10 meeting between Glanville, prosecutors and Kenneth Copeland, an associate of Young Thug and a star witness who was jailed when he refused to testify.

Citing an unnamed source, Steel alleged that Glanville and prosecutors pressured Copeland to testify. According to a transcript of the meeting made public last week, both prosecutors and the judge repeatedly warned Copeland that because he was granted immunity, he would remain jailed until the end of the case if he declined to answer questions. The transcript offered no clarity on whether Glanville crossed a line that could lead to his recusal. The judge has called the meeting "proper" and said that no parties gained "procedural, substantive, or tactical advantages."

But in a 233-page motion filed late Monday, Steel repeatedly accused Glanville of unethical conduct, saying the transcript proved he had "morphed into an essential part of the prosecution team." He called again for Glanville to be recused, and also said Love and another prosecutor in the meeting should be removed from the case and the district attorney's office investigated for improper conduct.

When first confronted about the meeting, Glanville demanded to know who told Steel about it, arguing the leak violated attorney-client privilege and the privacy of his chambers. When Steel refused to say, the judge held the attorney in criminal contempt and sentenced him to 20 days in jail to be served on the weekends — a sentence the Georgia Supreme Court later stayed as Steel appeals.

As Steel prepared for sheriff's deputies to escort him out of the courtroom, he calmly removed his jacket and tie.

The events have stunned Atlanta's legal community, including those who know Glanville and have been surprised by how he has handled the case. More than a dozen criminal-defense lawyers showed up in support of Steel shortly after he was held in contempt — including Ashleigh Merchant, an Atlanta-area attorney who chairs the state's association of criminal-defense attorneys and has taken on Steel's contempt case.

Merchant, who also represents one of Trump's co-defendants, made national headlines this year when she accused Willis of having an improper romantic relationship with a special prosecutor on the election case.

Her sudden appearance in the Young Thug courtroom had the feel of a crossover television event, as she challenged Glanville on his handling of the contempt filing. When Glanville pressed Merchant on "current" case law involving contempt charges against attorneys, she told him there was none. "Contempt of attorneys is not a common proceeding," she said.

Last week, Glanville was met with a stunned silence as he announced the trial would recess until another judge determines if he can move forward. A prosecutor pressed the judge on when the issue might be taken up, questioning the impact on the jury.

"I don't know," Glanville replied. "I don't have anything to do with that."

The courtroom camera panned the room. At the defense table sat Young Thug, reclined in his chair, hands in his lap, his eyes closed.

No links between Trump and Epstein are shown in latest unsealed documents



The Fact Checker

GLENN KESSLER

"Something I've heard that doesn't seem to be being covered are the Epstein files. These files were released. And, like, Donald Trump is sort of all over this. There are pictures of him with Epstein. He's taken multiple plane flights with Epstein with young girls on board. He's in call logs with Epstein. One of the highest trending hashtags on Twitter right now is about Trump and Epstein. … You all might want to look at that. Because that's highly disturbing."

— Rep. Ted Lieu (D-Calif.), remarks to reporters, July 9

Florida Circuit Judge Luis Delgado unsealed nearly 200 pages of grand jury testimony this month related to the 2006 Florida case involving disgraced financier Jeffrey Epstein, who was alleged to have raped teenage girls. In 2019, after he was charged in federal court with sex trafficking of minors, guards found Epstein dead in his cell at a federal jail in New York. Investigators said he hanged himself.

The documents showed that prosecutors had heard testimony about Epstein assaulting teenage girls before they cut a plea deal with him in 2008 that was kept from victims and provided for lenient work-release. "The details in the record will be outrageous to decent people," Delgado wrote in his order. "The testimony taken by the grand jury concerns activity ranging from grossly unacceptable to rape — all of the conduct at issue is sexually deviant, disgusting, and criminal."

But Donald Trump's name never appears anywhere in the transcripts.

That hasn't stopped Democrats — perhaps seeking to distract from President Biden's travails — from suggesting on social media that there's a disturbing connection between the former president and a sex predator. Some social media posts have claimed that Trump was mentioned in a draft indictment released this month, but that's false. Only 2006 grand jury testimony was released.

Julie K. Brown, the Miami Herald journalist whose diligent reporting forced a reopening of the Epstein case, has valiantly tried to point out the errors on X, but the misinformation keeps spreading. "I've come to believe that the American public won't pay for the truth," she lamented. "They would rather believe the lies they get for free on the internet."

(Trump may have fueled some of this speculation by hedging in a recent Fox News interview about whether he'd seek to release all documents related to Epstein. "You don't want to affect people's lives if it's phony stuff in there," he said.)

When we asked Lieu's office for evidence to back up his speculation, we were supplied with a variety of old Washington Post articles that explored the links between Trump and Epstein. But, contrary to Lieu's statement, none shows that Trump engaged in anything inappropriate. Let's explore what's in the public record.

'Pictures of him with Epstein'

Trump has acknowledged that he and Epstein were in the same Palm Beach social circle decades ago. But their relations appeared to have ended by the time Epstein's legal troubles began.

There are numerous photos of Trump and Epstein. In 2019, NBC News released video of Trump keeping company with Epstein at a 1992 party with NFL cheerleaders. At one point, Trump points out someone to Epstein and appears to say, "She's hot!"

In 2002, Trump was quoted in a profile of Epstein: "I've known Jeff for fifteen years. Terrific guy. He's a lot of fun to be with. It is even said that he likes beautiful women as much as I do, and many of them are on the younger side. No doubt about it — Jeffrey enjoys his social life."

But as The Washington Post reported, the relationship soured in 2004 after the two men battled over acquiring a choice Palm Beach property, an oceanfront mansion called Maison de l'Amitie. Trump won the auction, and phone records — the call logs Lieu referenced — indicate that the two men did not communicate after that. Two weeks after the auction, Palm Beach police received a tip that young women were seen coming and going from Epstein's home — which led to the grand jury investigation.

'Multiple plane flights with Epstein'

Many prominent people, including former president Bill Clinton, flew on Epstein's jet. Trump took at least seven flights with Epstein in the 1990s, according to flight logs released as evidence in the trial of Ghislaine Maxwell, an Epstein associate who is serving a 20-year prison sentence for helping him sexually abuse girls. Lieu claimed that "young girls were on board," but no evidence of that has surfaced. The ages of passengers were not recorded in the logs.

Trump took flights between Palm Beach and New York City airports. A June 1994 flight lists some of the other passengers as Marla and Tiffany, an apparent reference to Trump's then-wife, Marla Maples, and their infant daughter.

'Highly disturbing'

Trump was briefly mentioned in about 1,000 pages of documents released in January in a separate case involving a defamation suit filed against Maxwell by an alleged victim, Virginia Giuffre. (Lieu's staff sent an article about those documents.)

But these were minor references.

In a 2016 deposition of Giuffre that was released, she was asked about Trump. Giuffre said she had been recruited by Maxwell when she was a 17-year-old spa attendant at Mar-a-Lago.

"I don't think Donald Trump participated in anything," she said. "That would have to be another assumption. I never saw or witnessed Donald Trump participate in those acts, but was he in the house of Jeffrey Epstein."

She said that anyone who visited Epstein's house would have seen his many nude photos of women displayed on the walls. "These are salacious acts of girls, young girls doing things to each other that would be considered child pornography," Giuffre testified. "If you walked foot into Jeffrey Epstein's house and you went in there and you continued to be an acquaintance of his then you would have to know what was going on there."

Meanwhile, Johanna Sjoberg, one of Epstein's other alleged victims, was quoted as saying Epstein's plane made an unplanned stop in Atlantic City between 2001 and 2006. There is no indication they saw Trump, and she said she never gave Trump a massage.

The documents also included emails from an accuser who made allegations against Trump but then withdrew them. (Separately, a woman with the pseudonyms Katie Johnson and Jane Doe accused Trump of raping her in Epstein's home when she was 13; those filings were dismissed or withdrawn years ago.)

In a statement, Trump campaign spokesman Steven Cheung said: "Ted is a total degenerate and loser who continues to beclown himself. He has let Trump Derangement Syndrome rot his brain and, instead of getting the proper care he so desperately needs, has allowed himself to be the laughingstock of all his colleagues, who secretly joke about his glaring short comings."

Lieu's office did not comment beyond providing links to articles.

The Pinocchio Test

As we have documented, 17 women have claimed Trump engaged in sexual misconduct. A Manhattan jury found that Trump sexually abused and defamed one woman on our list. But no credible allegation has emerged to connect Trump to any of Epstein's crimes.

Lieu is a member of Congress who doesn't need to rely on dubious social media posts for his information — especially if he's going to make a statement like this. Trump wasn't mentioned in the latest batch of Epstein documents. He was barely mentioned in the earlier batches. Rest assured — if Trump were prominently mentioned, it would have been a huge story.

Lieu earns Four Pinocchios.



History sheds light on why Biden let go of previous chances to run for president

@PKCapitol

PAUL KANE

Joe Biden called a "family meeting" a couple of weeks after a terrible debate performance, pulling together his relatives and a handful of longtime advisers.

During the session, Biden's advisers pointed to the debate's negative blowback, arguing that it would sink polling and dry up fundraising for his presidential campaign. But Biden's children believed that abandoning the race would cement Biden's debate screw-up as the thing everyone would remember, dishonoring Biden if he didn't fight on.

The year was 1987, nearly four decades ago. The setting was Biden's first campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. Biden — then a senator from Delaware — opted to pull out of the presidential campaign, heeding advice from his family and choosing what to him was a larger purpose.

In that long ago moment, captured best in a pair of political books — one an autobiography — Biden chose a different path from the one he claims he will follow today. After a halting debate performance two weeks ago, Biden insists he'll stay in this race.

Back in 1987, some aides and family members argued that he should stay the course. Others contended that he could not win. But one senior aide found a different rationale: The more Biden focused on the campaign, the more he was distracted from critical work in the Senate.



RON EDMONDS/AP

With his wife, Jill, at his side, 44-year-old Joe Biden, then a Democratic senator from Delaware, announced his withdrawal from the race for the party's presidential nomination on Sept. 23, 1987. His decision came after a debate mistake at the Iowa State Fair weeks earlier.

Senate hearings had just begun for Robert Bork, an extremely conservative nominee to the Supreme Court. Biden chaired the Senate Judiciary Committee confirmation hearings. His debate mistake had come at the Iowa State Fair a few weeks earlier — when he lifted many lines from the British Labour Party leader's campaign literature with no credit — and spawned stories about plagiarism and law school résumé inflation.

As he would later write, Biden asked his wife, Jill, alone in their bedroom that night, the key questions: "Could we save my presidential campaign and stop Bork? And which was more important?"

He announced his withdrawal from the campaign the next day in a Senate office next to the committee room, then went straight to work, helping defeat Bork's nomination in the weeks ahead.

In 1987, Biden found his exit ramp off the presidential campaign: His own honesty had become a central character in the Bork hearings. The incident, and the deliberations behind it, shed light on why Biden wants to remain in the 2024 reelection contest and the factors most influencing his thinking.

For those wondering what it would take for Biden to bow out of this year's election, the best reading material comes from "Promises to Keep," his 2007 autobiography; "What It Takes," the late Richard Ben Cramer's epic recounting of six candidates running for president in 1988; and "Promise Me, Dad," his second autobiography, recounting his son Beau's death in 2015.

That most recent book, published in 2017, recounts another politically dramatic moment when Biden also decided to abandon a bid for the presidential nomination — in 2016 — though in that case he hadn't yet launched his effort. Then, as in 1987, Biden realized that he had another, more important job: Tending to his family, still heartbroken after Beau Biden's death from brain cancer.

In both 1987 and 2015, Biden faced long-shot odds of success. Pundits and other Democrats had largely written him off. But he would never admit defeat while on the way to the exit.

Instead, Biden would explain that the stakes of his divided attention were too high for him to pursue the presidency.

In 1987, that meant possibly tilting the Supreme Court toward the far right for a generation. In 2015, it meant abandoning his still grieving family for the campaign trail grind.

"It's the right thing to do for the family. It's the right thing to do for me," Biden told longtime adviser Michael Donilon, according to his 2017 memoir, about giving up the 2016 race.

Those decisions provide the best insight into Biden's decision-making as he weighs his options in the wake of the debate.

The president, 81, is currently defiant, insisting that he is not too old to do the job and that, despite a couple dozen Democrats in Congress saying the contrary, he will defeat Donald Trump just as he did four years ago.

As these books make clear, no one has been able to convince Biden himself that he will be defeated at the ballot box. Tell Biden that he has to get out because he's going to lose, and the history suggests he will dig in for a fight.

The past suggests that different arguments might stand a chance.

Tell him that the world needs Biden's full attention as president for the next six months, and maybe things unfold like in 1987 and 2015. Tell him his last six months in office will focus almost entirely on shoring up the Ukraine coalition and negotiating a cease-fire in Gaza. Tell him about potential Nobel Prizes.

Tell him to let an understudy — perhaps Vice President Harris — run for the "second Biden term" that he so covets. A full-time president would allow for a full-time candidate to prosecute the case against Trump.

But these points would face an I-told-you-so rebuttal: Republicans ended up winning in 1988, with George H.W. Bush notching an electoral landslide, and Trump stunned the world in 2016.

The current drama has already outlasted the 1987 political implosion. It took just 11 days between the first New York Times story, by Maureen Dowd, about the Iowa debate speech and the withdrawal speech next to the Senate hearing room.

Biden, just 44 at the time, launched that campaign in June 1987, and for a few months he took command of the race. Until the Dowd story broke and other opposition research flowed into the open.

In public Biden turned angry, lashing out at a New Hampshire voter who asked about his qualifications for president. "I think I probably have a much higher IQ than you do," Biden barked at the man.

Privately, he bemoaned the newspaper columnists and late-night talk show hosts who mocked him. In his 2007 memoir, he devoted several pages to the New York Times coverage, particularly R.W. "Johnny" Apple, the senior political correspondent who wrote some scathing pieces.

Biden, a University of Delaware graduate in a Senate filled with Harvard alums like Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) or Yale grads like John Chafee (R-R.I.), always embraced "Middle Class Joe" as his nickname. He clearly carried a state-school chip on his shoulder toward the elites.

And the Times came to embody that worldview. He craved the paper's affection but was also enraged when he faced criticism from it.

"If I quit the race, I was conceding the Johnny Apples were right," he wrote in "Promises to Keep."

He called a meeting at his Wilmington home, dubbed "The Station." His inner circle included his wife, two sons, his sister and her husband, his two brothers, his parents and a handful of his longest-serving advisers.

Beau and Hunter, 18 and 17 respectively at the time, were encouraged to speak up and share their views like full-fledged political consultants.

"I've never been a quitter … never quit anything in my life," Biden said, according to Cramer's "What It Takes."

"That's right," Beau said.

Hunter worried that quitting would be an admission of guilt. "The only thing that's important is your honor," he said, according to his father's 2007 book.

Back then, his advisers contended that Biden's campaign could still limp forward, though others worried that the air had gone out of his political balloon. His top press aides warned him that other negative stories from the media were coming, including about Biden's brothers James and Frank.

But then Mark Gitenstein, Biden's top lawyer on the Judiciary Committee, explained that all the time Biden would have to spend on the campaign trail would make him look like an absentee chairman when it came to the Bork hearings.

"If we win Bork, it will be despite us. If we lose now, it's going to be because of us," said Gitenstein, who is now Biden's ambassador to the European Union.

In Biden's book, his mother, Catherine, delivered the final vote: "I think it's time to get out," she said.

But in Cramer's telling, another voice weighed in just as heavily.

"Get out," Ted Kaufman said.

Kaufman, 85, has been by Biden's side since his first days as senator in 1973 and was his chief of staff in 1987. He has remained his closest nonfamily confidant even without officially working for Biden the last three decades.

Leap forward to October 2015 and another "family" meeting. There's Kaufman, along with Hunter and Jill Biden; Valerie Owens, Biden's sister; and four other longtime aides, including Donilon and Steve Ricchetti, then his vice-presidential chief of staff and now White House counselor. Democratic superlawyer Robert Bauer and his wife, media expert Anita Dunn, also joined, two newcomers to the fold who have grown close to Biden in the past nine years.

The political circumstances were completely different from 1987.

Biden's popularity rose as the public watched the vice president publicly grieve Beau's death, but the presidential race had taken off without him. Former secretary of state Hillary Clinton corralled massive support from the Democratic establishment while Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) built a strong insurgent campaign.

But Biden and his team saw a lane.

Friends like Bill Bradley, the Princeton basketball star and thoughtful three-term senator, gave encouragement. George Clooney, a supporter who now wants Biden to step aside, told Ricchetti he would "step up with any and all assistance," Biden wrote in "Promise Me, Dad."

Even Dowd, now a Times columnist, wrote favorably about his chances. The elites, the bane of his existence in previous runs, liked him.

One final family meeting came Oct. 20. Plans for an announcement and campaign rollout were set. These late-entry bids for the presidency had failed every time in the modern era, and he would be way behind Clinton and Sanders, but everyone seemed on board.

This time, Donilon realized there was another, more important, mission. Donilon, who was a top aide to the vice president and now serves as senior White House adviser, had been one of the main drivers behind Biden's decision to enter the campaign. But that night he saw panic in Biden's face, his jaw clenched up.

"What is it, Mike?" Biden asked.

"I don't think you should do this," Donilon told him, according to Biden's book.

Biden needed to focus on the most important job at hand, trying to heal his family.

That was the message that got through to the man who had spent decades chasing the presidency, convincing him that there was another, more important challenge to tackle.

Biden announced the next day that he wasn't running, just as he announced his withdrawal in 1987 the day after Kaufman and Gitenstein told him to bow out.

"I had to do my duty — for the duration," Biden wrote on the last page of his 2017 book. "I had to do my job."

Three Colorado poultry workers are presumed to have bird flu, CDC says

BY JUSTINE MCDANIEL

Three people who worked with infected poultry in Colorado are believed to have contracted avian influenza, state health officials said Friday, potentially bringing the number of U.S. cases identified in humans since April to seven.

The workers contracted mild symptoms after culling infected poultry at a farm with a commercial egg operation and tested presumptive-positive for the flu, the Colorado Department of Public Health and Environment said in a statement.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention will confirm the testing and will send a team to Colorado to investigate how the workers might have contracted the virus, the agency said Friday. The CDC will also analyze the virus sequences to determine whether the virus has mutated.

The virus — which has caused outbreaks in dairy cattle and poultry this spring and summer — has posed a low risk to the general public because it's unlikely to be spread from person to person.

It could pose a higher risk if it mutates to spread easily between people, however, so the virus has a "pandemic potential" that makes human cases concerning, the CDC said.

"These preliminary results again underscore the risk of exposure to infected animals," the CDC said. "Historically, most human cases of bird flu infection have happened in people who are not wearing recommended personal protective equipment."

The agency's low-risk assessment for the public remained unchanged after the report of presumed cases. There has been no sign of increases in flu activity in the states affected by outbreaks in poultry and cows, the CDC said Friday.

The three presumed cases would be the first confirmed in humans in the United States exposed to infected birds; the four already confirmed this spring were all in people exposed to cattle. The first was in a Texas dairy worker, followed by two separate cases in Michigan and a fourth this month in a Colorado dairy farm employee.



CHARLIE NEIBERGALL/AP

The bird flu virus has been detected in poultry flocks in Colorado, Iowa and Minnesota in the past month, according to the USDA.

The three newly affected workers developed cold symptoms and pinkeye; none was hospitalized, state health officials said. The other four infected workers also reported eye inflammation or pinkeye.

The bird flu outbreak has affected more than 99 million poultry and 151 dairy herds in the United States. The virus has also been detected in more than 9,500 wild birds, according to the CDC's latest count.

Poultry outbreaks have been identified nationwide, while 12 states have had outbreaks in dairy cows. In the past month, the virus has been detected in poultry flocks in Colorado, Iowa and Minnesota, according to the Agriculture Department.

The federal government has offered money to dairy farmers with infected herds in exchange for testing their cattle, trying to incentivize testing and security measures that could help control the outbreak.

The U.S. government has also planned to make bird flu vaccine available as soon as this month and awarded money to Moderna to develop an mRNA-based vaccine.

An early federal response that was slow and fractured drew frustration from some officials and experts, The Washington Post reported in April, and some have called for more robust testing of cattle.

People should avoid exposure to sick or dead animals, including birds and cows, and avoid animal feces and litter, the CDC said. Anyone who becomes sick after working with cows or poultry that could be infected should call their doctor or the state health department, Colorado officials advised.

Proper cooking kills bird flu virus; health officials say it remains safe to eat properly handled and cooked poultry and eggs. Commercially available milk, which is pasteurized, is also considered safe, though the CDC recommends avoiding unpasteurized, or raw, milk.

Hawaii isn't protected by NATO. Some senators are trying to change that.

BY BRYAN PIETSCH

As world leaders gathered last week in Washington to celebrate 75 years of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, President Biden praised the protection offered by the alliance. "For 75 years, our nations have grown and prospered behind the NATO shield," he said Wednesday.

However, not all of the United States is protected by that shield. The state of Hawaii, home to more than 1.4 million people and various U.S. military bases, is excluded from NATO provisions. With the military alliance finding itself increasingly entwined in security threats from China and other Asian nations, some lawmakers are now calling for that exclusion to be reevaluated.

A bipartisan group of senators — led by Sens. Brian Schatz (D-Hawaii) and Eric Schmitt (R-Mo.) — made a renewed attempt last week to secure protections for Hawaii. They wrote in a letter to Secretary of State Antony Blinken on Wednesday that action was necessary to address "the deep concerns about deterring an adversary's attack or treating residents as equals to those in the other 49 states."

The senators added that "the gravity of the Indo-Pacific threat environment requires that we do more" amid rising concerns about an increasingly aggressive China.

The reason for Hawaii's exclusion is a bit of geographic fine print in the treaty that founded NATO, signed 10 years before the archipelago became a state.

Article 5 of the treaty states that an attack on one NATO member is an attack on all, but Article 6 clarifies that such protections only apply to land, forces, vessels or aircraft north of the Tropic of Cancer. Hawaii, as well as the U.S. territories of Guam and Puerto Rico, are south of that line. American Samoa, the Northern Mariana Islands and the U.S. Virgin Islands are also south of the Tropic of Cancer.

Hawaii's distance from the rest of the United States and its relative proximity to Asia create distinct security concerns. In 1941, a surprise attack by Imperial Japan on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor in Honolulu caused the deaths of 2,393 Americans and led the United States to join World War II.

Hawaii is thought to be a likely target if North Korea were to strike the United States. An alert that was blasted to Hawaii residents erroneously in 2018, declaring a "BALLISTIC MISSILE THREAT INBOUND TO HAWAII," caused widespread chaos throughout the state. "Is this the end of my life?" one resident later recalled thinking.

Security threats from and to Asia-Pacific nations were part of discussions at the gathering last week in Washington, which was attended by officials from the "Indo-Pacific 4" — Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Japan.

NATO last week scolded China for becoming a "decisive enabler of Russia's war against Ukraine," adding in its "Washington Summit Declaration" communiqué that Beijing's "stated ambitions and coercive policies continue to challenge our interests, security and values." The alliance has recently tried to straddle addressing concerns in Asia while also not straying too far from its focus on Europe. Plans for a NATO liaison office in Tokyo appear to have fizzled.

A State Department spokesperson said the department received the letter and will "respond once we have an opportunity to review it."

Schatz questioned Blinken about the matter at a Senate hearing in 2022, saying he didn't have "any doubt that the entire free world would rally to our defense, but this is no small problem." Hawaii is not covered while the other 49 states are, he told Blinken. "What are we going to do about that, Mr. Secretary?"

Blinken said he was confident that "any attack on the United States or its territories, even if outside the geographic scope of Article 5" would draw a response from allies.

He added that any effort to amend the treaty to include Hawaii would be "unlikely to gain consensus" because other allied nations also have territory outside the geographic scope of the agreement. (Martinique, an island in the Caribbean home to nearly 400,000 people, is a French "overseas department" south of the Tropic of Cancer.) Such a discussion would "open something of a Pandora's box," Blinken said. "I'm not sure that we could get there."

Still, the senators argued that potential conflict in the Pacific could pose a threat to Hawaii and that "the scars of the attack on Pearl Harbor are still visible today."

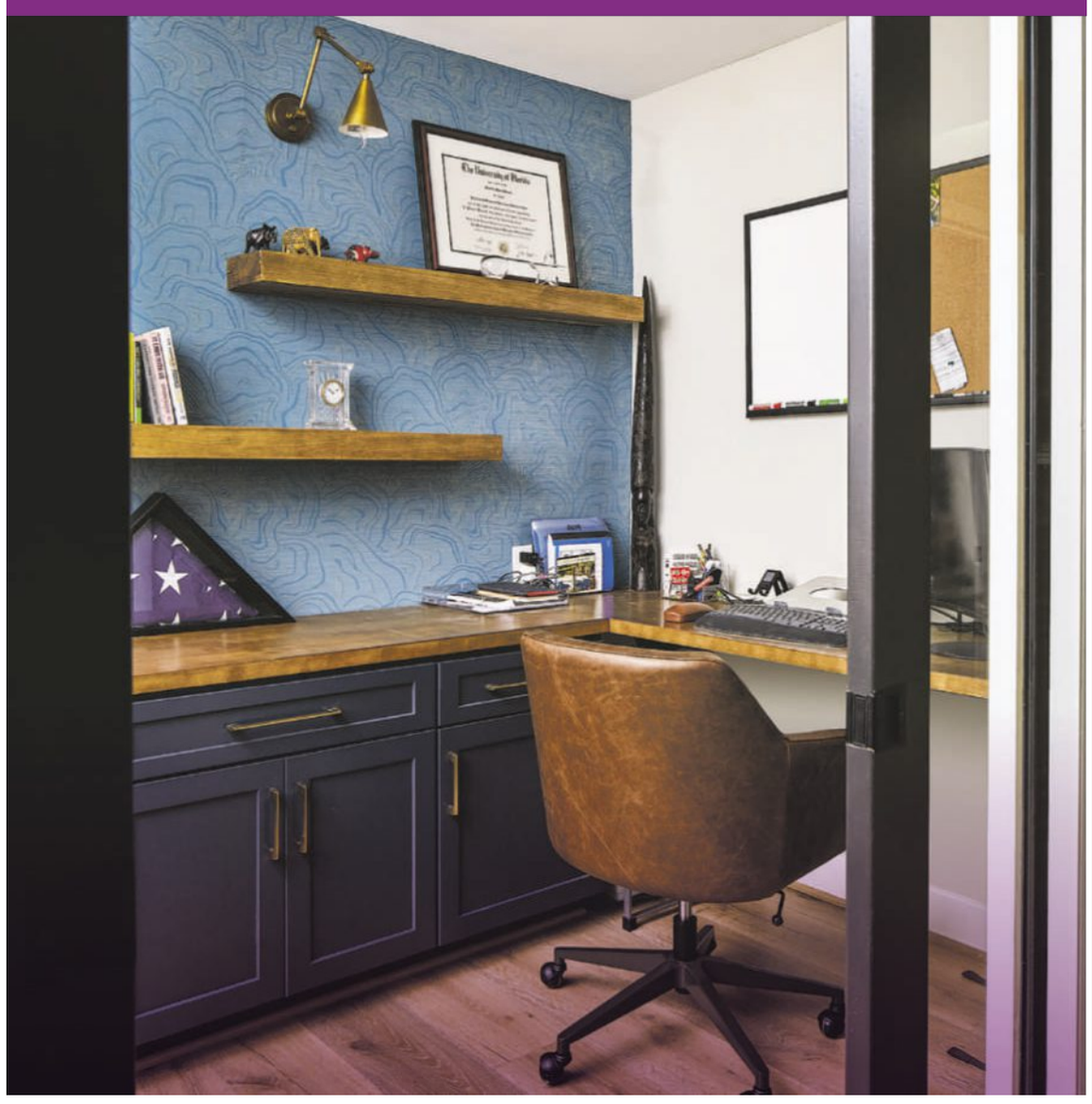
Justin Kranzl, a 53-year-old communications executive who recently moved to the Hawaiian island of Oahu, said he was unaware that Hawaii was technically outside of NATO's geographical purview. Finding out that a state that has "been the subject of aggression" previously is excluded from NATO protection was "alarming," he said.

David Serpa, a 35-year-old arborist who also lives on Oahu, said he hadn't spent much time considering Hawaii's exclusion from NATO protection, at least on paper, but added that it was "not surprising," considering how separate Hawaii can feel from the mainland United States.

Should Hawaii come under attack, NATO allies would probably be drawn in anyway as the islands are "overrun" by the U.S. military presence there, Serpa said.

"We're just so heavily militarized here that it's almost redundant," he said. "It just feels implied."

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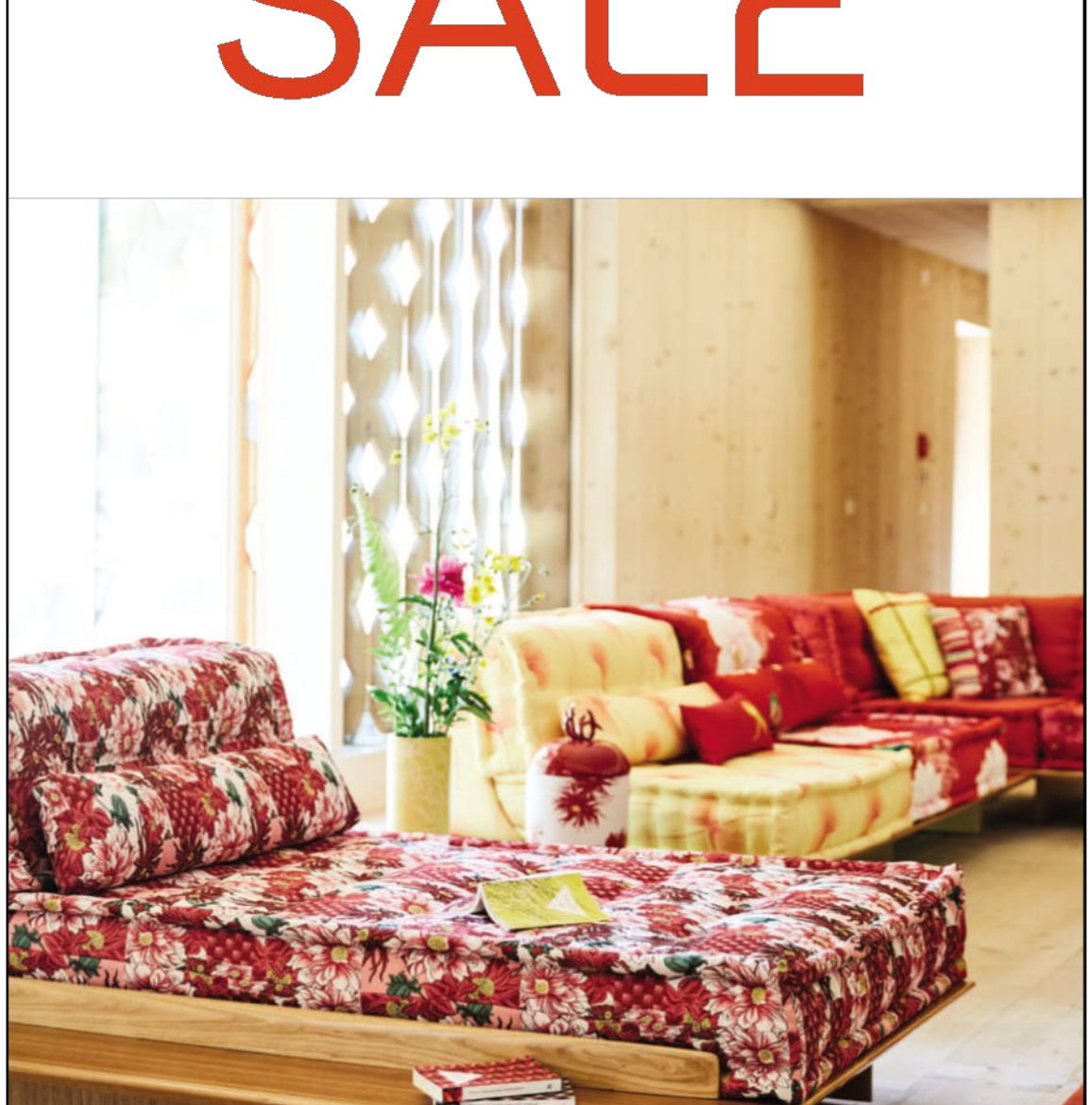
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Shooting at Trump rally is being investigated as an assassination attempt

TRUMP FROM **A1**

"It is incredible that such an act can take place in our Country," Trump wrote on Truth Social.

The scene unfolded just days before he is set to formally receive the GOP nomination for president at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee — and renewed fears about rising threats of political violence.

Butler County District Attorney Richard Goldinger said the shooter was on the roof of an office building outside the security perimeter for the event. The incident is being investigated as an attempted assassination, with the FBI, Secret Service and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives all working on the case, according to two people familiar with the matter.

Minutes into his remarks, Trump reached for his right ear and then crouched behind the lectern after the first of several pops, which sent the crowd into a panic. A voice was heard saying, "Get down, get down, get down!" Several more apparent shots followed a couple of seconds later. Audience members screamed, and smoke rose in the air.

Members of Trump's Secret Service detail rushed in, one yelling, "Hawkeye is here!" as members of the Secret Service's counterassault team mounted the stage, wearing black tactical gear and pointing rifles at the crowd — trying to give the former president and his detail cover so that agents could rush him to safety.

The crowd roared as Trump and the officers began to maneuver offstage. The former president pumped his fist while walking off with what appeared to be blood dripping down his right ear and streaked across his cheek. A Washington Post photographer observed what appeared to be blood on the riser behind the former president.

Trump's campaign issued a statement condemning the incident. "President Trump thanks law enforcement and first responders for their quick action during this heinous act. He is fine and is being checked out at a local medical facility," campaign spokesman Steven Cheung said in the statement. Later in the evening, Trump campaign advisers and Republican Party officials said in a joint statement that Trump looked forward to proceeding with the convention.

At a news conference Saturday evening, President Biden — who was at a church in Delaware during the incident — said he had been briefed and had tried to contact Trump, who he understood to be doing well. "Look, there's no place in America for this kind of violence. It's sick," Biden said. "It's sick. It's one of the reasons why we have to unite this country." Late in the evening, a White House official said Biden and Trump had spoken.

Biden campaign officials said Saturday night that they were working to pull down their television ads as quickly as they could.

Goldinger, the district attorney, said the shooter was on the roof of a nearby office belonging to American Glass Research. William Bellis, chief financial officer at AGR International — which calls American Glass Research a subsidiary and is based in a cluster of buildings closest to the Trump rally — said Saturday night that the company worked with local police beforehand on security concerns. Police blocked off public access to the company's parking lot, and that space was available for law enforcement use, Bellis said.

Rico Elmore, a former Republican candidate for the Pennsylvania House who spoke ahead of Trump, was feet from the stage when shots rang out. At first, he said it sounded like firecrackers. Elmore, an Air Force guardsman, yelled for people to get down and heard some call for a medic.

About 10 feet from him, to the right of Trump, a man in the audience was bleeding from his head, Elmore said. Before the medical responders could reach the man, Elmore jumped over a barrier and tried to hold the head wound, the blood smearing across Elmore's white shirt.

"I held his head and keep it in tact but it was just, it was a serious injury," Elmore said. He didn't believe the man survived. He said he also saw a woman passed out, but she didn't appear to be bloodied.

"There was a lot of anger, a lot of fear, a lot of crying. There were a couple people praying," said Cindy Hildebrand, the chairwoman of the United Republicans of Butler County, who was also at the rally. A woman next to her had a 7-year-old daughter who was up front hanging from a post excited to see Trump. "Now we have a 7-year-old somewhere out there that is just absolutely traumatized."

The crowd evacuated in an orderly manner, some directing anger over what happened at the media. Police told people to leave because the site was an active crime scene.

Republicans preparing for the convention in Milwaukee gathered around televisions in a hotel lobby after the incident. Charlie Gerow, a Pennsylvania-based GOP strategist, was in the hotel and described an emotional scene with people crossing themselves and looking stunned.

The convention is expected to continue but with additional security, according to an official familiar with the preparations who like others spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private deliberations.

Josh Dawsey, Colby Itkowitz, Maeve Reston, Matt Viser, Joyce Lee, Carol D. Leonnig, Perry Stein, Theodoric Meyer and Shawn Boburg contributed to this report.



REBECCA DROKE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES)



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Trump supporters in the stands after shots were fired at a campaign rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday. The incident left two people dead, including the suspected gunman.
LEFT: Secret Service agents cover former president Donald Trump during the shooting.

"President Trump thanks law enforcement and first responders for their quick action during this heinous act. He is fine and is being checked out at a local medical facility."

Trump campaign spokesman Steven Cheung, in a statement after shots were fired at a rally in Butler, Pa.

Portrayals of Trump as a threat to democracy led to violence, supporters say

REACTION FROM **A1**

Chris LaCivita, a top adviser to Trump's campaign, posted on social media a sentiment to Vance's, blaming the attack on efforts by Trump's political enemies to disrupt his candidacy. "[W]ell of course they tried to keep him off the ballot, they tried to put him in jail and now you see this …" LaCivita wrote on X, the platform formerly known as Twitter, before later deleting the post.

LaCivita's message pointed to words Biden had used earlier in the week when he told a group of donors about shifting his campaign to attack Trump's policy record, including his record on abortion and Project 2025, a policy document drafted by some former Trump advisers. "So, we're done talking about the debate, it's time to put Trump in a bull's eye," Biden had told donors in the private call, which was reported publicly.

After deleting the X post, LaCivita reiterated in a text message to The Washington Post that he doesn't think Biden "or anyone else" should use words like that.

"For weeks, leftist activists, Democrat donors and now even the president of the United States have made disgusting remarks," LaCivita wrote. "It's high time they be held accountable for it."

"The best way is through the ballot box," he added. He later posted a similar message on X.

Trump himself often uses inflammatory language, having taken office in 2021 by describing the state of the nation as "American carnage." He has since called his political enemies "vermin," described some undocumented migrants as "animals" and warned of a "bloodbath" if he fails to win in November.

Biden announced his 2020 campaign for the presidency by explaining he was motivated by the need to quell the division in the country and prevent the sort of deadly violence that had occurred at a 2017 white nationalist protest in Charlottesville.

"Look, there's no place for this kind of violence in America. It's sick. It's sick. It's one of the reasons we have to unite this country," Biden said in remarks at the Rehoboth Beach, Del., police department Saturday. "We cannot be like this."

The shooting Saturday was universally condemned by political leaders, with former president Barack Obama (D), Vice President Harris (D), Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) and many others releasing statements condemning the violence.

"As one whose family has been the victim of political violence, I know firsthand that political violence of any kind has no place in our society," former House speaker and member of Congress Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) said in a statement. "I thank God that former President Trump is safe."

Pelosi's husband, Paul, was attacked in his home by a hammer-wielding assailant in an act of political violence. Last year, at an event in California, Trump made light of that attack. "How's her husband doing by the way? Does anyone know?" he said to laughs, in reference to Paul Pelosi's injuries from the attacks.

Other Trump supporters were quick to blame Biden and the media for the shooting Saturday, despite a lack of information about the shooter's motives.

Rep. Mike Collins (R-Ga.) pointed to the "bull's eye" comment by Biden earlier in the week.

"Joe Biden sent the orders," Collins wrote on X. He later added, "The Republican District Attorney in Butler County, Pa., should immediately file charges against Joe Biden for inciting an assassination."

Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) was also quick to place blame. "The Democrats and the media are to blame for every drop of blood spilled today," Greene wrote on social media. "For years and years, they've demonized him and his supporters."

Greene lost her House committee assignments in 2021 after the surfacing of social media posts from before her time in Congress that indicated she had supported political violence. She had liked a post that suggested shooting prominent Democratic leaders and responded approvingly to a commenter who suggested hanging Obama and former secretary of state Hillary Clinton.

She later told the House that her past comments "do not represent me," and that she had been misled by online communities before winning office.

As the news spread of the shooting at Trump's rally in Pennsylvania, Ron Kaufman, a Republican National Committee delegate from Massachusetts, described the mood in Milwaukee, where Republicans were gathering for this week's nominating convention, as one of "shock and disbelief."

"There's a feeling," Kaufman wrote in a text message, "that the Democrats' constant pounding on President Trump as 'a threat to democracy' leads to this."

Maeve Reston contributed to this report.



TOM BRENNER/REUTERS

President Biden delivers remarks in Rehoboth Beach, Del., on Saturday after the Trump rally shooting.

Screams, blood follow pops of gunfire at rally

SCENE FROM **A1**

He launched into his stump speech but quickly got bored with the prepared script. He offered to invite the Republican Senate candidate, Dave McCormick, to speak, but McCormick wasn't ready.

"You don't mind if I go off teleprompter, do you?" Trump teased. "Because these teleprompters are so damn boring." He asked to show "that chart that I love so much," showing border crossings across his and Joe Biden's presidencies, and acted amazed that his producers obliged, projecting it onto the giant screens to either side. "Wow, you guys are getting better with time."

He was pointing to one of the screens, narrating the increase in immigration since he left office in 2021. "Look what happened to our country!"

The pops came in pairs, a burst of five or six total. Trump swatted his ear, as if he heard a mosquito. Then he hunched his shoulders and ducked.

"Get down, get down, get down!" Secret Service agents shouted as they rushed up onto the stage and surrounded him. The crowd screamed. Another burst of popping noises. More screaming. The people in the bleachers behind Trump shuffled, unsure where to go. The people in chairs or standing crouched or leaped to the ground. A dense cloud of smoke hung to the right of the stage, then dispersed quickly.

One more solitary shot.

More suited Secret Service agents rushed the stage, then black-clad men wearing body armor and helmets, and carrying assault rifles. The crowd shouted in confusion.

"Are we good?" one of the officers said, audible from the podium microphone.

"Shooter's down," another answered.

"We're good to move."

"Are we clear?"

"We're clear!"

"Let me get my shoes on," Trump said, as the agents lifted him.

"I got you, sir."

"Hold on, your head is bloody."

"Let me get my shoes on," he said again, as the agents formed a ring around him.

The crowd, seeing him standing, started to cheer.

"Wait," Trump said, and thrust up a fist. "Fight!" he said. "Fight!"

Then the people roared and chanted again: "USA!"

"We gotta move," an agent said. Leaning on the guards for assistance, Trump kept his fist raised as he hobbled off the stage, down the stairs and into his black SUV. One black dress shoe remained on the red-carpeted stage.

Officers — Secret Service, county sheriff, state troopers, U.S. Department of Homeland Security — started telling the crowd to evacuate, calling the site an active crime scene. The rallygoers walked out, calling and texting family and friends and recording videos. People were shocked but calm.

As people passed the press risers elevating the cameras, some took out their anger on the media.

"You're not safe. It's your fault."

"You wanted political violence, now you got it. Hope you're all f---ing happy."

"The shot heard 'round the world."

"The liberal media is responsible!"

"Every f---ing one of y'all!"

Others sought out the cameras to offer eyewitness accounts, but they were jumbled and sometimes contradictory amid the panic.

The crowd trudged glumly to the parking lot, a few stopping for a last-minute hot dog or snow cone.

A man with a cane cowered behind the bathrooms, vomiting.

They walked to their cars past Trump flags streaming in the wind over a long row of vendors selling MAGA hats and mug shot T-shirts and Trump keychains and vulgar bumper stickers and Trump visors topped with bright orange fake hair.

A man with a bullhorn wearing a homemade "JAN 6 SURVIVOR" shirt called on people to march on Main Street, "peacefully and patriotically," echoing Trump's speech on the Ellipse on Jan. 6, 2021. Most everyone ignored him. One young man accused him of being an undercover federal agent and told him to shut up.

They left behind the field strewn with empty plastic water bottles. A giant American flag hoisted from two cranes flapped high above the empty white bleachers bordered with red, white and blue bunting.



PHOTOS BY JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Rallygoers duck under chairs while former president Donald Trump was assisted off the stage after shots were fired at a campaign rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday. Trump was safe after the shooting, which killed a spectator. The shooter was also killed, officials said.



Secret Service agents approach the stage at the campaign rally. Agents rushed to the lectern to cover Trump after shots were fired, then escorted him away and into his black SUV.

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How Black and LGBTQ activists became defenders of Big Tobacco

Companies are turning to these allies to loosen vaping rules and fight efforts to ban menthols



MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST



DIEU-NALIO CHERY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



DIEU-NALIO CHERY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

FROM TOP: Patrons enjoy an evening of smoking and drinking at Trade in D.C. Worshipers during a "No Menthol Sunday" service in protest of menthol cigarettes at Church Without Walls Ministries in Flint, Mich.

BY FENIT NIRAPPIL

In 2022, Earl Fowlkes, a Black gay activist, denounced tobacco companies for marketing e-cigarettes to his community as the latest way to hook people on nicotine.

A year later he declared that vaping saves Black and LGBTQ+ lives.

Fowlkes's promotion of looser e-cigarette regulations, which came as he developed a relationship with an industry trade group, illustrates how the tobacco industry has expanded alliances with activists representing Black, LGBTQ+ and other disenfranchised groups to defend products public health experts say are harmful. Anti-tobacco activists say these partnerships help companies gain credibility among regulators and lawmakers as vaping groups lobby the Food and Drug Administration to approve more e-cigarette products and tobacco firms fight a Biden administration plan to ban menthol cigarettes.

Fowlkes said he did not directly receive any industry money but he said a private donor whose identity he would not disclose paid for a report released by his D.C.-based organization, the Center for Black Equity, that lobbyists widely cited to support e-cigarettes.

As the tobacco industry faces increasing federal scrutiny, some of the industry's biggest names are supporting causes important to civil rights activists. Juul, a major e-cigarette manufacturer, courted the Rev. Al Sharpton and his activist group, the National Action Network, with a multimillion-dollar smoking cessation partnership, according to court documents.

Reynolds American, which makes Newport, the nation's top-selling menthol brand, donated to the National Action Network and to scholarships run by civil rights lawyer Ben Crump, and has contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to organizations representing Black law enforcement officials and Black newspapers, according to the recipients. Representatives of those groups went on to meet with Biden administration officials to oppose the menthol ban. Sharpton and Crump have previously said the donations did not influence their position; neither responded to requests for comment.

Opponents of a ban said it would discriminate against Black smokers, 81 percent of whom smoke menthol cigarettes, according to a federal survey. They have invoked the specter of police violence, arguing that law enforcement would target Black people who turn to an illicit market for menthol cigarettes.

Tobacco companies have long funded Black organizations to gain political power and customers, said Valerie Yerger, a founder of the African American Tobacco Control Leadership Council. Billions of dollars are at stake, with menthol cigarettes making up a third of the more than $65 billion in annual cigarette sales. The vaping industry, with at least $2.76 billion in e-cigarettes sales in 2021, is trying to expand its market by selling itself as a safer alternative to traditional cigarettes.

"The industry is picking up their activities using a playbook they had created decades ago," said Yerger, a health policy professor at the University of California at San Francisco, who wrote a paper 20 years ago detailing how the tobacco industry partnered with Black organizations. "We will always have individuals within these communities who will take money and find a way to justify their relationships with this industry."

Fowlkes, who plans to step down as president and chief executive of the Center for Black Equity this month, said neither he nor his group has directly received industry money. A longtime smoking critic, Fowlkes said he still supports banning menthol cigarettes even as he has softened his stance on vaping as a way to help people stop smoking carcinogenic cigarettes.

"I have a right to change my mind as I've done over the course of my 30 years of doing this work," said Fowlkes, citing his evolution from skepticism to support of needle exchanges to prevent HIV. "I just believe that we should have more tools in our toolbox to combat cancer."

The activist groups that did receive money from the industry have said that it did not influence their opposition to banning menthol cigarettes.

The National Action Network said it followed the lead of the mother of Eric Garner, who police killed in 2014 after approaching him for illegally selling loose menthol cigarettes. "There was a real concern that a ban on just menthol cigarettes, which had been sold in stores for generations and targeted to Black communities, would lead to law enforcement issues," Ebonie C. Riley, a National Action Network executive, said in a statement.

Gwen Carr, Garner's mother, said Reynolds made a "small" donation to the foundation she set up in her son's memory. She said the money had no impact on her opposition to a menthol ban, which she worried would spur more police harassment of Black Americans.

Advocates for the menthol ban say it's especially galling to co-opt Black Lives Matter messaging to defend cigarette companies because far more Black Americans die of smoking-related illnesses than at the hands of police. Menthol flavors make cigarettes easier to smoke because of the cool, minty taste and can be more addictive by enhancing the effects of nicotine on the brain, experts say. One study estimated 157,000 Black Americans died prematurely between 1980 and 2018 because of menthol cigarette use.

The Biden administration has repeatedly delayed its plans to ban menthol cigarettes after Black opponents of the ban warned such a move could alienate the president's Black supporters ahead of the election, according to administration officials. Health and Human Services Secretary Xavier Becerra has said officials need more time to consider the feedback from civil rights and criminal justice activists. Proponents of the ban condemned the delays.

"We're talking about a product that, when used as intended, will kill up to half of all consumers prematurely," said Mitch Zeller, the FDA's top tobacco regulator until his retirement in 2022. "How that has gotten bollixed up into being a political issue and framed as social justice to me is beyond ironic, given the disproportionate toll that menthol takes on Black Americans."

Reynolds, Juul court Black organizations

In Detroit, the Rev. Horace Sheffield told The Washington Post he had turned down offers of up to $250,000 from Reynolds representatives to oppose a menthol ban. His mother smoked even as emphysema ravaged her lungs and died at the age of 43, when he was a teenager.

"The folks who offer the money want to prostitute us against what's in the best interests of our own people without any regard for how that impinges on our own integrity," Sheffield said.

Sheffield said that a Black activist he mentored told him he had received significant money from the industry and that Sheffield could receive even more because of his stature and the impact of switching sides. Sheffield had called for a ban in an opinion piece for the Detroit Free Press in 2022. Sheffield had previously provided text messages of the Reynolds outreach to the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, a nonprofit news outlet.

Reynolds did not address Sheffield's allegations, but defended its overall practice of donating to Black-led organizations.

"Like many other companies, Reynolds supports organizations that offer perspectives on issues that are important to our consumers," Luis Pinto, a Reynolds spokesman, wrote in an email to The Post. "Reynolds does not make financial contributions conditional upon organizations maintaining a particular position."

Juul also steered millions of dollars to Black institutions and civil rights groups, according to internal documents released this year through a settlement in a lawsuit filed by the state of North Carolina alleging the company misrepresented the danger of nicotine, derived from tobacco, to attract young customers. The documents, some of which were first reported by STAT News, showed how Juul saw political and financial advantages in cultivating these relationships.

In a 2019 memo, Juul's senior director of strategic partnerships wrote, "Without a politically broad array of voices validating the company's brand, creating a positive echo chamber, with regulators and policymakers, the company could be irreparably harmed."

Juul partnered with the National Action Network in 2018 to run a tobacco cessation campaign, according to the documents. A $7 million budget proposed by the National Action Network to mobilize clergy and youths in nine states included $500,000 for advertising with African American media outlets and another $500,000 to collect data from the Black community "for research purposes." The emails show Juul's then-chief executive Kevin Burns authorizing an initial $500,000 payment to the civil rights organization for a pilot program in Detroit. Riley of the National Action Network said the organization ultimately decided to stop working with Juul because "we determined from a review of their data that it was not as safe an alternative as billed."

Stefanie Miller, Juul's vice president for external affairs, said the company cultivated relationships with groups serving marginalized communities to end higher rates of smoking traditional cigarettes. She noted that some of the organizations initiated contact for partnerships and funding.

"We believe it's not only appropriate but necessary to engage with organizations who represent these underserved communities," Miller said in an interview. "Not for us to tell them how best to meet their needs, but to collaborate with them and work with them on figuring out ways to minimize this health inequity."

Public health experts say longtime smokers may benefit by switching completely to vaping, while cautioning that e-cigarettes still pose risks through nicotine addiction and harmful chemicals in the vapor. The effects of long-term use are still being studied.

In 2019, Juul donated $7.5 million to Meharry Medical College, a historically Black school in Tennessee, to fund research on public health issues affecting African Americans. School officials say they had autonomy in how to use the money. A Juul internal memo describing the business rationale for the donation said the school's reputation "is unparalleled" among communities of color and low-income communities and "the impact of their research helps to inform the policy recommendations made by national organizations like the NAACP, National Urban League, the Congressional Black Caucus" and other "key stakeholders."

Juul also forged a deal with a coalition of Black and Hispanic media that provided the company an opportunity to shape news articles promoting its products in up to 600 regional and local publications. Ron Burke, a sales representative for the National Newspaper Publishers Association, a network of Black newspapers, wrote to Burns and other Juul executives offering to provide "editorial support," including an article reviewed by the company before publication, as "a great way to maximize your messaging," according to an August 2018 email.

Several weeks later, Anita Grace, a business development executive for the National Association of Hispanic Publications, emailed a Juul executive to request "content, press releases, articles etc." to "arm" their journalists.

An article promoting Juul, written by a senior news reporter, ran in English and Spanish on the associations' platforms in August 2018 after company officials received drafts and offered edits. It is against journalism ethics to allow story subjects to edit drafts of news stories and for media organizations to receive payment for coverage, according to the Society of Professional Journalists. Miller declined to answer questions about Juul's dealings with the newspapers because, she said, the company officials involved have left Juul.

Burke told The Post the arrangement with Juul was a typical advertising relationship, and it was an oversight that the article wasn't labeled as sponsored content, a form of advertising.

Grace said sponsored content would have been labeled as such. The Spanish-language version of the article is no longer online, but social media posts promoting it and an archived image of how the article appeared on the homepage did not include such disclosures.

Juul also tried to woo the NAACP, according to a 2018 email from Juul executive Deryck Spooner recapping a dinner with top NAACP officials, including President Derrick Johnson, during the Congressional Black Caucus's annual policy conference.

Johnson told The Post that his organization later rebuffed Juul after concluding the company's argument that vaping would end addiction to cigarettes was shaky.

"It was no different than Big Tobacco," Johnson said. "It was targeting our communities with flavors so that individuals would become addicted."

Vaping industry finds Black, gay ally

The news release from the Center for Black Equity calling on the FDA to approve a full range of nicotine e-cigarettes bewildered antismoking activists who once worked with Fowlkes.

Since Fowlkes founded the nonprofit in 1999 to support Black gay pride celebrations around the world, the center also developed a reputation as an advocate for public health, promoting coronavirus and mpox vaccination in disenfranchised communities. He even served as an adviser to the National African American Tobacco Prevention Network.

For years, tobacco companies offered Fowlkes five- and six-figure checks to sponsor Pride events, he said. He always turned them down, accusing companies of "masquerading as allies in order to addict us to their harmful products and grow their customer base," Fowlkes wrote in an opinion piece for the Advocate magazine in August 2022 that also condemned e-cigarettes.

But now Fowlkes was publicizing the findings of a new report commissioned by his organization: Switching from smoking to vaping saves lives and health-care costs, it concluded in October 2023. The report was written by an economic advisory firm.

Fowlkes said he had begun to warm to the idea of vaping when he watched a television program about how longtime smokers were able to quit by switching to e-cigarettes.

Soon, the Center for Black Equity would be cited in a flurry of opinion pieces urging looser vaping regulations. Its report was mentioned in op-eds by former representative Ed Towns (D-N.Y.), a Black congressman turned lobbyist; Kellyanne Conway, a former top Trump aide who has conducted polling for vaping interests; and Rob Beamon, a Black former Olympic long-jumper who said Towns got him involved.

Fowlkes told The Post that Campbell Spencer, a consultant for the Vapor Technology Association, had helped him raise roughly $30,000 to commission the report on the "major benefits and moderate risks" of vaping. Hours after The Post contacted Spencer for comment, Fowlkes said he was "mistaken" about the consultant's involvement in raising financing

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Shooting at rally upends an already tense campaign

Incident is likely to invigorate Trump, muddle Biden's effort

BY ASHLEY PARKER

A shooting at former president Donald Trump's campaign rally Saturday evening — which is being investigated as an assassination attempt — upended the already dark and tumultuous race for the White House.

Trump's campaign said he still plans to attend the Republican National Convention, which is scheduled to begin in Milwaukee on Monday. But the shooting is sure to shift the messaging and tenor — not to mention the security — of the massive gathering where the former president is expected to announce his running mate and try to unify his party and the nation behind his vision of grievance and retribution.

President Biden, speaking from Rehoboth Beach, Del., condemned the shooting. Biden's campaign, meanwhile, announced it was pausing its communication and pulling down all television ads as quickly as possible.

"There is no place in America for this kind of violence," Biden said in remarks from the Rehoboth Beach police department. "It's sick. . . . It cannot be like this. We cannot condone this."

Trump had been speaking for less than 10 minutes in Butler, Pa., when several loud pops rang out and the former president put his hand to his right ear, the upper part of which had been pierced by a bullet, he later said on social media. As Secret Service agents encircled the former president, Trump raised his right fist defiantly and scowled, mouthing: "Fight. Fight. Fight."

Several images of the moment — including one with a blood-streaked Trump in the shadow of an American flag — are already ricocheting around social media, all but certain to prove iconic. Several Republican lawmakers simply posted the photos without any words.

The U.S. Secret Service announced that a suspected shooter had been killed.

The shooter's motives were unknown late Saturday. But the shooting — whose shock waves are still rippling outward — is certain to scramble the presidential contest, which was already plunged into turmoil just over two weeks ago, when Biden's halting debate performance raised questions about his age and ability to run a vigorous campaign.

Trump is often most comfortable — and most effective — when playing both martyr and victim, and Saturday's shooting naturally thrusts him back into that role. Trump immediately put out a statement thanking the Secret Service and law enforcement, expressing his condolences to the other victims and offering a dramatic recounting of the moment.

"I was shot with a bullet that pierced the upper part of my right ear," he wrote. "I knew immediately that something was wrong in that I heard a whizzing sound, shots, and immediately felt the bullet ripping through the skin. Much bleeding took place, so I realized then what was happening. GOD BLESS AMERICA!"

The images of Trump in the immediate aftermath of the shooting are likely to become iconic, said Douglas Brinkley, a presidential historian at Rice University.

"There's something in the American spirit that likes seeing fortitude and courage under pressure and the fact that Trump held his fist up high will become a new symbol," Brinkley said. "By surviving an attempted assassination, you become a martyr, because you get a groundswell of public sympathy."

The violence, at least for the moment, seemed to overtake the previously dominant narrative of the campaign: the Democratic disarray following Biden's debate performance and many Democrats' desire that he step aside for a younger candidate.

But it also likely complicates Biden and his team's calculations going forward. Speaking to donors Monday on a private phone call, Biden said it was time to train his focus on Trump.

"I have one job, and that's to beat Donald Trump," he said. "I'm absolutely certain I'm the best person to be able to do that. So, we're done talking about the debate, it's time to put Trump in a bull's eye."

Trump had yet to be discharged from the hospital when Republicans began saying that Biden's rhetoric had led to Saturday's violence.

Rep. Mike Collins (R-Ga.) pointed to Biden's remarks — specifically about putting Trump in the bull's eye — and blamed Biden for the violence.

"Joe Biden sent the orders," Collins wrote on social media Saturday night, shortly after the shooting.

The America First Policy Institute, a key outside group that seeks to elevate the policies embraced by Trump, held a virtual prayer vigil at 9 p.m. Saturday night. Religious leaders offered prayers. One said that there was no question that God had intervened to spare Trump's life. Another thanked God that Melania Trump is not a widow.

As he led a prayer on behalf of the rally attendee who lost their life, Frank Pavone, the national director of Priests for Life, spoke of the attack on Trump as an attack on "all of us," echoing Trump's routine claims of martyrdom.

"We recall the words that President Trump always says to us: It's not that they are coming after him," Pavone said. "They are coming after us — all of us — he's just standing in the way."

Brinkley said that the timing of the shooting — on the eve of the Republican convention in Milwaukee — underscores similarities between Trump and former president Theodore Roosevelt, who in 1912 was seeking to return to the presidency, and was shot while campaigning in Milwaukee.

Brinkley said that Roosevelt, who was shot in the chest, declared, "It takes more than a bullet to kill a Bull Moose" and "kept on speaking, delivering a stemwinder before he went to the hospital."

"The timing of Trump, going to Milwaukee, where Theodore Roosevelt was shot — Trump has the biggest possible stage," Brinkley said.

Steve Schmidt, a former Republican strategist and prominent Trump critic, agreed.

"The political consequences of this assassination attempt will be immense, and they will benefit Donald Trump, who just responded to being shot in the exact same way that Teddy Roosevelt did," Schmidt wrote on social media.

Isaac Arnsdorf, Maeve Reston and Michael Scherer contributed to this report.



PHOTOS BY JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST



FROM TOP: Former president Donald Trump raises a fist as Secret Service agents escort him to a vehicle after shots rang out at his rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday. A shoe is left on the stage after Trump was rushed off less than 10 minutes into his speech.

Minority activists defend embrace of Big Tobacco, looser smoking rules

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

for the report. He said the money came from a private donor who he would not name. Fowlkes did not respond to further questions about the inconsistencies of his account.

Spencer and the Vapor Technology Association each said they did not play a role in the report's funding.

The Vapor Technology Association made the Center for Black Equity a fixture in its campaign to pressure the FDA to loosen restrictions. The industry group ran ads on X and Politico's Playbook newsletter, widely read in official Washington circles, promoting an op-ed by Fowlkes that argued wide approval of e-cigarettes would reduce cancer among Black and LGBTQ+ Americans. It cited the Center for Black Equity report in commercials describing e-cigarettes as beneficial for public health equity given higher smoking and death rates in Black and LGBTQ+ communities.

Fowlkes said the Vapor Technology Association offered what he described as "in-kind" support, which consisted of promoting his report online and to other policy advocates.

"They have access to people that I don't have access to," Fowlkes said. "I had to find a way of getting some traction."

Spencer told The Post that the vaping association reached out to LGBTQ+ groups because it wants to "save lives."

"It's about starting a dialogue with these groups around the importance and effectiveness of tobacco harm-reduction that absolutely must include noncombustible nicotine alternatives," she said in an email.

Fowlkes, who also leads the LGBTQ caucus of the Democratic National Committee, signed a letter organized by the vaping association urging the FDA to soften its approach to e-cigarettes — a fact the industry used to try to gain credibility in its attempt to get other LGBTQ+ groups to sign on.

Spencer touted Fowlkes' support and included him on an email to Scout, the executive director of the National LGBT Cancer Network, which promotes tobacco cessation.

Scout, who legally goes by one name, said he was taken aback that his longtime colleague in activism had teamed up with an industry group to promote a product he once criticized.

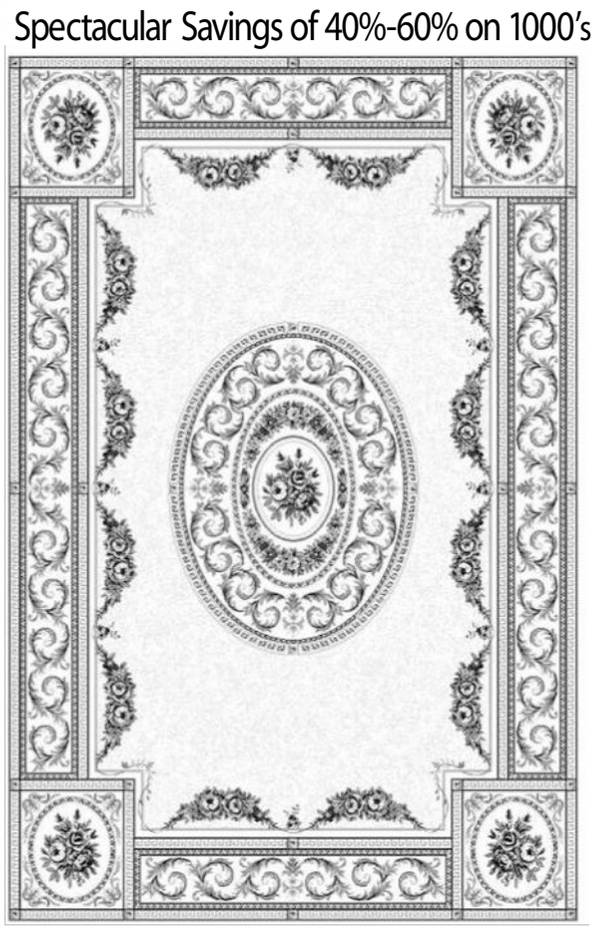
"They do such a great job of dividing underserved populations and turning us against ourselves and hiding their influence," Scout said.

He declined to sign.

Dan Diamond contributed to this report.

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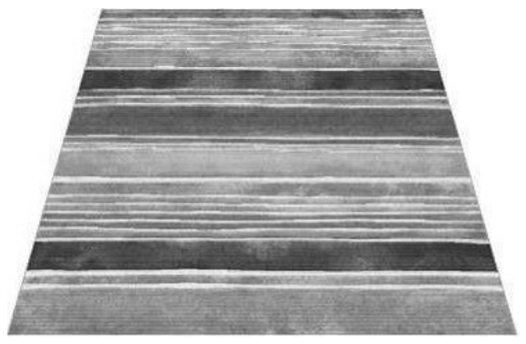
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ELECTION 2024



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

People at Union Pub in D.C. watch the first presidential debate of the 2024 election between former president Donald Trump and President Biden on June 27.

Biden's path to victory narrows in wake of damaging debate performance

BY ASHLEY PARKER, MICHAEL SCHERER AND TYLER PAGER



TIM EVANS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

From left, Aaron Marchand, Thomas Henning and Quinn Rowe prepare yard signs last month.

President Biden told reporters Thursday that unless his team comes to him with an unequivocal and blunt message — "There's no way you can win" — he has no plans to reconsider his decision to stay in the presidential race.

But following his halting and politically damaging debate performance just over two weeks ago, there are growing Democratic fears that Biden's path to victory in November has become significantly narrower, giving him almost no margin for error.

Former president Donald Trump, by contrast, now faces a potentially expanded electoral map, giving him multiple possible routes to victory and more wiggle room.

Despite national polls that show only modest slippage for Biden since his June 27 debate debut, his road to the necessary 270 electoral votes through key battlegrounds has further contracted. This is especially true in Sun Belt states such as Arizona, Georgia and Nevada — which Biden won in 2020 — as well as in North Carolina, which he lost by just 1.3 points four years ago and which his campaign had hoped to put back into play.

"The map is a narrower path to 270 for Biden, and a wider one — with more cushion — for Trump," said Amy Walter, editor in chief of the Cook Political Report. "Even before the debate, the path for Biden was getting narrower. … The whole point of the debate for Biden was he was on his heels and needed to go on offense and change the narrative and momentum and math with this debate, and that's obviously not where we are."

"And that," Walter said, "is why there is such panic among Democrats, because there is literally no cushion."

A memo that top Biden campaign staffers sent to supporters Thursday argued that the president has "multiple pathways to 270 electoral votes, with a focus on the Blue Wall states" — Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. If those are the only swing states he wins, Biden also needs to win the congressional district in Omaha to hold on to the White House.

These states are "the clearest pathway to that aim, but we also believe that the Sun Belt States are not out of reach," the memo continued.

Democrats and Republicans alike both privately and publicly say that — for now, at least — they believe the Sun Belt is out of reach, meaning Biden would have to hold Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin to have any chance of returning to the White House.

In 2020, he flipped all three states into the Democratic column from 2016, winning them all by a narrow margin.

The panic among Democrats was sparked by the first presidential debate last month. Biden struggled to complete sentences, often seemed confused when answering questions and largely failed to challenge Trump on his agenda. Biden aides had hoped the debate would mark a turning point in the election and help Biden regain support among key constituents that have faded away during his presidency.

Instead, the debate turned into a political disaster, leading nearly two dozen Democratic lawmakers to privately or publicly call on him to step aside as of Friday amid fears he will lose to Trump in November. Biden's performance has convulsed the Democratic Party as politicians, strategists, donors and voters engage in anguished debate over whether Vice President Harris would pose a more formidable challenge to Trump.

Howard Wolfson, an adviser to Hillary Clinton's 2008 presidential campaign who now works for former New York mayor Mike Bloomberg, said that when Democrats can play in traditionally red states, that means they are "in good shape" — but right now, he thinks the only three truly competitive states are the Blue Wall.

"There is no other path," Wolfson said. "It is more likely we lose a blue state than win a red state. It is more likely we lose New Hampshire or New Mexico than we win Arizona or Nevada. The map is bad. It has really constricted."

Trump pollster Tony Fabrizio was more blunt, saying that after the debate, his team was "tracking as many as 322 electoral votes."

"At this juncture, I stopped counting at 25 different paths to 270," said Fabrizio, who added that the Trump campaign views Georgia and Arizona as two pivotal states.

The Biden campaign resisted the idea that the president's paths to victory have shrunk and said that while the three Blue Wall states may currently represent the strongest route to 270, it is hardly the only one.

"The reality is that we do have multiple pathways and we've always had multiple pathways to victory in this race," said Dan Kanninen, Biden's battleground states director.

Kanninen said that when the truly up-for-grabs voters start paying attention closer to November, the "political gravity" of what is at stake will become "undeniable" and the contrast between Biden and Trump will benefit Biden.

"It's not that Trump has gained support," he said. "It's that we have some work to do to shore up our own support. And we have a plan to do it."

The Biden campaign pointed to a $50 million media blitz announced the first week of July in battleground states — a group that includes not only the Blue Wall but also Arizona, Georgia, Nevada and North Carolina — as well as its robust on-the-ground presence as signs that it is ceding no states to Trump.

In Georgia, the Biden campaign has more than 120 staffers working in 16 field offices throughout the state, with eight more offices set to open next week. And in North Carolina, the Biden campaign has 20 campaign offices and more than 100 staffers — a number it plans to double by the end of the month.

The Washington Post's presidential polling average right now shows that Trump leads Biden in six of the seven battleground states that are most likely to determine the election. In the Blue Wall states, the polls are so close that the race remains within the margin of error. But in the Sun Belt states — Arizona, Georgia, Nevada and North Carolina — Trump's advantage is more significant: He leads Biden by six points in Georgia and by five points in the other three.

Republican strategists working for independent groups supporting Trump, who have their own internal polling, have not yet declared victory.

"The only number that has significantly moved outside the margin of error was the too-old 'Grandpa' question," said Dave Carney, the strategist for Preserve America, a pro-Trump super PAC funded by Las Vegas Sands owner Miriam Adelson that plans to start spending in the Blue Wall states in late July. He added that Trump was ahead, though inside the margin of error, in those states.

MAGA Inc., another major advertiser for Trump, announced Friday that it was canceling reservations in Georgia to add money to Arizona — a state Biden flipped to Democrats in 2020 — where some research showed recent Biden gains.

"There may be chaos in D.C., but there's still a race to run," said a senior official at the group, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe internal data. "Arizona is a state we have watched closely, and recent internal polling has led to a shift in resources. The floor hasn't yet fallen out for Biden, but a couple sticks of dynamite strapped to the floor boards should change that."

Among Democrats, there is also some private consternation that traditionally blue states like Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Mexico and Virginia may now be in play — or may at least represent states where Democrats have to allocate resources playing defense.

"In all fairness, I put Minnesota and Virginia on the map back in May," Fabrizio said, adding that the Trump campaign views them as true "battleground states" rather than reaches.

The Democratic Party chairs in Minnesota and New Hampshire said this week that they expect their states to be tight, single-digit races, though they were not yet detecting any sharp polling movement since the debate.

"Trump is a trophy collector — he collects trophy properties and trophy wives," said Ken Martin, chair of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, which is the name used by that state's party. "There is no bigger trophy than taking Minnesota."

Independent groups supporting Biden have begun conversations about revisiting their own advertising plans in southern states, though no decisions have been made because of doubts over whom the nominee will be and how he or she will fare in polls, according to people familiar with the conversations. The two biggest groups running ads backing Biden — Future Forward and American Bridge — have not been on the air in recent weeks.

"The polling is obviously not what we hoped for," said former Nevada governor Steve Sisolak, a Democrat, who narrowly lost his reelection race in 2022. "The debate was not what we hoped for, but it's still four months away."

He added: "We need a change in narrative to Donald Trump and his lies."

Some Democrats remain hopeful that the Republican National Convention, which starts Monday in Milwaukee, will provide a reset and refocus the nation on Trump, his policy agenda and his legal challenges. But Biden is slated to sit for a prime-time interview with NBC News on Monday and may participate in additional interviews later in the week, opening new opportunities for critics to seize on any mistakes.

Nancy Zdunkewicz, a Democratic pollster and founder of Z to A Research, has told fellow Democrats that Biden is no longer safe in any state he won by 10 points or less four years ago.

"My back-of-hand math is: If we're worried about seats or districts or states that Biden carried by nine, 10, 11, 12 points, and he's running neck-and-neck with Trump — or even a couple of points behind — that's pretty bad," Zdunkewicz said. "That means we can't count on them, and that's what's freaking out all of these members."

A Washington Post-ABC News-Ipsos poll this week shows Biden performing worse with key Democratic groups — young voters, Black voters and Hispanic voters — than he did four years ago. Among registered voters ages 18 to 29, Biden leads Trump 47 percent to 41 percent — far smaller than his 24-point advantage in 2020 exit polls and comparable sources. Among Black registered voters, Biden leads Trump 79 percent to 15 percent — a slight drop from the Black voters who favored Biden 87-12 in exit polls. And among Hispanic voters, Biden leads Trump 49 percent to 42 percent — again far smaller than his 33-point advantage in 2020.

Despite those drop-offs, Biden nonetheless remained tied with Trump in the Post-ABC-Ipsos poll, and the president outperformed his 2020 support among White voters, men and people ages 65 and older.

Many Democrats agree that Biden did not suddenly plummet in the polls following the debate. But they worry that the event did not serve its intended purpose — to transform the race into a referendum on the former president rather than the current one — and now say Biden has even more ground to recover if he hopes to pull ahead of Trump by Election Day on Nov. 5.

"I don't think the debate changed anything, but the whole point of the debate was to change everything," said a Democratic strategist currently working on several House and Senate races. "We were losing and we had to shift the conversation, and instead we shifted the conversation onto the wrong subject."

A year ago, Doug Sosnik, who was former president Bill Clinton's political director in the White House, said he assessed Trump had a "marginal advantage" over Biden in reaching 270 electoral votes. As states in the Sun Belt have drifted away from Biden, Sosnik's outlook for Biden has become more pessimistic.

"If you're looking at this clear-eyed, it's hard to not look at where the race stands and think Trump has a pretty significant advantage," he said.

Zac Petkanas, president of Petkanas Strategies who ran rapid-response operations for Hillary Clinton's 2016 campaign, acknowledged that the contest is shaping up to be "tough, competitive, and hard-fought" and that "Donald Trump could win and Joe Biden could win." But he said that four months from Election Day is far too early to draw any meaningful conclusions.

"I don't buy the idea that certain battleground states are off the table in July," he said. "The freak-out is that we have a competitive race on our hands, and that's the state of play in July."

Scott Clement in Washington contributed to this report.

ELECTION 2024

Why Sanders, AOC threw Biden a lifeline as candidacy floundered

BY JEFF STEIN

As the spectacle of actor George Clooney and other Democrats calling on President Biden to abandon his reelection bid consumed Washington on Wednesday, Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) was at the White House, discussing a policy agenda for Biden's second term.

In a closed-door meeting with Bruce Reed and Anita Dunn, two of Biden's closest aides, Sanders argued that the president should revive his candidacy by outlining a plan for his first 100 days that would speak to the frustrations of working-class voters — in part by emphasizing some of the Vermont senator's favorite policies, according to two people briefed on the meeting, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private conversations.

Two days later at a rally in Michigan, Biden endorsed two ideas Sanders pitched at that meeting — expanding Social Security benefits and eliminating medical debt — as goals for "the first 100 days of my second term." Sanders immediately tweeted his applause.

While conflict over Biden's candidacy has splintered the Democratic Party, two of its most prominent liberals — Sanders and Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.) — have offered a full-throated defense of the embattled president, providing political cover when he needed it most. In a twist few could have predicted, the two left-wing Democrats have bolstered Biden even as his ideological allies, including former House speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), have waffled. "The matter is closed," Ocasio-Cortez told reporters asking Monday if Biden should step aside.

The endorsements and behind-the-scenes strategizing reflect a careful calculation that Biden offers the best hope for advancing liberal policies — and that such policies offer the best hope for reviving Biden's political fortunes, according to people close to Sanders and Ocasio-Cortez. The New York Democrat also has spoken privately with White House officials to push for more aggressive government interventions, particularly on housing, a top concern for young voters, according to two other people familiar with the matter, who also spoke on the condition of anonymity to reflect private negotiations.

Ocasio-Cortez reiterated that message directly to Biden in a phone call last weekend, just before she publicly backed him Monday as the party's nominee, the people said. "Her message to the president was clear: His best shot at winning in November is putting forward an agenda that speaks to the needs of the working class," said one of the people who was briefed on that call.

A senior Biden adviser played down the idea that Biden is shifting his message in response to these appeals. The president frequently campaigns on such populist policies as reining in prescription drug prices and taxing billionaires. And he endorsed larger Social Security benefits as a candidate four years ago.

"Biden being progressive on economics is not a concession to them — it's where his heart truly stands," the adviser said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to candidly discuss the dynamic.

Still, the president's pledge Friday in Michigan to "end" medical debt if he is reelected marked an expansion of his previous moves to ban medical debt from being considered when people apply for loans and to encourage states to use stimulus funds to forgive medical debt. More than 100 million Americans hold roughly $195 billion in medical debt, according to a 2023 report by Third Way, a Democratic-aligned think tank. And while Biden had previously endorsed expanding Social Security benefits, liberals have long urged him to talk about this plan, as he did Friday.

In a statement, Biden spokesman Charles Lutvak said: "As Michiganders' support showed last night, Joe Biden is all-in fighting for the middle class — with an ambitious agenda for the first 100 days of his second term that includes pushing to expand and strengthen Social Security by making the wealthy pay their fair share, cancel medical debt and lower rent and home-buying costs."

Sanders and Ocasio-Cortez are expected to continue pushing Biden to endorse a wider range of their policy positions — a strategy that carries clear risks for both sides.

If Biden loses in November, any policy promises for a second term will be irrelevant. Nationwide, most Democrats want Biden to step aside, according to a Washington Post-ABC News-Ipsos poll. And defections have emerged from Democrats who — unlike Ocasio-Cortez and Sanders — face difficult reelection bids in swing districts or states, with Sens. Jon Tester (Mont.) and Sherrod Brown (Ohio) among those voicing concern.

One adviser to lawmakers on the left, speaking on the condition of anonymity to candidly critique the strategy, said: "If Biden's not going to be president, what do these concessions really do?"

As for Biden, a majority of voters already see him as "too liberal," according to a Gallup poll from June. And his biggest political problem has been growing alarm about his mental fitness. In a campaign dominated by Biden's age and Trump's criminal conviction and authoritarian tendencies, it's not clear that any economic policy proposal can move the needle.

Liam Donovan, a GOP strategist, said the endorsements from Sanders and Ocasio-Cortez reflect the reality that any replacement at the top of the Democratic ticket would be less likely to cater to the left than Biden, who has stocked his administration with former staffers to Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.).

"The support reflects the fact that Biden has tacked strongly to the left since winning the 2020 primary as an amiable centrist, and any non-Biden alternative is apt to be less aligned with the progressive agenda," Donovan said.

But while "AOC and company boosting Biden at a perilous moment may help him secure the nomination," Donovan added, "it doesn't help him claw back in the Rust Belt states that will decide this election."

For now at least, Sanders and Ocasio-Cortez appear to be standing firm. Since Democrats lost the House two years ago after failing to pass much of Biden's Build Back Better agenda, Sanders has pushed Biden to promise the public that material economic benefits would follow if Democrats regain unified control of Washington. He and Ocasio-Cortez also have argued that a long list of liberal policy goals, from expanded Medicare benefits to greater union power, is the best response to widespread voter anger over inflation and the rising cost of living.

"What I think the president does need to do is continue to lean in and move further toward the working class, and be more assertive in providing an affirmative vision for this country," Ocasio-Cortez told reporters outside the Capitol on Monday evening.

"If we can actually provide and chart out a future that is more leaning into the needs of working people," she said, "then I think we can chart a path to win."



From left, Sen. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.), Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.), Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) and President Biden at the White House in April. Sanders and Ocasio-Cortez are expected to keep urging Biden to endorse a wider range of their policy positions.

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Family tree ties enslaved forebears to Bushes' ancestors

SLAVERY FROM **A1**

plantations where his forebears had toiled without recompense. He had stood in cramped quarters where some of his enslaved ancestors had probably lived, trying to sense the spirit of those who had slept there.

The discoveries had changed the way Holman saw himself, his family and his place in American history.

Do-it-yourself genealogical research like Holman's is a popular pastime for many Americans. But for those whose ancestors were enslaved, the task is made difficult, if not impossible, by record-keeping that often consists of only a first name scribbled in a property ledger.

Holman has had "more success than most," said CeCe Moore, a genetic genealogist who has worked with him.

Then a couple of years ago, working in his study in Maryland, Holman says he came upon a Kentucky newspaper article from 1992 about a family whose ranks then included one U.S. president and soon would add another. The article identified ancestors of then-President George H.W. Bush dating to before the American Revolution, and Holman recognized the names of Bush's great-great-grandmother and her parents. They matched names on deeds and inheritance records Holman had already found.

The Bushes' ancestors, Holman says he realized, had enslaved his own.

"It was the coming together of things that I had been looking for for years," he said.

Holman had received warm receptions from some other White families he had found in his research, and each meeting had left him feeling "a high of the greatest order."

Perhaps, he thought, members of the former first family would be willing to meet with him as well. Nervous and excited, he sat down to write to them. He knew it was unlikely the Bushes would respond, but he would never forgive himself for not trying.

Holman's passion for family genealogy started in 1968, when his fifth-grade teacher in Lansing, Mich., gave an assignment: "Go home and ask who your ancestors were before coming to the United States." The next day, one student stood up and said his family had come from France to seek their fortune; another spoke of relatives arriving around the time of the Mayflower.

Holman, the only Black student in the class, had nothing to share. His ancestors had been enslaved, and his parents didn't know the details.

"I felt a little bit like the kid who comes to school without lunch money and has to watch the other kids eating all this great food," Holman said.

The teacher's question, and Holman's inability to answer it, made him determined to construct the kind of family history for himself that many White Americans take for granted.

Black Americans often hit a wall when trying to chronicle more than three or four generations of family history, said Briayna Cuffie, co-founder of Reparations 4 Slavery, a website that provides information on racism and reparations. Records of ancestors before the 1870 Census, the first decennial count after slavery was abolished, are difficult to find, she said. Enslaved people often didn't have surnames and didn't always show up in wills and estate documents.

"Black people have to piece together where they were and who they came from, whereas a lot of White people always had that information," Cuffie said.

Holman also encountered another common stumbling block: resistance from family elders to speaking of a painful period in history. His father and stepfather helped fill in some information, but others didn't want to talk about the past. Some only vaguely recalled stories passed down by long-dead grandparents.

Holman's grandfather initially resisted sharing that his own grandfather had been a White enslaver. "He didn't want to let that out," he said.

He knew his maternal great-grandfather, Moses Clark, had been enslaved, but his mother was born after Clark died, and she and her seven siblings hadn't asked their elders many questions about slavery. Holman learned that a 1911 book titled "Beacon Lights of the Race" mentioned Clark, but the pages about him were missing in his aunt's copy.

But he didn't give up. In 1973, at 16, he sat in the front row for a lecture in his hometown by the author Alex Haley, who spoke of a book he was working on called "Roots" and gave tips on researching African American genealogy.

While attending the University of Michigan, Holman rode a Greyhound bus to Jackson, Mich., to visit his father's parents, who told him about his great-great-grandmother, America Granderson Thomas. Holman learned that as a young enslaved woman in the 1850s, she escaped Kentucky by boarding a train disguised as a White woman in mourning, her features obscured by a sunbonnet and a heavy veil. The Quakers helping her had warned her to speak to no one so her cadences wouldn't give her away; when a man on the train tried to chat, she answered in clipped yeses and noes.

As Holman uncovered more such stories, his hunger grew. One night, studying in a university library, he found an intact copy of "Beacon Lights of the Race," which said his mother's grandfather, Moses Clark, had been enslaved in Arkansas and freed in 1862 by U.S. Gen. Samuel Curtis after a Civil War battle there. The book included a photograph of Clark.

As a child, Holman had seen the portrait on the wall of his grandmother's home and been frightened of the stern face at the top of the stairs. Now, he read about Clark's life as an enslaved man, how he had been trained as a barber and went on to become a lawyer, magistrate, justice of the peace, Masonic leader and newspaper editor.

He checked out the book and called his parents with the news. "From that moment on, I changed my mind about becoming a dentist and decided to study law," he said. "It literally changed the course of my life."

Not everyone was helpful. In 1985, Holman, now a young lawyer, visited South Carolina and found the names of ancestors who had been enslaved by a White family who shared his surname. After adding his name to a roster at the South Carolina Historical Society, he was contacted by a Holman in Georgia. Were they related, the man wanted to know. They were. "My ancestors were enslaved by our mutual ancestors," Holman recalled telling him. "That man dropped me like a potato."

Others surprised him with kindness. In 1995, after learning that some ancestors had been enslaved on a plantation near Harrodsburg, Ky., he contacted its caretaker, who invited Holman to visit the remains of the original plantation. He saw stones in the graveyard, some whose names had worn away, some just rocks no one had bothered to engrave.

A week or two later the property's owner, Cincinnati philanthropist Ralph Anderson, asked Holman to return. Anderson and his wife, Ruth, who have since died, had restored the mansion along with several nearby plantations they began purchasing in the 1960s. They invited Holman to stay in the mansion, but on the first night he chose to sleep in the guesthouse, to be closer to where his family had been.

"The caretaker gave me one of the bricks of the old house from the 1700s and some nails," he said. "I would have taken that over a million dollars, just to have something tangible that went back to the time of my ancestors."

He came away energized. What else from his family's lost history, he wondered, might he unearth?

He wanted more.

After taking a DNA test through Ancestry.com, Holman found another White relative: Larry Holman, a retired engineer of Vicksburg, Miss. The two spoke and confirmed they had a common ancestor and belonged on the same family tree.

"There's no doubting it, so why not accept it?" Larry, 73, said in an interview.

In 2015, Larry invited Charles Holman to a gathering near Blackville, S.C., where family members planned to unveil a historic marker to a bridge that Larry and Charles's common ancestor, John Holman, had built in the early 1800s. John Holman was Charles's great-great-great-grandfather, referred to as a third-great-grandfather; he was Larry's fourth-great-grandfather.

Charles Holman hesitated. A few months earlier, a white supremacist had killed nine Black churchgoers in a Charleston church known for its civil rights organizing. Would Holman be safe, on a rural patch of land surrounded by White Southerners who might resent learning of their blood ties to an African American stranger?

But each leap Holman had taken on his research journey had brought him closer to answering his teacher's question, and his own. He got in his car and drove.

On a dusty South Carolina road near the site where the bridge had been, he stood among 60 or so White people. One man was wearing a T-shirt with a Confederate flag on it, and a woman, unrelated to the Holmans, invited the group to sing "Dixie."

This was land where his ancestors had been enslaved until federal troops burned the plantation house in February 1865, Holman said he had learned.

Larry Holman stepped up to address the group. Everyone should take a DNA test, he told the gathered family. Then he introduced Charles Holman as his cousin.

"It was not a secret when I was a child" that their family had Black relatives, though they seldom spoke of it, said Lynn Teague, 75, a retired archaeologist, who was among those at the gathering.

"While most people were not anything you'd call effusive, I think people were very glad to see him [Charles Holman], because I think there is a long-standing underlying feeling with a lot of people that this is a fracture that they would rather see healed," she said.

Over the next few years, Holman took more DNA tests and found more relatives. He took courses on genetic genealogy and worked with Moore, a DNA expert on "Finding Your Roots," Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s PBS series about researching one's family tree, to confirm his findings. This type of research has become more common, Moore said, but she called Holman a "pioneer" among Black Americans researching their family lines to before the Civil War.

Through estate records and Civil War soldier pension records, Holman tracked down a man in Brooks, Ky., whose ancestors had enslaved his. The man, Michael Robison, sent Holman copies of records he had found in his late grandmother's trunk.

Reading them chilled Holman. There was an 1817 bill of sale for the purchase of his third-great-grandfather Darby Granderson. A trader had been hired to take Granderson and other enslaved people from Kentucky to Louisiana to be sold. They wore ragged clothes and no shoes; a pregnant woman died along the way, the documents showed.

Robison, 70, still remembers how his great-grandparents remained bitter about the Civil War's outcome and the end of slavery. "They were of that generation that could not get by it," he said.

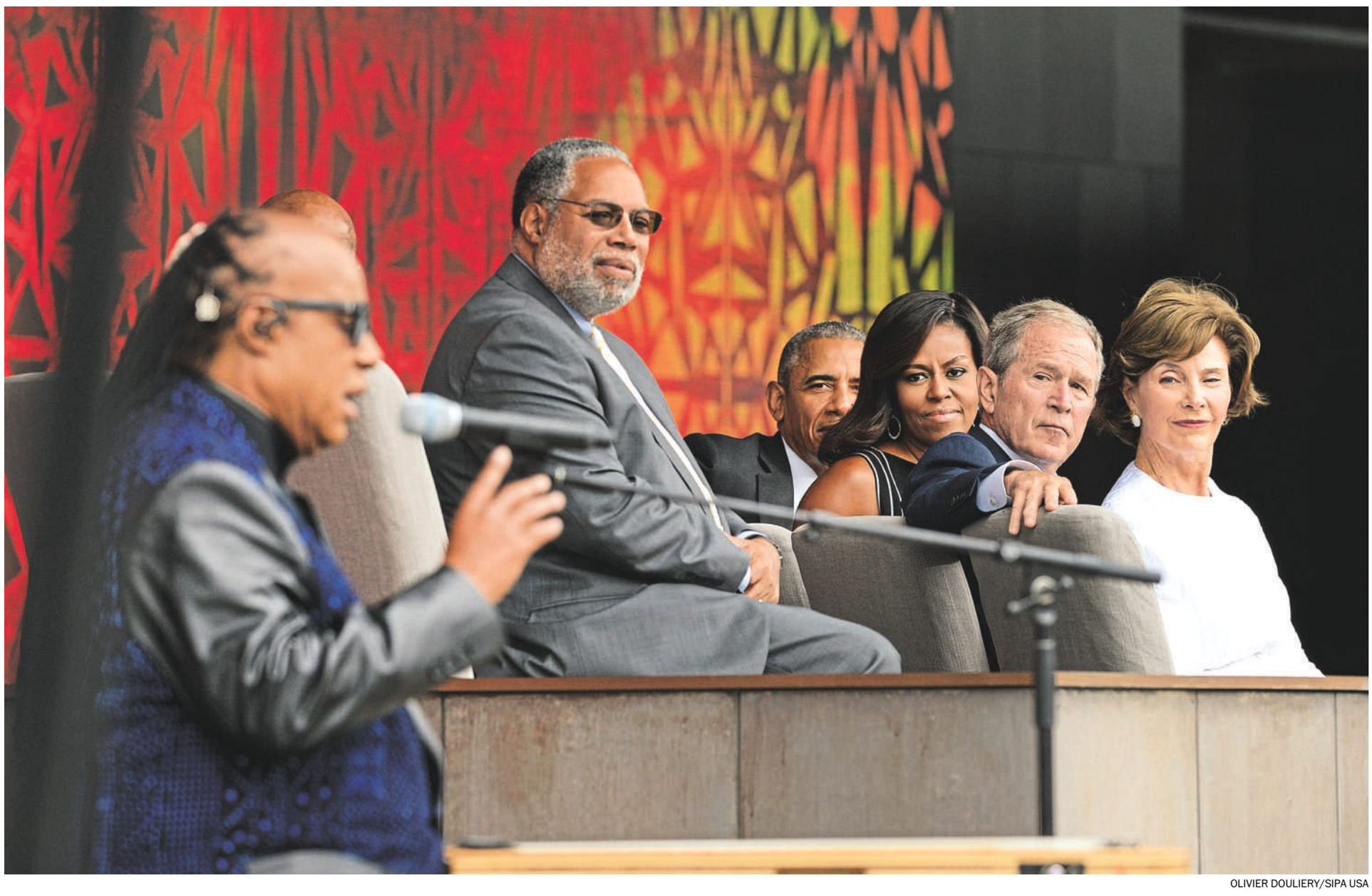
He invited Holman to visit, and they toured the plantation, still owned by a relative of Robison's, where, according to the bill of sale from the trunk, Robison's ancestors had enslaved his. Holman took photos standing in the narrow doorway of a one-room brick structure that may have housed his relatives. Connecting with Holman felt, Robison told The Washington Post, like a way to start atoning.

Then, in April 2022, Holman received a trove of documents from the Filson Historical Society in Louisville about an enslaver named Peter G. Foree, a physician and large landowner in Anchorage, Ky.

He had already seen Foree's estate inventory, which included Holman's third-great-grandfather Robert Thomas; his wife, Winny; and some of their children. One of their children was Holman's great-great-grandfather Robert Anderson Thomas, and DNA tests had confirmed Holman's relationship with descendants of two more, including Robert Anderson Thomas's sister, Susan, who was moved out of state when she was 6 years old and never saw her parents again.

Then he opened a file that included a 1992 article from the Kentucky Advocate. The headline read, "President George Bush has Kentucky connections."

Holman welled up with excite-



OLIVIER DOULIERY/SIPA USA

Stevie Wonder, left, performs to mark the opening of the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington in September 2016 as, from right, former first lady Laura Bush, former president George W. Bush, first lady Michelle Obama and President Barack Obama listen.



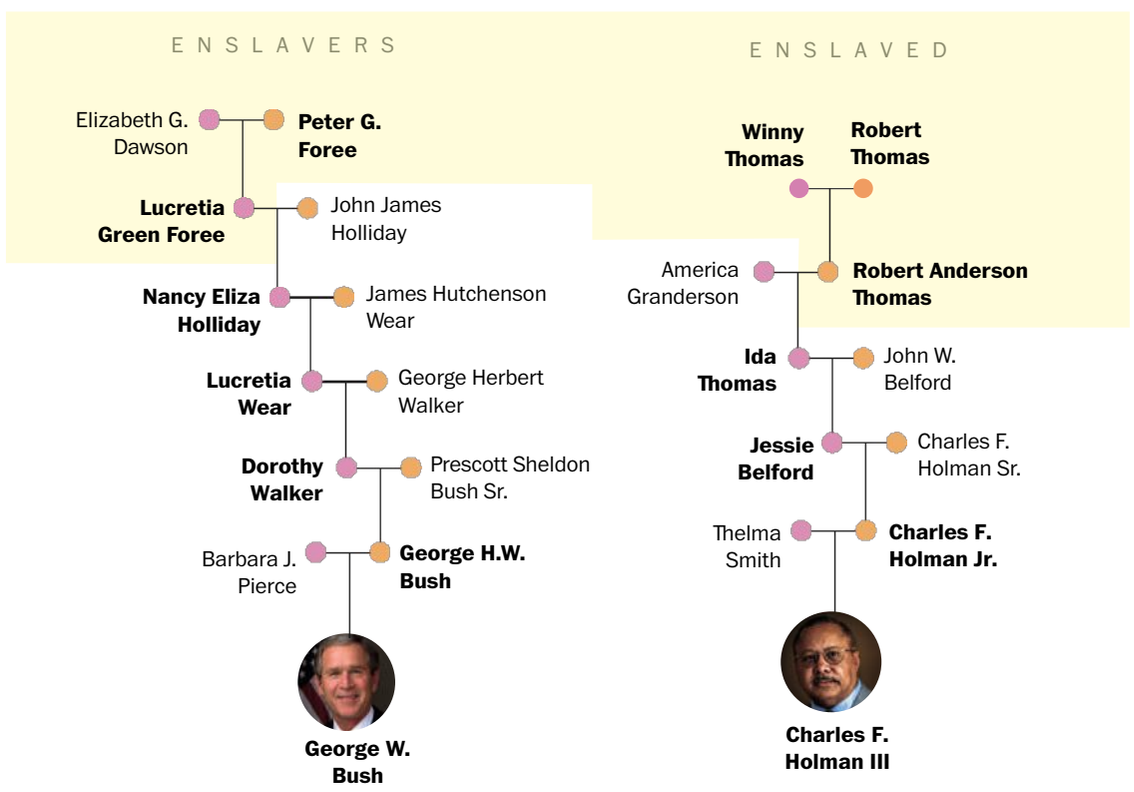
COURTESY OF CHARLES HOLMAN

Moses Clark, a great-grandfather of Charles Holman, was freed from enslavement in 1862.



FAMILY PHOTO

Holman in a doorway on a Kentucky plantation where his enslaved ancestors may have lived.



According to Charles Holman's research, members of the Foree family, George W. Bush and George H.W. Bush's ancestors, enslaved members of the Thomas family, Holman's ancestors.

Sources: Ancestry.com, Charles Holman research

CHIQUI ESTEBAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

ment as he read about George Herbert Walker Bush's ancestors who had moved from Virginia to Kentucky in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Among the president's direct ancestors were Peter G. Foree and his daughter Lucretia Green Foree Holliday.

To Holman, it felt like a breakthrough.

"It was one of the greatest moments in my life," he said.

The lineage of one of America's most accomplished political dynasties dates back to colonial times and includes some well-known enslavers.

The most notorious stories center on Thomas Walker, George H.W. Bush's third-great-grandfather, who was associated with at least 11 slaving voyages to West Africa, according to various news reports.

The Post was unable to find instances of the Bush family directly addressing their ancestors' connection to slavery, and members of the Bush family and their representatives didn't respond to multiple letters, emails and phone calls from The Post about Holman or their ancestors' relationship to slavery.

The Post reached a Bush family friend, who spoke on the condition of anonymity in order to discuss a private conversation. That friend said they spoke with a member of the Bush family about The Post's inquiries. The family member referred questions to a 2023 statement on the topic given to another news outlet, the family friend said.

Responding to a Reuters investigation last year into the slaveholding past of U.S. political elites that connected George W. Bush to Peter G. Foree, the former president's chief of staff said in a statement: "As President Bush said at the dedication of the National Museum of African American History and Culture, 'A great Nation does not hide its history; it faces its flaws and corrects them.'"

Katharine O'Connell, a forensic genealogist whom The Post contacted to review Holman's research, said her independent investigation corroborated his findings that the Bushes' ancestors owned his, by tracing the Bush family line through census records and other documents, including the Peter G. Foree estate inventory.

Considering how hard it can be for African Americans to trace their family roots to pre-Civil War times, she said, "I think the fact that he was able to put this together was pretty amazing."

After making his findings, Holman sent letters to George W. Bush; Jeb Bush; Laura Bush, who is listed as a member of the Museum Council of the National Museum of African American History and Culture; and Jenna Bush Hager, co-host of "Today With Hoda & Jenna," which has featured the series "Finding Your Roots."



CHARLES HOLMAN

Charles Holman learned in 1995 that some of his ancestors were enslaved on a plantation, above, in Harrodsburg, Ky. The property's owner — Ralph Anderson, seen below with his wife, Ruth — invited him to stay in the mansion, but on the first night Holman slept in the guesthouse, to be closer to where his family had been. The experience left him energized and wanting to further explore his family history.

But Holman said he hasn't received any replies.

His cousin Laura Ingersol, a retired Baltimore pastor, also wrote to George W. Bush in January 2023, asking for material related to their families' intersecting history. "Learning as much as we can about our ancestors helps us to understand some of the stories passed down through our family and ultimately, something about our own character," she wrote.

She received a response from his chief of staff, Freddy Ford, that was cordial but unambiguous: "Unfortunately, our office doesn't possess any ancestral records or have access to any materials about the families you mention. Therefore, we regret that we can't be of assistance." Ford didn't respond to repeated requests for comment.

Holman says he hasn't given up.

In February, he visited the Kentucky Department of Libraries and Archives in Frankfort, where he found an 1847 document depicting the fracturing of his family, when his third-great-grandparents Winny and Robert and their children were divided up among Peter G. Foree's widow and children.



CHARLES HOLMAN

"I would have taken that over a million dollars, just to have something tangible that went back to the time of my ancestors."

Charles Holman, speaking of the bricks and nails he received during a visit to a Kentucky plantation where some of his ancestors once lived

As he read the 19th-century curlicue calligraphy, his heart pounded.

"Negro Boy, James, valued at $550" and "Negro Girl, Susan, valued at $250" were bequeathed to Lucretia, one of Foree's daughters. Another daughter, Eliza, inherited "Negro Boy, Anderson, valued at $500." That was Robert Anderson Thomas, Holman's great-great-grandfather. Foree's widow got Holman's third-great-grandparents: "Bob," valued at $400, and "Negro Woman Winny and her Child Cucinda" for whom no value was assigned, "the Woman being diseased and likely to be a charge."

Holman then drove to Anchorage, an affluent Louisville suburb where the old Foree residence still stands. He strained to feel some connection to this spot where his great-great-grandfather Robert Anderson Thomas, born into slavery in 1833, had grown up.

"That window in the old house could have been, or maybe wasn't, where my great-great-great-grandmother Winny was when she was the cook," he said.

Holman also recently tracked down his fifth-grade teacher, Tamara Lobsinger, now 83, and gave her a call.

When she had given the fifth-grade class assignment, he told her, "I didn't have anything to say. So I've spent the rest of my life [finding] out who these ancestors were, and I have to tell you that after all these years I've fully completed the assignment. I wanted, above all, to say thank you."

When he hung up the phone, he felt a sense of peace, he said. "I just sat in my leather recliner for a good 30 minutes, just soaking it in."

After multiple attempts to reach the Bushes, Holman says he realizes he may never hear from them. But he treasures the connections with the people who have responded, and the stories he has heard about ancestors he never knew.

One of his favorites, told by his grandmother, is a childhood escapade of Robert Anderson Thomas, who was owned as a little boy by Peter G. Foree, George H.W. Bush's fourth-great-grandfather, according to Holman and O'Connell's research.

"The story was that [Robert Anderson Thomas's mother, Winny] made some cherry pies for the enslaver's wife, George Bush's ancestor, and she put the cherry pies on the windowsill to cool. And Robert Anderson Thomas, my great-great-grandfather, saw the pies, could smell them, but knew he would never be able to have a taste of it. They were pies for George Bush's ancestor, but he was a child and he couldn't resist. And so he devised an idea that if he could take a straw to the top of the pie, he could suck out the juice and savor some of the pie's flavor, which he did. And he was undetected. But later, when his mother was serving pies to George Bush's ancestors, the slaveholder's wife . . . remarked that these were the driest cherry pies she had ever eaten. And he thought it was so funny that decades later, well after he'd escaped and slavery had long been over, he told this story to my grandmother."

Holman smiled. "I can't tell the story like she told it, and I'm sure she couldn't tell it as funny as he could. But 50 years after [her grandfather] was dead, my grandmother still remembered that story."

It's a tale, he said, he would love to share with the Bush family.

OpenAI promised to make its AI safe. Employees say it 'failed' its first test.

BY PRANSHU VERMA, NITASHA TIKU AND CAT ZAKRZEWSKI

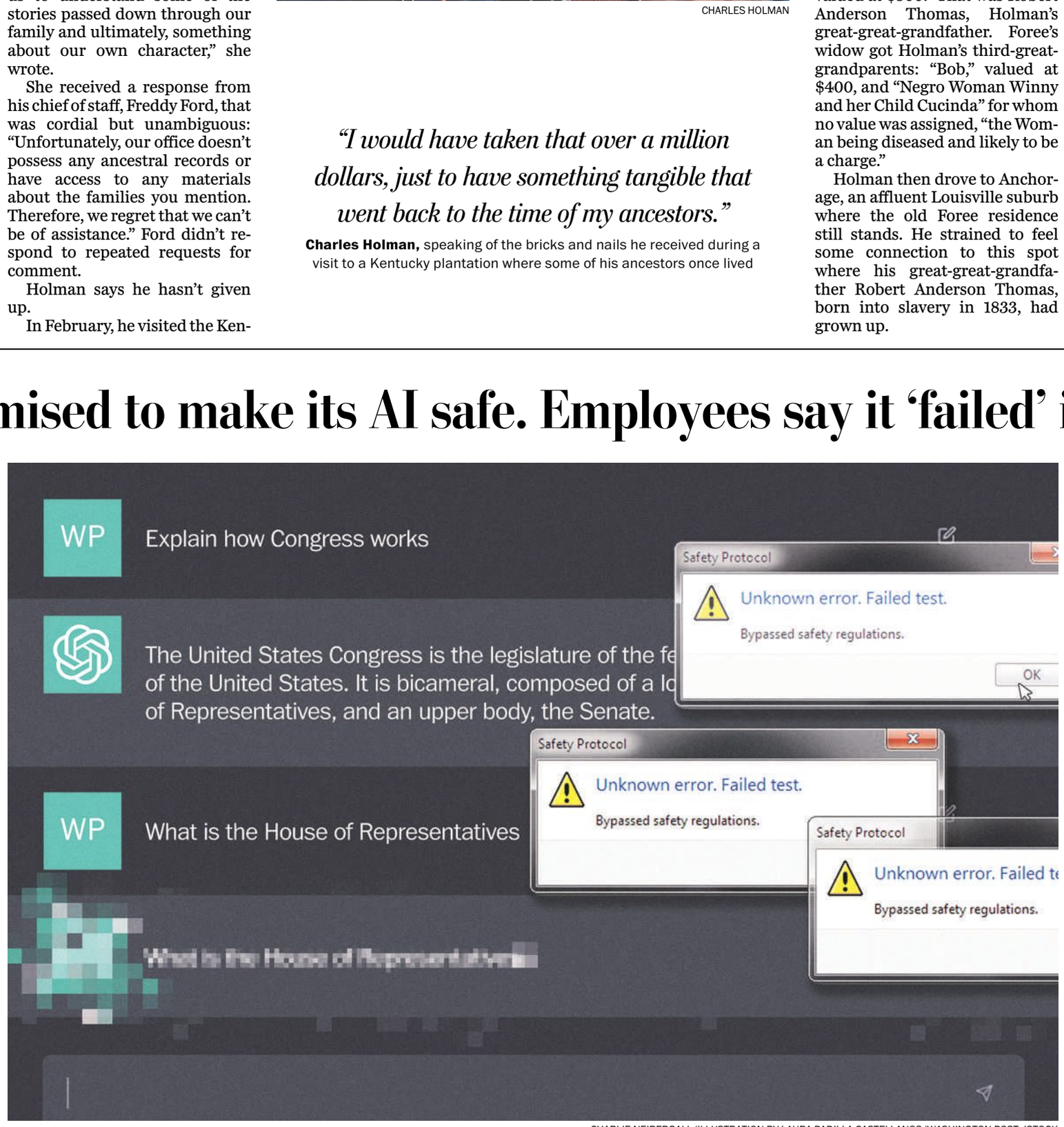
Last summer, artificial intelligence powerhouse OpenAI promised the White House it would rigorously safety-test new versions of its groundbreaking technology to make sure the AI wouldn't inflict damage — like teaching users to build bioweapons or helping hackers develop new kinds of cyberattacks.

But this spring, some members of OpenAI's safety team felt pressured to speed through a new testing protocol, designed to prevent the technology from causing catastrophic harm, to meet a May launch date set by OpenAI's leaders, according to three people familiar with the matter who spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of retaliation.

Even before testing began on the model, GPT-4 Omni, OpenAI invited employees to celebrate the product, which would power ChatGPT, with a party at one of the company's San Francisco offices. "They planned the launch afterparty prior to knowing if it was safe to launch," one of the three people said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive company information. "We basically failed at the process."

The previously unreported incident sheds light on the changing culture at OpenAI, where company leaders including CEO Sam Altman have been accused of prioritizing commercial interests over public safety — a stark departure from the company's roots as an altruistic nonprofit. It also raises questions about the federal government's reliance on self-policing by tech companies — through a White House pledge as well as an executive order on AI passed in October — to protect the public from abuses of generative AI, which executives say has the potential to remake virtually every aspect of human society, from work to war.

Andrew Strait, a former ethics and policy researcher at Google DeepMind, now associate director at the Ada Lovelace Institute in London, said allowing companies to set their own standards for safety is inherently risky.



CHARLIE NEIBERGALL/ILLUSTRATION BY LAURA PADILLA CASTELLANOS/WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

"We have no meaningful assurances that internal policies are being faithfully followed or supported by credible methods," Strait said.

President Biden has said that Congress needs to create new laws to protect the public from AI risks.

"President Biden has been clear with tech companies about the importance of ensuring that their products are safe, secure, and trustworthy before releasing them to the public," said Robyn Patterson, a spokeswoman for the White House. "Leading companies have made voluntary commitments related to independent safety testing and public transparency, which he expects they will meet."

OpenAI is one of more than a dozen companies that made voluntary commitments to the White House last year, a precursor to the AI executive order. Among the others are Anthropic, the company behind the Claude chatbot; Nvidia, the $3 trillion chips juggernaut; Palantir, the data analytics company that works with militaries and governments; Google DeepMind; and Meta. The pledge requires them to safeguard increasingly capable AI models; the White House said it would remain in effect until similar regulation came into force.

OpenAI's newest model, GPT-4o, was the company's first big chance to apply the framework, which calls for the use of human evaluators, including post-PhD professionals trained in biology and third-party auditors, if risks are deemed sufficiently high. But testers compressed the evaluations into a single week, despite complaints from employees.

Though they expected the technology to pass the tests, many employees were dismayed to see OpenAI treat its vaunted new preparedness protocol as an afterthought. In June, several current and former OpenAI employees signed a cryptic open letter demanding that AI companies exempt their workers from confidentiality agreements, freeing them to warn regulators and the public about safety risks of the technology.

Meanwhile, former OpenAI executive Jan Leike resigned days after the GPT-4o launch, writing on X that "safety culture and processes have taken a backseat to shiny products." And former OpenAI research engineer William Saunders, who resigned in February, said in a podcast interview he had noticed a pattern of "rushed and not very solid" safety work "in service of meeting the shipping date" for a new product.

A representative of OpenAI's preparedness team, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive company information, said the evaluations took place during a single week, which was sufficient to complete the tests, but acknowledged that the timing had been "squeezed."

We "are rethinking our whole way of doing it," the representative said. "This [was] just not the best way to do it."

In a statement, OpenAI spokesperson Lindsey Held said the company "didn't cut corners on our safety process, though we recognize the launch was stressful for our teams." To comply with the White House commitments, the company "conducted extensive internal and external" tests and held back some multimedia features "initially to continue our safety work," she added.

OpenAI announced the preparedness initiative as an attempt to bring scientific rigor to the study of catastrophic risks, which it defined as incidents "which could result in hundreds of billions of dollars in economic damage or lead to the severe harm or death of many individuals."

In the past year, OpenAI has launched two new safety teams, which joined a long-standing division focused on concrete harms, like racial bias or misinformation.

The Superalignment team, announced in July, was dedicated to preventing existential risks from far-advanced AI systems. It has since been redistributed to other parts of the company.

Leike and OpenAI co-founder Ilya Sutskever, a former board member who voted to push out Altman as CEO in November before quickly recanting, led the team. Both resigned in May. Sutskever has been absent from the company since Altman's reinstatement, but OpenAI did not announce his resignation until the day after the launch of GPT-4o.

According to the OpenAI representative, however, the preparedness team had the full support of top executives.

Realizing that the timing for testing GPT-4o would be tight, the representative said, he spoke with company leaders in April and they agreed to a "fallback plan." If the evaluations turned up anything alarming, the company would launch an iteration of GPT-4o that the team had already tested.

A few weeks prior to the launch date, the team began doing "dry runs," planning to have "all systems go the moment we have the model," the representative said. They scheduled human evaluators in different cities to be ready to run tests, a process that cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, according to the representative.

Prep work also involved warning OpenAI's Safety Advisory Group — a new board of advisers who receive a scorecard of risks and advise leaders if changes are needed — that it would have limited time to analyze the results.

OpenAI's Held said the company committed to allocating more time for the process in the future.

"I definitely don't think we skirted on [the tests]," the representative said. But the process was intense. "After that, we said, 'Let's not do it again.'"

Razzan Nakhlawi contributed to this report.

RUTH WESTHEIMER 1928-2024

Therapist was a go-to source of sex advice

WESTHEIMER FROM **A1**



DIA DIPASUPIL/GETTY IMAGES

Ruth Westheimer, with Alex Berg of BuzzFeed in 2019, provided advice on sex with a combination of candor and can-do cheer.

accommodate the onslaught of queries she received from callers. More than a few listeners professed that she had saved their marriages.

Cable television viewers knew her as the prim, matronly host in the 1980s of "Good Sex With Dr. Ruth Westheimer" and as a frequent guest on late-night talk shows. At 4-foot-7, she often was seen perched on a seat, bedecked in pearls, cheerfully dispensing advice on best practices in the sack.

"Have good sex!" she trilled in her instantly recognizable German-inflected voice.

Dr. Westheimer's old-world accent, at times seemingly incongruous with her discussion of intimate anatomy and its usage, was one of the few traces of her life before she came to the United States. Born to an Orthodox Jewish family in Germany, she survived the Holocaust at a Swiss orphanage where her parents sent her before they perished.

"I was left with a feeling that because I was not killed by the Nazis — because I survived — I had an obligation to make a dent in the world," Dr. Westheimer once told an interviewer. What she did not know, she added, was that the dent would entail her "talking about sex from morning to night."

After the war, she went to Israel, where she joined the Haganah paramilitary group fighting for Jewish statehood (and where, she said, she lost her virginity in a hayloft). Later moves took her to France and to New York, where she learned English before studying counseling.

Dr. Westheimer taught university courses in human sexuality before a producer at WYNY, an NBC affiliate, engaged her for a quarter-hour segment, first broadcast on Sundays after midnight. Within a year, she had graduated to the 10 p.m. to 11 p.m. slot. Early fans donned T-shirts reading "Sex on Sunday? You Bet!"

The sexual revolution that began two decades earlier had liberated the masses from taboos but had done precious little to relieve issues such as erectile dysfunction and inability to attain orgasm. Like Julia Child charging onto public television to teach French cooking, Dr. Westheimer took to the radio waves to explain, in straightforward fashion, the ways of making love.

She was not the first on-air therapist; Joyce Brothers, for one, had preceded her by a generation. But few, if any, could match Dr. Westheimer's combination of candor and can-do cheer. Furthermore, she speculated, people found her unthreatening.

"If I had been a tall blonde in a miniskirt and decollete," she said to the Sunday Times of London, "if I had been young and pretty, it wouldn't have worked."

Dr. Westheimer told her listeners that "anything two consenting adults do in the privacy of their own bedroom is all right with me." Masturbation, fantasies, love dolls — they were all fine by her.

Once, Newsweek magazine reported her response when she was asked for her opinion on a particular unconventional sexual practice. "What's wrong," she replied, "with peanut butter or new uses for onion rings as long as there's a relationship?"

Her principal concern was safety. The New York Times recorded her reply to one young woman who, like so many others, had called because she was contemplating losing her virginity.

"Don't do it," Dr. Westheimer said. "I hear in your question that he is putting pressure on you. Listen to that inner voice that says you would like to wait. Tell him that Dr. Westheimer told you that you can hug and kiss and neck and pet, but that you are just not ready."

Whenever she was ready, Dr. Westheimer cautioned the woman, she should not forget a reliable contraceptive.

Many calls came from members of the opposite sex. Two of the issues Dr. Westheimer addressed most frequently over the years, she noted, were premature ejaculation and the inability to maintain an erection.

"Men, all of you are ignorant!" she once said. "You are constantly worried about the size of the penis. Let's shout it from the rooftops: The size of the penis has nothing to do with the sexual satisfaction of the woman."

She became an irresistible subject of parodies, including on "Saturday Night Live." Some mental



RUTH WESTHEIMER 1928-2024



CHRIS SORENSEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

In a 2016 photo, Ruth Westheimer holds a doll that reminds her of one she gave away to another child on a kindertrain escaping Nazi Germany in 1939.

health professionals cautioned that it was impossible for her to properly diagnose or counsel a person in a brief exchange conducted on the air.

Dr. Westheimer countered that she simply was educating listeners so that they could prevent unintended pregnancies, avoid venereal disease and improve their sex lives. The critics aside, it was practically unanimous: She made good television.

"Once you've talked sex with Dr. Ruth," TV critic Tom Shales once wrote, "can it ever be as good with anyone else?"

A tragic childhood

Karola Ruth Siegel, an only child, was born in Frankfurt, Germany, on June 4, 1928.

She said she first learned about sex when she discovered in her father's library an illustrated volume that her parents had attempted to keep out of her reach. It was the book "Ideal Marriage: Its Physiology and Technique," a popular 1920s manual by the Dutch gynecologist Th. H. Van de Velde. Far from constraining her, she said, her orthodox Jewish upbringing taught her that sex within marriage was good.

A week after Kristallnacht in 1938, Nazis took her father to a work camp. "I was looking out of the window," she told the London Guardian, "and I saw my father boarding a covered truck … He forced himself to smile and that was the last time I saw him."

She saw her mother for the last time the following year, from the window of the train that transported her and other Jewish children to Switzerland. Her grandmother, she recalled, ran after her along the platform.

At a children's home, surrounded by youngsters who had likewise been deprived of their families, "Karola" shared her knowledge of topics such as menstruation. For several years, she received letters at the orphanage from her family. Then, one day the letters stopped.

Like many other European Jews who had survived, she tried to make a new life in Israel. "I never killed anybody," she once told USA Today of her Haganah service, "but I know how to throw hand grenades and shoot." In one skirmish, she was badly wounded by the shrapnel of a cannonball.

She married an Israeli soldier, David, and moved with him to France, where she trained in psychology at the Sorbonne before they divorced. In the mid-1950s, she settled in the United States with her French boyfriend, named Dan, whom she married after becoming pregnant. They also were divorced. In 1961, she married Manfred Westheimer, also a refugee from Nazi Germany, who died in 1997.

She worked as a maid while pursuing her education, receiving a master's degree in sociology at the New School for Social Research in 1959 and a doctorate in education from Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1970. Among her mentors was Helen Singer Kaplan, a leader in psychosexual therapy.

During the early years of her career, Dr. Westheimer worked with Planned Parenthood and as a sex education teacher, developing a specialty in sex therapy. For years she ran a private counseling practice in addition to her broadcast programs. Her franchise included several top-selling books, including "Dr. Ruth's Guide to Good Sex," "Sex for Dummies" and "Dr. Ruth's Sex After 50: Revving Up the Romance, Passion and Excitement!"

Survivors include two children and four grandchildren.

Once, an interviewer asked Dr. Westheimer what she thought her legacy would be.

"I think people will say she had the guts — in Jewish tradition, it's called chutzpah. She had the nerve to talk about things other people were too worried to talk about," she told The Washington Post. "I don't mind if people say they get aroused by my radio program," she continued. "I think that is great. I provided you with foreplay. But take it seriously. Don't let boredom creep into your bedroom."

"I think people will say she had the guts — in Jewish tradition, it's called chutzpah. She had the nerve to talk about things other people were too worried to talk about."

Dr. Ruth Westheimer

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Democratic executive committee member pushes plan to replace Biden

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

Former Oklahoma governor David Walters, a member of the executive committee of the national Democratic Party, proposed Saturday a process for replacing Joe Biden as the party's nominee, if the president decides to step aside.

The plan calls for a 27-day process, beginning in the last week of July, that would require candidates to get endorsements from at least 40 members of the Democratic National Committee to earn a place in a set of nationally televised town halls. Those events would be held before the party's Chicago nominating convention starting on Aug. 19. Convention delegates would then vote to choose the nominee, who would immediately announce a running mate.

"We do have the time to have a compressed certification process as is outlined in this and then have proper town halls to introduce these candidates," Walters said about his plan, which he plans to distribute broadly. "I just think it would be an energizing opportunity to create a new narrative."

Biden, however, has repeatedly said he will remain in the race, saying Thursday that he would only step aside if his advisers told him "there is no way you can win."

Walters, who was governor of Oklahoma from 1991 to 1995, served on the Democratic nominating convention rules committee in 2008. He was elected by the Midwestern states to serve on the current DNC executive committee, a group of about 45 people who run the broader party business.

He said he drafted the plan with another DNC member, James Zogby, who put forward a proposal on July 2 for a similar mini-primary process that ended with a delegate vote at the convention.

Walters and Zogby both argue that Biden cannot win the general election and should step aside. They say he alone must decide how to proceed and this plan would not force him to drop out.

"I think Joe Biden no longer has a path to victory and therefore if we want to win the election, Joe is not the guy to carry the ticket," Walters said.

"It's entirely his choice, but this cannot go on much longer because the drip-drip-drip is hurtful to him, hurtful to the party, and hurtful to the future of the country," Zogby said. "The dynamic is not going to change."

"The primary is over, and in every state the will of Democratic voters was clear: Joe Biden will be the Democratic Party's nominee for President," DNC Chair Jaime Harrison said in a statement. "Delegates are pledged to reflect voters' sentiment, and over 99% of delegates are already pledged to Joe Biden headed into our convention."

The rules committee of the DNC plans to meet Friday to set a ballot for convention delegates, offering the choice of either supporting Biden or voting present, according to people involved in the planning. The committee is expected to set a date for that vote by early August, when a virtual meeting of the convention delegates would be held to officially make Biden the nominee weeks before the convention.

"I'd be surprised if they continue down that path," Walters said. Zogby argued that even if that vote is set, the rules committee still can change direction if Biden announces he would not be the nominee.

Others have pointed out that DNC members have the power to name a new nominee even after Biden is nominated, in case he steps aside or is incapacitated.

Democratic strategists have argued privately in recent days that "earlier is better," if Biden chooses to step aside to avoid a scramble at the convention and give time to vet a running mate. Many senior Democrats have also argued that the easiest path forward in that scenario would be a quick selection of Vice President Harris as the new nominee, though some have also argued that there should be some process to make clear that she was broadly selected by the party.

Because Harris is already on the ticket, she can directly take over the funds and operations of the Biden campaign, while other nominees would have to quickly build new operations.

Zogby said he has communicated with about 15 other members of the DNC who were supportive of his earlier plan for a quick and open nomination process to replace Biden. Under the new proposal by Walters and Zogby, the convention rules committee would announce a new process once Biden steps aside.

Candidates would have 10 days to get 40 endorsements from the roughly 450 DNC members, most of whom are elected by their state parties.

"[T]he 40 endorsements must include at least seven DNC members from each of the DNC's four geographic regions," the Walters proposal read.

Another 10-day period would follow, during which the national party would organize televised town halls for the approved candidates to make their pitches to the convention's roughly 4,672 delegates. That group includes some party officials — superdelegates — who are barred from voting to nominate on the first ballot.

"Since it will require a majority of delegates to win the nomination, it is likely that more than one ballot will be required," the document reads. "The excitement generated by this process and the attention it will be given would very likely provide a huge boost to the eventual nominee."

After latest flubs, Trump and several of his allies hope Biden stays in race

BY PATRICK SVITEK AND JOSH DAWSEY

As he watched President Biden's news conference Thursday night, Donald Trump Jr., the former president's son, gave Biden an unexpectedly gracious review.

"He probably did himself some favors," Trump Jr. said on the Rumble live-video platform, before adding: "Probably did us some favors. He's fine."

It was the latest example of Republican candidate Donald Trump and his allies expressing more openly what they have been signaling privately: As Democrats debate the future of Biden's reelection bid, Republicans would prefer he stay in a race they say they are already winning.

"I don't think anyone necessarily thinks he's fit to be president, but I'm happy to run against him," Trump Jr. said in response to a viewer question after the news conference. "I think he did fine enough to be able to stay in it."

Several Trump allies said they viewed Biden's Thursday night performance as the best of both worlds: not bad enough to make him leave immediately, but not good enough to assuage fears. Some of Trump's advisers have plotted privately on whether they can do anything to help keep Biden in the race, believing he will be much easier to beat.

"Just enough to keep him alive," said one senior Trump adviser, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private deliberations. "Every day that Joe Biden is talking is a good day for us. We want him to keep on talking."

Trump himself, in a radio interview Friday, said the news conference was "not the end" for Biden as some Democrats speculated it could be.

It is a somewhat awkward position for the GOP, which has spent years arguing that the 81-year-old Biden is unfit to be president. Now, those critiques are dovetailing with some Democratic calls for Biden to leave the contest over his age — and be replaced by Vice President Harris or an even lesser-known entity.

Trump Jr. said Thursday night that Harris is "not nearly as defined" as a candidate, calling it a "big deal" that could complicate the race.

"It makes it impossible for him to be on offense hitting us. No one is talking about democracy or abortion," said another Trump adviser, who like others, spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private deliberations.

This adviser said an ideal situation for Trump would be weeks of infighting, with Biden staying on the ticket.

A third adviser said Trump was thinking of announcing his vice-presidential pick sooner but has not wanted to distract from Biden's problems. "We have not wanted to make news," the person said. This person added that, unfortunately, the convention would turn attention back to Trump and the Republicans. "We would love for this to go a few more weeks," the adviser said.

"The Democrats are in the process of melting down over Joe Biden," Republican National Committee Chairman Michael Whatley told The Washington Post. "It's a circular firing squad that's gone on for 15 days."

Biden continued to insist at the news conference and a campaign event on Friday that he is sticking with his campaign, though Democrats have been joining calls for him to step aside. Some Democrats, such as Rep. Jared Huffman (D-Calif.), have openly looked forward to a Harris nomination if Biden heeds the calls to end his campaign.

"She's vetted, tested, and has been Democrats' strongest messenger throughout this campaign," Huffman said Thursday on X. "She's next up if we need her, and we might."

Recent polling has suggested Harris would perform similarly against Trump. A Post average of post-debate polls found that Trump leads Biden by 1.5 percentage points, while Trump leads Harris by one percentage point — well within the range of sampling error even combining multiple surveys.

Biden is set to be formally nominated during a virtual roll call that is expected to take place before the Democratic National Convention next month in Chicago.

Trump has expressed confidence he can win regardless of his Democratic opponent and has expanded attacks on Harris as Democrats weigh Biden's political future. But Trump has also made comments that indicate a preference to continue facing Biden in the November election.

"Crooked Joe Biden should ignore his many critics and move forward, with alacrity and strength, with his powerful and far reaching campaign," Trump said in one sarcastic post this month on his Truth Social platform.

More recently, after actor George Clooney called on Biden to drop out of the race on Wednesday, Trump jumped into the fray and questioned Clooney's judgment. In a Truth Social post, Trump called Clooney a "fake movie actor" and told him to "get out of politics."

In one scene captured in a Friday story by Politico, one of Trump's allies in the House, Rep. Troy E. Nehls (R-Tex.), was described as "plead[ing] into a reporter's phone" for Biden to remain on the ticket. Referring to first lady Jill Biden, Nehls said, "Jill, keep fighting for your husband, babe."

Biden's campaign dismissed the enthusiasm from Trump supporters.

"The eyes of the world were on the NATO summit this week, where Joe Biden has strengthened, expanded and led the NATO alliance against Putin's violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and unwarranted aggression," Biden campaign spokesman James Singer said Friday. "The world is not concerned about the punditry of the Trump campaign, what it is worried about is Trump telling Putin to do whatever the hell he wants to Europe."

Not all Trump allies are speaking openly about keeping Biden as the Democratic nominee.

"I don't think it matters," North Dakota Gov. Doug Burgum (R), a potential vice-presidential candidate, said Friday on Fox News. "President Trump is so strong he will beat whoever they put on the ticket because whoever they put on the ticket is going to be supporting these same policies."

Other Republicans have ramped up attacks on Harris as they contemplate whether she will replace Biden.

That includes Trump and his campaign, which sent an email to supporters Friday arguing that Harris is "Biden 2.0."

"She was the copilot on some of Biden's most egregious failures," the email said.

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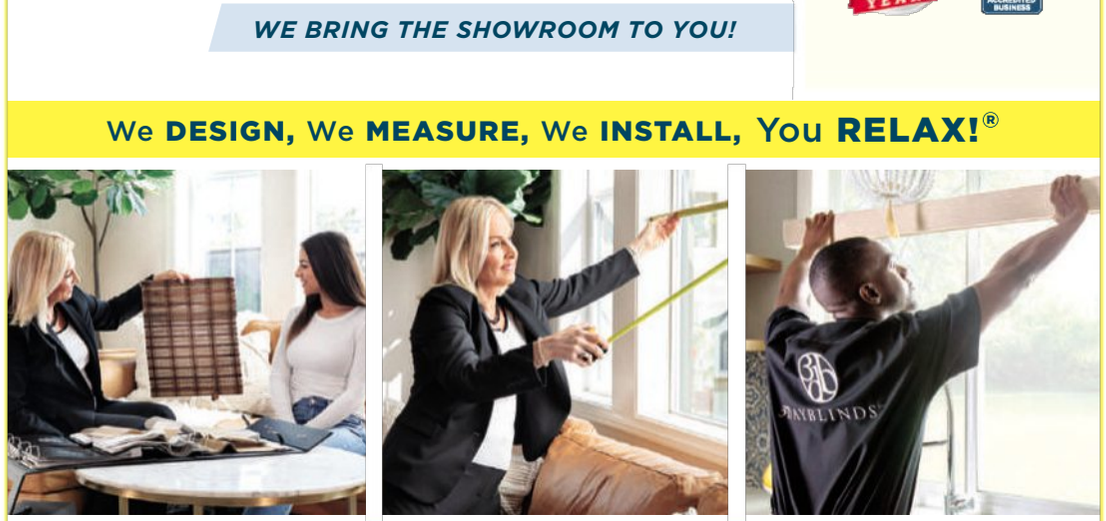
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The Washington Post

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FRIDAY, JULY 26

SPECIAL SECTION
The Olympics

Guide to the Summer Games. What to look for and when to watch as the world's best athletes – including local stars Katie Ledecky and Noah Lyles – compete for gold in Paris. Plus, how advances in training, technology and technique are making today's records nearly impossible to break and the five skills that make Simone Biles the world's best gymnast.

SPECIAL SECTION
Climate Coach

Making a difference. As climate change heats up the planet, many of us wonder: What can I do? The Post's Climate Coach, Michael Coren, offers evidence-backed advice and thoughtful analysis on a wide-range of subjects from the benefits of having kids bike to school to the effectiveness of green cleaning products.

EXPANDED WEEKEND SECTION
A Better Breakfast

Good days start here. Restaurant critic Tim Carman has been on the hunt for the D.C. area's best breakfast sandwich for months. The competition turned out to be diverse and incredibly delicious. Now he's ready to reveal his top 10. Get 'em while they're hot!

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THE WORLD

Smuggled cigarettes in chaotic Gaza fueling attacks on vehicles carrying aid

The thriving underground trade hampers deliveries of humanitarian supplies in the war-torn enclave

BY MIRIAM BERGER AND HAJAR HARB

JERUSALEM — A black market for cigarettes is booming in the besieged Gaza Strip, a window into the lawlessness and desperation in the enclave nine months into Israel's war against Hamas.

The illicit cigarettes, one of Gaza's last forms of currency, are hidden inside hollowed-out watermelons and boxes of diapers, smuggled on trucks through Israeli-controlled crossings and sold for as much as $30 apiece.

Gangs lie in wait along the anarchic road in southern Gaza that runs through military zones, ransacking trucks in search of cigarettes, humanitarian officials say. Once cigarettes reach the open market, Hamas authorities try to take a cut of the sales through fines and extortion, according to traders and civilians. The black market is fueling attacks on humanitarian trucks, hampering desperately needed aid deliveries as relief officials warn of famine.

Hamas regulated and at times banned tobacco during its 17 years in power but also profited by heavily taxing the product. Before the war, cigarettes were widely available in Gaza, a small comfort for people living under Israeli siege and Hamas rule.

The political and security void in Gaza left by the war has allowed the underground trade to thrive, according to interviews with a dozen people involved or affected by cigarette smuggling in the territory. And Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's refusal to lay out a postwar plan has prolonged the chaos, frustrating his generals.

The United Nations has said it may need to cease aid operations in starvation-gripped Gaza if it cannot protect its workers, among other factors.

Georgios Petropoulos, head of the U.N. humanitarian coordination office in Gaza, said criminal gangs have developed a "cartellike operation." Fueled by the demand for cigarettes, he said, any truck can be a target.

In response, some private sector traders have hired armed guards to protect their convoys. Trucks carrying U.N. aid are a "softer target," Petropoulos said, because as a policy they do not hire private guards.

Israeli authorities say the looting is not a major hindrance to moving U.N. aid.

"There is looting in a specific area, but it's not something that is new to us," Elad Goren, head of the civil department for COGAT, the Israeli agency that oversees the Palestinian territories, said in a press briefing on Tuesday. "The looting is happening by criminal families."

Who profits from the illicit trade in cigarettes and other goods is often murky. But it comes at the expense of ordinary Gazans struggling to survive.

"There is security chaos," said Yazan Ahmed, 34, who worked as a restaurant manager in Gaza City. Displaced in central Gaza, he now depends entirely on humanitarian food aid and can no longer afford cigarettes. "The strong are eating the weak."



FATIMA SHBAIR/AP

Palestinians loot a humanitarian aid truck as it crosses into the Gaza Strip in Rafah in December. A political and security void in the region has allowed an underground trade in cigarettes to thrive, with packs of 20 cigarettes going for as much as $27, one person said.

War profiteers

Cigarette smuggling has long been a profitable business in Gaza, where a network of tunnels under the border with Egypt were used to circumvent the economic blockade.

For much of the war, cigarettes were smuggled in through trucks at the Rafah crossing and sold at an inflated price, according to an Egyptian truck driver who moved aid along the border.

Like others in this story, he spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the illicit trade.

When Israel captured and closed the Rafah crossing on May 7 — part of an offensive aimed at ousting Hamas's remaining battalions — Gaza's fragile aid delivery system collapsed. As a limited number of goods started to trickle back in, through Egypt and a new West Bank route, cigarette prices spiked.

In Deir al-Balah, in central Gaza, a 26-year-old unemployed restaurant waiter watched his profits rise, along with the risks. He joined the trade early in the war to feed his pregnant wife, he said.

His current route begins in West Bank fruit and vegetable markets, where people working with him pay a driver to conceal cigarettes in commercial items destined for Gaza.

"We arrange the cigarette packs at the bottom of the boxes that are supposed to hold the vegetables," he said in a phone interview. "Every time we invent a specific method."

One technique, he said, involves creating a small opening in watermelons and emptying out the pulp to make room for the packs.

"Every pack of [twenty] cigarettes costs us three shekels [$0.80] from the West Bank, and we sell them here for 2,000 shekels [$530]" — about $27 dollars apiece, he said.

The cigarettes are then loaded onto a prearranged truck and driven out of the occupied West Bank through the Israeli-controlled Tarqumiya checkpoint and dropped off at Kerem Shalom, the last remaining crossing into southern Gaza.

At Kerem Shalom, Israel says all goods are inspected to prevent Hamas from smuggling in weapons. Goren said COGAT finds and confiscates "90 to 95 percent" of hidden cigarettes, but did not respond to further questions.

Adel Amr, head of the Ramallah-based Palestinian transport syndicate, said that "90 percent" of trucks coming from the West Bank are not involved in smuggling efforts. Goren said cigarettes have also been found in aid coming from Egypt.

As recently as Wednesday, an Israeli-owned truck was found with 220 packages, typically each with 10 packs of cigarettes, at Kerem Shalom, according to a charge sheet Amr provided to The Washington Post.

COGAT has worked to cultivate business ties with traders and companies unaffiliated with Hamas. In doing so, Amr said, it has allowed a small group of merchants, some with cigarette smuggling ties, to monopolize much of the trade with Gaza.



MOHAMMED ABED/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



MOHAMMED ABED/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

TOP: A Palestinian vendor sells cigarettes, one of Gaza's last forms of currency, which are hidden inside hollowed-out watermelons and boxes of diapers. ABOVE: A man buys hand-rolled cigarettes.

Goren rejected the claim. He said COGAT excludes business executives it knows "have some connections with Hamas."

Looting and lawlessness

After passing inspection at Kerem Shalom, traders pay an Israeli-authorized Palestinian transport company to move goods to the Gazan side.

From there, drivers hired by humanitarian groups or private traders pick up the cargo — if the road is clear of fighting and Israeli operations — and move the goods to drop-off spots and aid warehouses, if they can arrive without being pillaged first.

Looters are often waiting for trucks along a corridor of the Salah al-Din highway, where movement must be coordinated with Israeli authorities.

Wassim Aqel, 38, said his family's transport company works with private-sector traders. The company pays thousands of shekels to local Palestinians to guard trucks driving along the highway.

"We communicate with the Israeli side to coordinate the crews that we work with, who are monitored by the Israeli side via reconnaissance planes," Aqel said. His security is unarmed, he said, to avoid confrontation with Israeli forces. Yet his trucks have not been spared the chaos.

Earlier in the war, members of the Hamas-run government's civil police force guarded aid trucks, but they retreated after several targeted Israeli attacks this spring — fueling waves of deadly looting in Rafah and northern Gaza. Israel says it considers civil police legitimate Hamas targets.

There is no "authority in Gaza with which to engage to suddenly set up something new," Petropoulos of OCHA said.

"We are confronted nowadays with a near total breakdown of law and order, with truck drivers being regularly threatened or assaulted and less and less willing to move assistance," Philippe Lazzarini, head of the U.N. agency for Palestinian refugees, said last week.

Adham Shuheiber, the director of the Shuheiber Transport Company, which works with aid organizations, said many of his trucks are out of commission after repeated attacks. "Israel sometimes closes its eyes to the introduction of cigarettes ... and at other times is stricter on this issue to create discord among the people and to prove to Hamas that Israel is in control of the Gaza Strip."

The black market

When trucks make it to their destination, the smuggler in Deir al-Balah described separating the packs from the produce they were hidden in and selling them to another merchant.

The cigarettes are then hawked in the open, in makeshift tent camps and bombed-out cities, at astronomical rates.

With the lucrative black market largely out of Hamas's control, officials try to co-opt the trade by targeting merchants and their connections, the smuggler said.

"If the merchants refuse to report us," some plainclothes Hamas agents levy "huge fines," he said, or "threaten them with death." Others, he said, simply ask for a cut.

As profiteers fight over the spoils, ordinary Gazans sink further into despair. Price gouging has similarly inflated the cost of food and other commercial goods brought into Gaza.

"There's a lot of people here who are making a lot of money off the most acutely illegal conflict I've ever seen in my life," Petropoulos said. "It's depressing as hell."

About 500,000 Palestinians are on the brink of starvation, according to a recent report by U.N. agencies and aid groups. In the absence of cash, more than half of families surveyed said they had exchanged clothing for food.

Friends, desperate for a moment's relief, sometimes pool money to share a single cigarette.

"I stopped smoking and I became stressed, tense and very quick to anger all the time," said Ahmed, the former restaurant manager, who shares a tent with his wife, two children and eight other relatives. They have been displaced seven times since October.

"We are deprived of everything," he said.

Harb reported from London. Heba Farouk Mahfouz in Cairo contributed to this report.

DIGEST

PAKISTAN

Court acquits former prime minister, wife

A Pakistani court on Saturday overturned the convictions and seven-year sentences of former prime minister Imran Khan and his wife, but officials quickly moved to prevent his release from prison.

The acquittal in a case relating to the legality of the couple's 2018 marriage seemed to have removed the last hurdle in the way of Khan's release, nearly a year after he was jailed, and his followers had started gathering near the prison where he was being held in the garrison city of Rawalpindi to greet him on his release.

But shortly after the court's ruling, Khan was arrested yet again, in connection to riots last year, his party said. It added that it believed Khan's wife, Bushra Bibi, was also being arrested again, in a lingering corruption case.

Authorities have registered multiple cases against Khan since 2022, when he was ousted from power through a vote of no-confidence in Parliament.

Khan has been embroiled in more than 150 legal cases, including for allegedly inciting violence, since his initial arrest in May 2023.

Earlier this month, the United Nations human rights working group called for Khan's immediate release, saying he had been detained "arbitrarily in violation of international laws."

— Associated Press

SOMALIA

5 prisoners, 3 soldiers die in failed breakout

Five prisoners and three soldiers were killed Saturday in a failed attempt by some inmates to break out of a prison in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, a corrections officer said.

Twenty-one people were wounded in the Saturday morning incident, said Col. Abdikani Khalaf, spokesman for the Somali army's custodial corps. Speaking after the incident was over, he said some inmates armed with small arms and hand grenades exchanged fire with guards.

The prisoners involved in the attempted jailbreak were believed to be members of the Islamic militant group al-Shabab, although it has not claimed responsibility.

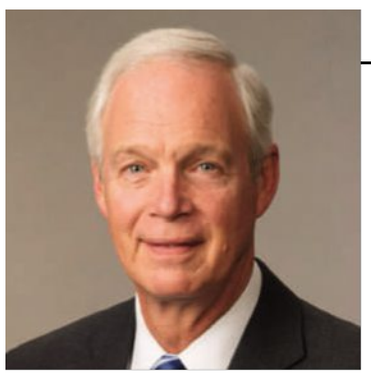
— Associated Press

A two-story school that collapsed during morning classes in Nigeria killed 22 students and sent rescuers on a frantic search for more than 100 people trapped in the rubble, authorities said. The Saints Academy in the Busa Buji community of Nigeria's north-central Plateau state collapsed shortly after students, many of whom were 15 or younger, arrived for classes Friday. A total of 154 students were initially trapped, but Plateau police spokesperson Alfred Alabo later said 132 of them had been rescued.

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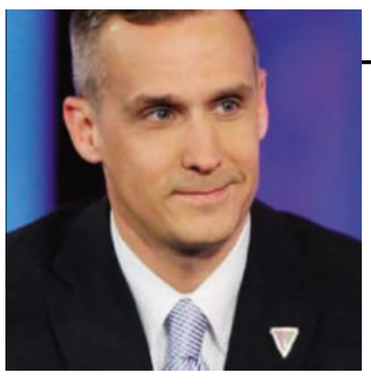


WED. JULY 17 AT 2:00 P.M.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Sen. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.)

Johnson joins us from the convention in Milwaukee to discuss Trump's chances in the battleground state of Wisconsin, possible running mates and second-term agenda.



THURS. JULY 18 AT 12:00 P.M.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Corey Lewandowski, Adviser, Republican National Convention

Lewandowski joins us from the GOP Convention to talk about Trump's 2024 campaign strategy, how he's evolved as a presidential candidate and his hold over the Republican Party.



THURS. JULY 18 AT 1:00 P.M.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

New Hampshire Gov. Chris Sununu (R)

Sununu discusses whether New Hampshire could turn red in the 2024 election, the future of the Republican Party and what's next for him after he leaves office in January.

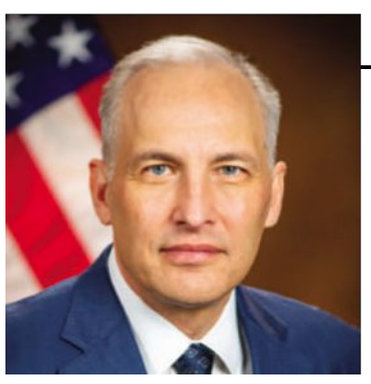


FRI. JULY 19 AT 9:00 A.M.

FIRST LOOK

The Post's **Jonathan Capehart**, **Leigh Ann Caldwell**, **E.J. Dionne** and **Megan McArdle**

Capehart speaks with Post journalists about the headlines from the Republican National Convention, the debate in the Democratic Party over Biden's candidacy and other political news.



WED. JULY 24 AT 11:30 A.M.

WORLD STAGE: A CONVERSATION WITH MATTHEW G. OLSEN

Assistant Attorney General for National Security

Olsen shares his assessment of the current terror threat – both domestic and international – and how U.S. adversaries are using emerging technologies like artificial intelligence.



THURS. JULY 25 AT 9:00 A.M.

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LONG COVID: WHERE THINGS STAND

Ziyad Al-Aly, Chief of Research, VA St. Louis Health Care System
Ashwin Vasan, Commissioner, New York City Department of Health & Mental Hygiene
Jaime Seltzer, Scientific Director, #MEAction and Research Scientist, Stanford University
Linda Sprague Martinez, Director, Health Disparities Institute, UConn Health

Influential policymakers and medical researchers explore the causes, prevalence and long-term impact of long covid four years after the pandemic.

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RICHARD SIMMONS 1948-2024

‘Former fatty’ morphed into larger-than-life fitness guru

BY HARRISON SMITH

Richard Simmons, the frizzy-haired fitness guru who championed positivity, exercise and healthy eating, and helped people lose millions of pounds through an idiosyncratic blend of earnestness and camp, died July 13 at his home in Los Angeles, a day after his 76th birthday.

His publicist, Tom Estey, confirmed the death but gave no other details.

Mr. Simmons, who retired to his Los Angeles home and abruptly left the public eye in 2014, revealed on social media in March that he had been successfully treated for skin cancer. The announcement came days after he published a startling post in which he declared that “every day we live we are getting closer to our death” and urged readers to “enjoy your life to the fullest.”

For more than 40 years, Mr. Simmons was a zany, irrepressible advocate for physical fitness and weight loss, wearing sparkling tank tops and striped Dolphin short shorts while exhorting Americans to get off the couch and get moving. “If your underwear isn’t wet,” he would shout, “you’re not working hard enough!”

Adopting playful titles like “The Pied Piper of Pounds” and “The Clown Prince of Fitness,” he led classes at his Beverly Hills exercise studio, Slimmons; published best-selling fitness guides, including the “Never-Say-Diet Book” (1980); promoted portion-control kits like Deal-a-Meal; and released hit workout videos including “Sweatin’ to the Oldies” (1988), in which he led aerobics routines to songs such as “Dancing in the Street” and “Great Balls of Fire,” backed by a live band in a gym setting meant to evoke a high school reunion.

A self-described “former fatty,” the 5-foot-7 Mr. Simmons “represented a much more accessible physical ideal” than svelte or muscle-bound peers like Jane Fonda and Jack LaLanne, said Natalia Mehlman Petrzela, a history professor at the New School in Manhattan and the author of “Fit Nation: The Gains and Pains of America’s Exercise Obsession.”

Recounting his story in books and exercise classes, Mr. Simmons said he had struggled with compulsive eating ever since he was a boy in New Orleans, entranced by opulent French Quarter restaurants and his parents’ home cooking. He “went directly from pablum to crêpes suzette,” weighed 268 pounds by the time he graduated from high school and became a plus-size model while studying in Italy as an exchange student, playing a dancing meatball, a bunch of grapes and an earthbound Peter Pan in commercials for food and underwear.

Mr. Simmons said he decided to transform his body after finding an anonymous note left under the windshield wiper of his car, which he had parked outside an Italian supermarket where he was autographing packages of gnocchi. “Fat people die young,” it read. “Please don’t die.”



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Richard Simmons, sporting his signature sparkling tank top and striped shorts, at a House hearing on childhood obesity in 2008.

Overcome with fear and anxiety, he turned to “pills, shots, massages, hypnosis, anything and everything” while trying to slim down in a hurry. For a time, he simply stopped eating. He lost 112 pounds in two and a half months, devastating his mind and body, before he checked himself into a hospital.

Mr. Simmons underwent plastic surgeries for his chin, eyes, nose and hair. After moving to Los Angeles, he started his exercise studio in 1974, complete with an adjoining restaurant, Ruffage, that included one of the first free-standing salad bars independent of a steakhouse.

His workouts were part performance art, part burlesque show and part therapy session, in which he comforted students as they burst into tears. He donned wings, a tutu and other outrageous costumes, and maintained an almost theatrical intensity, shouting out compliments about pupils’ thighs and butts or chanting, “Fat, fat, go away, give it all to Doris Day!”

“Forget exercising: just speaking with him can raise your heart rate,” New York Times reporter Brooks Barnes wrote in 2013 after a visit to Slimmons. “He likes to stand about three inches from your face and stare at you. One minute he’s laughing maniacally. The next he is teetering on the verge of tears and what appears to be genuine sadness.”

Discussing the perils of junk food, Mr. Simmons could be solemn and grave, walking around his studio showing pictures of internal organs that belonged, he said, to the morbidly obese: “Do you see this heart? This heart is covered with cookies and pies and grease, and your heart may look like this, and you never know when it’s going to stop beating.”

But he also leavened his message with humor, including on episodes of “The Richard Simmons Show,” a syndicated series that ran for four years in the early 1980s. The show featured interviews and exercise lessons along with comedy sketches in which Mr. Simmons played characters like the Rev. Pounds, declaring, “Though I waddle through the valley of linguine and clams, I shall fear no evil.”

Mr. Simmons welcomed celebrities to his classes and salad bar — Dustin Hoffman, Diana Ross, Barbra Streisand and Joanne Woodward were all early customers — but catered more to ordinary people, mainly women, who said they had never felt comfortable at a gym before walking in to Slimmons.

In a 2024 interview for this obituary, Petrzela said that Mr. Simmons was unique among his contemporaries in “welcoming and highlighting people who were not thin,” including by featuring them in his exercise videos.

She added that while he never discussed his sexuality, Mr. Simmons “brought a new, gender-bending aesthetic into mainstream America,” embodying “a kind of gender-line crossing flamboyance” that was more common to gay nightclubs than gyms. Cultural critic Rhonda Garelick, among others, described Mr. Simmons as “unmistakably camp,” writing in a 1995 article that his “elaborately constructed persona is part cheerleader, part father confessor, and part Broadway chorus boy.”

Outlasting fitness stars including Fonda, Mr. Simmons continued to preside over the studio’s classes into his mid-60s, and said he traveled 200 days a year while promoting exercise programs and meeting with fans whom he considered members of his extended family.

But in 2014, he made what Robert Thompson, a Syracuse University professor who studies television and popular culture, called an “almost J.D. Salinger-like, Thomas Pynchon-esque pivot” into seclusion, disappearing from view and then closing his gym in 2016.

His withdrawal spawned rumors and conspiracy theories that were amplified by a popular 2017 podcast, “Missing Richard Simmons,” which investigated tabloid speculation that the exercise guru might be held hostage in his home or transitioning from male to female.

Mr. Simmons rebuffed those reports in social media posts and phone interviews, insisting that he was simply living a more private life in the aftermath of a “very difficult” knee replacement. He had decided to make “a new beginning for myself,” he said, one that seemed to fulfill an earlier promise he made about doing what he loved.

“I work real hard to make people laugh and to make them think,” he told People magazine in 1981. “The day I don’t love any of this, I’ll walk away.”

‘Too much of a cutup’

The younger of two sons, Milton Teagle Simmons was born into a show-business family in New Orleans on July 12, 1948. His mother, the daughter of Russian Jewish immigrants, supported the family while working as a fan dancer; his father, who looked after the children, had once performed in a vaudeville act and emceed for big bands in Chicago.

To bring in extra money, Mr. Simmons sold pralines on street corners in the French Quarter — work he credited with teaching him how to work a crowd.

He sang and put on a smile, he said, but the joy was mostly an act at a time when he was oscillating between binge-eating and extreme weight-loss techniques, feeling isolated as the only member of his family who was heavyset. He told NPR that he began taking laxatives at age 11 and was eventually consuming 30 a day. By age 13, he was throwing up after meals.

Mr. Simmons went to Catholic schools and contemplated becoming a priest or a monk, writing in a 1999 memoir, “Still Hungry — After All These Years,” that he interviewed with a recruiter for the Dominican Order, believing that the monastery would be a refuge from jokes about his weight.

He ultimately changed his mind (the black cape worn by friars “was not my color,” he said) and studied art at what is now the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. After two years, he transferred to Florida State University, later explaining that the school offered a two-year exchange program that gave him a chance to study in Italy, where he said he was cast in bit parts in the Federico Fellini movies “Satyricon” (1969) and “The Clowns” (1970).

Mr. Simmons received a bachelor’s degree in 1970. After settling in Los Angeles a few years later, he worked as a maître d’ at an Italian restaurant and began searching for exercise classes. He tried yoga and Pilates but found it too self-serious — “no one cracked a single joke” — and was disappointed by a visit to Vince’s Gym on Ventura Boulevard, where an “agonizing” weightlifting workout left him bedridden for days.

Then he discovered a class taught by Gilda Marx, a high-energy instructor who played music and danced. He was the only man in the course, and recalled that after one class, Marx told him the other students were uncomfortable with his presence. Mr. Simmons speculated that the real issue was that he “was just too much of a cutup,” cracking jokes and singing along to the music. The encounter inspired him to start his own exercise studio.

‘No Ifs, Ands or Butts’

By the early 1980s, Mr. Simmons was appearing regularly on the ABC soap opera “General Hospital” — he played himself, leading exercise classes at the fictional Campus Disco — and appearing on late-night television shows hosted by Johnny Carson and David Letterman.

Looking to emulate the success of Fonda’s workout videos, he began releasing his own exercise tapes in 1983, with titles including “Dance Your Pants Off,” “Party Off the Pounds” and “No Ifs, Ands or Butts.” His first VHS tape, “Everyday With Richard Simmons,” opened with shots of diners enjoying pizza, fried chicken and a corn dog; Mr. Simmons made a dramatic entry while bursting out of a banana split, outfitting everyone in yellow jogging suits and transporting them into his studio, where the sweating commenced.

His exercise videos collectively sold more than 20 million copies, according to his website. Their success helped him accrue a fortune that enabled him to settle into a mansion in the Hollywood Hills, where he lived alone with his housekeepers and pet Dalmatians; maintained a collection of more than 400 dolls; and parked a Mercedes luxury sedan with the license plate “YRUFATT.”

Survivors include a brother.

Late in his career, Mr. Simmons often noted that he found it difficult to talk with fans and students who told him about their struggles with weight loss and depression. He took their setbacks personally, he said, and cried more than he laughed. Prayer helped, as did keeping busy.

“People need the court jester, so I keep that smile on and keep going out there to do what I do,” he told Men’s Health magazine in 2012. He added, “I’m the clown you take out of the box and wind up when you need a good laugh. And then, when you’re done with me, I go back in my box.”







ABIR SULTAN/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Relatives and family members of Israeli hostages held by Hamas in Gaza, and their supporters, conduct a protest Saturday on a road leading to Jerusalem to call for the release of the hostages.

Post's analysis shows Israeli strikes hit 'humanitarian area'

GAZA FROM **A1**

Israel's claims to have targeted top commanders "false allegations" intended to "cover up the scale of the horrific massacre."

The strikes, targeting one of Hamas's most senior operatives, could threaten delicate cease-fire negotiations that President Biden insisted Friday were moving in a "positive" direction, after more than nine months of war. Hamas called the attack a "dangerous escalation." Netanyahu said Israel would continue to put "sustained military pressure" on Hamas while cease-fire talks are underway, adding that any deal must allow Israel "to return to the battlefield until all of our objectives are met."

And as the area's overstretched hospitals filled with hundreds of victims Saturday, including children, the strikes again raised questions about the number of civilian casualties Israel was willing to tolerate in pursuit of its military goals in the Gaza Strip. More than 38,000 people have been killed in the Palestinian territory, according to the Gaza Health Ministry, which does not distinguish between civilians and combatants but says the majority of the dead are women and children.

News of the strike circulated Saturday morning, with a video of what appeared to be a large explosion near the sea. A satellite photograph of the area later published by the Israeli military, along with other videos verified by The Washington Post, showed that the site of the Israeli strikes was in an area called Mawasi, in western Gaza along the coast, where Palestinians from southern Gaza have gathered at the urging of the Israel Defense Forces, to escape fighting farther to the east.

The strikes occurred in an area designated by Israel as a "humanitarian area," according to the Post analysis of videos — an area where the IDF has touted the presence of hospitals, shelter, and "increased amounts" of supplies such as food and medicine.

Photographs showed what appeared to be one or more large craters at a blast site. People who were hundreds of feet away said they were blown off their feet by explosions.

"The occupation demands citizens to go to places it claims it is safe, but unfortunately it targets it and fires missiles at it," said Mohamad Gharib, 42, who said he was thrown into the air by the attack early Saturday, which consisted of what he said were at least four separate airstrikes.

An Israeli military official who briefed reporters Saturday, on the condition of anonymity in line with military protocol, said the strikes were based on "very very accurate intelligence" and struck a "compound" used by Hamas. The official said he could not verify the death toll released by Palestinian authorities but added, "I can confirm that there were other guards, terrorists in this compound, I can assume that they were killed." No Israeli hostages were present "as far as we know," the official said.

The official did not deny that the area Israel struck was in the "humanitarian area," but said it was struck "because we knew it was a Hamas compound."

Deif, a founder of the al-Qassam Brigades and its leader for more than two decades, is one of Israel's most hunted figures, surviving numerous assassination attempts while rarely appearing in public. Israeli military officials on Saturday described Deif and the second commander who was targeted, Rafa Salama, as "two of the masterminds" of the Oct. 7 Hamas attack on Israel, without providing detail on their roles.

In May, the chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Karim Khan, announced that he was applying for an arrest warrant for Deif, along with other Hamas leaders, for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Khan also requested arrest warrants for Netanyahu and Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, alleging the two Israeli leaders have used starvation of civilians as a method of warfare and intentionally directed attacks against civilians in Gaza.



NIR ELIAS/AP

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said at a news conference Saturday that Israel "will reach every senior member of Hamas."

The timing of Saturday's attack — as cease-fire talks hang in the balance — stirred speculation that Netanyahu had ordered it to scuttle the negotiations, in a move to prolong the war and ensure his own political survival. But such speculation misunderstood Israel's approach, Mairav Zonszein, senior analyst for the International Crisis Group, wrote in a post on X.

"Any chance Israel gets to kill Hamas officials or rescue hostages it goes for – callously irrespective of context," she wrote. Israel's military and Netanyahu "see the killing of Deif as a significant strategic gain – even something that can help ceasefire/hostage deal more than hurt it," she added, noting that the killing, if confirmed, could appease hard-right members of his ruling coalition as Netanyahu tried to sell a cease-fire deal.

The setting for Saturday's strikes was a crowded civilian quarter that surrounded Israel's apparent target — an area that witnesses said was filled with tents and other temporary shelters as well as shops that had sprung up to serve the masses of displaced people in the area.

The area has seen a large influx of displaced Gazan residents, seeking refuge from violence in the south and east of Khan Younis. The Post compared satellite imagery from Planet Labs between April and July of this year, and hundreds of temporary structures appear in images from July 11 in spaces that were empty on April 18.

The Post also verified a video that circulated online of a man standing near the aftermath of the IDF airstrikes, holding what appeared to be a weapon fragment. Two weapons experts independently confirmed to The Post that the fragment was a metal tail fin from a U.S.-made Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) guidance kit.

"The fin fragment recovered is a perfect match for the fin of U.S.-made JDAM guidance kits," Trevor Ball, a former explosive ordnance disposal technician for the U.S. Army, wrote in a message. Images of the strikes' aftermath are consistent with the use of MK-series bombs, which weigh between 500 and 2,000 pounds, Ball said. He cautioned, though, that it is not possible to determine if the body of the bomb was U.S.- or Israeli-made, as both countries produce compatible munitions.

Tents lined the road around the site of the blast, along with "dozens of street vendors," said Gharib, who said he was thrown by the explosions as he was walking in the area. After he had recovered, he was surrounded by "women and children, cut into pieces," he said. A few minutes later, a "reconnaissance plane" fired on civil defense workers who tried to respond, he said, echoing the accounts of other witnesses.

Hatem al-Attar, 25, who works for the civil defense, said in a phone interview that he had arrived at the site of the initial Israeli strikes and was trying to keep civilians away from the area when another missile struck, about 65 feet away. He felt a "prick" in his right leg and saw blood pouring from a wound. Colleagues took him to Nasser Hospital, where the dead, some badly mutilated, were also arriving. By day's end, two of his colleagues had died of their wounds, the civil defense said.

Louise Wateridge, a spokeswoman for the U.N. refugee agency, arrived at Nasser Hospital in the late afternoon, hours after the strikes, she said in a voice message. "The entire hospital felt like it was drenched in blood," she said. Sanitary conditions in the facility were "nonexistent."

The victims there, she said, included a 2-year-old girl who was separated from her family after being hurled in the blast, until she was found by her grandmother. The girl's mother was still missing. Another young girl in the hospital, around 11, was paralyzed from the waist down, doctors told Wateridge. "There's no real way for her to get treatment."

Other children had their legs amputated. A child who was nearly killed in October arrived again Saturday, disabled from the latest blast, doctors told Wateridge. A mother in the hospital was "in absolute despair." She had rented a plot of land in Mawasi because she was told "it was the safe place to go," Wateridge quoted her as saying. One of the woman's daughters was paralyzed Saturday. Her 8-year-old son was killed.

"Many of the children we saw today are now disabled. They've got injuries for the rest of their lives that will need treatment that is not available to them in Gaza," Wateridge said.



HAITHAM IMAD/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Wounded Palestinians at Nasser Hospital after Israeli strikes in the Mawasi area in western Gaza on Saturday. Israel said it targeted top Hamas military commander Mohammed Deif, but it wasn't clear whether he was killed.

Fahim and El Chamaa reported from Beirut, Harb and Loveluck from London and Baran from San Francisco. Lior Soroka and Alon Rom in Tel Aviv, Helier Cheung in London, Steve Hendrix in Gardner, Pa., and Meg Kelly in Washington contributed to this report.

SUNDAY OPINION

PERRY BACON JR.

Why we're still arguing about whether Biden will quit

In the two weeks since his dismal debate performance, President Biden and his top aides have insisted that he will be the Democratic Party's candidate this November. Yet the news media and other Democratic officials keep acting as if Biden might step aside. What gives?

Democrats are deeply divided about Biden's prospects and confused about what path the party should take if it determines that the president can't win reelection. The most likely outcome (by far, in my view) is that the Democrats nominate Biden at the party's convention next month. But the reservations about Biden are widespread and held by some of the most powerful figures in the party, so it's impossible to rule out his withdrawing under pressure from other Democrats.

The news each day is confusing. People often aren't saying what they really mean. So here's my attempt to explain what's actually going on with Biden's candidacy.



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Biden answers questions from reporters on Thursday night in Washington.

There are very serious doubts about Biden among Democratic elected officials.

Only 22 of the 264 congressional Democrats (or Democratic-leaning independents) have formally called for the president to withdraw from the race, according to a count by The Post. About 30 others have expressed doubts, according to a CNN tally.

On the other hand, at least 75 have defended his candidacy publicly, although some in very tepid ways.

That leaves around 140 congressional Democrats who are being fairly circumspect.

Praising the sitting president from your party is easy. So the noncommittal stances of dozens of congressional Democrats reflect deep concerns about Biden's candidacy that they don't want to express publicly, particularly if he is likely to remain on the ticket.

Very few Democratic elected officials are saying things along the lines of, "I have great confidence that Biden will carry the swing states." Asked by reporters on Capitol Hill this week if the president can win the election, Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) said, "He's our nominee," ducking the question.

The president has been dismissing polls showing him losing. But others in the party aren't. In a meeting with Democratic governors last week, the governors of New Mexico and Maine reportedly expressed doubts that Biden could win their states, which he carried by 11 and 9 points, respectively, in 2020. If Biden loses New Mexico, that would all but certainly be part of a landslide defeat.

Reporting suggests that two of the party's most influential figures, former president Barack Obama and former House speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), are lukewarm at best about Biden's prospects.

In terms of Democratic activists, donors, major groups and voters, it's complicated.

Polls suggest around half of Democratic voters want Biden replaced. So while Biden has implied that only "elites" want a new candidate, that's not true. At the same time, it's not as if the entire party has turned against him.

Democrats under 45 are more likely to want Biden sidelined than their older peers, and Black Democrats are more supportive of Biden than White or Latino ones, according to a recent Post survey. But there are Biden skeptics and Biden supporters across all demographics.

We don't have surveys of activists, donors and left-leaning groups. Actor George Clooney's call for Biden to withdraw is one of many indications that party donors are worried about the president's candidacy. In contrast, labor unions are emphasizing their support for Biden.

There is a major divide over Vice President Harris as a presidential candidate.

While many Democratic elected officials aren't saying much, a few are openly supporting the vice president should Biden be persuaded not to run.

Left-leaning pundits are taking sides on the Harris question. But they are divided. Even some onetime detractors of the vice president are backing her now. The case for Harris is that she is better able to articulate the party's message than the president — and replacing Biden with the vice president would be much simpler logistically than choosing another person.

But there is a counternarrative against Harris. She wasn't a great candidate in her presidential run five years ago. Her performances have improved in the past few years, but she isn't a great public speaker. Harris doesn't have particular strength in swing states. And even fans of the Californian worry the country is too racist and sexist to elect her — after all, America has never had a female president or even a Black female governor.

So others are calling for an open process to pick a new candidate. Let's not pretend here: A call for considering a wide array of other choices is, for all intents and purposes, a rejection of Harris.

There is no consensus around other hopefuls or a process to select a new candidate.

James Carville, who was the top aide on Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign, and New York Times columnist Ezra Klein are the most prominent of those calling for essentially a mini-primary over the next month, with the delegates at the Democratic convention then choosing the candidate.

But many in the party aren't excited about that prospect. They argue such a process is likely to divide Democrats and therefore result in a candidate who isn't in a better position to win than Biden.

Part of the issue is that while the Democrats have a long list of youngish governors and senators who are likely to run in the 2028 cycle, there isn't a consensus that any one of them should be the candidate this year. So right now, the long Democratic bench is a bug as much as a feature.

Party leaders can't decide what to do.

Put all that together and you have four camps of Democrats: 1. those who want Biden to remain on the ticket, 2. those who want him replaced by Harris, 3. those who want some kind of open process to pick a new candidate, and 4. those who aren't confident in Biden or Harris but also don't want a convention fight over the nominee.

My conversations with Democratic staffers suggest that on Capitol Hill, No. 4 is the biggest group.

With this level of confusion and indecision, the president has adopted a smart strategy: to forcefully lean into the idea that he is staying in the race and run out the clock on alternative plans or candidates.

It's worth noting that Democratic Party power brokers can unify and coordinate at times. During the 2020 primaries, when it seemed as if Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) might win the nomination, party leaders encouraged several moderate candidates to drop out and then endorsed Biden en masse.

In that case, there was unity around an easy-to-implement solution (encourage Democratic voters to choose Biden over Sanders in primaries). Recalling the 2020 process makes me think that one of Biden's great assets in holding on to the nomination is the uncertainty about Harris. Her running for president would be the obvious solution if she were perceived by prominent Democrats as a clearly superior candidate to Biden.

The divide over Biden's candidacy is *not* ideological.

The 2016 and 2020 primaries and the conflict in Gaza have shown a clear left vs. center-left fissure in the party, with the left expressing doubts about Biden's leadership. But that's not at play here. Some of the members of Congress most wary of Biden's candidacy are centrists, such as Sen. Michael Bennet (D-Colo.). Pundits who are usually more aligned with the president than the left ideologically, such as data expert Nate Silver, are among those most loudly calling for him to step aside.

In contrast, prominent left-wing voices in the party — most notably Sanders and Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.) — are in favor of having Biden remain on the ticket. (To be sure, writers at the socialist magazine Current Affairs and others outside of Congress on the left are ready to push Biden aside.)

What's going on? The main explanation is that whether Biden or Harris can win Michigan, whether it makes sense to choose a candidate at the convention, and other such questions are not about policy. So they are not splitting people along ideological lines. Also, there is not an obvious leader of the left whom progressives can rally around as a potential nominee. The 82-year-old Sanders is even older than Biden. In October, Ocasio-Cortez will have just turned 35, the minimum age for a person to be elected president.

Another factor is these politicians' self-interest. For centrist Democrats running in red or purple states, dissing Biden is useful for their own election prospects, potentially helping to win over independents and moderate Republicans. In contrast, progressive Rep. Ilhan Omar (D-Minn.), who has defended Biden, is being challenged in a Democratic primary. In a Democrats-only race, bashing the party's incumbent president isn't helpful.

This is a party where the media really matters.

Remember that few Democratic elected officials or left-leaning groups have called for Biden to step aside. So how did this become such a national conversation? In my view, left-leaning and centrist columnists and commentators from the Bulwark, CNN, MSNBC, the New York Times, Pod Save America and The Post were particularly important. They created a kind of feedback loop: These pundits voiced their concerns about Biden right after the debate; then Democratic politicians, donors and staffers contacted them anonymously and encouraged them to keep airing these concerns; then the pundits repeated the private comments of key party officials.

Everyone saw how terrible Biden was in the debate. But I was shocked that people such as MSNBC's Joe Scarborough, a staunch Biden supporter, and Pod Save America's Jon Favreau, who served in the Obama administration with Biden, were willing to bluntly acknowledge what happened. I often worry that left-leaning (and right-leaning) media act as essentially arms of the two political parties. That didn't happen in this case.

Why do these media organizations matter so much? Because they are among the most important institutions in influencing the Democratic Party. Scholars who study political parties argue that while partisanship is stronger than ever in America, the parties themselves are very weak. National and state Democratic Party chairs used to have real influence; now they are often just loyalists of the president or the governor of their state. Union membership has declined, so labor isn't as big a force within Democratic Party as it used to be. There are lots of groups purporting to represent women, African Americans and other left-leaning constituencies, but they often don't have large numbers of members.

So with other power centers diminished, the media has outsize influence. CNN, the New York Times and The Post aim to reach people across ideologies, but their audiences are significantly more Democratic than Republican. Democratic activists and officials read and watch them closely. MSNBC and Pod Save America are openly aligned with the party, with party leaders often appearing on both and being covered favorably in most cases.

The Bulwark is essentially an outlet for "Never Trump" Republicans. So Democrats consider it a useful guide to what might resonate with independents and swing voters whom the party needs to win elections.

When prominent voices at all six of these outlets were delivering the same message — "Maybe Biden can't win the election" — that was powerful.

I don't think this has been just a pundit rebellion against Biden. It was more pundits plus Democratic Party officials who didn't have a lot of other avenues to challenge Biden using the pundits to raise doubts about his campaign.

What will happen next? I would bet on Biden remaining the candidate. But I am not sure. I never, ever imagined an issue where George Clooney, James Carville and Michael Bennet (middle-aged White men who aren't leftists) would be on the anti-Biden side, while Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Ilhan Omar and Bernie Sanders would be in the pro-Biden camp. These are confusing times for the Democratic Party and those of us watching it in action — or, at least so far, inaction.

The Stanford plan to stop campus antisemitism

BY LARRY DIAMOND AND JEFFREY KOSEFF

Stanford University has a serious antisemitism problem. It is not only Jews and Israelis who suffer. Many students now censor themselves for fear of crossing a demand for solidarity against "oppression." This climate of bias threatens the university's mission to champion critical inquiry and rational debate.

We have come to this unfortunate conclusion after six months of research involving more than 50 listening sessions and interviews with students, faculty, staff, alumni and parents. In a recently released report, Stanford's Subcommittee on Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias (which we chaired) found that antisemitism and its close cousin, bias against Israelis, have reached alarming levels on our campus.

Restoring a climate in which ideas can flow freely and the dignity of all groups can be respected will require confronting painful realities.

In recent years, Stanford has had its share of blatantly antisemitic incidents. Swastikas have been drawn on Jewish students' doors, and mezuzas, symbols of a Jewish home, have repeatedly been torn from door frames. Jewish students have heard "Go Back to Brooklyn" screamed at them. Signs at a pro-Palestinian encampment on campus promoted a modern-day "blood libel" by falsely claiming that Israel was harvesting the skin of Palestinians.

Anonymous antisemitic social media posts suggested a Jewish student cabal behind a Jewish student's candidacy for the undergraduate senate. A direct message on social media told a Jewish student who had written an article about the antisemitic climate on campus that he should be waterboarded with gasoline and lit on fire.

Many students now hide their Jewish identity to have a more normal social life on campus, while others immerse themselves in the Jewish community to avoid ostracism.

Many students now hide their Jewish identity to have a more normal social life on campus, while others immerse themselves in the Jewish community to avoid ostracism. One Jewish student told us that he had taken to revealing his identity immediately to any potential friend so that he wouldn't invest in a relationship that would later be terminated by the disclosure.

Faculty members have not been spared. A spate of classroom disruptions at the start of the winter quarter appeared to target courses taught by Jewish professors. Later that term, students disrupted a class with a flier that stated, "You're being taught by a Zionist. Drop this class."

Today's antisemitism can also be indirect. Take the unique burden, for example, placed on Jewish students to denounce Israel to be accepted. This animus claims to be a political position, but it encompasses a chronic, heated contempt for "Zionists" — or a more recent slang (she's a "Zio").

Underlying this hostility is an ideology that divides the world into "colonizer" and "colonized," the powerful and the oppressed. Just three days after the Oct. 7 terrorist attack in Israel, a Stanford instructor made this division literally, separating his freshman students by ethnicity into these categories.

Such binary thinking easily slides into an antisemitic narrative: Jews are wealthy and powerful, exercising a "hidden hand" of domination that compels the United States to back Israel. Universities refuse to sever ties to Israel because they are controlled by Jews. Israel is killing Palestinians and crushing their national cause. And the Jews are to blame. This moral absolutism is antithetical to the university's goal of advancing knowledge and critical inquiry.

These forms of bias are not unique to Stanford. But, as we propose in our report, it is possible to stop the spiral of polarization and discrimination: Universities must return to core principles and restore a culture of pluralism and tolerance.

First, they must ensure that their students are safe. Not from divergent ideas — students should face those in abundance — but from bigotry. Schools have an obligation to protect students from identity-based harassment and to provide psychological counseling and moral support when needed.

They must carefully construct and enforce "time, place and manner" restrictions on expression — content-neutral policies that preserve the university's ability to function. Stanford has free speech zones where protests can take place. But parts of the campus where essential business of teaching, research and administration would be disrupted are off-limits. The experience at Stanford over this past academic year — which culminated in early June with 11 students and two others being arrested for breaking into the offices of the president and provost — suggests the value of enforcing rules.

Students must be held accountable for violations of the rules, and university leaders must hold themselves accountable by establishing clear goals for addressing bigotry and reporting regularly on incidents of bias and the administration's responses.

Universities should be cautious in taking institutional positions on issues of the day, and they should confront and denounce antisemitism, anti-Israeli bias, Islamophobia and other forms of identity bias.

The paramount task at Stanford and elsewhere is to restore a culture of pluralism and tolerance. We endorse Harvard Professor Danielle Allen's call for "a framework of confident pluralism — inclusion and belonging, academic freedom and mutual respect." Also needed is improved education about the Middle East and about Jewish history. This must be coupled with classes to promote norms of critical inquiry and respectful dialogue. Faculty members need training in how to teach these skills.

Yet these efforts alone will not be enough. Students, faculty and staff must also work to create a culture of critical inquiry. This means weighing their arguments against evidence and competing values — and seeing their peers as human beings of equal worth and potential.

Larry Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. Jeffrey Koseff is professor of civil and environmental engineering and oceans at Stanford, and a senior fellow at the Stanford Woods Institute for the Environment.

OPINION

The Washington Post
AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

What do we want to do, America?

THANKFULLY, DONALD Trump is reported to be "fine" after an apparent attempt on his life by a sniper firing from a rooftop near a Trump campaign rally on Saturday in Butler, Pa. Secret Service agents responded swiftly to protect the former president and shot the apparent attacker to death.

Encouragingly, leaders of both political parties, including some with whom Mr. Trump has clashed, swiftly and unequivocally condemned the attack. "We cannot be like this," said President Biden. Sen. Mitt Romney (R-Utah) called it "a heinous and evil act."

EDITORIAL

We join in those sentiments.

The darkest hours of American history, the ones shadowed by political violence, remind us that incitement and hatred must be constantly challenged and never tolerated. The privileges of free and open speech, the glory of wide-open campaign rallies and impassioned politicking, depend on an atmosphere free of fear and intimidation.

So what do we want to do?

In this moment, we have to recognize that we have all been touched by toxic politics — regardless of our beliefs or where we fall on an ideological spectrum.

Can this, then, be a moment to pause and rediscover our better selves? To hear our inner voices, as clearly as we heard those shots? Americans, what do we want to be?

It's not up to politicians, or editorial pages.

The responsibility is ours, as neighbors and citizens.

In fact, this republic is ours, as Benjamin Franklin said, "if we can keep it."

Let us begin today.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

It's never too late to keep bees, build a sailboat or become an artist

Former House Democratic whip David Bonior recently wrote about learning to play the *piano in his late 70s. We asked Post readers about things they had always wanted to try and the strategies that helped them develop new skills.*

At age 10, I saw an observation beehive and was fascinated. I didn't get my first hive until 2020, when I was almost 65. Four years later, I'm still learning, and I will keep doing so right up to the moment when I have to give it up. I'm in the Oregon Master Beekeeper Program. My six colonies all came through last winter. The book learning, observational learning and physical challenges of beekeeping invigorate my life — and regular inspections of my hives add a nice little frisson of danger. My husband and I, and a few neighbors, greatly enjoy the best honey we've ever had.

Diana Dickinson, *Portland, Ore.*

I was a literature major in college, but did poorly in poetry and ignored it all of my adult years. Just before the pandemic, I asked to tag along to a friend's poetry group and immediately became hooked. Together, we've explored both traditional and modern poetry and come to love and feel at home in a variety of forms. Meeting online during the pandemic kept us all from being bored at home; now we meet in each other's homes biweekly to spend two hours immersed in a new poet or style. This practice has constantly challenged our knowledge of history, literature, geography, science — you name it. And of course, we've all become close friends. Today I count poetry, along with the group that brought me to it, as one of the chief joys of my retirement years.

Jean Thayer, *Arvada, Colo.*

I've been a sailor most of my life, first on my father's boats and later with power boats for my own kids. A few years back, I bought a classic cruising sailboat to use near our home on Buzzards Bay in Massachusetts. The bay isn't known for calm water and is often a challenge in the afternoon. I hoped my wife would come to share my enthusiasm, but when that didn't happen, I sailed solo for several years.

When you are sailing solo far from shore, one minor mistake can put you in serious hot water, which wouldn't necessarily happen if there were a second set of hands on board, as my wife started to remind me around my 75th birthday. A fork was starting to appear in the road ahead.

I'm a pretty good carpenter, and wooden boats always held interest. I attended several classes at the WoodenBoat School in Maine and started to feel a major pull toward building. As I write this, a new 17-foot sailboat is under construction in my garage, and the cruiser's new owners are hopefully making the same discoveries that delighted me a few years ago. My wife is relieved, despite the sawdust on her car. And I am using a new set of skills that otherwise would have gone to waste.

Rob Hill, *Westport, Mass.*

After my husband died about 10 years ago, I needed to do something that would occupy my mind and thoughts. So I started singing. I joined a local chorus and realized that most of the chorus members had sung in church or with other choruses. I had never sung with any group and needed help. I found a wonderful voice teacher, who has become my coach, cheerleader and wonderful friend.

But every year, she has required her students to do solos in front of a small group. This has terrified me for 10 years, but I am slowly becoming more confident, even though I always feel that I mess up.

Now I belong to two choruses, including a wonderful gospel group. I volunteer weekly to sing with a small group for dementia patients. They are so appreciative and nonjudgmental. Singing wonderful music has been challenging and stressful, but it has really enriched my life. Am I Barbra Streisand? No, but I am making progress!

Janet Feder, *Mundelein, Ill.*

I have made a career in music, as a musicologist, but only late in life turned to the instrument I have always loved, the flute. I was too afraid that sounding like a beginner would damage my credibility as a writer of music.

Finally, I took the plunge, and it has been both satisfying and humbling. Learning a new skill at my age is not the same as learning it as a child or young adult. After declining to play in a couple of recitals, I finally played for the first time in a recital in front of my colleagues, friends and students. Was I crazy exposing myself like that? The flute demands not only coordinated finger work but also great breath control and a loose throat, none of which my nerves allowed. Somehow I got through the piece, the Sarabande from Bach's Partita in A Minor. I was disappointed and elated. I did not sound like I wanted to, but most important, I did it. And my friends, colleagues and students were all too kind; they were with me and supportive.

I continue to study. Will I ever get where I want to be? The pace is glacial, another product of starting late. But while it does remind you of the reality of your age, the slow progress and small victories also remind you that challenges can be overcome regardless of how old you are.

Michael Broyles, *Tallahassee*

As a freshman at City College of San Francisco in 1947, I signed up for architecture, interior decorating and art classes. During my first art class, which involved sketching furniture, the teacher told me to drop out and take a simpler class. I was embarrassed, to say the least. Later, my mother-in-law was an artist, followed by my two daughters, and I was intimidated to even think I could learn to paint a straight line.

But now, at age 94, I have become a true artist! A local art teacher is giving acrylic painting classes once a month, and I started eight months ago. I was so excited with the results of my first piece. My family provided me with supplies to paint for months. My second bedroom is now my studio.

Beverly A. Moglich, *Bend, Ore.*

When I was growing up in the late '60s and early '70s, my parents allowed me one after-school activity. I wanted to play the piano. But I did want to learn to paint, too. I loved going to art museums to gaze at the masterpieces by Claude Monet, Vincent van Gogh and Camille Pissarro, among others.

Time passed, and I was raising a family and working. There was little time for myself. Now that I am retired, I decided to take a big jump and learn to paint. I found a class at my local community college, and I signed up. I was incredibly apprehensive. Was this a class for a beginner? Did I need some background knowledge? Would I be able to do this? Before the class began, I emailed the instructor, and she told me not to worry. As it turns out, my new hobby is bringing out my creativity. Plus, I find it calming. Best of all, I am having fun. I met lovely fellow artists, and I am learning from them, too. I will never become a great painter, but I'm having a blast trying!

Theresa Wiecezak, *New Hyde Park, N.Y.*

I'm a social worker and former singer, and I've always wanted to play the piano like a concert pianist. However, I live with learning disabilities, and one of them, unfortunately, is that my left hand and my right hand don't like each other. I've tried piano lessons various times in my life but only met with disappointment, failure and shame. As one piano teacher said to me, "You have such long fingers. Too bad you can't play piano."

However, as an octogenarian, I found a piano teacher who can deal with my obstacles. I, like David Bonior, was in a piano recital with a bunch of children who played much better than I did. But people can be nice to old ladies, and I was received with warmth by a gracious audience. I guess exposing one's frailties in the right context can have some benefits.

Myrna Orenstein, *Evanston, Ill.*

I've been an active musician since high school, playing saxophones, flute and clarinet. My favorite setting is the jazz ensemble, and I currently play baritone sax in a local group. As I approached retirement in my government contractor job, I knew music would play an even larger role in my life.

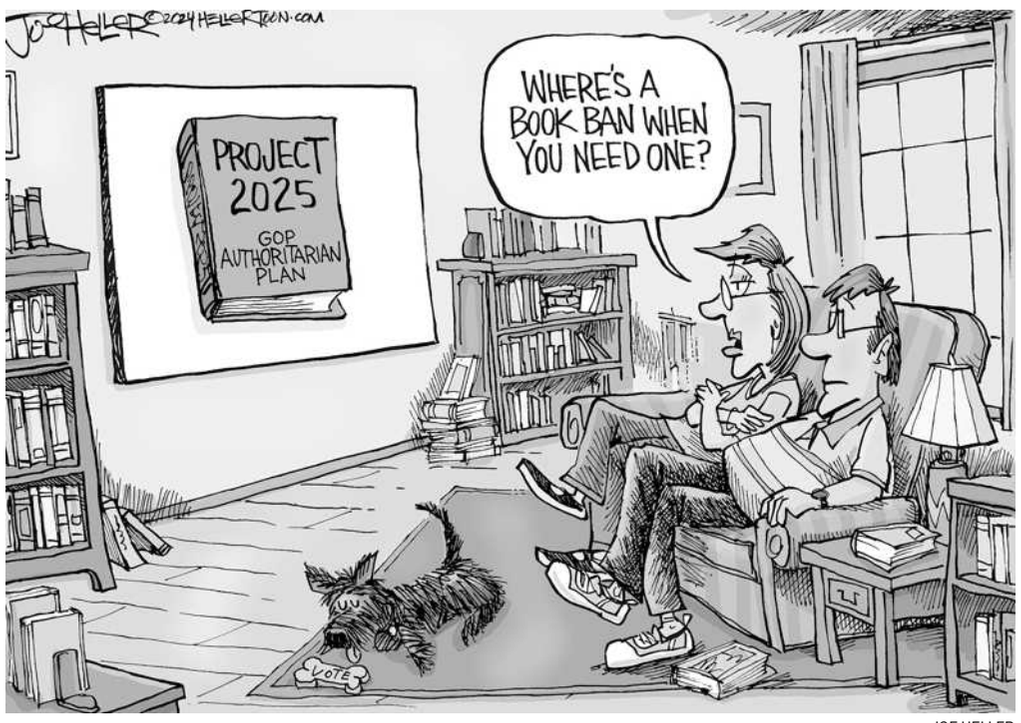
At age 62, I studied a textbook on jazz ensemble arranging and started writing "charts." Finally, I could stop complaining about deficiencies in other people's charts and start writing my own, based on decades of experience. I'm now 69 and retired and have written nearly 30 charts, most of which have been published and performed. My lifetime goal is at least 100 charts. One of the beneficial side effects is that the mental discipline of writing music makes me a better player on all of my instruments. As legendary cellist Pablo Casals is said to have remarked when asked why he still practiced daily at age 80: I think I'm making progress.

James Vedda, *Alexandria*

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OPINION

RUTH MARCUS

John Roberts once dreamed of a more unified court. Goodbye to all that.

Was this the term that Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. gave up on his cherished project of institutionalism and instead adopted an if-you-can't-beat-them-join-them posture with his fellow conservatives? It sure looks that way.

Roberts began his tenure in 2005 with a vision of leading a court in which unanimous rulings, achieved through compromise and moderation, would supplant ideological division and undergird the stability of the law. The court would be understood as a body that transcended the partisan screeching endemic to other branches. Justices would suppress their inclinations to pen individual concurrences and dissents for the greater good of speaking for the court as an institution.

This was always a lofty goal, made paradoxically more difficult by the amassing of a six-justice conservative supermajority. Roberts is a staunch conservative yet, at times, is willing to put ideology aside in the service of what he viewed as the greater good. The primary example of this was his 2012 vote, joining with the liberal justices, to save the Affordable Care Act.

But with the arrival of three new conservatives, Roberts found himself in an unexpected position: potential irrelevance. A chief justice has less authority than the title implies; his power lies mostly in the ability to assign opinion authorship when he is in the majority.

Roberts, outflanked on the right, now has even less sway. The other conservatives, if they chose, could proceed without him. This possibility was made manifest in the 2022 abortion case *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, when Roberts could not secure any takers for his rather contrived compromise position, that the constitutional right to abortion would remain, but that the procedure could be prohibited after 15 weeks.

As I wrote of Roberts in the aftermath of that decision: "He is a chief caught between conflicting imperatives. If he insists on hewing to the go-slow, decide-no-more-than-necessary approach that has been the hallmark of his tenure, he risks appearing weak — and losing what little ability he retains to influence and constrain the conservative majority. If he votes with that majority, as might be his underlying inclination in most cases, he risks contributing to what he has been laboring to prevent: the decline of the institution."

The numbers don't tell the story. Nearly half of all cases, 46 percent, were decided unanimously this term, about the same as the previous year, and up dramatically from the 27 percent in the tumultuous 2021-2022 term that witnessed the abortion and gun-rights cases.

In addition, even when the court split, the coalitions were often scrambled. As Adam Feldman of the website Empirical Scotus has reported, in situations where the court divided 6-3, only half (11 of 22) reflected a conservative-liberal split. By contrast, during the 2021 term, nearly three-fourths (14 of 19) of the 6-3 cases were along ideological lines. So, the court is polarized, to be sure, but not as badly this term as the year before.

So why would I suggest that Roberts's institutionalism project is foundering? It has to do with the content — the radical content — of the decisions the court reached.

Where Roberts might have crafted a narrower ruling, he swung for the fences. Where he could have sought to assemble a cross-ideological coalition, perhaps luring independent-minded Justice Amy Coney Barrett to join with the liberals, he signed up with the most full-throated conservatives. Where he could have avoided overturning precedent, either explicitly or without acknowledgment, he went for it.

This is not where Roberts began. In 2006, at the end of his first term on the court, the new chief set out his vision in a commencement address at Georgetown University Law Center. "If it's not necessary to decide more to dispose of a case, in my view, it is necessary not to decide more," Roberts said. He repeated that admonition nearly word for word in *Dobbs*. That justice was nowhere to be found this term.

The difference was most vividly on display in the presidential immunity case. At oral argument, it seemed that the court might achieve a narrow holding that would carve out a sphere of protection for presidential immunity without giving Donald Trump a get-out-of-jail-free card.

And if unanimity on the question was never a possibility for this polarized court, there were creative ways that Roberts could have assembled differing coalitions to forge a narrower set of holdings. Barrett's concurring opinion, breaking with the majority on one key point, illustrated this potential. But Roberts not only didn't seize that opportunity — he gave Trump all he asked for and more.

That wasn't the only instance. Ruling that Trump could not be disqualified from the Colorado primary ballot because he had engaged in insurrection, the court went out of its way to make clear that the only way to enforce Section 3 of the 14th Amendment is if Congress adopts legislation to that effect.

A unanimous bottom line, yes, but the court's unsigned opinion drew a scolding from Barrett for going beyond what was needed to decide the case, and even more fury from the liberal justices, who opened with Roberts's *Dobbs* admonition against deciding more than necessary.

Likewise, Roberts wrote the decision overturning *Chevron v. Natural Resources Defense Council,* junking the 40-year-old rule that courts should generally defer to the interpretations of administrative agencies. It could have been even bolder; Roberts refrained from going as far as Justice Clarence Thomas and arguing that the *Chevron* deference violates the constitutional separation of powers. But it was yet another illustration of the supposed institutionalist's willingness to jettison precedent. Justice Elena Kagan said the majority had made a "laughingstock" of the principle of stare decisis.

Even when Roberts presided over a course correction to a more moderate outcome, he had to endure concurring opinions. Case in point: *United States v. Rahimi,* involving whether those subject to domestic violence restraining orders could be prohibited from possessing guns. The 8-1 ruling cut back on the excesses of the court's earlier decision imposing a strict history and tradition test to determine the constitutionality of gun restrictions.

But it also produced five concurring opinions by six justices. *Rahimi* was particularly cacophonous but no anomaly: Data compiled by political scientists Lee Epstein, Andrew Martin and Michael Nelson showed that the term that just ended featured the highest number of concurring opinions per case since 1937, as far back as their records reach. That cannot have sat well with Roberts, who has long made clear his distaste for concurrences and his preference that the majority speak with a single voice.

What's going on here? It's important to keep in mind that, though Roberts might occupy the middle of the current court, that does not make him a moderate by any means. Protecting presidential power and restraining the administrative state are embedded in his ideological DNA. Going along with the conservative majority suits him just fine.

But he might not have much choice — at least not if he wants to remain in the majority. With five other conservative justices, Roberts might have to go along to stay in the majority. He is chief but not necessarily in control of the outcome.

Or in control of the institution. In the wake of devastating evidence about lavish and unreported gifts received by Thomas and Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., the court's response was to issue an ethics code that at most codified and, in fact, managed to water down existing rules. The court's standing in the public eye has plummeted since the start of Roberts's tenure, from 56 percent approval in September 2005 to a near-record low 41 percent last September, according to Gallup.

By one measure, this is most decidedly the Roberts court. He was in the majority in an astonishing 97 percent of cases this term, the highest of his tenure and the most of any justice. Indeed, Roberts has been in the majority as much or more than any other chief justice in modern court history, from Earl Warren through Warren E. Burger and William H. Rehnquist.

Is that the point, though? The question must be asked: What profits a chief to be in the majority if he presides over an institution in decline and disrepair?

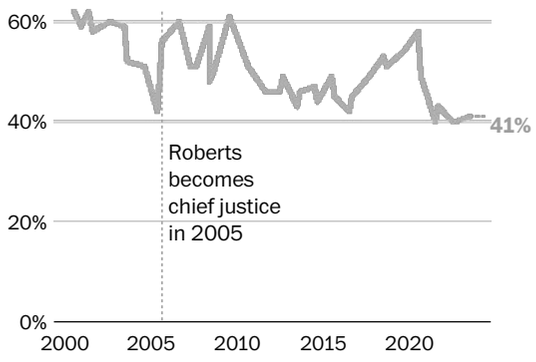


SARAH L. VOISIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. delivers remarks at the National Building Museum in May 2023.

The court's approval rating has fallen since Roberts joined

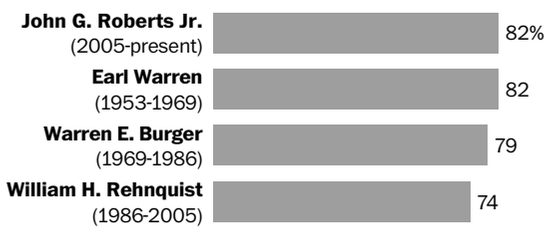
Share of U.S. adult population approving of "the way the Supreme Court is handling its job"



Source: Gallup

Roberts's majority voting share is tied for highest among modern chief justices

Share of cases voting with the majority by chief justice



Note: Data above reflect Rehnquist's majority voting share as chief justice. His voting share before becoming chief justice was 68 percent.

Source: Epstein et al. (2024)

GEORGE F. WILL

The progressive road ran into a Supreme Court detour

Should progressives be more alarmed by Donald Trump's threat to the Constitution or by the Constitution's threat to progressivism? For the answer, read on.

Woodrow Wilson, a progressive and the first president to criticize the Founding, considered the Constitution's essence — the separation of powers — an impediment to a modern necessity: encompassing government wielded by an unimpeded executive. Progressives' dismay about two of the Supreme Court's end-of-term rulings illustrates how far their criticism of the Constitution goes beyond Wilson's.

When a federal agency ordered four small fishing companies to pay the estimated $700-a-day cost (reducing their profits 20 percent) of on-board government inspectors, the companies sued, arguing that no statutory language explicitly authorizes the agency to impose this burden. The agency invoked Chevron deference, a court-created (in 1984) doctrine that says when Congress uses ambiguous legislative language, or is silent on a subject, a court reviewing an agency's disputed action should defer to the agency, if its action is "reasonable."

The doctrine, in addition to encouraging Congress's slipshod legislating, impinges on the judiciary's duty to (in Chief Justice John Marshall's words) "say what the law is." So, the Supreme Court held, 6-3, that Chevron deference violates the 1946 Administrative Procedure Act, which stipulates that courts shall "interpret" statutes and decide "all" questions of law. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. wrote for the majority: "Courts must exercise their independent judgment in deciding whether an agency has acted within its statutory authority."

There it is, progressives' bête noire: the separation of powers. Somewhere, Woodrow Wilson weeps. Here, Justice Elena Kagan dissented.

She defended, as progressives who created it must, the administrative state's status quo. Extinguishing Chevron deference — narrowing agencies' discretion — will, she said, cause "a massive shock to the legal system," because Chevron deference "has become part of the warp and woof of modern government."

Kagan calls overturning the court's creation, Chevron, "judicial hubris." Yet progressives advocate courts wielding judicial power to legitimize progressive practices — agencies' semi-legislative activities, regardless of their incompatibility with the separation of powers.

It is, however, not hubris when courts reject Panglossian progressivism: All is for the best in this best of possible worlds; "modern government" is what it is, so it should be what it is.

The other case also has progressives fretting about the court's curtailment of executive agencies' discretion. An investor was accused of fraud by the Securities and Exchange Commission. The SEC has been empowered by Congress to be the arbiter of its own judgments. So, the investor was convicted by an SEC in-house administrative law judge, who fined the investor $300,000 and banned him from the securities industry. The SEC has a lopsided winning record in cases it assigns to be judged by itself.

Now, however, the court has held, 6-3, that Congress cannot "conjure away" (language from a previous ruling) the Seventh Amendment's guarantee of a right to trial by jury. Writing for the majority, Roberts cited Alexander Hamilton's Federalist 78): "There is no liberty, if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers." Yet again, progressives regret the separation of powers, meaning: the Constitution. (One of the Atlantic magazine's endless supply of hysterics anticipated this outcome as "terrifying" and "destroying" the government's "administrative capacity.")

Justice Neil M. Gorsuch, concurring in the judgment, and joined by Clarence Thomas, wrote that the Seventh Amendment "does not work alone": It works in tandem with the Fifth Amendment's guarantee of due process. Dissenting, the three progressive justices (Sonia Sotomayor, joined by Kagan and Ketanji Brown Jackson) say that limiting the SEC's discretion to choose its own judges ignores what "modern-day adaptable governance must look like." Well.

Consider the lengthening list of progressives' complaints about the Constitution's incompatibility with their "modern-day adaptable" government. They consider the First Amendment too protective of speech that harms an individual's serenity, or society's comity. Don't get them started on the Second Amendment (the right to bear arms). Now they resent the Fifth and Seventh Amendments working together to inhibit progressives' handiwork: the administrative state agencies whose discretion has been curtailed because the separation of powers dictates the demise of Chevron deference.

For more than a century, progressivism's unvarying agenda has been to concentrate power in Washington and concentrate most of this power in the executive branch. Progressives have constantly prioritized expanding government's power and scope over individual freedom. With two excellent end-of-term decisions, the court affirmed the Constitution's different priorities.

So, the answer to the question posed in the first paragraph is: the latter.

ALEXANDRA PETRI

Don't worry about the plane! The pilot will give it his all!

"If you stay in and Trump is elected and everything you're warning about comes to pass, how will you feel in January?"

— George Stephanopoulos

"I'll feel, as long as I gave it my all, and I did [as] good a job as I know I can do, that's what this is about."

— President Biden

You are in a plane. The pilot comes on the PA system. "Well, folks, we're going to be starting our descent," he announces, "and should be touching down safely in Denver in about 20 minutes. But if we don't, I'll feel, as long as I gave it my all, and I did as good a job as I know I can do, that's what this is about."

You are going into surgery. Your doctor's hands seem a little shaky. "Are you sure there is nobody else who can perform this surgery?" you ask. "There is only one of me. Are you sure that you can operate on me in a way that means I will make it out of this alive?" "Listen," the doctor says, as the nurse injects your anesthesia, "as long as I gave it my all and I did as good a job as I know I can do, that's what this is about." "Maybe for you!" you start to say. "But not for *me*. I have to live with the results!"

You are dangling off a high ledge. "Jump!" yells a voice. "I've got you!" "Do you?" you ask. "It seems pretty far and you don't seem like you have the right equipment." "Well," the voice says, "I will certainly be giving it my all."

Your babysitter arrives. "I'm here to watch your toddler," she announces. "Great," you say. "And you know how to do CPR?" "Well," she says, "I will certainly try my best, and, in the end, isn't that what counts?"

You have an apple balanced on your head. "And you're sure you can hit it?" you yell at William Tell. He shrugs. "Well, the important thing, though, is that I give it my all."

In none of these scenarios do I find this statement reassuring. "What matters is that you gave it your all" is what you say to your son as he tries out for the high school track team, a situation where, if his all is not good enough, zero other people will suffer.

You can tell your Little League team that what counts is that they left it all on the field, because if they do not win, the other team is not going to pillage their city. In any scenario in which the stakes involve other people's lives, I would respond to the suggestion that "giving it your all, and doing your best" is what it really is all about by saying, actually, no! Actually, it really depends on what your best is. Maybe that's what counts for you, but you are not the only person affected!

George Stephanopoulos is asking how Biden will feel if he loses. "I'll feel, as long as I gave it my all, and I did [as] good a job as I know I can do, that's what this is about," he says. Okay, but what about the rest of us, tightening our seat belts and watching the ground get closer and closer?



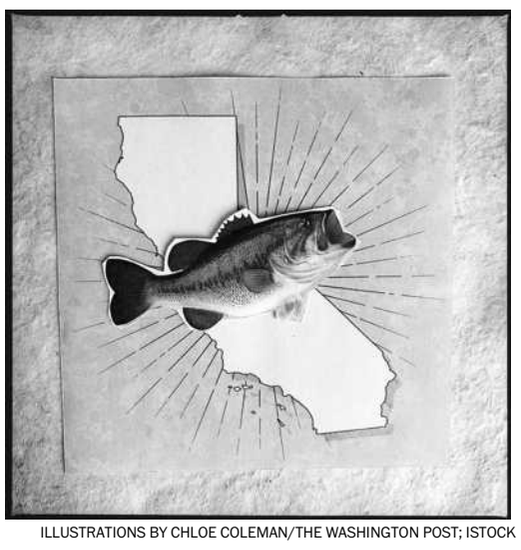


Potlucks, Bass Pro Shops and lab-grown meat

This election cycle, we've invited writers from around the country to reflect on how the political contests are playing out in their communities. We'll be publishing their accounts at key moments leading up to Election Day. This is the second set of dispatches.







ILLUSTRATIONS BY CHLOE COLEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

DAVE BARRY

You can find us Floridians hiding in our bathtubs

As we draw closer to the election, the mood down here in Florida — yes, I speak for all of Florida — is tense.

For one thing, we're in the summer months, when our state has essentially the same climate as a sumo wrestler's armpit. It's a season of sweltering heat, of mosquitoes large enough to have tail numbers, of lizards and snakes slithering everywhere. And that's *inside your house*. It's even worse outside, which is why nobody goes outside except golfers and paramedics responding to fallen golfers.

On top of that, we're in hurricane season, which because of the Global Climate Emergency Disaster Crisis now runs from June through the following June. This is an especially uneasy time for Floridians because we are constantly being reminded by helpful government agencies that we could die. For example, as a resident of Miami-Dade County, I recently received a hurricane-preparedness guide from the mayor's office. The section titled "STAYING SAFE" includes this advice:

"Get in the bathtub and pull a mattress over you to protect yourself from debris if your home begins to come apart."

Here's the thing: I have enough trouble just putting a fitted sheet on my mattress. My mattress is a king, and it strenuously resists my efforts to sheet it, very much the way a wild stallion refuses to be broken to the saddle. I seriously doubt that I'd be physically capable of herding that thing into the bathroom in a timely manner, especially if the house was coming apart. I'm wondering whether I should buy an emergency backup mattress and just keep it on the bathtub full-time.

My point is, Floridians are under a lot of stress, and not just because of hurricanes. We're also threatened by a threat so threatening that the state legislature recently passed, and Gov. Ron DeSantis signed, a bill banning it.

I refer, of course, to lab-grown meat. To quote the official press release issued by the governor's office (I am not making this up):

"Florida is taking action to stop the World Economic Forum's goal of forcing the world to eat lab-grown meat and insects. . . . 'Today, Florida is fighting back against the global elite's plan to force the world to eat meat grown in a petri dish or bugs to achieve their authoritarian goals,' said Governor Ron DeSantis."

That's right. Perhaps in other states, agents of the World Economic Forum are free to barge into the homes of innocent civilians and force them to eat insects and lab-grown meat. But that's not going to happen in Florida. Not on Ron DeSantis's watch, dammit.

Forgive my salty language, but as I say, we're under a lot of stress down here, what with the hurricanes and the global elites and the fact that our pizza sucks, according to the 14 million New Yorkers who moved here in the past year. Floridians have a lot on our plate, and to be honest, we haven't been able to give much thought to the election. But we know it's coming, and when it gets here, we'll be ready for it.

In our bathtubs.

Dave Barry is a novelist and a former humor columnist for the Miami Herald.

ANGELA GARBES

A referendum on taxing Washington's billionaires

Summers in Washington state play out on its waterways — floating the Yakima River, camping on the Olympic Coast, kayaking Puget Sound. And for some of America's wealthiest: boating on Lake Washington.

The lake, just east of Seattle, boasts its share of famous billionaires — Bill Gates, Steve Ballmer, Jeff Bezos (though Bezos, who owns The Post, primarily lives in Florida). But if you think such a concentration of wealth is a good thing for the state's finances, think again. That's because it has no income tax.

Washington is part of the "blue wall" and has voted for the Democratic presidential nominee since 1988, which is not likely to change in 2024. Still, the state's tax code is far from progressive. In fact, it's the second-most-regressive in the country, behind that of Bezos's Florida.

The issue could play an important role in the state this November. That's because two tax-related initiatives — one in Seattle, one statewide — will be on the ballot.

The first measure, known as Initiative 137, would impose on Seattle employers a 5 percent payroll tax on employee earnings in excess of $1 million, as a funding stream for mixed-income housing. Throughout the spring and early summer, organizers approached residents at more than a dozen of the city's farmers markets, grocery stores and Pride celebrations to discuss the initiative. At the annual Georgetown Carnival, backers of the initiative chatted up voters amid the tarot card readings, a kid's face-painting station, and kettle corn and lemonade stands. "Want to help us build affordable housing?" the signature gatherers asked. "Let's tax corporations!" The campaign gathered enough signatures to earn a place on November's ballot.

The second initiative, which has already gained a spot on the ballot statewide, moves in the opposite direction. It would repeal a capital gains tax that the state legislature passed in 2021. Last year, only 4,000 people were subject to the tax, which applies to the sale or exchange of certain assets by individuals who have annual capital gains of more than $250,000. Yet the provision generated $900 million for child care and education.

Republicans support the repeal measure because, according to state Rep. Jim Walsh, it's the way it's always been. "Washington has a long tradition, both legal and cultural, of prohibiting a state income tax," he said. "Every other state that has a capital gains tax considers it an income tax."

Walsh is right about one thing: Washington voters have long resisted such efforts. Between 1934 and 2010, 10 attempts were made to adopt a personal or corporate income tax. All of them failed.

But that doesn't mean efforts to tax the wealthy are doomed. While the feeling here about the presidential election is still one of malaise, there's a buzz of curiosity amid Washingtonians about how these initiatives will fare. They will show just how many neighbors are liberal in the streets but conservative behind closed doors.

Angela Garbes is a nonfiction author based in Seattle.

MELISSA FAY GREENE

Black Georgians have become kingmakers. But will they all vote?

"Do you think your vote matters?" an Atlanta professor recently asked a focus group of African Americans in Dougherty County, Ga.

The mostly male subjects from the majority-Black county in the Cotton Belt sounded dejected.

"The people in power are White and higher class," one said. "Our issues, you know, don't get solved."

Four years ago, the votes of Black Georgians — one-third of the population — mattered mightily. They were kingmakers, flipping Georgia for Joe Biden. Whether they deliver the swing state again this fall is what everyone wants to know. Black *women*, loyal voters, will return. But will Black men navigate the state's new voting impediments without a Barack Obama or Raphael Warnock on the ballot?

From near and far, the voting patterns of Black male Georgians are being tracked as closely as the migrations of Amur falcons, whose numbers thrill ornithologists from Siberia to Angola. "Look at the horizon — they're coming!" could arise from either set of onlookers.

One observer is Kevin Sparrow, assistant professor of political science at Georgia State University, in partnership with the nonprofit Justice for Southwest Georgia (JSWGA).

"What do you look for in a candidate?" Sparrow asked the volunteers.

"My parents always said, 'Pick the least dangerous person,'" said George Fox, 76. "It wasn't 'Hey, who's the best candidate?' Back in the day, it was 'Who's the least likely to do something dastardly to us?'"

As part of a field experiment, Sparrow showed them four text messages designed to spur Black turnout in the May primary.

"TOMORROW is Election Day. For information, please visit …" didn't offend anybody.

But another did. "DO YOUR CIVIC DUTY — VOTE!" it exhorted.

"Well, that's irritating," Fox said. "Don't be telling me what to do. Because I'm already going to do it."

"It's not engaging," said Chris Sloan, 31. "What about 'Come on down to the polls'?"

The third message offered a map that would display, after the election, the names of who voted and who stayed home, as a form of social pressure.

"In my experience," a 28-year-old commented dryly, "a lot of people don't appreciate their information being out there." A man who revealed he'd once been a voter with a good job but was now unemployed, unhoused and unregistered protested, too: "I'll feel shame."

The last message urged African American voters to stick together.

"No," said Fox. "Because each African American got their own problems."

The JSWGA sent text messages at random to 7,000 local Black adults on May 20, while a control group of the same number received none. The next day, citizens voted (or not) for the U.S. House of Representatives, county commission, sheriff and school board.

It wasn't a high-stakes election, and turnout was low. But Sparrow was able to cross-check who voted against who received which text message.

The texts had zero effect on Black women, perhaps because they didn't need them. But *all* the texts positively influenced Black men, who voted at higher rates than nonrecipients.

What's the lesson? When Sparrow had asked, "Do you think your vote matters?," it was practically like asking, "Do you think *you* matter?" Focus group members had said no.

Evidently, when texts pinged the phones of a random sample of local Black men, it meant something. However briefly, somebody somewhere thought they mattered.

Melissa Fay Greene is a nonfiction author based in Atlanta.

JOHN GROGAN

A potluck to save democracy

My friends Dan and Ronnie live in an old stone farmhouse a half-mile down the road from my own 18th-century stone home. This is Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley, the battleground region of a battleground state, and these old homesteads dot the landscape, monuments to our nation's founding.

Like me, Dan and Ronnie celebrate their home's roots, its creaks and quirks and all the reminders around them of the past. You can't live in one of these relics without feeling the ancestors who came before — tossing hay from the barn loft, kindling fires in the hearth and, yes, taking up arms for independence.

And now, here we are not too many generations later, with our nation's fledgling experiment in democracy on the line. Mindful of that, Dan and Ronnie, both retired educators, threw a potluck picnic recently to rally Democratic volunteers. I'm not much of a joiner and not much of a volunteer, but I do love a picnic and I am worried for the future of this country.

Honestly, I expected the turnout to be primarily graying boomers like myself. I was surprised to find a diverse group: retirees, moms with toddlers, tattooed working guys, newly launched twenty-somethings, a gaggle of teens from our local high school's Democratic club. A man named Allen sported a magnificent, braided beard and told me he spends his weekends vying in facial-hair competitions. Who knew?

As we mingled over fried chicken and potato salad, I felt something I have not felt in some time: community with a shared purpose.

Talking with these Democrats, young and old, doe-eyed and jaded, I came away with one strong impression. They were not here so much out of love for President Biden (though they generally support him) or to advance the party's policy positions (though they generally agree). They are stepping forward to do whatever it takes — knocking on doors, engaging nonvoters, trying to change minds — for one existential reason: to save our fragile democracy from what well could be its unraveling.

Many expressed bafflement that so many of their neighbors could support the return of a man who, by almost any measure of decency, behaves horribly and singlehandedly steered the nation into four years of chaos that did not end until the Jan. 6 sacking of the Capitol was finally put down. Does no one remember? Were no lessons learned?

As I pulled out of Dan and Ronnie's driveway, feeling newly optimistic about this place I've called home for 25 years, I was confronted by what these volunteers will face when they begin knocking on doors. Directly across the road stood a series of homemade pro-Trump yard signs. "SHAM TRIAL, SHAM VERDICT," one read.

I later asked Dan about his neighbor.

"Nicest guy in the world," he said. "Would do anything for you." He paused a beat and added, "We just never bring up politics."

John Grogan is a nonfiction author and former columnist for the Philadelphia Inquirer.

CHARLES YU

Finding refuge in retail

We got one. Our town finally got a Bass Pro Shops. And not just any. A jumbo. It feels Peak Civilization to walk into a building called "Outdoor World" and get blasted in the face with air-conditioning.

Families stream through the doors. The mood as we enter is giddy, kids bouncing with nervous energy like they're in line at Disneyland. There's an anticipation of spectacle. It does not disappoint.

Entering the structure, a feeling rises up in me, vaguely familiar. I'm reminded of a casino or a convention center. There are no rides or characters in here, but, spiritually, this is a theme park, a highly designed environment engineered to entertain. To hit pleasure centers of the brain with accuracy and efficiency. To present a fantasy. It says: You're small, nature is vast and wild, but we can tame it. Look at our shelves and aisles and displays! Look at our fish tank! Bass Pro Shops makes sense of the world for us.

We leave our small boxes to come to this big box to be together with strangers for a little while. To marvel at the bounty and variety. To forage for resources and gather supplies in a well-lit, climate-controlled space. In here, there's no weather we can't control. No looming existential threats, political, meteorological. Fall seems far away. The election seems far away. Bass Pro Shops isn't a place, it's a state of mind. It dissolves our differences. It dampens our anxiety. It says: Don't worry. Don't worry about later. Don't worry about over there. Everything's fine. You're fine, I'm fine, we're all fine. It's always dry and cool here within the walls of Retail World. Summer Vacation World. Citizen-shoppers, with our membership cards. You're not alone. You're part of something bigger.

We move onto Costco to gather food. I hear a woman, then I smell her, then I see her. When I do see her, the scent makes sense. She's wearing so much perfume, it should be radiating from her in wavy lines, like in a cartoon. Perfume Woman is excited about something. She leans into the lady giving out samples and says, "He's coming." Sample Lady is momentarily confused.

"Who is?"

"Trump."

"Oh."

"Huntington Beach."

"Right."

"I gotta get down there and see him."

There's an awkward moment between them. Presumed chumminess from Perfume Woman gives way to a new understanding: Sample Lady is not her friend. Although it's unclear whether they even knew each other at all, or if Perfume Woman was simply assuming that everyone in Costco, or Irvine, or the country, would be as excited as she was. No matter. She's on to the next sample station, her enthusiasm undiminished. She's giddy with the buzz of a shared experience. We might vote differently, Perfume Woman and me. We might not agree on a single, solitary issue, but in here, in this moment, we're the same. Participating in a communal ritual: the harvest at Costco. It feels comforting, it feels good.

We bring home our bounty, stack it, store it, look upon the abundance. Grilling with another dad, while moms and kids chat excitedly about summer plans. We're both very concerned. We're all thinking of our kids. And their kids. Everything is not going to be fine. It's already not fine. We know it. Our kids know it. What do we do about it? We sip our beers, carry plates of burgers inside, where it's cool.

Charles Yu is a novelist and screenwriter based in Irvine, Calif.



KEVIN DIETSCH/GETTY IMAGES

A meeting of the heads of state of the North Atlantic Council, Indo-Pacifc Partners and the European Union during the NATO summit in D.C. on Thursday.

A foreign policy that sees the world

I coined the term 'progressive realism.' What does it mean?

BY ROBERT WRIGHT

"Progressive realism," according to Wikipedia, is "a foreign policy paradigm largely made popular by Robert Wright." That's me! So in principle I should have been gratified by the recent Foreign Affairs essay "The Case for Progressive Realism," by British politician David Lammy. And I should be close to ecstatic now that Lammy, thanks to the Labour Party victory in this month's election, is Britain's foreign secretary.

Yet I'm not feeling festive. It turns out that Lammy's version of progressive realism isn't mine. Which, by itself, is okay; the world is full of policy prescriptions that aren't mine, and many of them work out well. But I don't think Lammy's version of progressive realism will work out well.

In a sense, it has already demonstrated that. Lammy depicts his foreign policy vision as new, but it's pretty much the same vision that has long guided his party and comparable Western parties — including the Democratic Party in the United States. And this vision is, in critical respects, not very different from the neoconservatism that has dominated Republican foreign policy for most of the past few decades. Lammy's progressive realism is one of the several variants of Blobthink that have together played such a big role in creating the mess we're in.

To put a finer point on that mess: When NATO leaders gathered in Washington for their annual summit last week, they looked out on a world with a developing cold war and raging hot wars, a world with little respect for international law and with eroding international norms. And this disarray has two very bad consequences, one immediate and one that will be a slower burn:

1. Extreme volatility. There are two conflicts — in Ukraine and in the Middle East — that are only a miscalculation or two away from becoming regional conflagrations. And one of those wars would put two nuclear superpowers in direct conflict for the first time in history. Meanwhile, a war in the Pacific between nuclear powers is also becoming thinkable as U.S.-China tensions simmer.

2. Descent toward chaos. Growing international disarray leaves the world too divided to effectively confront momentous planetary challenges that demand a coordinated international approach. These challenges include, famously, mitigating climate change and, less famously, (1) preventing conflict in an increasingly militarized outer space (conflict that, by depriving nations of real-time, satellite-based monitoring of an adversary's military, could induce panic that leads to war); (2) preventing the various kinds of chaos that the ungoverned development of artificial intelligence could bring; (3) preventing an unprecedentedly lethal pandemic of the kind that under-regulated biotechnology could bring — whether via an accidental lab leak or the intentional deployment of a bioweapon.

As the world gets more mired in conflict and tension, and the attendant neglect of these issues moves the planet closer to catastrophe, Lammy is telling us to keep doing what we've been doing but to start calling it progressive realism. Real progressive realism offers a better path.

By "realism," Lammy appears to mean just "being realistic." He writes that "when progressives act realistically and practically, they change the world." To him, realism is "a politics based on respect for facts."

But the word "realism" also denotes an international relations paradigm: a view of how the world works and corresponding ideas about how foreign policy should be conducted. There are different schools of realist thought, but there's one policy principle they share, and it distinguishes true progressive realism from Lammy's version — and for that matter from all mainstream schools of liberal foreign policy as well as from neoconservatism. It's a principle that, simple as it sounds, could wind up saving the world.

That principle is this: *You take nations as they are.*

From a realist's perspective, statecraft is about crafting relations with other states, not crafting the



DREW ANGERER/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

British Foreign Secretary David Lammy during the NATO Summit in D.C. on Wednesday.

character of other states. Realists favor holding nations accountable for their behavior toward other nations but aren't big on holding them accountable for their internal affairs. So a realist foreign policy doesn't prioritize the promotion of either democracy or human rights. And realists are especially averse to the *coercive* promotion of these things — through invasion or bombing or economic sanctions.

That doesn't mean realists are heartless. Many realists (including me) believe these forms of coercion rarely work and often backfire, harming their supposed beneficiaries. Cuba, Afghanistan, Venezuela, Syria — these and other countries are full of people the United States is supposedly trying to help with sanctions that are actually hurting them.

The formal rationales for the many sanctions now levied against authoritarian countries vary, but the rhetorical rationale often involves the theme that has become the guiding mantra of President Biden's foreign policy: We are, says Biden, engaged in a global struggle between democracy and autocracy. Progressive realists, along with other kinds of realists, reject this premise, but Lammy shows no signs of doing so. He says that a big part of the progressive realist's mission is to "defend democracy."

The trouble with Biden's Manichaean mantra begins with the fact that it's a self-fulfilling prophecy. The sanctioning of autocratic and authoritarian nations naturally drives them into closer linkage with one another, reinforcing the Western perception that they represent a monolithic, ideologically motivated threat, a perception that can then lead to more sanctions, still closer linkage and so on.

This dynamic is already empowering China, as some nations avoid the full impact of sanctions by increasing their trade with Beijing and using Chinese currency instead of dollars as the medium of exchange. The result might look like an axis of autocracy, but a term recently used by analysts at the Atlantic Council better captures the logic behind it: an "axis of evasion."

The progressive realist opposition to Biden's divisive vision — and to the cold war it is ushering in — reflects not just a recognition of the many planetary problems that need solving but also an expectation that they will grow in number and magnitude. Climate change and the several other issues cited above as grounds for global cooperation have something in common: They are all products of technological development, and they all make relations among the planet's nations more non-zero-sum; they confront nations, increasingly, with a choice between cooperating to achieve win-win outcomes and failing to cooperate, thus risking lose-lose outcomes. I argued in my 2000 book "Nonzero" that this growing "non-zero-sumness" among nations is inherent in technological evolution, and I think the subsequent quarter-century of evolution in biotechnology, information technology and other technologies supports that thesis.

Though international cooperation that falls short of global scope can help address these non-zero-sum challenges, truly global governance will in some cases be required. Whether or not the covid-19 pandemic began with the accidental release of a genetically engineered virus, the next pandemic could begin that way — or, for that matter, via intentional release. The number of countries where this kind of genetic engineering could happen is already large, and it grows as biotechnology develops. So the scope of international biotech regulation must ultimately reach the planetary level.

AI and some other technologies will eventually have this same property: Their massively destructive misuse could originate in any country, so no country will be safe unless all countries are part of a common regulatory system.

Viewed in this light, Lammy's advocacy of international governance — "progressive realists must establish global guardrails for technology with the widest possible coalition of countries" — isn't ambitious enough. Still, he does recognize that China must be part of that coalition: "No grouping of states can address the global threats of the climate crisis, pandemics, and artificial intelligence unless it cooperates with Beijing."

So Lammy, to his credit, is against a full-on cold war. He envisions a Britain that "simultaneously challenges, competes against, and cooperates with China as appropriate." This is the same formula that the Biden administration espouses, and it sounds fine in principle. But in the current political climate, with prevailing winds opposing extensive U.S.-China cooperation, following this formula requires clarity of vision and steadfast focus. And one problem with the autocracy vs. democracy framing of U.S.-China relations is that it tends to produce blurry analysis.

Consider this passage from Lammy's Foreign Affairs piece:

"The broad consensus that economic globalization would inevitably breed liberal democratic values proved false. Instead, democracies have become more economically dependent on authoritarian states, with the share of world trade between democracies declining from 74 percent in 1998 to 47 percent in 2022. China provides a particularly stark case in point. The country was admitted into the World Trade Organization in 2001 under the hope that political reforms would follow economic ones. But the state became more repressive as the economy opened up.

"The rise of China — which now has the world's largest economy by purchasing power parity — has ended the era of US hegemony. The world is shaped by competition between Beijing and Washington. Beijing challenges the U.S.-led order in nearly every domain, from developing the technologies and green supply chains of the future to sourcing and processing critical raw materials. But the competition is especially fierce when it comes to security. The Chinese navy has the greatest number of warships in the world."

Some questions:

1. What exactly is the connection between the first paragraph, about China's internal politics, and the second paragraph, about its external conduct? Is Lammy saying the broader "challenge to the U.S.-led order" is happening *because* China is authoritarian, notwithstanding the fact that historically, rising powers, including such liberal democracies as the United States, have done what China is doing now — tried to expand their economic and military power and exercise it over a wider realm? Or is he just saying that this challenge to U.S. leadership is especially *bad* because China is authoritarian? And why exactly would that be? Does he fear China will use its power to convert other nations to authoritarian autocracy — even though the evidence for this common claim is thin, and Beijing's foreign policy has, if anything, been less ideologically driven than Washington's?

2. What is so bad about "democracies becoming more economically dependent upon autocracies"? After all, you could just as well say that autocracies have become more dependent on democracies, since trade is reciprocal. If this trade ended, China would suffer from losing its export market just as the countries it exports to would suffer from losing access to inexpensive Chinese goods. Doesn't this interdependence have virtues, since it might discourage conflict? Isn't it more valuable than interdependence among Western democracies, since they're unlikely to go to war with one another anyway?

A true progressive realist would replace Lammy's recitation of vague, and vaguely connected, anxieties with a single question — not about China's internal affairs but about its conduct toward other nations. Namely: Will China play by the rules? Will it refrain from invading sovereign nations and violating their territorial rights, as the United Nations Charter requires? Will it honor the treaties it has signed? Will it cooperate with other nations to solve the growing number of non-zero-sum problems the world faces?

It's by no means clear that the answer to all these questions is yes. There are grounds for worrying, in particular, that China's regional assertiveness will lead to military conflict. But conflating concerns about China's conduct toward other nations with qualms about its internal governance just complicates the tasks of thinking clearly about these concerns and doing something about them. Many of the U.S. government's public condemnations of China's illiberal domestic policies, and many of the economic sanctions aimed at changing those policies, are worse than ineffectual. They expend finite political capital that could be better used trying to shape China's external behavior and strengthen Xi Jinping's grass-roots support among the many Chinese nationalists who are sick of the United States lecturing their government — and this support gives Xi more domestic political fuel for his regional military assertiveness, which many Chinese see as a way of resisting Western hegemony.

Seeing this second problem — that preaching to China about domestic affairs might backfire by strengthening Xi politically — involves deploying one of realism's key strategic assets: "cognitive empathy," that is, trying to understand how other leaders and peoples perceive the world. As one of realism's founding thinkers, Hans Morgenthau, put it, good strategy requires a "respectful understanding" of all relevant perspectives. "The political actor," Morgenthau wrote, "must put himself into the other man's shoes, look at the world and judge it as he does."

This kind of perspective-taking, when used to understand how the United States' international conduct is viewed abroad, illuminates another kind of obstacle to checking the military assertiveness of China and other countries. Sermons about respecting the U.N. Charter's prohibition of trans-border aggression aren't very effective when they come from the country that invaded Iraq in 2003 and that currently has troops in Syria even though the Syrian government doesn't want them there. If the world's most powerful nation wants to strengthen the norm of complying with international law, it will have to do a better job of modeling that norm.

Lammy doesn't seem to get this. After attributing Vladimir Putin's 2014 seizing of Crimea to President Barack Obama's failure to enforce a redline in Syria in 2013, he writes that Putin "concluded that the West no longer had the stomach to defend the rules-based order." Talking about Washington enforcing the "rules-based order" without signaling a sense of irony is by itself grounds for having your progressive realist credentials questioned, but, in this case, the grounds go beyond that. Lammy seems unaware that in 2007, before Putin first broke the most basic of the rules by committing trans-border aggression, he complained to an audience of U.S. and European officials in Munich about the United States having broken that rule — and warned that if "disdain for international law" continued, "the number of serious mistakes will be multiplied" and the world will reach "a dead end."

In Putin's view, the United States ignored this warning (for example, by recognizing in 2008 the independence of Kosovo, whose separation from Serbia had come via a NATO intervention not authorized by the U.N. Security Council). Putin also felt the United States ignored his warning — issued in the same speech — about expanding NATO further; in 2008, President George W. Bush persuaded reluctant European leaders to promise eventual NATO membership to Ukraine and Georgia. None of this excuses the Russian leader's annexation of Crimea in 2014 or his full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, both of which were violations of international law, period. But it does suggest that future U.S. foreign policy might benefit from an honest assessment of past Western policies that made Ukraine's current tragedy more likely. This assessment is something most Western foreign policy elites, including Lammy, assiduously avoid and something most realists favor (perhaps because some of these dubious policies are ones that most realists, including progressive realists, would have avoided).

The progressive realism I'm advocating is a radical ideology. It holds that the rule of law needs to move from the level of the nation-state to the level of the planet — and that this transition needs to start soon. We have to build global governance before the technologically based threats it could control overwhelm us and render the project hopeless. Hence the call for the United States to transform its conduct and even its self-conception — to quit invoking the "rules" selectively and opportunistically, and quit sermonizing about how other societies should organize themselves, and start tempering its narcissistic sense of exceptionalism with some humility and self-awareness.

This agenda will strike most people in the foreign policy community as hopelessly unrealistic. But very few of these people are conversant in the implications of technological evolution. For example: How many of them have heard of the Kessler Effect? That's a hypothetical but, as outer space gets more crowded, increasingly plausible chain reaction that could be set off by the destruction of a single satellite: the debris would smash other satellites, whose debris would smash other satellites, and so on, until a sizable chunk of the world's reconnaissance and communications infrastructure was inoperative — at which point, various kinds of freakouts by now half-blind nuclear-armed nations might ensue.

So, I would ask anyone who dismisses calls for global governance (complete with global respect for international law) as naive to do the following: Study up on the drift of technological evolution and then either argue persuasively that technology isn't creating the threats I and many other observers (including, to some extent, Lammy) worry about, or come up with a plausible and less radical plan for controlling them.

In the absence of such a plan, the United States' national interest will demand a fundamental reorientation of U.S. foreign policy toward progressive realism. It's in the nature of non-zero-sumness that the interests of other nations would be served by that as well.

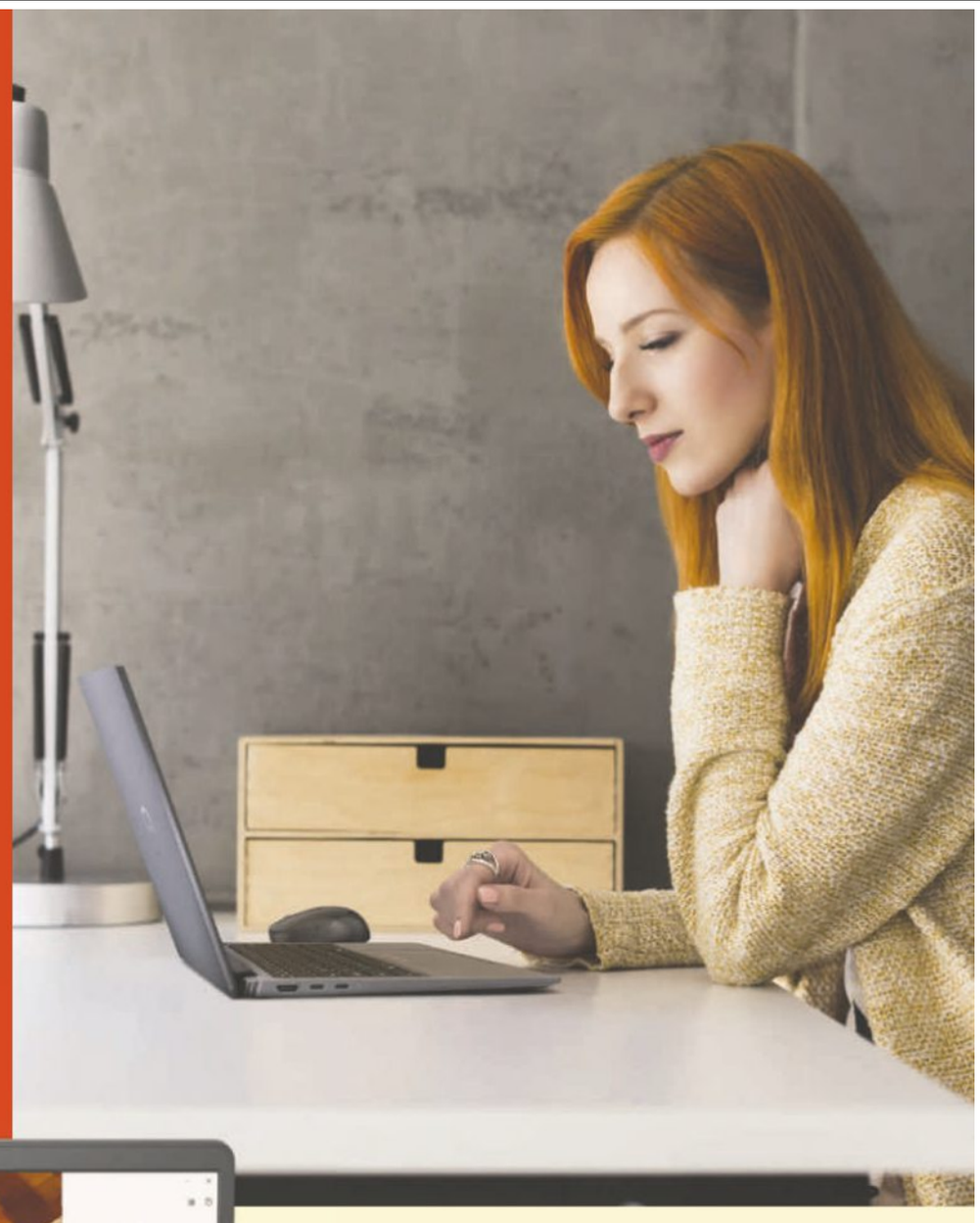
Robert Wright, whose books include "Nonzero" and "The Evolution of God," is publisher of the Nonzero Newsletter and host of the "Nonzero" podcast. This essay is adapted from a longer entry in the Nonzero Newsletter.

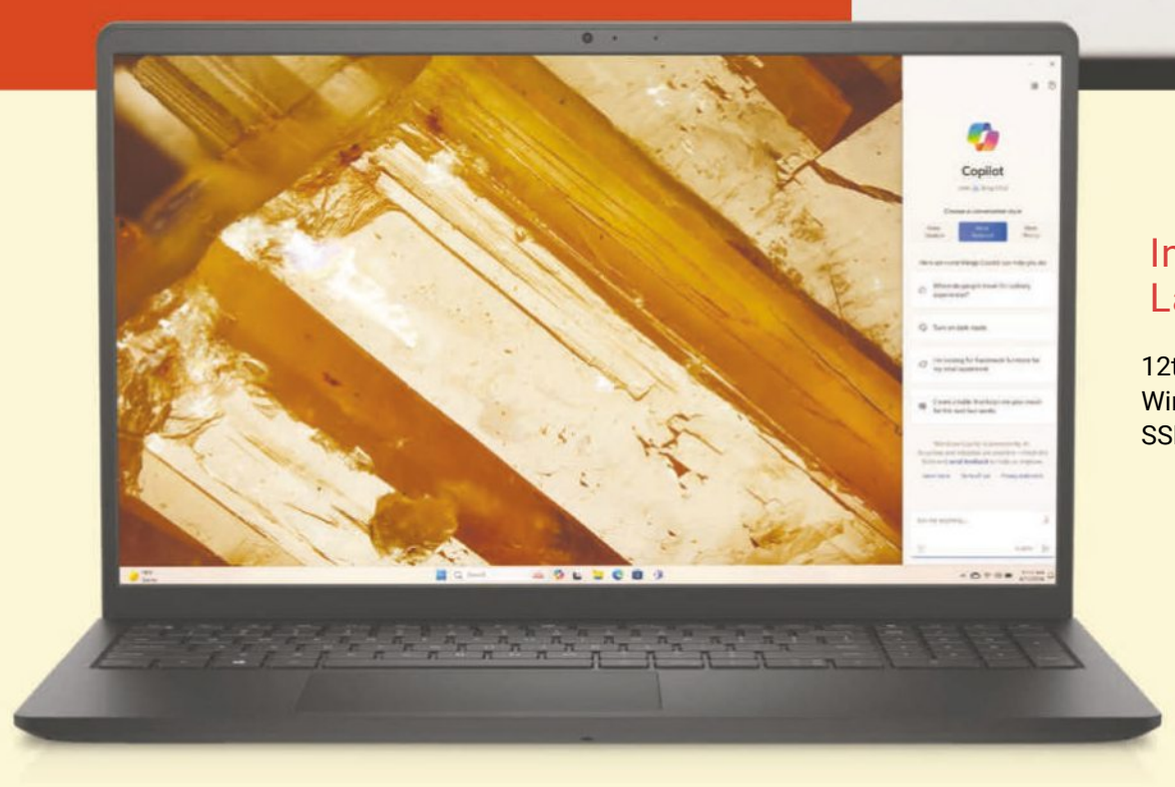
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BOOK WORLD

SUNDAY, JULY 14, 2024 · SECTION B

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THE POLITICS ISSUE

It is a summer of national political conventions, of profound Supreme Court decisions, of global power shifts. With our minds besieged by politics, current affairs and history, we turn our attention (almost entirely) to books that help us make sense of those subjects. From autocracy abroad to QAnon at home, and from 16th-century France to constitutional interpretation today, we look at where we've been, the tumultuous now and the unclear future.

EXTREMISM
How the alt-right and its "meme magic" captured the GOP.
B3

INFLUENCE
Sure, lobbying is lucrative, but is it actually effective?
B4

THE KENNEDYS
Lurid tales of misogyny across three generations.
B6

THE SUPREME COURT
Against originalism: a takedown and a call to arms.
B9

ILLUSTRATION BY EIKO OJALA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

FICTION



ILLUSTRATION BY CHLOE CUSHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

In this family, no one talks about the kidnapping

Ron Charles

Let's get this out of the way up front, so to speak: The title of Taffy Brodesser-Akner's new novel, "Long Island Compromise," is a reference to anal sex. That says something about the story's subtlety.

Not that anybody's turning to Brodesser-Akner for subtlety. Her previous novel, the spectacular debut "Fleishman Is in Trouble," crashed onto the scene with klaxons blaring. That tale of a marriage collapsing was a dazzling explosion of comic brilliance that proved the New York Times profile writer could be even more outrageously engaging when she made up her own characters.

But following up after a great debut carries the mixed blessings of inherited wealth, which, as it happens, is the heavy-handed subject of "Long Island Compromise." It's a story about the children of a rich family who struggle to fulfill the promise of their wildly successful parents.

The Fletchers of Middle Rock, Long Island, are the very embodiment of the Jewish American Dream. With all the curdled envy that Brodesser-Akner can channel so hilariously, the gossipy narrator tells us, "They were the pinnacle." They are at once fiercely defensive of their heritage and determined to pursue all the trappings (and plastic surgeries) of assimilation. Eat your heart out, Jay Gatsby: The Fletchers live in the largest house "on a block of extremely robbable homes" with a deck that extends out over the Long Island Sound like it "was their own personal swimming pool."

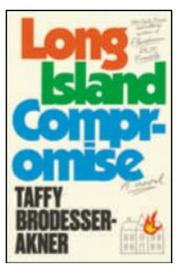
Their origin story has been retold and polished like a book of the Torah: Grandpa Zelig escaped the Nazis and made it to the United States with nothing but the clothes on his back and the formula for a revolutionary packaging compound called Styrofoam. A few decades later, the family factory is producing enough polystyrene to keep the Fletchers snugly protected from all the shocks and rattles the world might produce — or so it would seem.

The novel opens in 1980 with a thriller prologue: Thirty-three-year-old Carl Fletcher, son of the late Zelig, is kidnapped by a pair of antisemitic thugs who beat and threaten him for five days. When he's finally ransomed and released from that ordeal, he spends one month in the hospital and then goes back to work at the factory, "where no one mentioned that he'd been gone." Grandma Phyllis lays down the law: "Listen to me, boychick. This happened to your body. This did not happen to you."

It's hard to imagine more disastrous psychological advice, and when the novel picks up some four decades later, we see the results of adhering to Grandma Phyllis's insanely repressive diagnosis. No one has ever talked about Carl's kidnapping, and the residual terror has seeped into the family water table and poisoned his three adult children. Still, despite their weakened constitutions, they may have limped along indefinitely. After all, those $500,000 quarterly dividend checks are wonderfully uplifting!

But then, like some cruel kid wielding a magnifying glass in the sun, Brodesser-Akner burns away the family's fortune, and we watch the young Fletchers scurrying around in a panic. It's an ideal catastrophe to evaluate the fortitude of these spoiled beneficiaries of a business they did nothing to create or deserve.

Beamer, the middle child, is a Hollywood screenwriter who's spent his career recycling increasingly attenuated stories about kidnappings. The novel's best section takes a vertiginous dive through Beamer's drug-addled life, spiked with humiliating treatment he purchases from a dominatrix, as he tries to write one more abduction movie that will give him the fame and renown he thinks he deserves. Yes, Brodesser-Akner may be wearing an old pair of Jonathan Franzen's sneakers, but, my God, she can run like the wind.



LONG ISLAND COMPROMISE
By Taffy Brodesser-Akner
Random House.
444 pp. $30

From here, though, "Long Island Compromise" begins to flag. The humor is more muted, the pace slower.

Nathan, the oldest child, has reacted to his father's kidnapping by papering every inch of his existence with insurance policies to protect him from fire, flood, collision, bedbugs, earthquakes, shipwrecks, malpractice and, of course, kidnapping. The narrator notes that Nathan is "not so much a whole man but a collection of tics: a composite panic attack whose brain lived in both the unspeakable past and the terrifying future."

And finally, Jenny, who wasn't even born when their father was abducted, has dedicated her life to the self-righteous rejection of her family, a preoccupation that has left her friendless and joyless.

Unfortunately, these characters are easy to summarize because the novel presents them in the highly schematic framework of a TV sitcom or a Marxist revenge fantasy. (Also, note to novelists: If one of your main characters is a "collection of tics" and your name isn't Charles Dickens, revise again.) With the Fletchers' financial ruin confirmed early, we're left to wend our way through their bankruptcies like passengers ambling through the zigzag line at airport security toward an X-ray inspection that will tell us nothing we don't already know.

But as always, Brodesser-Akner is a genius with the chaotic flow of embittered family dialogue. In her fiction, conversations dart and turn with the outrageous unpredictability of a flock of frightened birds. And of course, "Long Island Compromise" is often entertaining — after all, Brodesser-Akner is one of the most performative writers alive — but why isn't it better?

The answer, I suspect, lies in the novel's long gestation as a kind of psychological solution. In a recent essay for the New York Times, Brodesser-Akner confessed that she's been thinking for decades about the real-life kidnapping of a family friend named Jack Teich in 1974. How, she asks, could Teich and his wife and children ever recover from that ordeal? But they did. "The Teiches walked in lock step toward a bright future that was, and is, the Jewish dream of America," she writes. "Can you imagine that you could go through that and end up fine?"

Her interest in the Teiches' resilience is not just theoretical. As she explains, 16 years ago she suffered a terrifying labor with her first child under the care of a cruel and possibly abusive obstetrician. Why, she wonders, couldn't she bounce back from that trauma as effectively as Jack Teich and his family did?

Her essay's deeply personal answer to that question is both a gut punch and a tender embrace. Rather than retreating into the glibness that resolves "Long Island Compromise," she wrestles candidly with the sweaty details of Teich's kidnapping, her own emergency C-section and the psychological scars of both. And so, the essay is gripping in a way that this neat, compromised novel ultimately isn't.

Ron Charles reviews books and writes the Book Club newsletter for The Washington Post. He is the book critic for "CBS Sunday Morning."

26 fairy tales about a society falling apart

BY ROBERT RUBSAM



PETER GERSHKOVICH

The stories our parents tell form and shape us — and they can warp us in turn. "They may not mean to," Philip Larkin famously wrote, "but they do." This fact can apply to nations and families alike, as Adam Ehrlich Sachs shows in his new novel, "Gretel and the Great War."

In a short preface, Sachs lays out the premise. In late 1919, a mute young woman is found lost on the streets of Vienna. No one in the onetime imperial capital knows her name, her origin or what has happened to her. After her doctors reach out to the public, they receive a response from a patient at a sanatorium, an unproduced Jewish playwright who claims to be her father. Every night, writes the man, he would read his daughter Gretel a bedtime story of his own invention. And now he sends stories to those caring for her — one a day for 26 days, starting with "A" for the Architect, then "B," the Ballet Master, and finishing with "Z," the Zionist. At the end of this sequence, the man implies, the source of the girl's speechlessness will be revealed.

These stories make up the rest of the novel. A fan of alliteration, repetition and the exclamation point, Sachs is well-positioned to try his hand at that classic German form, the fairy tale. His 26 inventions — in their archetypal characters and alphabetic arrangement, not to mention their being addressed to a girl named Gretel — first bring to mind the Brothers Grimm. There are choirmasters and deep, dark forests and parents quite literally split in half by the love of their children. But as the book goes on, another inspiration emerges: E.T.A. Hoffmann, the German Romantic who was so attentive to city life and professional jealousy and, especially, sex. While writers like the Grimms and Heinrich von Kleist sought to define German modernity with connection to the oral storytelling tradition and medieval history, Hoffmann found the new in the urban, and particularly in Prussian Berlin, a city full of writing, art and music.

Sachs's Vienna is a vibrant and petty place, full of insecure authorities and overconfident revolutionaries seeking to overturn everything established. Some of the stories are straightforward parables about the perils of overconfidence or a desire for clarity. They involve a "sweet, simple man" who comes into maturity after overhearing a vulgar, racist joke; a painter who exploits his young sitters, arguing that they are already as complex as the adults around them. Others are full of cruelties exacted in the pursuit of an artistic vision, lives destroyed on the path toward triumph or revenge. Many end with a character in the sanatorium, having surrendered one hard, simplistic worldview for another.



GRETEL AND THE GREAT WAR
By Adam Ehrlich Sachs
FSG Originals.
213 pp. $18, paperback

In Adam Ehrlich Sachs's novel, Vienna in 1919 is a city of overconfident rebels and insecure authorities.

Some are longer and more complex, revealing wider resonances through repeated use of settings and themes. In the sixth story, "F," for Father, a physiology student who wants to strip language down to its essence becomes a priest convinced that he will one day be forced, by the head of the sanatorium, into ingesting "all of the waste of the world, for his sins." He arrives at both the sanatorium and his beliefs via interactions with an older monk, a "skeptical, secular glint" in his eyes, who tells *him* a story, this one about delusion and self-absorption and, possibly, a murder. The monk's story involves subatomic particles and the history of the X-ray, and it's set in an old mill with whitewashed walls, a setting that frequently recurs throughout the book. Other locations to which we circle back: an old forest that serves as a game preserve, a coffeehouse where all manner of explorers hash out their plans and the City Theater with its artistic pretensions and professional cruelties.

What seems at first to be occasionally echoing but largely unconnected stories turns out to be the more coherent narrative of a society in the process of coming unglued. In story after story, parents abuse children, lie to children, put their careers and their aspirations above the life and well-being of their children. And children give as good as they get; in one of the most surprising stories, a group of boys, lured into an alley by a creepy old toymaker, beat him to death after his old-fashioned wooden playthings are not to their modern tastes.

Sachs, as shown in his previous novel, the cheekily dense and digressive "The Organs of Sense" (2019), is a clever, self-aware storyteller, and he draws creative tension from his ostensibly childlike narrative form. In idealizing the past, his characters court disaster and tragedy. No parent can exempt their child from complexity, or from history, and so it is with Gretel and her father. This storybook world is beset by problems, anarchists and aristocrats and casual cracks about Jews and Slavs and non-Austro-German ethnics of all kinds. In the characters of the Duke and Duchess and their daughter, Sachs dramatizes the decline of the Habsburgs and the outbreak of the Great War. Where the earlier stories feature explorers and kindergarten teachers, those that come later star revolutionaries, veterans and Zionists. Where once mothers gave birth to sons and fathers protected their daughters, now men find themselves pregnant with nation-states, and they stuff toys with explosives.

"The Organs of Sense" was a dense book, full of incident, yet always cohesive; at times, "Gretel" struggles to maintain a similar feeling, following unnecessary paths that can weaken individual stories. Learning that a kindergarten teacher and a ballet dancer are sisters does little to enrich the stories in which they appear. And unlike the compact classics Sachs is aping, his interweaving sprawl forces his tales into a sometimes awkward interdependency.

But perhaps this is the point. Where his previous novel expanded our sense of history, "Gretel" collapses it. A national story, Sachs concludes, can be much like a fairy tale: too neat, deluded, fit largely for children.

Robert Rubsam is a writer and critic whose work has been published in the New York Times Magazine, the Atlantic, the Baffler and the Nation.

The dark internet mind-set that seeped into the GOP

Becca Rothfeld



STEPHANIE KEITH/GETTY IMAGES



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

ABOVE: An attendee at a 2019 rally in D.C. wears a Pepe the Frog mask; the character features in many right-wing memes. LEFT: White nationalist Richard Spencer and his supporters clash with police at the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville on Aug. 12, 2017. BELOW: Journalist and author Elle Reeve.

In 1993, after dial-up but before smartphones, the cartoonist Peter Steiner published a drawing in the New Yorker that would come to define the early years of life online. In the picture, a mutt seated in front of computer explains to a terrier: "On the Internet, nobody knows you're a dog."

At the time, I was 2 years old and blissfully offline, but the image remained relevant when I first logged on 11 years later. The cartoon, I thought, was just a joke about assuming a fake identity, something I did in silly chatrooms all the time. I said I was 25, or French, or a famous novelist, and I carried a little bit of the glamour of my fictions back into my banal life. Later, I realized that the magic these lies conjured was minor, but it was magic all the same. And what was the difference, really, between being treated as a cosmopolitan and becoming one? Maybe the dog impersonating his owner in Steiner's cartoon eventually forgot he had ever been anything else.

In "Black Pill: How I Witnessed the Darkest Corners of the Internet Come to Life, Poison Society, and Capture American Politics," the intrepid CNN correspondent Elle Reeve suggests that something similar happened to the motley crew of fascists, white nationalists and chauvinists who staged a neo-Nazi rally in Charlottesville in 2017. Perhaps the resident racists of the so-called alt-right became what they at first only pretended to be. Sometimes, Reeve's sources tell her a similar story. Richard Spencer, the most visible face of neo-Nazism in America, claims that the movement "started out as a joke and then it became real." Not unrelatedly, the alt-right's political vision started out as a digital fantasy and became a living nightmare: Spencer attributes Donald Trump's 2016 victory to "meme magic" — that is, to the concerted efforts of white supremacists posting on anonymous forums.

The flotsam of the internet is childish, ridiculous and, consequently, easy to underestimate. But even absurdities can be dangerous. The "black pill" and its associated lexicon and cosmology are some of the internet's most inane — and most venomous — products. They are jokes, but they are also deadly serious.

The "black pill" derives from the "red pill," which Reeve characterizes as "the main metaphor of internet politics." In the 1999 film "The Matrix," the protagonist takes a red pill and realizes that his apparent reality is nothing but an illusion. He does not live in a bustling city but in a pod, where he is fed through tubes by robot overlords intent on keeping him docile. Online, the "red pill" refers to a nugget of knowledge that exposes the putative world as a deceptive facade. The logic of the trope is conspiratorial. Men who took the red pill in the early aughts complained of the evils of feminism; cranks who swallowed it insisted that they understood the sinister designs of the global elites. The infamous influencer Andrew Tate, recently arrested on sex trafficking charges, warns his followers of the "matrix" of mores enforced by the establishment.

Once "the red pill metaphor took hold," Reeve writes, "endless variations followed." The most noxious of these is the "black pill," "a dark but gleeful nihilism." Those who succumb to the potent capsule believe that "the system is corrupt, and its collapse is inevitable. There is no hope." The ideology of the black pill is that of the desperate and the disconsolate, such as mass shooters and "incels," or involuntary celibates, who believe they are consigned to eternal loneliness by virtue of their intrinsic unlovability.

The devolution from red pill to black pill is an illustration of the strange metastasis of online content, which tends to always grow darker. Reeve's sources saw it happen over and over. Her most sympathetic interviewee, the programmer Fred Brennan, watched in horror as the imageboard site he'd built degenerated into chaos. When he created 8chan in 2013, he hoped it would prove to be a haven for free speech, a true marketplace of ideas. Instead, Nazis infiltrated the site and normal users fled. The most extreme comments garnered the most attention, until every conversation became a contest of provocations.

"This might seem like bizarre internet ephemera," Reeve concedes, but 8chan would eventually become the birthplace of the QAnon extremist ideology. How were fringe internet obscenities transubstantiated into a mass movement that stepped off the screen and barged into the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021?

"Black Pill" is a book of questions, not answers. For instance, did the alt-right really "meme" Trump's MAGA movement into existence, as its adherents brag? "There is no more separation between the online world and the real world," Brennan tells Reeve. But in fact, her reporting reveals that the chasm between an online extremist's flights of fancy and his comparatively underwhelming life is often yawning. One man who spent "fourteen to twenty hours a day online" developed an online alter ego as "a seasoned jihadist leader"; in truth, he was a powerless 20-something living with his parents in Florida. Even as Spencer was tweeting that



BLACK PILL
How I Witnessed the Darkest Corners of the Internet Come to Life, Poison Society, and Capture American Politics
By Elle Reeve
Atria.
283 pp. $29.99



MATTHEW GLUEKERT

inequality, and you have no change available within the system, the system won't survive," says Brennan, who suffers from osteogenesis imperfecta, or "brittle bone disease," which renders him unable to walk. "When you are disabled, you can feel like everybody sees you as a freak, and you are not wanted anywhere," he told Reeve. He sought refuge online, and the warped community he found there was a bad answer to the very good question of his ostracization.

Few of the characters in "Black Pill" have faced trials as daunting as Brennan's, but many are isolated and autistic — or, in the self-mocking lingo of the forums, "autists." Although Reeve is clear that "autism does not make someone more likely to commit violent crime," one expert told her that "autistic people can be especially vulnerable to extremist online communities" for three reasons: "It allows them to socialize without social anxiety," "the rigid worldview makes it easier to understand the way the world works," and "the forums have archives, so they can go back in time and read to understand how users talked to each other and then mimic those interactions."

The Nazis Reeve surveyed were often as confused as she was about their motivations. Many of them were adamant that their racism and sexism were rational responses to the evidence, but then admitted in the next breath that they joined "the movement" because they were desperate for friendship, belonging and a sense of power. One woman in a relationship with a neo-Nazi asked a friend if his misogyny was serious: "Was he meming?" Many of them didn't seem to know if they were meming or not.

Reeve may not have answers, but she does have unbelievable access. She managed to get hold of Spencer's emails, some of which contained suspicious musings about the possibility of an alt-right alliance with Russia, and she talked a former neo-Nazi into giving her an old cellphone full of damning text messages. At the Charlottesville rally, she leaped into a truck full of white supremacists and kept the cameras rolling. She persisted in covering the most heinous excesses of the far right even when she faced the inevitable onslaught of harassment, much of it sexual.

"Black Pill" is a feat of fearless reporting, and its ambiguities and tensions are not necessarily weaknesses. Instead, they point to essential contradictions at the heart of what was once the alt-right and is now Trump's Republican Party. Perhaps this movement's defining feature is its slippery irony, its refusal to clarify how much of its racism and sexism is sincere.

But whether Trump's online army is willing to mimic fascists as a dark joke or whether its convictions are authentic does not matter. On the internet, nobody knows — or needs to know — if you are a real fascist. All they need to know is that you are fatally committed to the bit.

Becca Rothfeld is the nonfiction book critic for The Washington Post and the author of "All Things Are Too Small: Essays in Praise of Excess."

"If you have great amounts of

"women should never be allowed to make foreign policy," Reeve writes, his wife "was helping him edit a National Policy Institute editorial." It is hard not to read these performances as pathetic exercises in fantasy fulfillment, yet alt-right talking points that originated on obscure forums *have* been memed into the conservative mainstream.

Another question that goes inconclusively answered in "Black Pill" is whether fascists are stupid. It's astonishing "for smart people to hear that many of the nazis are really smart," Reeve writes. "Smart people have been told all their lives that being smart is a virtue, and, implicitly, smart people are virtuous." Unfortunately, "the sick, sad truth is that the world is not being ruined by dumb monsters but by smart people just like us."

Indeed, the Nazis whom Reeve interviews are often much clearer-eyed about conservatism and its implications than the ideology's more respectable ambassadors. "I was used to people lying to my face that the Civil War was about states' rights not slavery, that the confederate flag was about heritage not hate," Reeve recalls. When she started covering self-proclaimed white supremacists, she was almost refreshed by their candor. One of them happily admits, "All that *was* about racism, and that is what we liked about it."

The extremists who feature in "Black Pill" can also be psychologically and politically astute. "They notice that smart people need to feel like they're logical, principled thinkers, so they create cringe propaganda to make them feel alienated from activists for social justice," Reeve writes. "Cringe propaganda is video or screenshots of someone who is advocating for equality being provoked into a big emotional outburst." But while Reeve is emphatic that neo-Nazis are not all idiots, she also (understandably) describes their convoluted belief system as "so stupid."

Reeve and her subjects sometimes suggest that extremism is a misguided response to a set of legitimate grievances. One Trump supporter she met asked her, "Why is the coronavirus vaccine free, but chemotherapy isn't?" She concludes, "He was asking a good question and getting a bad answer." She could be talking about any number of the men she interviews. Why are they so lonely and alienated? Why are their political leaders so deaf to their concerns?

THE POLITICS ISSUE

A political thriller from 1995 now feels eerily prescient



Michael Dirda

Today, it's more than a little eerie to read Charles McCarry's gripping and intricate 1995 political thriller, "Shelley's Heart." At the time the book first appeared, nearly 30 years ago, it was hailed by The Washington Post's Jonathan Yardley as the best novel about Washington politics ever written, a view shared by Richard Condon, author of "The Manchurian Candidate."

Read today, it will leave you wondering: Was McCarry unnervingly prescient about 9/11, the Middle East, recent national elections, the underestimated importance of the Supreme Court — and much else? Or could his book have actually provided ideas, even a blueprint, for those who have brought about the political upheavals of the past several years? If so, it would seem that history — that jokester! — has reversed many of the novel's left-right polarities.

Set in the 1990s, "Shelley's Heart" opens on a snowy day at the funeral for the chief justice of the United States. Just as the service at Washington National Cathedral is about to begin, the wealthy businessman Franklin Mallory, who has just lost his bid to regain the presidency after a four-year hiatus, stops the newly reelected Bedford Forrest Lockwood and secretly hands him a note. It reads: "I must see you urgently, and alone, well before you take the presidential oath tomorrow, to make you aware of documentary evidence of election fraud in California, Michigan and New York that brings into question your legal right to assume office."

Through the help of a hard-right billionaire in the tech and communications industry, Mallory has discovered that a former intelligence operative named Horace Hubbard and his computer whiz girlfriend have shifted just enough votes — a surprisingly small number — to ensure a victory for his liberal opponent. Only Horace's half brother, Julian Hubbard, who is Lockwood's chief of staff, knows about this chicanery. Lockwood, however, refuses to believe Mallory's evidence, decides to go through with the inauguration, and vows to fight these and some even more damaging accusations.

The next day, on the morning of the inauguration, a gunman who has been hiding inside a snowbank suddenly emerges, rapid-fires a dozen bullets in an apparent attempt to assassinate Mallory and then miraculously escapes. But was Mallory the actual target?

All this happens within the first 49 pages of this 500-plus-page novel, which quickly grows exceptionally suspenseful and byzantine. In short, dialogue-rich chapters, the action shifts from Capitol Hill to Kalorama Triangle to Rock Creek Park and even, at one point, to Bolivia.

To Democrats, Mallory had been "their worst nightmare come true the first time he got himself elected." However, unlike today's most prominent Republican, Mallory is invariably courteous and well-spoken, values his privacy, and spends hours every day reading serious writers like Macaulay and Goethe. Since the death of his beloved wife, he has been faithful to his companion and adviser, Susan Grant. In short, McCarry presents Mallory as a cultivated, even cosmopolitan intellectual, the kind of conservative who truly believes in democracy and the good of the nation. How old-fashioned!

At the same time, the tall, plain-spoken Lockwood is more than a little like his hero, Abraham Lincoln. Yet moral uprightness may not be enough to preserve his presidency. So, to thwart Mallory, the scheming Julian turns for help to the novel's third major character: Archimedes Hammett, a puritanical Yale law professor who is pathologically frightened of being touched and infected by a passing virus. He is also a crusading left-wing fanatic — and a very dangerous one. "From an early age Hammett had wanted to change the world, and he had always realized that it could only be changed piecemeal, according to a systematic plan." Consequently, over many years, he has quietly installed his students and acolytes in positions of power in the government, the media and, especially, the judiciary. As one character observes, "Extremists … have always regarded control of the Supreme Court, and of the federal court system in general, as the key to political action because the rulings of the Court are not subject to democratic restraints."

Even more disturbingly, Hammett views the Supreme Court itself "as a mechanism to overthrow the elected government of the United States and seize absolute power for twenty-five years." His ultimate dream is to remake American society into a vaguely socialistic utopia, albeit one under the steady guidance of himself. In nearly every way, Hammett calls to mind Theodor Adorno's definition of the authoritarian personality: "A man who, in the name of upholding traditional American values and institutions and defending them against more or less fictitious dangers, consciously or unconsciously aims at their abolition." In his own stealthy, decades-long political ambitions, Hammett is assisted by his fellow members of the ultrasecret Shelley Society, about which I will say no more.

During his life, McCarry — a former CIA operative and longtime Washingtonian who died in 2019 at age 88 — was widely admired for his beautifully written espionage thrillers featuring Paul Christopher and several generations of the Christopher-Hubbard family. Among these is Paul's mysterious daughter Zarah, who appears in "Shelley's Heart" and whom Hammett instinctively fears. But as we are frequently reminded, the Christopher dynasty of spies is unlucky, regularly suffering "disappearances, lost loves, death at the hands of fools, betrayal by friends, hopeless desire — every kind of psychic imprisonment provided by the twentieth century."

Like his English counterpart John le Carré, McCarry regularly returned to the same characters in his books, uncovering new facets to past events or even overturning what we thought we knew. What the dogged, Columbo-like private investigator John L.S. McGraw, one of the minor heroes of "Shelley's Heart," says about rereading is equally applicable to intelligence operations: "You seldom understood everything the first time you looked at something — no matter how systematic you thought you were being. It was impossible to grasp every detail unless you kept going back for another look, and then another and another."

In this regard, "Shelley's Heart" repeatedly harks back to events chronicled in "The Better Angels" (1979), set during Lockwood's first term. In that book, Ibn Awad, an aging, manic-depressive Middle Eastern sheik, finances the construction of two nuclear bombs intended to be detonated in Tel Aviv and New York by a terrorist group called the Eye of Gaza. Horace Hubbard eventually deals with the situation, but the question remains: Did President Lockwood authorize the murder of Ibn Awad, despite his public declarations otherwise? And what of various unintended consequences? Revenge is a dominant theme in McCarry's fiction, starting with his masterpiece about the Kennedy assassination, "The Tears of Autumn" (1974).

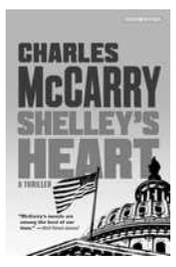
While McCarry's early novels sometimes seem to idealize privilege, wealth and family, that's not the case in "Shelley's Heart." To these smug Whiffenpoofs, as one character disdainfully dubs them, even President Lockwood is simply "a man from the underclass whom they had raised up to power so that he could act on the basis of their wisdom." As such, he is expendable. Appropriately, then, it is the broken-down, Bible-quoting speaker of the House, an alcoholic skirt-chaser now dying from cirrhosis, who will become the shrewd and implacable nemesis of all these "rich boys."

Besides the clean, mildly ironic style of his exposition and descriptions, McCarry could also reproduce seemingly every variety of spoken English, from the prissily correct to the vulgarly sexist. Above all, though, his book never lets up on our sense of impending threat, especially to Zarah. When a little girl speaks to the dead through a Ouija board, it deeply unsettles Hammett, but this seems hardly less strange than that two lesbian lawyers, members of the Womonkind's Coalition, are waiting on him, preparing his special meals and carrying out his enigmatic wishes. As today, even abortion and something like IVF clinics play an important role in the novel. Still, always looming in the background are the obvious questions: When will the assassin strike again? Who will be the target? And is there a connection to the political cat-and-mouse games taking place on Capitol Hill?

In the end, "Shelley's Heart" comes down strongly for the primacy of simple humanity and decency over ideology, for intelligence over privilege and, above all, for the recognition that in politics nothing is ever final.



REG INNELL/TORONTO STAR/GETTY IMAGES



SHELLEY'S HEART
A Thriller
By Charles McCarry
Overlook.
$9.99, e-book

Charles McCarry, a former CIA operative, was known for his espionage thrillers.

Michael Dirda is a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist for Book World and the author of the memoir "An Open Book" and of four collections of essays: "Readings," "Bound to Please," "Book by Book" and "Classics for Pleasure."

The lobbying world is lurid, corrupt — and surprisingly small

BY TIMOTHY NOAH

In our $28 trillion economy, $4.2 billion was spent last year on lobbying the federal government. That's less than what Americans spent on underarm deodorant. Yet it's axiomatic that if a business wants to make Congress or the executive branch do something — or (more often) *not* do something — then it must hire one of Washington's roughly 13,000 registered lobbyists. Lobbyists are, in essence, human turnstiles. If you don't swipe your credit card with them outside Senator X's office, you don't get in. At some later date, the lobbyist passes a portion of your money to Senator X as a campaign contribution.

If hiring a lobbyist is the prerequisite to getting something done in Washington, why is lobbying such a puny industry? Partly because it's a relatively new one. As Brody Mullins, a Washington-based investigative reporter formerly at the Wall Street Journal, and his brother Luke Mullins, a contributing writer for Politico, relate in their new book, "The Wolves of K Street: The Secret History of How Big Money Took Over Big Government," in 1961 only 130 companies retained lobbyists, in most cases "not to influence lawmakers but to try to sell products to Uncle Sam." It wasn't until the rise of the public-interest movement, led by Ralph Nader, and the consequent creation of watchdog agencies like the Environmental Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission, that the corporation-dominated lobby industry started taking shape. By the early 1980s, the number of companies retaining lobbyists had risen to 2,500, and "lobbying spending, which totaled about $100 million in the mid-1970s, would soon reach into the billions." The lobby sector grew briskly over the next three decades.

But not briskly enough to turn lobbying into a major American industry, largely because of certain structural limitations. Congress has only 535 members. That works out to about 20 registered lobbyists for each legislator. Make that 40 lobbyists for each legislator if Timothy M. LaPira, a political scientist at James Madison University, is right that there are at least as many "government relations professionals" who find some way to lobby without officially registering. Those members of Congress work long hours, but they can devote only so many to letting some lobbyist talk their ear off.

The upshot is that the lobby industry, though every bit as parasitic and corrupt as its critics maintain, is not perhaps as formidable as you've been told. Revenue shrank during the Obama years, at first thanks to the 2007-2009 recession and, later, legislative gridlock; they didn't start to climb again until Donald Trump entered the White House. The number of registered lobbyists never recovered from the Great Recession, peaking in 2007 at 15,000, tumbling over the next decade by one-quarter, then rising last year to about 13,000. And while there's no shortage of lurid stories about moneyed interests winning in Washington — especially in finance — political scientists have struggled to document whether, overall, corporate America typically gets its money's worth from lobbying. A 2018 study in the Journal of Corporate Finance looked at 1,500 S&P 500 firms over the period 1998 to 2016 and found "a negative and significant association between lobbying activities and firm performance."

What this suggests is that, although corporate lobbyists certainly fleece the American public through weakened legislative and regulatory language that favors business, they put at least as much effort into fleecing the corporations that hire them. That comes across loud and clear in "The Wolves of K Street," as the Mullins brothers introduce the reader to a rogue's gallery of highflying lobbyists.

On the Republican side, these include Paul Manafort, who sported a $15,000 ostrich-skin jacket and a $9,500 matching vest; became campaign manager for Donald Trump to dodge angry creditors; and ended up serving time in prison for tax fraud, bank fraud, witness tampering and illegal foreign lobbying. (Trump later pardoned him.) On the Democratic side you've got Evan Morris, who ordered a $1,500 Bordeaux at his golf club and then killed himself with a shot to the head because lawyers were getting nosy about some irregular expenditures he had billed to his firm, the drug company Genentech. You've got Tony Podesta and Jim Courtovich, who, the Mullinses suggest, barely escaped prosecutions for fraud; and Roger Stone, who narrowly escaped jail thanks to a commutation by Trump; and Brian Ballard, who set himself up as gatekeeper to the supposedly swamp-draining Trump, extracting $100 million from 120 corporations in the bargain. When Politico called Ballard "The Most Powerful Lobbyist In Trump's Washington," it handed him a license to print money.

"The Wolves of K Street" interweaves narratives about these and other large-living Washington lobbyists, and this creates a structural problem that the Mullins brothers can't overcome. The Washington superlobbyist is a remarkably uniform social type. He (he's usually male) is a vaguely seedy character desperate to impress the world with his powerful connections; given to vulgar displays of opulence; and, though partisan, bereft of substantive convictions. These qualities are so reliably consistent that the book's multiple story arcs become repetitive. That is, I suppose, the book's point — behold the moral squalor of influence-peddling. But as bad guys go, Washington superlobbyists lack much piquancy. I did not enjoy spending time with them.

My interest perked up in the book's final 10 pages as it took a more analytic turn, but I can't agree with its conclusions. The brothers argue that lobbying faces headwinds today not because the industry delivers value irregularly but because Trump "finally shattered Washington's pro-business policy consensus." Oh, please. Yes, Trump contradicted the business establishment on trade and immigration, and some Republican legislators have criticized corporations for being too broad-minded on social issues. We've even seen a little pro-labor cosplay. But this is still your father's GOP. As president, Trump delivered tax cuts and deregulation for corporations, and lately he's been promising more of the same to oil executives if they'll only steer $1 billion to his campaign. If Trump poses any threat to the lobby industry, it's only because his shamelessly transactional approach to politics encroaches on their turf. Trump is his own turnstile. Why pay a lobbyist when you can eliminate the middleman and hand your check directly to a once and possibly future president of the United States?

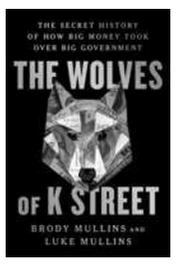


BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST



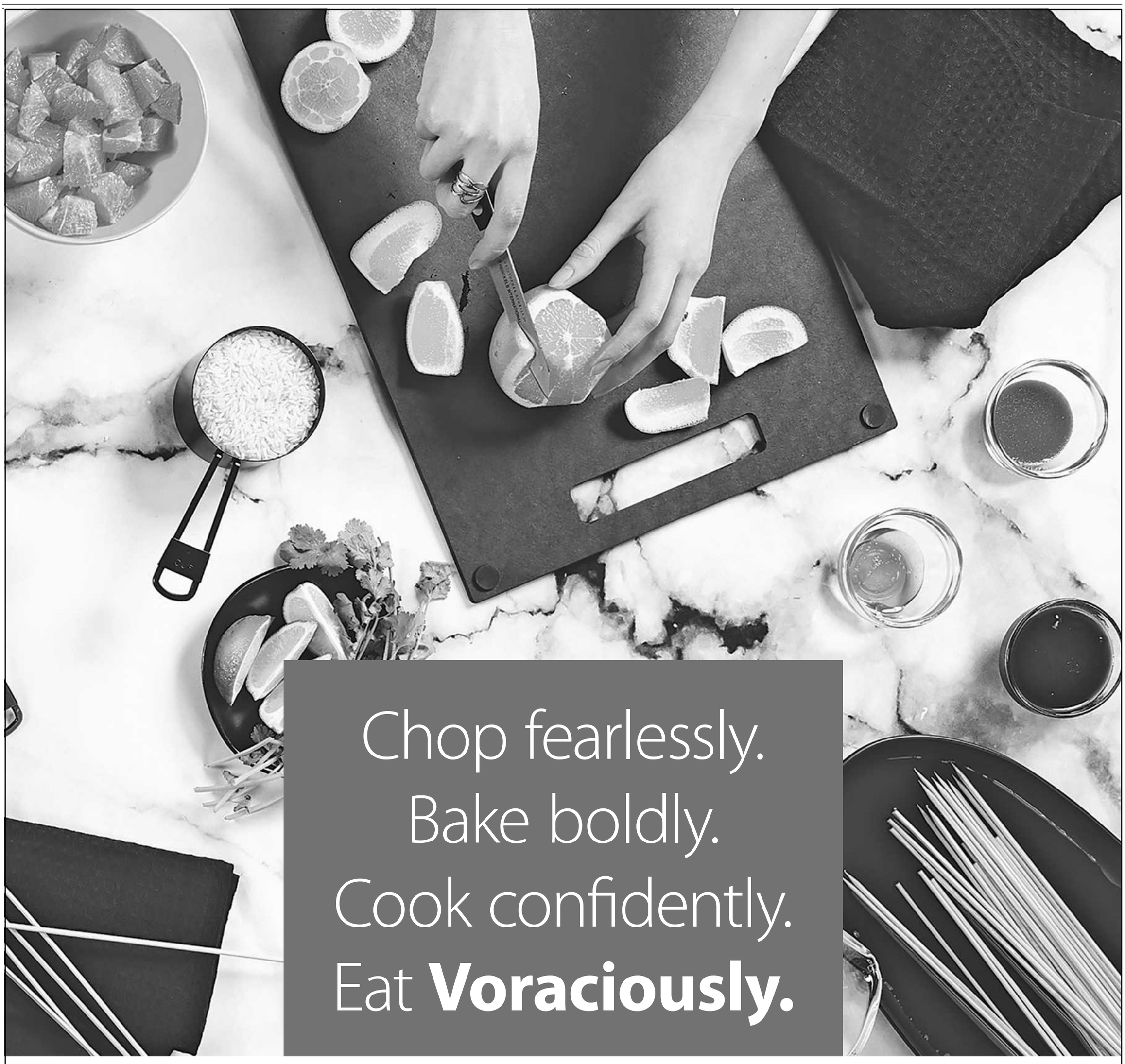
REBECCA D'ANGELO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

LEFT: Paul Manafort, a lobbyist and Donald Trump's former campaign manager, leaves federal court in Washington in 2017. RIGHT: Democratic lobbyist Tony Podesta and his wife, Heather, at a party in D.C. in 2011.



THE WOLVES OF K STREET
The Secret History of How Big Money Took Over Big Government
By Brody Mullins and Luke Mullins
Simon & Schuster.
612 pp. $34.99

Timothy Noah is a staff writer for the New Republic and the author of "The Great Divergence: America's Growing Inequality Crisis and What We Can Do About It."



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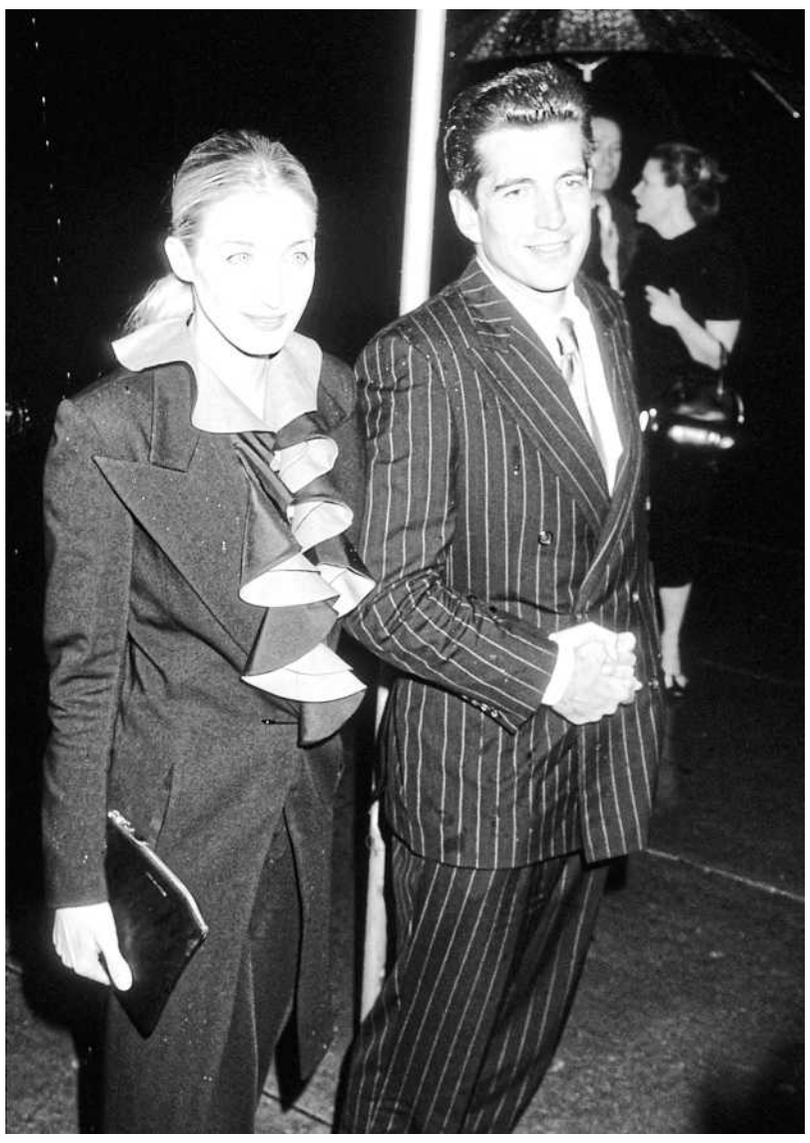
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The many victims of the Kennedy men's misogyny

BY NINA BURLEIGH



BRIDGEMAN IMAGES



LARRY LE VINE/STAR MAX/AP



KAREN KELLEY

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Jackie Kennedy Onassis leaving the airport in London in 1968 with Aristotle Onassis. Pam Kelley in the 1970s, after she was paralyzed in a car accident in which a son of Robert F. Kennedy was the driver. John F. Kennedy Jr. and his wife, Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, in May 1999.

When the B-52s first sang about "heroes falling to the ground like Hell's magnet pulls me down," JFK had been dead for only 15 years and was still a mostly unblemished national icon. Stories about how he treated women had been leaking out, but not until the #MeToo era did we learn just how abominably he and other revered and influential men behaved.

Journalist Maureen Callahan has worked for the New York Post and the Daily Mail — tabloids that have never met a Kennedy they didn't love to trash. In her new book, "Ask Not," she has stitched together a stinging portrait of the depredations of not just John F. Kennedy but of three generations of Kennedy men. It's a group portrait that reminds us that former president Donald Trump is hardly an outlier among powerful men.

Relying on a vast array of sources from the obscure (the White House "kennel-keeper") to the best-selling (Kitty Kelley) and her own reportage, Callahan takes a critical look at the Kennedy men through the lens of the miserable and sometimes abused wives and girlfriends in their lives.

She identifies the wellspring of misogyny in Irish Catholic patriarch Joseph P. Kennedy Sr. in Boston during the Gilded Age, and traces it anecdote by anecdote down through JFK, RFK and Teddy, and the litter of boomer generation men — boys hatched by three Kennedy wives Callahan depicts as humiliated breeders and political props, driven to madness and alcoholism. At the top is matriarch Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, a champion procreator who gave birth to nine living babies, including one who would become the 35th president, and two future senators.

For the sections on JFK, Callahan relies heavily on a plethora of secondary sources about White House orgies, parties and the Camelot King's sex addiction. She repeats allegations in Kitty Kelley's 1978 book, "Jackie Oh!," that marriage to JFK at one point drove Jackie to anorexia and a depression that required electroshock therapy. Callahan refloats unfounded claims that suggest both JFK and Robert F. Kennedy were somehow involved in Marilyn Monroe's suicide.

She also recounts the stories of women who have since written or spoken about being college-age interns who were transformed into Kennedy sex objects. Diana de Vegh was one, a Radcliffe junior when she caught the eye of the married senator from Massachusetts in 1958. Kennedy eventually seduced her in his Boston apartment. Her first sexual experience with him was quick and decidedly unromantic. "There were no kisses. No professions of love," she told Callahan in an interview. De Vegh was among a number of young women who were invited to the White House family quarters when Jackie was away.

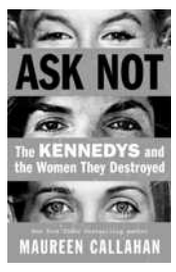
Callahan has a good eye for lurid details. Among the most controversial anecdotes — the ones reviewers and excerpters are already plucking out — is one that she attributes to conversations with author William Manchester's son, John, who shared details from his father's two five-hour recorded interviews with Jackie, which are locked away from the public until 2067. According to Callahan, Jackie told Manchester that she and Jack had sex the night before he died. But she offers no source for her eye-popping claim that Jackie kissed the dead president's entire naked corpse while alone, "or so she thought," in the hospital in Dallas.

Anyone born after 1970 does need reminding about the horrific story of Ted Kennedy leaving Mary Jo Kopechne to die a slow death in his submerged car while he walked away. And Callahan delivers. The ghastly details are damning, and the fact that Teddy spent another five decades in the public eye is a testament to the normalized misogyny of the culture.

Callahan writes that reporters routinely referred to Kopechne not by name but as "the blonde." They often described the "Boiler Room girls" who worked for Bobby Kennedy, of whom Kopechne was one, as "party girls," and after Kopechne's death, they were defamed by Kennedy attaches if they tried to speak out about her.

The book is chock-full of pregnancies and repeat miscarriages among wives trying desperately to carry out their duty to produce children, and failing. Jackie suffered one miscarriage, lost one full-term baby at 2 days old and endured a stillbirth while her husband was cavorting with women on a boat in the Mediterranean. Joan, Ted's wife, suffered three miscarriages. But together the three wives managed to hatch out a pack of boys, the Kennedy Third Gen, whom Callahan depicts as morally and intellectually attenuated, coddled, entitled, reckless and as ruinous to women as their fathers and grandfather.

> In her new book, "Ask Not," Maureen Callahan has stitched together a stinging portrait of the depredations of not just John F. Kennedy but of three generations of Kennedy men.



ASK NOT
The Kennedys and the Women They Destroyed
By Maureen Callahan
Little, Brown.
400 pp. $32.50

Presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy Jr. survived a youthful heroin addiction, only to develop a sex addiction that he catalogued in a "sex diary" first published by the New York Post. He wrote of being tormented by "lust demons" and being helplessly "mugged" by horny women. Callahan recounts the story of the suicide of his wife, Mary Richardson, much of it from previously reported details in the New York Post, including quotes from other mothers who recalled Mary begging for $20 to buy gas or food as her husband prepared to divorce her.

RFK Jr.'s older brother Joseph Kennedy II, high and driving an open jeep in Nantucket in 1973, veered into oncoming traffic, ejecting seven passengers. The accident left a local girl named Pam Kelley a paraplegic for life. Callahan devotes a chapter to Kelley's sad later life and early death in 2020.

Madness, suicide, alcoholism, heartache, trauma, rape and … murder. Michael Skakel, related by the marriage of his aunt Ethel to RFK, was convicted of killing Martha Moxley in 2002. Another third-gen Kennedy man, William Kennedy Smith (the son of JFK and RFK's sister Jean Kennedy Smith), was famously acquitted of raping Patricia Bowman in Palm Beach, Fla. His cousin JFK Jr. showed up at the trial in a show of support, even though he reportedly told a friend that the Kennedy family "should have done something about Willie when he first started doing this." Callahan spells it out: "meaning, raping women."

Bowman later told the journalist Dominick Dunne that, after raping her, Smith "looked at me, the calmest, smuggest, most arrogant man," and said no one would believe her. The 1991 trial was a display of celebrity misogyny, in which Smith's lawyer Roy Black painted Bowman as a mentally ill drug addict who shouldn't have been out with Kennedy men at 3 a.m.

Callahan takes special aim at the reputation of the golden boy who died too young. The eyes of JFK Jr.'s wife, Carolyn Bessette Kennedy, are among the three pairs on the cover of the book (Jackie's and Marylin Monroe's the other two). Callahan portrays Bessette as having come to regret snaring the ultimate Kennedy prince. In the first chapter, Callahan relies on ex-girlfriend Christina Haag's book for details of John's reckless streak "that bordered on a death wish." Callahan also claims — without attribution — that Carolyn "really, really did not want to get on" the plane the night Junior insisted on flying up to a Kennedy wedding together.

She also repeats unsubstantiated reporting by the National Enquirer that the couple were on the verge of divorce before perishing in Junior's small plane in 1999. "She wanted out of her marriage but also felt trapped," Callahan writes, quoting Carolyn — from an Enquirer article — telling pals: "I can't get a divorce. I'll wind up living in a trailer park, out of my mind, going 'I used to be married to JFK Jr.'"

The multigenerational abuse cycle chronicled in "Ask Not" is certainly not confined to the Kennedys. Entitled male predators, protection by a retinue of enablers, and silencing by payoff or litigation are still foundational to our national power structure. The anecdotes that make up this book are not news, but Callahan strings them together in a way that makes the House of Kennedy look like Bluebeard's castle of horrors.

Nina Burleigh is the author of seven books, including "The Trump Women: Part of the Deal."



ILLUSTRATION BY JAVI AZNAREZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

For great political reads, these books get our votes

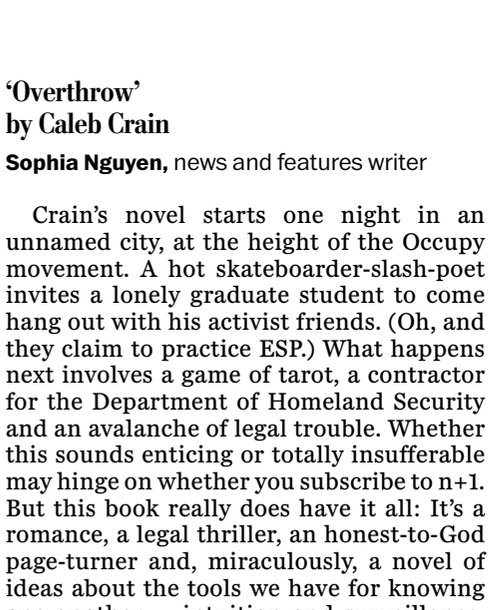
BY WASHINGTON POST STAFF

This summer, the Book World staff is returning to some of our favorite political books. Our picks embrace an array of genres and styles — fiction, history, philosophy and more — but that very range emphasizes both how varied politics are and how many tools we have for making sense of them.

'Overthrow' by Caleb Crain

Sophia Nguyen, news and features writer

Crain's novel starts one night in an unnamed city, at the height of the Occupy movement. A hot skateboarder-slash-poet invites a lonely graduate student to come hang out with his activist friends. (Oh, and they claim to practice ESP.) What happens next involves a game of tarot, a contractor for the Department of Homeland Security and an avalanche of legal trouble. Whether this sounds enticing or totally insufferable may hinge on whether you subscribe to n+1. But this book really does have it all: It's a romance, a legal thriller, an honest-to-God page-turner and, miraculously, a novel of ideas about the tools we have for knowing one another — intuition and surveillance, poetry and the internet. "Overthrow" makes the previous decade's vanished idealism feel almost close enough to touch. It's the best American political novel of the 21st century.



PETER TERZIAN

Caleb Crain

'The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle' by Lillian Faderman

Jacob Brogan, editor

It is sometimes tempting now to condense the long project of American gay rights into a smaller story, one that begins with the first brick thrown at Stonewall in 1969 and ends in 2015 with *Obergefell v. Hodges*, a half-century arc that we tie off with a prismatic bow at Pride parades every June. This is a tale of narrowly defined legal recognition that emphasizes normalization and social integration for some over the ongoing challenges and struggles of many others.

Faderman helpfully expands on that story in her historically sweeping and consistently engaging "The Gay Revolution" (2015), opening on early-20th-century vice squad persecutions and later homosexual witch hunts by the federal government. As she moves forward in time, she meticulously documents the real and varied work that went into gay activism of all kinds — from the largely forgotten efforts of the Mattachine Society through the AIDS radicalism of ACT UP and beyond — as queer people sought to survive and thrive in the light. Meticulously researched and always accessible, "The Gay Revolution" is a powerful reminder of how many battles the LGBTQ movement had to fight, as well as a plain demonstration of why its struggle must continue.

'Going Public' by Michael Gecan

Becky Meloan, editorial aide

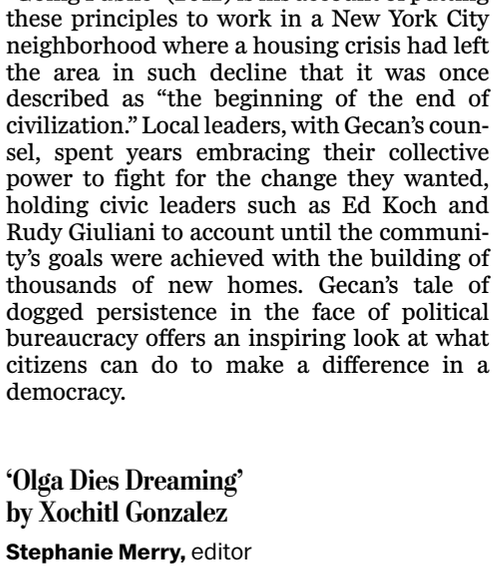
Before Barack Obama brought a spotlight to the term "community organizer," Gecan had been one for years, guiding communities on how to work with politicians to fix problems. "Going Public" (2012) is his account of putting these principles to work in a New York City neighborhood where a housing crisis had left the area in such decline that it was once described as "the beginning of the end of civilization." Local leaders, with Gecan's counsel, spent years embracing their collective power to fight for the change they wanted, holding civic leaders such as Ed Koch and Rudy Giuliani to account until the community's goals were achieved with the building of thousands of new homes. Gecan's tale of dogged persistence in the face of political bureaucracy offers an inspiring look at what citizens can do to make a difference in a democracy.

'Olga Dies Dreaming' by Xochitl Gonzalez

Stephanie Merry, editor

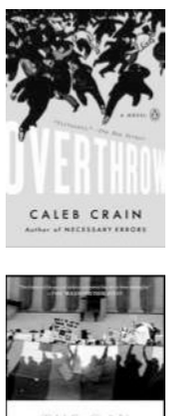
Gonzalez's 2022 debut novel is many things: a satire of a wedding industry gone wild, a romantic comedy, a dose of side-eye for anyone who still believes in the American Dream. It's also a book about the obstacles that get in our way when we try to live up to our political beliefs.

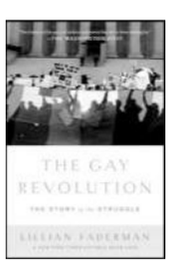
Olga is a wedding planner to the stars who looks like the poster child for bootstrapping. The daughter of Puerto Rican revolutionaries,



MAYRA CASTILLO

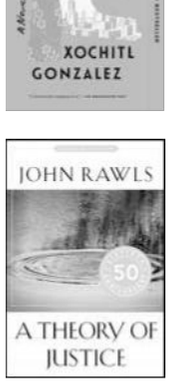
Xochitl Gonzalez















'A Theory of Justice' by John Rawls

Becca Rothfeld, nonfiction book critic

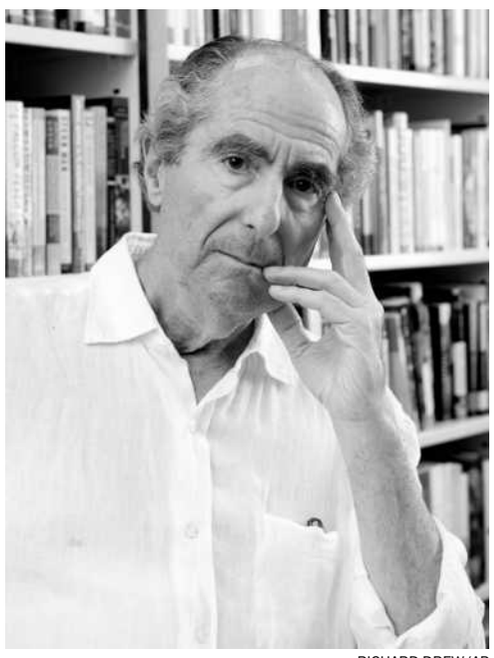
There is no denying that Rawls's "A Theory of Justice" is daunting: At more than 500 pages, this seminal work of liberal theory is a doorstop, and even its most ardent defenders (myself among them) would concede that it is often a bruising read. Rawls's prose can be gruelingly technical, rife with numbered principles and lengthy footnotes. Worse, its critics allege, the theory of justice in question is untenably idealistic. Still, 53 years after its original publication, Rawls's opus is worth revisiting. As liberalism struggles to fend off populist attackers in America and across Europe, it is in need of a mission statement, and this is precisely what Rawls's ambitious book seeks to provide.

Rawls's avowedly utopian vision serves as an inspiration, not a blueprint, and it is a helpful corrective to unfortunate misconceptions about the liberal approach that have since become common. "A Theory of Justice" does not promote individualism or unfettered markets. On the contrary, it presents liberalism as a radically egalitarian undertaking in which each inequality must be stringently justified. Despite Rawls's measured tones, "A Theory of Justice" is a quietly revolutionary document. If we took its injunctions seriously, our unconscionably unequal society would have to be dramatically remade.

'The Plot Against America' by Philip Roth

Nora Krug, editor

Two decades ago, the premise of Roth's novel was speculative and perhaps even preposterous: Charles Lindbergh, a member of the America First party, makes a surprise appearance at the Republican convention, wooing the crowd with his youth and celebrity. Pitted against sickly FDR, he is elected president in 1940, ushering in an era of fascism and antisemitism. Told from the perspective of a character named Philip Roth who hails from Newark, the story delves into the terrible consequences of Lindbergh's reign. "Fear presides over these memories, a perpetual fear," the book begins; the rest of the novel shows why. Roth has written more subtle political books ("The Human Stain," "American Pastoral"), but none are eerier than this one, particularly given the current state of the world.



RICHARD DREW/AP

Philip Roth in 2008

'Nixon Agonistes: The Crisis of the Self-Made Man' by Garry Wills

John Williams, Book World editor

"Nixon Agonistes" is one of those books I tell people to "just read," implying that it's not possible to summarize its line-by-line brilliance or the range of its interests and insights; its greatness can't even be hinted at in a pitch. Yes, it is a book about Richard M. Nixon — as psychologically deep and nuanced a portrait of a person as any novelist could conjure (and more than prescient about all that came after the book's publication in 1970). But it is also about America's guiding myths and realities; the theories and motivations undergirding conservatism and liberalism; the ways in which the country was changing and has only changed more since. John Leonard said it reads "like a combination of H.L. Mencken, John Locke and Albert Camus." And while that sounds like overheated praise, it is, remarkably, just the right temperature.



CHARLES REX ARBOGAST/AP

Garry Wills

Inside the families wrecked by QAnon



PHELAN M. EBENHACK FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

BY JONATHAN RUSSELL CLARK

Journalism about the QAnon phenomenon tends to examine the rampant spread of the vague set of conspiracy theories into mainstream society and perhaps wonders at the specific identities of those who propagate those theories from shady corners. "Trust the Plan," by Will Sommer, who reported the story for the Daily Beast (and is now a writer for The Washington Post), and Cullen Hoback's HBO documentary "Q: Into the Storm" traced the origins of Q to message boards like 4chan and Reddit and explored the damage ultimately wrought to our democracy by its disturbing proliferation.

In her assiduously researched and impeccably constructed new book, "The Quiet Damage: QAnon and the Destruction of the American Family," Jesselyn Cook grapples with the personal ramifications for many of Q's devotees and the people who care about them. It's a subject often overlooked in what Cook describes as "the roaring national discourse surrounding the movement," and "few resources exist for afflicted families and individuals." Cook's aim is to humanize those deeply committed followers who are so easy to dismiss as delusional or gullible or worse. She also hopes to answer the question she received in "a cascade of emails from strangers across the country sharing chilling" stories of those who abruptly recalibrated their identities around dedication to QAnon: "What happened to the person I love?"

Cook conducted hundreds of interviews to reconstruct how people fell under the spell of Q's alluringly simplistic depiction of reality. Her diverse subjects include an empty-nest liberal lawyer, the twin of a Black Lives Matter activist, a rabid Bernie Sanders supporter, a retired baby boomer and a young family man.

The story of Emily and Adam — a mother and son whose lives were shattered by the suicide of family patriarch Dan, a tragedy that nevertheless fortified their bond — is particularly effective, as the about-face Emily made in the years after Adam, the youngest of three children, left for college was almost grotesquely extreme. Emily, who put herself through law school after her husband's death and went on to thrive in her own practice, had been Adam's hero; in his own application essay for law school, he wrote about his socially progressive mother, who he earnestly believed would make the world a better place. But isolated in her empty nest, Emily plagued her children with tweets and Facebook posts claiming that Mike Pence was a clone and that Michelle Obama was a man, and she rarely engaged with them on any other topics. Less than a decade later, they were estranged by Emily's increasingly cruel behavior, which culminated in an email in which she "called Adam a 'monster,' a 'huge disappointment,' and an 'utter embarrassment'" and told him to "shed my DNA."



THE QUIET DAMAGE
QAnon and the Destruction of the American Family
By Jesselyn Cook
Crown.
250 pp. $30

A supporter waves a QAnon flag at a Donald Trump rally in Sarasota, Fla., in 2021.

Kendra and Tayshia, the twins, grew up in low-income neighborhoods in Milwaukee. Though they were "best friends" in their youth, by adulthood they couldn't have been more politically opposed. When Tayshia's husband died of a heart attack, Kendra's son blamed Tayshia for his death, because she had "made him" get the coronavirus vaccine. "You killed him," he said to her. "Mom told me."

Such sudden and complete shifts in personality and ideology have complex causes and even more complicated solutions. Cook understandably and wisely doesn't crowd her book with psychological asides, preferring to allow the specificity of her subjects to speak for themselves. For additional insight, she does occasionally turn to historical sources like Viktor Frankl, Abraham Maslow and Gustave Le Bon. But the book would have benefited from more use of the many interviews Cook did with psychologists and conspiracy theory experts, whose words she largely reserves for an afterword rather than the main text. The intrusions of well-known concepts like Maslow's hierarchy of needs or Frankl's search for meaning might have been fruitfully substituted for more direct insights from the contemporaneous experts she consulted.

But overall, Cook contributes a vital piece to the vexing QAnon puzzle, chronicling the profound effects on those otherwise average people who have fallen into its grasp and the collateral damage done to those around them. People's sense of the truth, as we painfully learn again and again, relies on more than verifiable facts. Beliefs like those espoused by QAnon — which are certainly inventive, if nothing else — can appeal to those for whom the truth is too banal to be riveting or too multifaceted to be comforting. Disinformation, provocative theories and silver-platter scapegoats have proved to be alluring alternatives to more people than we might have imagined. Cook's book doesn't offer solutions, but it sheds important light on the problem.

Jonathan Russell Clark has written about books for Esquire, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times and others. He is the author of "Skateboard" and "An Oasis of Horror in a Desert of Boredom."

The road to Civil War ran through Massachusetts and South Carolina

BY RICHARD KREITNER

The question of whether America is on the verge of a second civil war has sparked countless think pieces, nonfiction books, speculative novels, even a blockbuster film. It has also triggered an ongoing reappraisal of the first. Open any new volume about "the late unpleasantness" and you're bound to find reference to more recent unpleasantness. Erik Larson begins "The Demon of Unrest," his bestseller about the 1861 standoff at Fort Sumter, by recalling how the Jan. 6, 2021, riot gave him "the eerie feeling that present and past had merged."

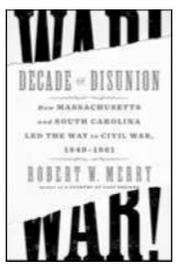
Robert W. Merry, a seasoned journalist and former editor of Congressional Quarterly and the American Conservative, has written books about the Mexican-American War, U.S. foreign policy and President William McKinley. (Merry's daughter Stephanie is a books editor at The Washington Post. She had no involvement with this review.) His latest, "Decade of Disunion," covers some of the most well-trodden ground in American history — the coming of the Civil War. But Merry has found a novel approach in promising to focus on Massachusetts and South Carolina, two states that figured prominently at nearly every stage of America's path to a crackup. He leaves mostly implicit any parallels between past and present, but it's clear that his thoughts about the current crisis of the Union have shaped his account of the run-up to the earlier one.

The two states were long on a collision course. South Carolina's planters demanded stronger protections for Black slavery until they finally split the Democratic Party, thereby throwing the 1860 election to Abraham Lincoln, after which the state tried to secede from the Union. Massachusetts gave refuge to escapees from Southern bondage and helped birth the Republican Party, the first anti-slavery coalition in world history. A climax came in 1856, when South Carolina Rep. Preston Brooks beat Sen. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts to a bloody pulp on the Senate floor — a gruesome harbinger of the greater violence to come.

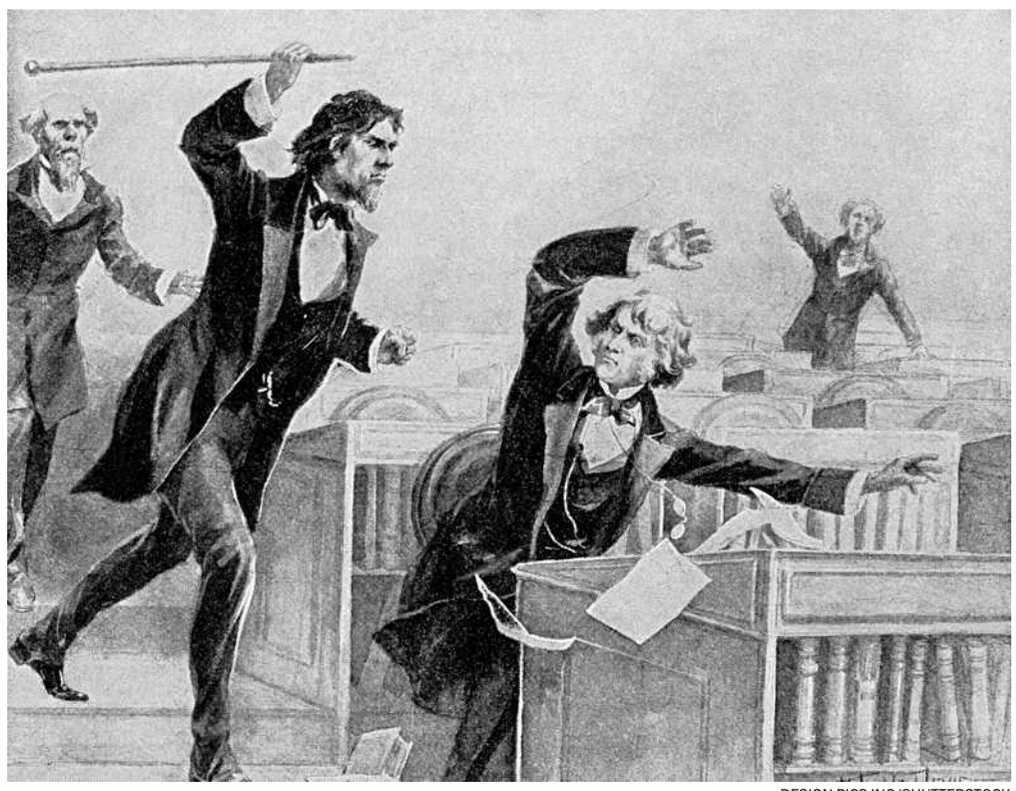
This framing sheds new and interesting light on a story more often told at a national or even continental scale. Merry, a master of the two-page pen portrait, shows how clashes between politicians within the states were often as fierce as the larger struggle between North and South, and he gives a fresh introduction to the characters at the heart of the story, some well-known and others more obscure. "His mind alighted heavily upon big conclusions, with little regard for nuance or subtlety," he writes of Robert Barnwell Rhett, a pro-secession South Carolinian, "and once a conclusion was formed it became instantly impregnable from any troublesome self-doubt or counterarguments." There's no shortage of Rhetts walking the halls of Congress today.

It's only regrettable that the book doesn't stick to this two-state approach more closely. Too much of it is devoted to rehashing the general political history of the period through a slow, grim march through the years — something that has been done by many others before. Intently focused on high politics, "Decade of Disunion" rarely escapes the confines of Washington and the obligatory recitation of speech after eloquent speech. Must we know the names of *every* vice-presidential candidate on *every* party ticket, major and minor? Particularly when we get little more than a cursory sketch of the economic, social and cultural histories of the two states in the book's subtitle.

While Merry is clear that slavery caused the conflict, he mostly avoids discussion of bondage itself. The practice is described early on as "long a portentous dilemma simmering over the flames of politics" — a remarkably abstract way of putting it. When we do hear in passing about "the plight of American blacks caught in the vise of bondage, with all the pain, anguish, and inhumanity of that experience," it's Merry summarizing "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Sumner considered his wounds from the Brooks assault nothing "compared with that tale of woe which is perpetually coming to us from the house of bondage!" That tale may be familiar to readers, but so are the Lincoln-Douglas debates, which get 10 pages, despite having nothing to do with Massachusetts or South Carolina.



DECADE OF DISUNION
How Massachusetts and South Carolina Led the Way to Civil War, 1849-1861
By Robert W. Merry
Simon & Schuster.
514 pp. $35



DESIGN PICS INC/SHUTTERSTOCK

Rep. Preston Brooks (S.C.), an advocate of slavery, assaulted Sen. Charles Sumner (Mass.), an abolitionist, with a cane on the Senate floor on May 22, 1856.

For all his recapitulation of the fights of the 1850s, Merry seems at times to not quite get what all the fuss was about. He blames "burgeoning emotionalism on both sides," as if the loss of decorum was the cause of the crisis, rather than a symptom. It's an unconvincing explanation of the 1850s conflict — or, for that matter, of our own.

Merry recently argued in the American Conservative that another civil war may indeed be in the offing. "History suggests that political adjudication becomes extremely difficult, sometimes even impossible, when the central issues of the day are viewed in moral terms," he warned. That was the mistake the abolitionists made, and it is now being repeated by "the nation's knowledge-sector elites," who "embrace an ethos of globalism," as seen in the "morality-based crusade of transgender rights." The plight of marginalized people apparently still isn't something to get all worked up over.

Yet the very neat symmetry that Merry highlights in the 1850s — with radicals in both South Carolina and Massachusetts rejecting compromise and opting for disunion or even war — is precisely what's missing today. Many Republicans deploy violent rhetoric and deny the legitimacy of elections, while Democrats refuse to entertain hardball remedies like court-packing and even gamely help to save the GOP House speaker from being ousted by fellow extremists in his own party. No single issue divides the nation. We have nothing so clear as the Mason-Dixon to conceivably split along. Even so, it may again be the case, as Lincoln predicted in 1858, that "a crisis" must be "reached and passed" before the country can return to anything resembling peace.

Richard Kreitner is writing a book about American Jews, slavery and the Civil War.

THE POLITICS ISSUE

Gretchen Whitmer tells her story — and not a moment too soon

BY AMANDA UHLE



RYAN GARZA/DETROIT FREE PRESS/AP

Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer celebrates at the state Capitol in Lansing after signing the final bill in the Reproductive Health Act in December 2023. The bill repealed what she called "rape insurance."

If Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer (D) had not yet managed to capture your attention, last month's presidential debate may have stoked new curiosity. The much-discussed stumbles of President Biden on the stage left many Americans wondering: What about that woman from Michigan?

This summer, American confidence in the two major-party candidates is at a low. As Democrats plunge into panic about Biden's fitness for office, Whitmer's accomplishments are alluring: She has won two gubernatorial elections by a wide margin in a decidedly purple state and pushed through an ambitious slate of legislation. When her science-based responses to the coronavirus pandemic spurred President Donald Trump to antagonize her, she unhesitatingly hit back with sharp wit. Trump's name-calling — he dismissively referred to her as "that woman from Michigan" — not only left Whitmer unscathed, it worked to her benefit. As she notes in her new memoir, "True Gretch: What I've Learned About Life, Leadership, and Everything in Between," she also benefited from the raft of merchandise that embraced and reclaimed Trump's dismissive moniker. "It was not only good for me, you could argue that it's been good for Michigan's Etsy community," Whitmer writes. "I refused to let the president define me. I took his insult, flipped it, and made it my own."

If you're looking to understand the real Whitmer — pioneering executive leader, plainspoken progressive, Midwestern mother, target of a right-wing assassination plot, co-chair of Biden's reelection campaign and, perhaps, future presidential hopeful — your best bet is to spend some time as a constituent in her state. If moving to Michigan isn't feasible, your second-best bet is to read "True Gretch," a candid, funny and compact collection of Whitmer lore and her advice.

The sixth chapter, titled "Run Toward the Fire," details the many instances in her career when she has marched into the scariest and most uncertain places, including a harrowing story about racing to the scene of the tragic shooting at Oxford High School in November 2021. Here, and throughout the book, Whitmer balances humility and wisdom. "I have no idea what to say," she remembers thinking as her SUV sped toward the school. As is her regular practice, she called in counsel, phoning former Connecticut governor Dannel Malloy, who navigated the Sandy Hook tragedy in 2012, to seek his advice.

Throughout the memoir, she asks a lot of questions and does an uncommon amount of active listening — much as she has throughout her various terms as an elected official — and not just to other politicians. (Another chapter is titled "Learn to Listen.") *Why do you feel that way?* and *Tell me more* are her favorite conversation starters with both constituents and adversaries.

She's also known in our state as unusually dogged. Her first moment in the national spotlight came in December 2013. As a state senator, she spoke on the floor in opposition to a bill requiring a separate insurance rider to cover abortion. A few minutes into her prepared remarks, she set them aside and spontaneously revealed that she had been sexually assaulted as a college student, and she went on to call the bill, which she termed "rape insurance," one of the most misogynistic legislative proposals she'd ever seen. The bill passed. Nine and half years later, as governor, she signed the historic repeal of Michigan's 1931 abortion ban, to much fanfare. The following six months brought the Reproductive Health Act — numerous proposals to expand and enshrine women's health-related rights. On Dec. 11, 2023, 10 years to the day since her emotional speech as a state senator, she signed the bill eliminating rape insurance. "The moral of this story is, don't stop fighting for what you know is right," she announced from the podium that day.



TRUE GRETCH
What I've Learned About Life, Leadership, and Everything in Between
By Gretchen Whitmer with Lisa Dickey
Simon & Schuster.
159 pp. $26.99

It's rare to hear Whitmer speak, even off the cuff, and feel confused about where she stands or what she plans to do. She won her first statewide campaign on the slogan "Fix the Damn Roads" and raised eyebrows when that four-letter word was displayed on her bus. But in light of that frankness, it's glaring that she never mentions the presidency, or even hints at her own plans, in "True Gretch." She could have cleared up all the speculation about a possible presidential campaign if the book had ended with a fervent wish to retire and pursue fly-fishing or watercolor painting when she's termed out in 2026. She provides no such clue.

Still, there's something direct enough about the book that it's hardly necessary for her to utter the P word. Whitmer makes her case in less than 160 pages with almost no highfalutin language. Written with Lisa Dickey, the chapters are short, and for those of us who have watched her for years, it's largely familiar fare. Her storytelling is relatable and natural. Readers will find a pop music playlist and a recipe for her grandmother's clover dinner rolls. Whitmer's distinctive accent echoes across every page.

There are a few surprises. She declares her fondness for her ex-husband, a professional photographer who often covers her campaign events and takes family portraits of Whitmer, her husband, Marc Mallory, and their children. Whitmer also proclaims herself "weird" and says she is unfortunately compelled to behave (relatively) normally during her work life as governor. "When I get home, I set the weirdness free," she writes. She owns a cardboard cutout of herself from a recent campaign and hides it in closets in the house to "scare the crap out of visitors."

In "True Gretch," we meet one of the few politicians who might be equipped, and possibly even willing, to tackle what's ahead. The book is welcome reassurance that *someone* might be courageous and capable enough to run toward the fire that's making kindling of our democracy. "We must never be afraid to show up," she writes in her characteristically aphoristic style. "You're not going to get everything right immediately, but you've got to get in there and try."

Amanda Uhle is the author of the forthcoming memoir "Destroy This House" and the publisher and executive director of McSweeney's.

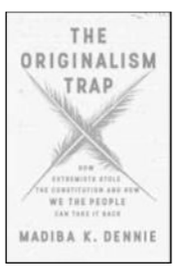
A call for a revolt against the Supreme Court's originalism

BY KENNETH W. MACK

One of the more striking questions raised by the Supreme Court's controversial recent decisions — such as its partial shielding of former president Donald Trump from criminal liability for his efforts to overturn the legitimate result of the 2020 presidential election — is how they square with the court's embrace of originalism as a theory of constitutional interpretation. The court's immunity decision, for instance, was mainly non-originalist in its reasoning, despite the fact that seven justices, including the liberal Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson, have shown some affinity for originalist interpretation.

Originalism is the assertion that judges should be guided and limited in interpreting the U.S. Constitution solely by something original in it, although that "something" has shifted over time — from the original intent of its framers, to the original public meaning of its text, to the original law at the time of its adoption, with various sub-theories now debated. The theory has been sharply criticized. For one thing, skeptics say, its adherents have abandoned their search for the intent of the framers, a quixotic task that can lead only to indeterminate answers. Originalism as currently practiced is a modern invention whose methods have little to do with how the founding generation conceived of the Constitution or its method of interpretation, as recent historical research has shown. The theory's advocates claim objectivity as one of its strengths, but the court relies on it haphazardly: It's invoked when its purported results align with the priorities of conservative Republican activists — about individual gun rights, for instance — and ignored or modified when, to take two examples, the court wishes to invalidate affirmative action or strike down protections for the voting rights of minorities.

In "The Originalism Trap: How Extremists Stole the Constitution and How We the People Can Take It Back," Madiba K. Dennie, a civil rights lawyer and legal commentator, offers a trenchant, sharply worded critique of originalist theories — and a call for a popular revolt against them. This is a timely project given that the number of Supreme Court justices who espouse such theories could increase if Donald Trump is elected to the White House again this fall.



THE ORIGINALISM TRAP
How Extremists Stole the Constitution and How We the People Can Take It Back
By Madiba K. Dennie
Random House.
286 pp. $28

As Dennie puts it, "Originalism deliberately entombs historically marginalized groups' legal claims to liberation." She charges that its proponents tend to valorize the founding era, when Blacks, women and poor people were not covered in full, or in some cases at all, by the order that the Constitution created. By contrast, originalists have traditionally downplayed the importance of Reconstruction, the post-Civil War period when the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were adopted, guaranteeing freedom, equality, citizenship and, to a lesser extent, voting rights for many Americans.

Dennie isn't the first to note this tension between originalism and the group identities of those who were excluded from the original compact. "The Originalism Trap" locates the theory's origins in the debate over *Brown v. Board of Education*, during which the court asked lawyers in the case to evaluate the status of school segregation in the late 1860s, when the 14th Amendment was framed and ratified. Dennie shows that the segregationist congressmen who in 1956 signed the Southern Manifesto, which condemned the Supreme Court's decision that segregated schools were unconstitutional, grounded their arguments in the "original" meaning and intent of the Constitution and its 14th Amendment. The state of Virginia did also when it defended its ban on interracial marriage, which the court struck down in *Loving v. Virginia*. It's true that the tradition of invoking the intentions of the founders and framers in constitutional discourse has a much longer (and not always ignominious) history, but Dennie is correct that the origins of our current fixation on originalism and the nature of the debate lie in the reaction to *Brown* and its legacy.

"The Originalism Trap" critiques one recent court decision after another, covering gun rights, abortion, LGBTQ rights, voting rights, the census and other subjects. The Supreme Court and conservative advocates have blatantly manipulated and sometimes conveniently ignored originalist methods, Dennie argues, with the consistent result of making life worse for traditional outsider groups. For instance, she harshly critiques Chief Justice John Roberts's summoning of the "equal [state] sovereignty" principle out of thin air to invalidate part of the Voting Rights Act when he couldn't find a constitutional provision that would do the job, and shows that the decision is better explained by the chief justice's long-standing hostility to the act as a matter of policy. "It was a lawless and racist decision," she writes.

"Originalism deliberately entombs historically marginalized groups' legal claims to liberation," writes Madiba K. Dennie.



NINA SUBIN

But sometimes she lumps things into originalism's penumbra that don't quite fit, such as the court's decision to uphold the Trump administration's travel ban in *Trump v. Hawaii*, in which it credited the government's assertion that the ban had nothing to do with prejudice against Muslims, and several other Trump-era cases about the census and apportionment of House seats. In these cases, some conservative activists did resort to specious originalist reasoning, but Dennie's critiques aren't primarily about applying or avoiding originalist methods. Her real concern seems to be that the court, and activists in a Trump-captured Republican Party, are pursuing fundamentally anti-democratic objectives.

Dennie has no truck with those liberals, such as Justice Jackson, who have sought to reclaim originalism from conservatives. She concludes that "progressive originalists" and their methods, while preferable in their aims, "still constrain our constitutional imagination to an era where much of America was much worse off" and, in any event, are unlikely to convince conservatives. In lieu of any originalist camp, she propounds her own theory, which "emphasizes the transformative goals of the Reconstruction Amendments." Dennie calls it "inclusive constitutionalism."

She argues for a method that emphasizes the "pro-democracy and antisubordination goals of the Reconstruction Amendments." It's not clear that her method is entirely distinguishable from that of the liberal originalists. She does focus on the text of the Constitution and the intentions behind it — in this case, the post-Civil War amendments — although she is more interested in the broad principles encompassed in those amendments than the constraints of text, intentions and context that occupy originalists. But originalist scholars, in both their liberal and conservative variants, have also recently attempted to make peace with the Reconstruction Amendments and the need to read their commands broadly.

The true stakes of "The Originalism Trap" might be viewed from words contained in its subtitle: "We the People," taken from the Constitution's famous Preamble. Dennie's book is best read as a critique of a court that seems hellbent on aggrandizing its own unaccountable power to decide partisan issues at the expense of the other branches of government and the American people. Appropriately enough, Dennie ends her book with a catalogue of the ways that lawyers, activists and ordinary Americans can oppose a court whose anti-democratic impulses might one day be further reinforced. Whether or not readers agree with all of her analysis, those who fear that result will take solace and motivation from this strongly argued book.

Kenneth W. Mack, a historian and a professor of law at Harvard, is the author of "Representing the Race: The Creation of the Civil Rights Lawyer" and a co-editor of the forthcoming "In Between and Across: Legal History Without Boundaries."



Catherine de' Medici with her son Charles IX. The queen mother was often the de facto ruler of France.

BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Serpent or savior? A French queen, reassessed

BY DAVE KINDY

Contrary to the overly dramatic storyline of the TV biopic "The Serpent Queen" on Starz, Catherine de' Medici wasn't really that bad as queen and later queen mother in 16th-century France. In fact, she may have been the glue that held a fractured society together during a series of bloody civil wars that nearly toppled the kingdom and sent it back to the Dark Ages.

Renaissance scholar and historian Mary Hollingsworth's new biography provides a more tempered view of the monarchal matriarch who shaped politics, culture, society and religion at a critical time in French history. "Catherine de' Medici: The Life and Times of the Serpent Queen" serves as a compelling counterpoint to some of the more common disparaging claims against the Gallic ruler.

Trashed by her enemies and malevolently mythologized in history, de' Medici is often seen today as the personification of evil. As Hollingsworth puts it in her prologue: "The power of this myth has made Catherine's own achievements all but invisible." As queen, she certainly could be ruthless (she had at least one of her enemies arrested and sentenced to death). But on balance, Hollingsworth argues, the record shows her to be a reasonable ruler as well as a peacekeeper, working behind the scenes to still turbulent waters.

Born in 1519 to the powerful Medici family of Florence, she was orphaned within a month by the deaths of both parents. Though her childhood couldn't have been easy, it was apparently not the horror show depicted on television. She was the ward of Pope Clement VII and raised in stability by kindly relatives, including her grandmother. Later, she had the good fortune to be educated in a Benedictine convent that fostered independence and intellect in its female students.

Though critics sneeringly called her "The Merchant's Daughter," a dig at her Italian banking family, de' Medici was also descended from French nobility through her mother. This dual bloodline gave her title to royal heraldry, loads of land and immense wealth — making her extremely desirable as a prospect for an arranged marriage.

In 1533, she was wed to Henry of the House of Valois in France, second son of King Francis I. He became dauphin upon the death of his older brother three years later, then was crowned Henry II when his father died in 1547.

The queen consort endured humiliation at the hands of the king, who openly favored his mistress. Still, de' Medici served as a dutiful wife, producing heirs and supporting her husband throughout his reign.



CATHERINE DE' MEDICI
The Life and Times of the Serpent Queen
By Mary Hollingsworth
Pegasus.
448 pp. $35

Widowed at age 40 in 1559, she became the power behind the throne for her oldest son, Francis II, who was only 15 when he became king. She remained at the apex of authority as an influential adviser to him — and later as regent to his brothers, kings Charles IX and Henry III (life was short in those days). As queen mother, she was often the de facto sovereign of France when her sons were ill, away at war or simply didn't want to be bothered with the responsibilities of leadership.

Beginning during the reign of young Charles IX, the realm was shaken by devastating religious civil wars. The Protestant Reformation ignited bitter hostilities between followers of the new Christian sect and Catholics. As open warfare consumed the country, de' Medici sought to walk a fine line between the two sides and broker peace.

Hollingsworth emphasizes how often the queen mother urged tolerance — not because she accepted Protestantism but because she wanted to avoid senseless bloodshed. She also saw peace as the only way to preserve the kingdom and keep her sons in power.

That neutrality came at a price: Catholics hated de' Medici because she didn't protect the true faith with deadly force, while Protestants reviled her for a perceived duplicity at the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572, when thousands of new believers were slaughtered. It's long been believed that the bloodshed that day was spurred by Henry III's purge of Protestants from his court, who he said were plotting his overthrow. Of course, de' Medici was blamed.

In truth, Hollingsworth says, no one knows who ordered the butchery. A record of the decision made at a royal meeting, attended by de' Medici, has long since disappeared. It seems unlikely that the queen mother would have advocated for carnage given her past efforts to negotiate peace treaties. Regardless, the event left a stain on her legacy that only became more prominent with time, earning her the sobriquet "Serpent Queen."

In the end, de' Medici was able to preserve the monarchy, but she couldn't keep the reins of power in the hands of her children. At the time of her death in 1589, two of her sons had ascended to the throne and died; a third son, who was then king, was assassinated soon after she was gone, thus ending the Valois dynasty. The House of Bourbon took power, and de' Medici's son-in-law, Henry IV, became monarch. He followed her path of reconciliation and eventually established a permanent peace by granting freedom of faith to Protestants in France.

Hollingsworth can be pedantic at times, which is understandable given the massive volume of material needed to convey de' Medici's enormous influence over a relatively lengthy life. But she has produced an absorbing narrative about the rise of a determined woman bent on maintaining France's monarchy, keeping her offspring in power and healing the wounds caused by religious fractures.

As Hollingsworth writes, Catherine played a pivotal role in "preserving France as one of Europe's leading powers. In all, it was an astonishing achievement."

It certainly was, and this book is a treat for fans of well-told history.

Dave Kindy is a freelance journalist and a former daily correspondent for Smithsonian.

LITERARY CALENDAR

July 14 - 20

14 SUNDAY | 5 P.M. ***Liza Achilles*** discusses "Two Novembers: A Memoir of Love 'n' Sex in Sonnets" with ***Elizabeth Borda Rivera*** at Busboys and Poets, 235 Carroll St. NW. 202-726-0856.

5 P.M. ***Verlyn Flieger*** discusses "Spiderweb Alley" at Politics and Prose, 5015 Connecticut Ave. NW. 202-364-1919.

5 P.M. ***Simon Shieh*** and ***Taylor Johnson*** present a poetry reading at People's Book, 7014-A Westmoreland Ave., Takoma Park. 240-641-8979.

15 MONDAY | 7 P.M. ***Anne Kim*** discusses "Poverty for Profit: How Corporations Get Rich Off America's Poor" at Politics and Prose.

16 TUESDAY | 6 P.M. ***Emily Amick*** discusses "Democracy in Retrograde: How to Make Changes Big and Small in Our Country and in Our Lives" at Bards Alley, 110 Church St. NW, Vienna. 571-459-2653.

7 P.M. ***Jean-Martin Bauer*** discusses "The New Breadline: Hunger and Hope in the Twenty-First Century" with ***Anna Gawel*** at Politics and Prose.

7 P.M. ***Amanda Quain*** discusses "Dashed" with ***Andrea Tang*** at One More Page Books, 2200 N. Westmoreland St., Arlington. 703-300-9746.

17 WEDNESDAY | 5 P.M. ***Mary Kubica*** discusses "She's Not Sorry," streamed through Lewes Library at *lewes.lib.de.us*.

6 P.M. Books inspired by Vogue Beach Reads and Vogue Book Girl Summer will be given away at Summer Sundeck Reads at the Yards Park, 355 Water St. SE. More information at *theyardsdc.com*.

7 P.M. ***Boyce Thompson*** discusses "Innovations in Mass Timber: Sequestering Carbon With Style in Commercial Buildings" at Politics and Prose at the Wharf, 610 Water St. SW. 202-488-3867.

7 P.M. ***Zack Beauchamp*** discusses "The Reactionary Spirit: How America's Most Insidious Political Tradition Swept the World" with ***Matthew Yglesias*** at Politics and Prose.

18 THURSDAY | 7 P.M. ***Geronimo Robinson*** discusses "Spain, Brasil, Moses & Coltrane: Africa Redefined" at Politics and Prose at Union Market, 1270 Fifth St. NE. 202-544-4452.

7 P.M. ***Premal Dharia***, ***James Forman Jr.*** and ***Maria Hawilo*** discuss "Dismantling Mass Incarceration" with ***Clint Smith*** at Politics and Prose.

7 P.M. ***Shawn K. Stout*** discusses "Anatomy of Lost Things" with ***Kate Albus*** at Scrawl Books, 11911 Freedom Dr., Reston. 703-966-2111.

19 FRIDAY | 7 P.M. ***Ferris Jabar*** discusses "Becoming Earth: How Our Planet Came to Life" with ***Ross Andersen*** at Politics and Prose at the Wharf.

7 P.M. ***Paolo Bacigalupi*** discusses "Navola" at Politics and Prose.

20 SATURDAY | 5 P.M. ***Iris Mwanza*** discusses "The Lions' Den" with ***Tayla Burney*** at Politics and Prose.

5 P.M. ***Mickey Bergman*** discusses "In the Shadows: True Stories of High-Stakes Negotiations to Free Americans Captured Abroad" at Politics and Prose at Union Market.

For more literary events, go to *wapo.st/literarycal*.

Washington Post Paperback Bestsellers

COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS ASSOCIATION

FICTION

1 **TOMORROW, AND TOMORROW, AND TOMORROW** (Vintage, $19). By Gabrielle Zevin. Two friends run a successful video game design company while testing the boundaries of their relationship.

2 **A COURT OF THORNS AND ROSES** (Bloomsbury, $19). By Sarah J. Maas. A threat is growing over a magical land where a huntress is being held captive.

3 **JUST FOR THE SUMMER** (Forever, $17.99). By Abby Jimenez. Despite a couple's plans to keep things lighthearted, their summer fling turns serious.

4 **HAPPY PLACE** (Berkley, $19). By Emily Henry. At a friend group's annual getaway, one couple hides that they have split.

5 **NOT IN LOVE** (Berkley, $19). By Ali Hazelwood. An engineer at a biotech start-up fights an attraction to the man planning a hostile takeover of her company.

6 **A NOVEL LOVE STORY** (Berkley, $19). By Ashley Poston. A woman finds herself trapped in the fictional town where her favorite romance novels take place.

7 **THE HOUSEMAID IS WATCHING** (Poisoned Pen, $17.99). By Freida McFadden. A former housemaid moves into her dream home and finds that the neighbors may be harboring secrets as dangerous as her own.

8 **THIS SUMMER WILL BE DIFFERENT** (Berkley, $19). By Carley Fortune. Though they vow to never repeat their one-night stand, a woman and her best friend's brother find their chemistry may be impossible to resist.

9 **THE HOUSEMAID** (Grand Central, $12.99). By Freida McFadden. A woman with a troubled past is grateful for employment as a housemaid until things take a sinister turn.

10 **A COURT OF MIST AND FURY** (Bloomsbury, $19). By Sarah J. Maas. A woman struggles with her loyalty toward two warring courts.

NONFICTION

1 **THE ART THIEF** (Vintage, $18). By Michael Finkel. More than 300 art objects were stolen by one man and kept in a secret room.

2 **BRAIDING SWEETGRASS** (Milkweed, $20). By Robin Wall Kimmerer. Essays by an Indigenous scientist offer lessons in reciprocal awareness between people and plants.

3 **THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR ON PALESTINE** (Picador, $19.99). By Rashid Khalidi. A historian of the Middle East traces events from 1917 to 2017 to argue that the conflict between Israel and Gaza is a war of colonial conquest.

4 **ALL ABOUT LOVE** (Morrow, $16.99). By bell hooks. The first volume in the feminist's "Love Song to the Nation" trilogy considers compassion as a form of love.

5 **EVERYTHING I KNOW ABOUT LOVE** (Harper Perennial, $18.99). By Dolly Alderton. A British journalist shares stories chronicling her attempts to find happiness and love.

6 **THE BODY KEEPS THE SCORE** (Penguin, $19). By Bessel van der Kolk. A scientific look at how trauma can reshape a person's body and brain.

7 **KILLERS OF THE FLOWER MOON** (Vintage, $18). By David Grann. A look at the FBI's investigation of Native American deaths in 1920s Oklahoma.

8 **WORLD TRAVEL** (Ecco, $22). By Anthony Bourdain and Laurie Woolever. Notes from the late television host and chef about his favorite travel spots are accompanied by essays from his friends and family.

9 **CRYING IN H MART** (Vintage, $17). By Michelle Zauner. A Korean American indie-rock star chronicles her relationship with her mother and their shared culture.

10 **WHAT AN OWL KNOWS** (Penguin, $19). By Jennifer Ackerman. A scientific immersion into the world of owls and an exploration of their impact on human history.

Rankings reflect sales for the week ended July 7. The charts may not be reproduced without permission from the American Booksellers Association, the trade association for independent bookstores in the United States, and indiebound.org. Copyright 2024 American Booksellers Association. (The bestseller lists alternate between hardcover and paperback each week.)



GRAPHICAARTIS/GETTY IMAGES

This painting by Howard Chandler Christy depicts the signing of the Constitution in 1787, with George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and others.

What can we learn by living like the founders?

BY CHARLES ARROWSMITH

How, in the Year of Our Crisis 2024, do we feel about the Founding Fathers?

For many Americans, they are inspirational figures deserving of uncomplicated reverence — the creators of modern liberal democracy. For others, they're the monsters who prolonged slavery in the United States, the chauvinists who excluded women from the franchise and the morons whose rules would grant as many senators to Wyoming as California, despite its having one-sixty-eighth of the population.

Two humorous new books probe these conflicting attitudes while warning of the perils of simplistic, binary thinking. What do their authors think we might still learn from the founders — and from the Constitution those men entrusted so hopefully to posterity?

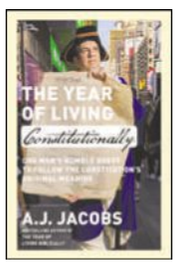
A.J. Jacobs, in "The Year of Living Constitutionally," is initially dubious. "Should we be skeptical of this set of rules written by wealthy racists who thought tobacco-smoke enemas were cutting-edge medicine?" he asks. Surely yes ...?

His method for assessing the continuing utility of the Constitution is to "get inside the minds of the Founding Fathers." Jacobs wants to be "the original originalist" — that is, to follow the doctrine of constitutional interpretation that favors the semantic and political frameworks prevalent at the time it was written. Armed with a tricorn hat, goose quill pen and a large supply of candles, he does his best to live 1790s-style and exercise his Constitution-given rights, whether it be carrying a musket, quartering a soldier, or gaining a letter of marque and reprisal and becoming a privateer. What larks.

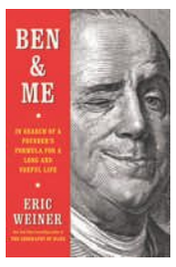
Jacobs's gonzo approach, while occasionally silly, is not ineffective. In testing the Constitution's more outdated elements, he shows how stupid it can be to take 237-year-old rules literally. And he backs his stunts with research and interviews with academics to get an even more alarming sense of the implications of originalist thinking. I was surprised to discover that even the clearly worded rights listed in the First Amendment were interpreted radically differently in the late 18th century. Anti-cursing laws, statutes banning theater and the imprisonment of members of Congress for dissent were all basically kosher — imagine!

Jacobs's point isn't that the founders were maniacs or that we should ditch the Bill of Rights. Rather he's building a case for living constitutionalism, the philosophy that the founding documents' basic tenets can remain a guide even as society and technology change. At a time when a majority on the Supreme Court favors its opposite, originalism (at least when convenient), and is actively attacking freedoms such as reproductive rights and the power of federal agencies to protect the environment, it's vital to question the philosophical underpinnings of their approach. Jacobs seems to me essentially correct in calling the Constitution "a national Rorschach test." We see what we want to see; the idea of a definitive interpretation should be treated with suspicion.

In any case, the text of the Constitution was arrived at only through bitter debate. Part of the reason so much of it hums with ambiguity and requires specialist interpretation is because the delegates at 1787's Constitutional Convention couldn't agree what to put in it and were forced to compromise. Only after four sweltering months in Philadelphia did they arrive at a draft they could live with. Benjamin Franklin spoke for many of the delegates when he declared at the end of the convention, "I confess that I do not entirely approve of this Constitution." Nevertheless, he added, "I doubt too whether any other Convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better Constitution."



THE YEAR OF LIVING CONSTITUTIONALLY
One Man's Humble Quest to Follow the Constitution's Original Meaning
By A.J. Jacobs
Crown.
304 pp. $30



BEN & ME
In Search of a Founder's Formula for a Long and Useful Life
By Eric Weiner
Avid Reader.
336 pp. $29.99

Franklin is the subject of Eric Weiner's book "Ben & Me: In Search of a Founder's Formula for a Long and Useful Life." Weiner, like Jacobs, searches in the past for guidance on how we should live now and finds, in Renaissance man Franklin, an inspiring example.

Among his many admirable qualities, per Weiner, were his stoicism and the "modest diffidence" (Franklin's words) he practiced in conversation and debate — in stark contrast with today's feral hyperpartisanship. These are, of course, also among the essential tools of diplomacy, and luckily, when his country was in direst need, Franklin was at the height of his powers. If you saw "Franklin" on Apple TV, with a twinkly Michael Douglas charming the powdered wigs off French aristocrats, you'll be familiar with the critical diplomatic feats he executed during the Revolutionary War.

While there's much to admire about Franklin, he was also one of the aforementioned slaveholding founders. Indeed it took him till 1785 to emancipate his last enslaved person. Weiner ties himself in knots trying to demonstrate, through Franklin's writings, the gradual shift in his thinking, but it certainly took him awhile to become the "all-in abolitionist" Weiner describes. Nevertheless, he *did* change his position, eventually becoming president of a notable abolitionist society, and his evolution on the subject is suggestive of one final virtue. "At a time when opinions have calcified," Weiner writes, "Franklin reminds us that changing your mind is not only a noble act; it is also an American one."

Though there are unignorable limitations in mining the early republic for guidance, there's still plenty to learn from the past. Though Weiner focuses largely on Franklin, the lives of most Founding Fathers illustrate a certain mutability of intention and ideology. And this is good! Flexibility and willingness to compromise are desirable qualities in politicians, especially in an era of chronic entrenchment and bitter division.

As for the Constitution, that which lasts always has at least a kernel of goodness in it, and the founders' greatest hit has many. Jacobs, like many before him, particularly admires its capacity to change. Though the amendment process is difficult, the passage of 27 amendments since 1787 shows, for the most part, how the Constitution might be incrementally improved, through consensus-building, without having to start from scratch. Progress may be intermittent, but it accrues.

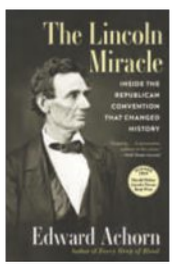
Originalism, however, impedes progress and must be subject to thorough scrutiny. Even the founders were wary of it: No less a man than Thomas Jefferson argued that "laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind." This view has been inherited by all who believe that a living Constitution can still offer hope. These include the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who saw it as a "promissory note to which every American was to fall heir," Thurgood Marshall, who had no illusions about its imperfections but fought tirelessly to deliver greater justice through its provisions, and President Barack Obama, who used the founders' words to speak hopefully of the promise of "a more perfect union." This feels like a good way to look at the past: not just with a clear sense of right and wrong but also a desire to build on, not destroy, what the founders started.

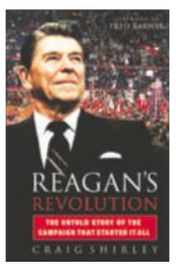
Charles Arrowsmith is based in New York and writes about books, films and music.

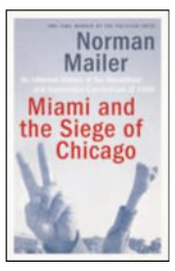
POLITICAL CONVENTIONS

By Washington Post Staff

The Republican National Convention, which gets underway Monday in Milwaukee, is likely to have its share of spectacle. But at the moment, with the clamor over whether President Biden should continue running for reelection, it's the Democratic gathering in Chicago in August that seems to have the potential for the kind of high drama that political conventions aren't supposed to provide anymore. There was a time when the fate of the country was regularly decided during these events, and the books below are just a few that readers might turn to for context — and great stories.







'The Lincoln Miracle: Inside the Republican Convention That Changed History,' by Edward Achorn

On a list of consequential moments in American history, it would be hard to top Abraham Lincoln's presidential victory. Achorn's book shows just how unlikely it was — and details how it happened anyway. When Republicans gathered for their 1860 convention in Chicago, Sen. William Seward 0f New York was the clear favorite to win the nomination. By contrast, as Achorn writes, Lincoln "had not held elected office for more than a decade," and "his executive experience was pretty much limited to running a two-man law office." "The Lincoln Miracle" recounts the many things — some of them "spookily fortuitous" — that had to line up in Chicago for Honest Abe to become the party's man.

'Roosevelt's Revolt: The 1912 Republican Convention and the Launch of the Bull Moose Party,' by John C. Skipper

A former president spurned by his own party and successor fuels this story. Theodore Roosevelt, president from 1901 to 1909, decided to run again in 1912 (one could be elected to the highest office more than twice in those days) because of deep disagreements with President William Howard Taft, whom he had essentially enlisted as his heir. When Roosevelt's effort to unseat Taft as the nominee failed, he created the Bull Moose Party and ran under its banner. The progressive third party was relatively short-lived, but its effect in 1912 was decisive: Roosevelt and Taft split support, and Democrat Woodrow Wilson went to the White House with about 42 percent of the popular vote but an electoral college landslide.

'The 103rd Ballot: The Legendary 1924 Democratic Convention That Forever Changed Politics,' by Robert K. Murray

When it took 15 ballots to elevate Kevin McCarthy to speaker of the House in 2023, it felt like a marathon. Try 103. That's how many ballots it took Democrats to decide who they would (futilely) send up against Republican Calvin Coolidge in 1924. While the names involved might not ring many bells anymore — William Gibbs McAdoo from California, New York Gov. Al Smith and even the eventual nominee, John W. Davis — the grueling process still makes for a riveting view of democracy.

'Reagan's Revolution: The Untold Story of the Campaign That Started It All,' by Craig Shirley

In 1976, Gerald Ford got the Republican nod. But the real story, obvious in hindsight and told in Shirley's book, was the strong push by Ronald Reagan, foreshadowing his takeover of the party. Shirley is an admirer of the Gipper (subtitles of his other books include "The Appealing Intellectual Conservatism of Ronald Reagan"), and he tells the story of how Ford narrowly succeeded and how Reagan laid the groundwork for a coming revolution.

'Miami and the Siege of Chicago: An Informal History of the Republican and Democratic Conventions of 1968,' by Norman Mailer

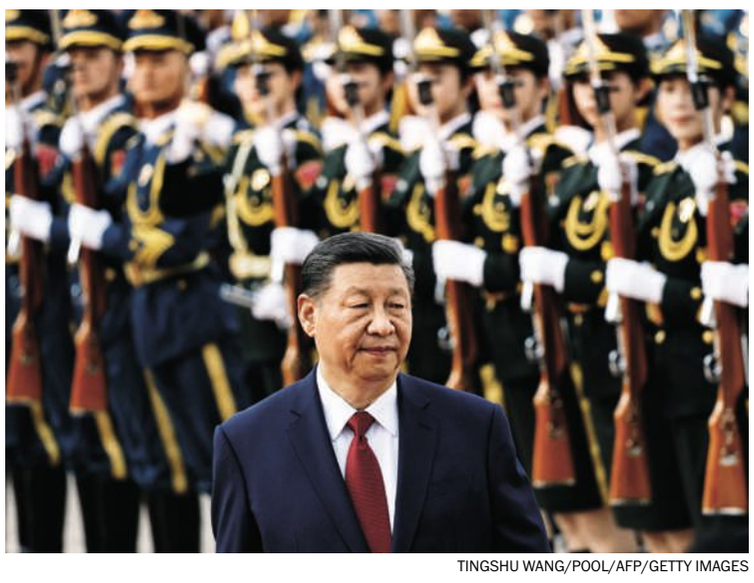
Mailer's enduring work of New Journalism is by consensus the most accomplished piece of literature about conventions. David Denby, writing in the New Yorker on the book's 50th anniversary, called it "one of the essential works of American reporting." While Mailer has incisive things to say about Richard Nixon and the Republicans in Miami, it's the way he captures the Democrats in Chicago, where tensions over the Vietnam War led to clashes between police and protesters in the streets, that bolsters the historical record. "The only element that redeems the event from complete sorrow," Denby wrote, "is the scathing and poetic book that Norman Mailer wrote about it."



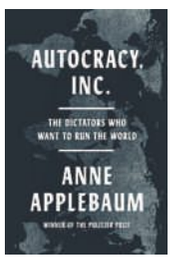
GAVRIIL GRIGOROV/SPUTNIK/POOL/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The scariest thing dictators are doing now: Working together

BY RUTH BEN-GHIAT



TINGSHU WANG/POOL/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



AUTOCRACY, INC. The Dictators Who Want to Run the World
By Anne Applebaum
Doubleday.
207 pp. $27

"If you have a smart president, they're not enemies," former president Donald Trump said about Russia, China and North Korea at a campaign rally in Chesapeake, Va., last month. "You'll make them do great." Trump has a habit of praising individual dictators, with Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping and Kim Jong Un at the top of his list. On this occasion, Trump referred to these countries together, as an autocratic alliance that he would seemingly promote if he were to be reelected.

The recent ascendance of global authoritarianism has produced many studies of strongmen, their cults of personality, and the way they use propaganda, violence and other tools of iron rule. Historian and journalist Anne Applebaum has long chronicled the devastation of past authoritarian regimes as well as the threats we face in the present, in books such as the Pulitzer Prize-winning "Gulag" (2003) and "Twilight of Democracy" (2020). Her new book, "Autocracy, Inc.: The Dictators Who Want to Run the World," takes a different approach than most, looking at the connections among authoritarian regimes that "opportunistically work together toward their common goal: damaging democracies and democratic values, inside their own countries and around the world."

Applebaum argues that dictators like those in Iran, Venezuela, China and Russia differ from despots of earlier ages because their partnerships are born less from ideological commonalities than from "a ruthless, single-minded determination to preserve their personal wealth and power." Applebaum rightly places kleptocratic institutionalized thievery at the center of her analysis. "To stay in power, modern autocrats need to be able to take money and hide it without being bothered by political institutions that encourage transparency, accountability, or public debate," she writes. "The money, in turn, helps them shore up the instruments of repression."

The "Inc." in her title gestures at those financial priorities. "Governance" becomes a source of illicit wealth for ruling elites (as when Putin plunders Gazprom, the state-owned gas giant, and other entities and exfiltrates the money to offshore accounts), and "foreign policy" prioritizes the deals that keep that wealth flowing. In "mafia states" like North Korea and Russia, organized crime — here meaning crime organized by the government — is the primary activity.

The book explores the many ways autocrats collaborate to keep themselves collectively in power. Repression, indoctrination and thievery are the focus of their joint ventures. They often arm one another (Venezuela gets weapons from China, and Russia gets weapons from Iran and Turkey) and collaborate on acts of violence against exiled dissidents. Regimes also work together through mutual propaganda, whether it is China offering a boost to the state-controlled Russia Today or Russian troll farms amplifying the messages of far-right governments and parties abroad. Such networks have resulted in the standardization of talking points about demographic threats from non-White immigrants and Muslims, and the threat posed to tradition by LGBTQ+ individuals. "Antidemocratic rhetoric has gone global," Applebaum writes.

These intertwined autocratic enterprises collectively aspire to take down the democratic international order, which levies punishments against them that include economic sanctions, anti-corruption legislation, embargoes and International Criminal Court rulings. These practices can restrict state theft, curb trade and travel, and freeze external funding, potentially causing popular unrest at home. Applebaum discusses how China and Russia, in particular, seek to "rewrite the rules of the international system" to discredit threatening ideas promoting human rights and political rights, along with democratic notions of accountability, transparency and solidarity.

These autocrats have adopted the buzzword "multipolarity" to frame the emerging autocratic international order, and the term pervades earnest-seeming talk by Chinese, Venezuelans, Iranians and Russians about "the right to development," "mutual respect," "sovereignty" and "self-determination." Multipolarity positions these murderous regimes — even Russia, despite its war of occupation in Ukraine — as crusaders for justice against globalist manipulations and democratic imperialism, with America the ringleader to be defeated.

Applebaum might overstate the novelty of autocrats colluding for profit rather than ideology. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, hundreds of Italian fascists traveled to Russia to learn from the communists about Stalin's Five-Year Plan. And the Holocaust was one of the biggest multinational criminal operations in history; it attracted profiteer-collaborators who may not have cared about "the Jewish question" but wanted to make money.

Applebaum also contends that it is myopic and dated to focus on "a bad man at the top" — a strongman — because today's autocracies are run by networks and infrastructures of transnational reach. Yet Putinism and other personalist regimes show that when dictators achieve a certain level of power, they are the ones who determine who gets to participate in and profit from those networks. And it can be difficult to dislodge the "bad man at the top," as Putin's lasting power demonstrates.

"Autocracy, Inc." is a valuable book for many reasons, but the focus on illicit wealth creation and on those in democracies who enable it is especially timely. So is Applebaum's recommendation that we wage war on autocratic behaviors wherever they occur. That requires a united front among democratic countries to stop "lawless violence," enforce sanctions and debunk propaganda — including inside their borders.

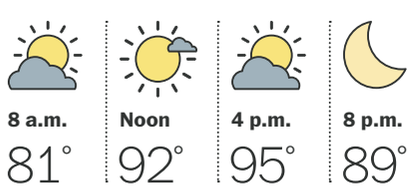
These are tall orders in our current environment, and particularly urgent recommendations for America in particular, because we are also part of the problem. The wealth managers, international lawyers and accountants whom dictators employ live in democracies — principally in Britain and the United States — as do the public relations firms and lobbyists who whitewash their crimes. Many Americans probably do not know that South Dakota, Wyoming and other U.S. states are now important hubs of kleptocratic activities.

Trump is not a protagonist of this book, but he has probably long been part of the illicit capital flows that Applebaum examines. Autocracies funneled millions to Trump's businesses while he was president, with China alone providing more than $5 million. Trump also shares the mentality of those transactional tyrants. "Dictators? It's okay. Come on in. Whatever's good for the United States," he declared in 2019. Trump may have worn a MAGA hat at his Virginia rally, but his belief that a "smart president" could help China, North Korea and Russia "do great" implies that the forces Applebaum describes would expand to include America during a second Trump term.

Ruth Ben-Ghiat is professor of history at New York University. She is the author of "Strongmen: Mussolini to the Present" and publishes Lucid, a newsletter about threats to democracy.

TOP: Portraits of Russian President Vladimir Putin and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un hung side by side as Putin visited Pyongyang last month. ABOVE: Chinese President Xi Jinping reviews an honor guard at a welcome ceremony for Bahrain's king in Beijing in May.

The Washington Post
METRO
SUNDAY, JULY 14, 2024 EZ RE C


8 a.m. 81°
Noon 92°
4 p.m. 95°
8 p.m. 89°

High today at approx. 3 p.m. **96°**
Precip: **0%**
Wind: **SSW 6-12 mph**

THE REGION
A majority of local, national and international readers passed The Post's citizenship quiz. **C2**



THE REGION
Arlington and D.C. issued health notifications after a person with measles visited both places. **C2**



OBITUARIES
Artist June Leaf, 94, leaped between paper, canvas and metal for her fantastical works. **C4**

Metro eyes bus system overhaul for 2025

Pending public input, plan slashes 7% of stops, expands weekend access

BY RACHEL WEINER

D.C.-area bus riders have until 5 p.m. Monday to voice any concerns about a comprehensive overhaul of the system that would eliminate hundreds of bus stops, shifting commuting patterns in a way transit officials deem necessary but for some transit riders would be deeply disruptive.

As envisioned under the plan, lines would be renamed, buses would connect more Metro lines and travel more efficient routes, and new routes would be created. But with no new money on the table, the proposed changes come with trade-offs: Seven percent of stops are slated for removal — 259 in D.C., 263 in Maryland and 103 in Virginia.

The system "hasn't really been touched in 30 or 40 years," Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority CEO Randy Clarke said in an interview. "A lot has changed. Unfortunately, this wasn't done incrementally — instead, it's one big lift." Changes are set to take effect next summer.

Cities across the country are going through similar overhauls. Reconfiguring bus networks is seen as an affordable way to increase use of public transit systems that were losing riders even before the covid-19 pandemic turned travel patterns upside down. Now, it's also a chance to respond to persistent changes in ridership, driven in part by what jobs allow people to work from home.

In D.C. and elsewhere, bus ridership has rebounded faster than rail, and more of those trips are outside traditional "peak" times. Lower-income people, who are more likely to work early or late and on weekends in service and hospitality jobs, tend to take the bus. Many traditional rail commuters who used to take the train to their 9-to-5 jobs are still not back in their offices every weekday.

Metro officials said they expect the changes to expand weekend bus access, deliver higher-frequency evening service and

SEE **COMMUTERS** ON **C3**



MICHAEL A. MCCOY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Friends and family celebrate the lives of Khyree Jackson, Anthony "AJ" Lytton Jr., and Isaiah Hazel during a vigil at Dr. Henry A. Wise Jr. High School in Upper Marlboro, Md. Jackson, Lytton and Hazel were killed in a fatal car crash on July 6.

Car crash victims honored at Wise High School vigil

BY JORDAN D. BROWN

Nearly eight years ago, Khyree Jackson, Anthony "AJ" Lytton Jr. and Isaiah Hazel played their last game together as athletes for Dr. Henry A. Wise Jr. High School. The trio led the team in all-purpose yards, helping them snag their second consecutive Maryland football state championship in 2016.

Their Wise jerseys were on display Friday night as hundreds gathered for a candlelight vigil to honor the three who lost their lives in a car crash July 6. The Jackson, Lytton and Hazel families sat on the high school's basketball court as distant family, friends and members of the community filled the bleachers and quickly spilled into the gym's overflow section.

Balloons and flowers filled the space. Photo collages of Jackson, Lytton and Hazel lined the lobby. It was a sea of blue, black and yellow, Wise's school colors.

The three men were remembered for their determination, brotherhood and immense football talent.

"All three of them, in their own right, were individual legends," said Steve Rapp, Wise's head football coach. "Then you branch the three together, it makes it … superhuman."

Jackson, Lytton and Hazel died July 6 when a speeding driver struck their car around 3:15 a.m. in Upper Marlboro. State police said investigators think that alcohol may have been a contributing circumstance in the crash.

Police identified the driver of the Infiniti as Cori Clingman, 23, of Upper Marlboro. As of Friday, no charges have been filed and Maryland State Police continue to investigate the crash, according to the Prince George's County State's Attorney's Office. A relative who answered the door of the Clingman residence Tuesday declined to comment.

The vigil, organized by Rapp, Wise principal Taryn Washington, Wise's booster club,

SEE **VIGIL** ON **C2**

D.C. told to allow ministry at school

JUDGE: BAN HINDERS RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Sports group had set up at Jackson-Reed High

BY SPENCER S. HSU

D.C. Public Schools must allow a nationwide Christian sports ministry to open a student chapter at its largest public high school, a federal judge has ruled, saying the system likely violated members' constitutional rights when it barred the group because it requires leaders to affirm that homosexuality is immoral.

U.S. District Judge Dabney L. Friedrich ruled that the school system's effort to protect gay and lesbian people from discrimination burdened the group's exercise of religion. In a 31-page opinion, Friedrich wrote that the school system treated the Fellowship of Christian Athletes differently than other groups operating at Jackson-Reed High School that appear to base membership on criteria such as sex, race, ethnicity and gender identity when it ruled in 2022 that the organization's statement of faith violated D.C. human rights policies.

Anti-discrimination laws "have done much to secure the civil rights of all Americans," Friedrich wrote, "But anti-discrimination laws, like all other laws, must be applied evenhandedly and not in violation of the Constitution."

Citing examples of other school clubs such as Girls Who Code, Gender Sexuality Alliance, and racial and ethnic heritage associations, the judge ruled that the District "applied its Anti-Discrimination Policy selectively, punishing a religious organization while exempting secular student groups" that she said engage in arguably similar conduct, drawing membership based on prohibited criteria "or ideological alignment."

Friedrich ordered the group's reinstatement while the litigation continues.

The case marks the latest clash between religious conservative

SEE **FELLOWSHIP** ON **C3**

50 feet underground, cavers make 'miracle' rescue

BY SYDNEY PAGE

Jesse Rochette is an experienced caver and has stumbled upon many things below ground. He's seen glow-worms, salamanders, giant crickets, fossils, bat colonies and crystals.

But Rochette was shocked by what he and a small group of cavers found last week deep inside a cave in Giles County, Va.: a wounded dog trapped 50-feet below ground.

The first thing Rochette did was offer the stranded pup a slice of salami. She snatched it right up.

"She was really happy about that, but she was very clearly injured and needed to get out of the cave," said Rochette, who was with three other cavers that day, July 7.

Rochette, who works for a Colorado-based cave simulation company, was in Virginia to teach a cave safety and conservation program. On his day off, he met up with two local cavers to explore the area, which is near the West Virginia border. The cave they picked has a vertical entrance and is 50-feet deep, so they rigged ropes at the surface of the sinkhole to rappel in — and that's when they found the terrified and stranded dog inside.

"We were not expecting to do a rescue that day," said Dave Jackson, Rochette's boss at the cave company, who was with him on the trip.

SKYLAR SOJKA/GILES COUNTY ANIMAL SHELTER/AP

Jesse Rochette embraces Sparsy, the pit bull mix he rescued from a cave July 7 in Giles County, Va.

"It was just complete happenstance that we chose that cave," Rochette said. "There are so many caves that we could have gone to."

Rochette, a wilderness first responder and former EMT, assessed the dog's condition after his peace offering of salami. She was not able to stand up.

"She let me pick her up," said Rochette, who moved the pup onto a foam pad for comfort and warmth. "She instantly relaxed down into my arms and was like, 'Okay, you're here to help me.'"

The dog was visibly in distress.

"She was shivering, and she was cold," Rochette said. "She clearly had been there for several days."

The crew of cavers quickly insulated the dog, wrapping her in

SEE **RESCUE** ON **C3**

Jewish man attacked in D.C. as threats increase

Suspect accused of antisemitic rant, yelling about Israel-Gaza war

BY ELLIE SILVERMAN

A Jewish man wearing a yarmulke was attacked in Northwest Washington on Wednesday by a man who yelled about the war in the Gaza Strip and went on an antisemitic tirade.

D.C. police have arrested Walter James, 38, and accused him of assaulting Ariel Golfeyz, 31, in what officers describe in court records as a bias-related crime. James had been charged with unlawful entry in a separate incident days earlier after police alleged in court documents that he jumped over bike racks that are used as security barriers outside the U.S. Capitol, resisted arrest and assaulted a police officer.

Court records show James, who is from Texas, pleaded not guilty in that case and was released Saturday, four days before authorities say he assaulted Golfeyz. For Wednesday's incident, James is facing a charge of assault with a significant bodily injury. During a hearing in D.C. Superior Court on Friday, James was order detained. His attorney, Gregg D. Baron, declined to comment.

Golfeyz suffered multiple lacerations to his face and major swelling in his face, and he said he is still experiencing significant jaw pain that prevents him from chewing properly.

"I felt very vulnerable," Golfeyz said Friday. "I don't feel safe anymore walking around with my Jewish, religious objects in D.C."

This attack appears to be the latest incident of violence and hate targeting Jewish and Palestinian Americans across the country as the Israel-Gaza war has sparked a rise in threats against Muslims, Arabs and Jews and left many fearing for their safety.

Brian Levin, the former director of the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University at San Bernardino, who continues to closely track hate-crime data, said this kind of reaction to a war thousands of miles away is unfortunately typical in the United States. In the past, he said, Middle East con-

SEE **ASSAULT** ON **C4**

‘DMV Legends’ memorialized at high school alma mater

VIGIL FROM C1

and the county public school district, was peaceful. About 45 minutes after the event ended, a shooting near the school parking lot around 10 p.m. left one man dead and another woman injured. Police are investigating the shooting and it remains unclear whether it had any connection to the vigil.

“DMV Legends”

Jackson, Lytton and Hazel had promising careers as football players. Jackson had just been drafted by the Minnesota Vikings in April. Lytton was set to finish his collegiate eligibility at Bowie State University after stints at Florida State and Penn State. Hazel was looking toward the 2025 NFL Combine after a successful college career at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and the University of Maryland.

At the vigil, more than 10 family members and friends shared their memories of the three men.

Jackson’s father, Raymond, said his son lived with a no-excuse mentality. Nothing could get in the way of his determination to play professional football and take care of his family after making it to the NFL. He chased his dreams through his collegiate career at Fort Scott Community College, the University of Alabama and the University of Oregon.

In fact, Jackson played with a torn labrum in his shoulder after the season at Oregon, his father said. He broke a bone in his foot but still participated in the NFL combine this spring, where his performance led to his selection by the Vikings.

“That was his determination,” Raymond Jackson said at the vigil. “He was so determined to take care of his family, he didn’t let anything stop him. … I would do another 50 years of work and slaving and waking up at 4 a.m. every morning to get you back here.”

Off the field, Jackson was into fashion and loved video-gaming. He will always be remembered for his “million dollar smile,” Rapp said.

Hazel was the goofball of the group. He loved to dance and could break the ice in any room by cracking a smile. Many remembered him as a hard worker, always trying to get better at his craft.

“He could light up a room like no other. He was one of the funniest, most genuine people I’ve ever met,” said Justin Winters, associate head coach and defensive coordinator at St. Frances Academy. Winters said Hazel was like family to him — he saw him grow from an eighth grade boy into a young man.





PHOTOS BY MICHAEL A. MCCOY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: Friends and family fill the basketball court during the vigil for Khyree Jackson, Anthony “AJ” Lytton Jr. and Isaiah Hazel at Dr. Henry A. Wise Jr. High School in Upper Marlboro, Md. ABOVE: University of Maryland football coach Mike Locksley speaks during the vigil.

Hazel was a four-star recruit coming out of high school in 2019 and ranked at the top of his graduating class before going to Maryland. Mike Locksley recruited Hazel while he was still an offensive coordinator at Alabama, but Hazel first committed to West Virginia University. Once Locksley accepted the head coaching position at Maryland in December 2018, Hazel gave the coach a call.

“He said ‘OG, I’m coming to help you build this thing.’ He flipped his commitment and became the first commitment to start the build of what Maryland has become,” Locksley said. “I’ll forever be grateful to Zay for taking a chance on me.”

Hazel played at Maryland for four years before transferring to the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Locksley said Hazel will be honored in Maryland’s opening game this fall against UConn.

Lytton was remembered for his calm manner and how much he cared for the people he loved. While he could be quiet and reserved, he opened up most to those he was comfortable with.

Lytton was a true standout at Wise, naturally elite and gifted, Rapp said. The two-time champion was All-Met Defensive Player of the Year in 2017. He played two seasons at Florida State before transferring to Penn State. He was set to return to Prince George’s County for a homecoming and play at Bowie State before the crash.

Kyle Jackson, head coach at Bowie State, said their time together was short, but Lytton left a lasting impact.

“I’ve never seen him smile as much as he did when he put that [Bowie State] jersey on … To see him have that light and that energy … it lit a fire in me,” Kyle Jackson said at the vigil.

“A lot of people cared about them and loved them. They were role models for the community,” said Tarheeb Still, a fifth-round 2024 draft pick to the Los Angeles Chargers who played with Hazel at the University of Maryland. “I will just say that their name will live on forever.”

As DaLawn Parrish, former head football coach at Wise, remembered the three young prodigies, he set the record straight about the best football team he ever coached — and Lytton, Hazel and Jackson were among them.

“My players always ask me, ‘What team was the greatest team?’ Here we go, it was right there, 2016,” Parrish said.

Off the basketball court, guests honored the three with custom shirts, posters and balloons. “DMV Legends,” read one shirt featuring a collage of the trio’s football pictures and jersey. “Zay Way” was the motto on Hazel’s family shirts with the number 14 on the back, his jersey number at the University of Maryland. Jackson’s family wore purple Minnesota Vikings hats, where Jackson was set to make his NFL debut this fall.

Lytton’s family wore a shirt with a motto he lived by and even posted on his Twitter account in 2018: “It’s a lot of life out here to live.”

Tribute funds have been organized in Jackson and Hazel’s honor. As of Saturday morning, over $20,000 were raised in just two days for Hazel and Jackson’s families. Lytton’s family is organizing a scholarship fund that will go toward a Wise high school graduate.

“It was always us”

The trio were more than football players and teammates; they were brothers, said John “Moo-Moo” Oliver, longtime friend and former teammate. They had a bond like no other; if you saw one, you saw the other.

“It was always us,” Oliver said.

When Jackson, Lytton and Hazel came home from college for holiday breaks and weekends, they stayed at Oliver’s townhouse in Fort Washington and spent time together like a family.

“I honestly say, you will never get a hug, a laugh, or the type of comfort that them type of brothers will give you,” the 25-year-old said.

Oliver saw his closest friends for the last time the night of the crash. It was just another family outing, Oliver said, as they enjoyed the night bowling with friends and hashed out their competitive natures through the games.

“That’s a strong three that I just lost,” Oliver said. “I just know to this day, I will never get them back, and I was literally just with them.”

Oliver was one of the last at the vigil to honor his three best friends.

At the event’s conclusion, Dondrae McGhee, assistant campus pastor at Zion Church, led the crowd in prayer as they lit the flameless candles. He called out Jackson, Lytton, and Hazel’s names and numbers, one by one.

“Touchdown PUMAS! Touchdown by number one, Isaiah Hazel. Touchdown PUMAS! Touchdown by number four, AJ Lytton. Touchdown PUMAS! Touchdown by number six, Khyree Jackson.”

The crowd erupted in immense cheers and roars, one last time.

Jasmine Hilton and Peter Hermann contributed to this report.

THE REGION

Over 97% of D.C. readers passed Post civics quiz

BY EMMA UBER

As roughly 11,000 people celebrated the Fourth of July this year by officially becoming U.S. citizens, The Washington Post challenged readers to test their knowledge of America with a civics quiz.

Aspiring U.S. citizens must a pass an oral exam of 10 civics questions chosen from a list of 100. The Post’s quiz featured 10 multiple choice questions based on the list of 100 questions that U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services provides as study material.

Test takers must answer six questions correctly to pass. More than 300,000 Post readers attempted the quiz. Here’s how they did.

Passing with flying colors

Overall, our readers knew their stuff. An overwhelming 90 percent of quiz-takers provided responses to all 10 questions and got at least six correct.

While 97.1 percent of people who took the quiz in the U.S. passed, international quiz-takers fared pretty well too, with an 84.8 percent pass rate. D.C. readers performed above the national average, as 97.6 percent of people in the nation’s capital answered six or more questions correctly.

Post subscribers logged into their accounts performed better than quiz-takers who did not appear as subscribers to The Post, boasting both a higher average score and a lower failure rate. As of July 9, 97.1 percent of subscribers passed compared to 91.6 percent of nonsubscribers.

The questions that stuck

Quiz-takers were most likely to miss question No. 3 (“What is one responsibility that is only for U.S. citizens?”) and No. 8 (“When was the Constitution written?”) — the only two that more than 30 percent of people got wrong. The trickiest question proved to be No. 3: Just 60.5 percent of quiz-takers selected the correct answer, “Serve on a jury,” while 35.9 percent thought it was “All of the above,” which also encompassed “Pay taxes” and “Obey the law.”

Quiz takers performed just slightly better when asked which year the Constitution was written. Only 63.6 percent knew the document was written in 1787, with 28 percent answering 1776.

Other questions, however, proved easy. For example, 96.1 percent of quiz takers knew the Mississippi and Missouri rivers are the two longest in the country. In addition to principles of American democracy and American history, geography is one of the categories covered in the civics exam.

In the real world

Just as participants scored well on The Post’s quiz, the overwhelming majority of aspiring U.S. citizens pass the naturalization test.

The two-part test includes both a section testing English language proficiency and the civics exam. In the 2023 fiscal year, which spanned from October 2022 to September 2023, more than 89.5 percent of naturalization candidates passed their first of two permitted attempts and another 5.8 percent passed during their retake, meaning 95.3 percent of candidates earned citizenship. In total, 878,500 naturalizations were approved.

A naturalized citizen’s perspective

One hundred people from 57 different nations gathered at George Washington’s Mount Vernon on the Fourth of July to swear their oath of allegiance and officially become American citizens. For Maria Becerra, 32, the moment was seven years in the making.

Becerra’s family immigrated to the United States from Bolivia in 2001 when she was 8, but she began wholeheartedly pursuing citizenship seven years ago when she and her American husband learned they were expecting a baby. Her first try at the test this year — which she said she attempted without preparation — did not go so well.

A USCIS officer asked her 10 civics questions over Zoom. She felt she knew the material but, nervous about the impromptu citizenship test, said she made small mix-ups such as saying the Declaration of Independence was adopted in 1767 instead of 1776. She failed.

“I was devastated,” Becerra said.

Mistakes like these are why Becerra said The Post’s multiple choice quiz is easier than the real exam, which is verbal. If she had a list of options to chose from, Becerra said she felt confident she could have passed the civics exam the first time.

Two months later, in March, Becerra retook the test — this time having studied. If she failed the exam again, USCIS would deny her naturalization application. She answered the first six questions correctly, completing her last step in the process of becoming an American citizen. She said she remembers walking back to the waiting room to tell her husband and bursting into tears of relief.

“I came here when I was 8; I was already considering myself part of the country,” Becerra said. “But I was crying because I finally got to call myself an American.”

Sitting in front of George Washington’s home on America’s Independence Day, Becerra said she thought about generations of her family’s past and present. She thought of her two sons, ages 5 and 7, who had not understood why their mother wasn’t an American like them. She looked over at her dad, who came to support her and is preparing to take the civics test himself.

“They made the ultimate sacrifice of leaving family and their home for us,” Becerra said. “It’s so important to me that he got to be there to see that his sacrifice paid off.”

THE REGION

D.C. and Arlington issue notifications on measles

BY MARTIN WEIL

Someone with a contagious case of measles visited sites in Arlington and the District on successive days this month, and health officials in the two jurisdictions notified people Friday night who might have been exposed.

Arlington said it was notified of a person from “another state” who visited the suburb in Northern Virginia while contagious. According to the District, a contagious person visited two places in D.C. the day after the Arlington visit. D.C. officials did not say where the person was from.

Although officials in the two jurisdictions did not immediately say that the same person was involved in both cases, the timing of the visits and their proximity suggest that possibility.

Arlington’s health department said it was acting “out of an abundance of caution” in notifying people who were at the site in the county that they may have been exposed.

The department identified the site as the Harris Teeter store at 624B N. Glebe Rd. It gave the date and time of the possible exposure as Monday, July 1, between noon and 4 p.m.

District health officials gave the sites and times of possible exposure as follows:

• CVS Pharmacy: 2226 Wisconsin Ave. NW, between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. on Tuesday, July 2.

• LabCorp: 2233 Wisconsin Ave. NW, between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. on Tuesday, July 2.

The Arlington and D.C. sites are within half a dozen miles of each other.

Measles is highly contagious and can spread easily through the air when an infected person breathes, coughs or sneezes, the two localities’ health departments said.

They said symptoms show up in two stages. The first usually starts seven to 10 days after exposure and is associated with a fever of above 101 degrees along with a runny nose; red, watery eyes; and a cough.

In the second stage, three to five days after the start of symptoms, a rash begins on the face and spreads.

Contagiousness begins four days before the rash starts and ends four days after.

People who have not been vaccinated may be at risk. Anyone who was exposed and who may be at risk should watch for symptoms until July 22, according to Arlington, and until July 23, according to the District.

If symptoms are noticed, people should call their health-care provider immediately and isolate themselves.

They should call before going to a treatment site to allow for precautions, officials said.

The Guide to Offers
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D.C. school's ban on Christian sports group reversed

FELLOWSHIP FROM **C1**

groups who claim that public schools and colleges are unfairly targeting students based on their faith, and local governments and civil rights organizations who say lawsuits and recent rulings by the Supreme Court are pressing an expansive view of religious liberty at the expense of protections for LGBTQ+ people and others.

The 70-year-old fellowship filed its case in Washington in May, months after the traditionally liberal U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit in September 2023 overturned a similar ban by San Jose public schools, finding that governments could not withhold formal recognition from some student affinity groups and not others based on their views.

San Jose argued that it applied an "all-comers policy" evenhandedly — requiring recognized student groups to permit any student to become a member or a leader regardless of their status or beliefs. But the 9th Circuit found that was not uniformly enforced.

A spokeswoman for D.C. Attorney General Brian L. Schwalb declined to comment on the ruling or whether the city would appeal, citing pending litigation. In court, the city argued that the suit was based on a misreading of other student affinity groups as exclusionary when there was no evidence they turned anyone away, that the nondiscrimination policy was universal and that it was the fellowship that sought preferential treatment for religious organizations — "namely, the right to discriminate."

"FCA is free to organize around sharing 'its traditional Christian beliefs,' just as other student clubs can organize around their shared religious beliefs or other interests involving gender, nationality, or other protected characteristics," wrote Matthew R. Blecher, chief of the attorney general office's equity section. "But, just like other student organizations, the Anti-Discrimination Policy prohibits FCA from restricting membership or leadership based on protected characteristics."

Joe Davis, senior counsel for the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, which represented the fellowship, said the D.C. decision was the latest in a string of victories for religious groups, bolstered by a Supreme Court that just last year issued rulings strengthening protections for Sabbath-observant employees at workplaces and shielding some businesses from being required to provide services to same-sex couples.

"As a matter of common sense, student groups should be able to pick leaders who believe in their missions. Can a Christian student group ensure it's leaders actually share its Christian beliefs?" Davis said. If the District appeals, he added, "The question will be either the D.C. Circuit agrees with the 9th Circuit, or there's a circuit split that can be resolved by the Supreme Court."

The Fellowship of Christian Athletes was founded in 1954 and claims 7,000 student chapters that meet on middle and high school and college campuses across the country. According to its lawsuit, a student chapter "had an intermittent presence" at Jackson-Reed before the coronavirus pandemic in 2020. The group applied for and won official recognition in the 2022 school year, making it eligible to receive funding, use school facilities and participate in an annual student club fair at the 1,983-student institution serving the city's Northwest Washington neighborhoods.

That fall, however, an assistant coach who was not identified in court records formally complained to DCPS that the group discriminates against the LGBTQ+ community by requiring leaders to oppose homosexuality. The system suspended and then banned the group, saying the chapter could dissociate from the national organization or drop the limitation on leadership if it wanted to return.

A student who was not named in court filings sought to reactivate the chapter this spring, the fellowship's lawyers said.

The city said it had acted as narrowly as possible by saying that the fellowship could remain on campus if it simply elected its leaders, and was serving a compelling public interest in protecting the safety and well-being of students and "promoting an equitable environment free of discrimination."

Ahead of a hearing last month, Principal Sah Brown said that only four of 60 school-recognized clubs have been authorized during his tenure to exclude members or leaders based on gender identity, race, ethnicity, national origin, or other protected characteristic; that none had done so to his knowledge; and that each had dropped such language from a school website.

But Friedrich said trusting the clubs without a formal investigation contrasted with the school's approach to the fellowship.

"The District forced FCA to choose between official school recognition and its religious principles," she said. At the same time, the judge maintained, secular groups such as the Gender Sexuality Alliance and the Disability Student Alliance "enforce ideological alignment of all of their members, and that arguably poses more of risk to the District's purported goal of 'promoting an equitable environment free of discrimination,'" than FCA's leadership requirement.

Quoting from the 9th Circuit ruling, Friedrich wrote that "it makes equal sense that a religious group … be allowed to require that its leaders agree with the group's most fundamental beliefs" too, finding no constitutionally acceptable distinction between the types of exclusions at play.

Dog on the mend after daring rescue

RESCUE FROM **C1**

tarps, a space blanket they brought for emergencies, as well as a piece of an old jacket they found in the cave. They offered her water, which she refused to drink at first unless it was directly from Rochette's fingers.

"She was very quiet," said Rochette, noting that the cave was filled with deer skulls and bones. "It was actually very clear that she was not the only animal that had fallen in."

Then began the challenging rescue effort.

"You always worry about the patient, but you also worry about the rescuers," Jackson said.

The cavers had emergency equipment with them, but nothing that was designed for dogs, so they improvised.

"We used everything we had," Rochette said.

They decided Rochette would remain in the cave with the dog and be pulled up alongside her to avoid the dog hitting any protruding rocks.

"It gets narrower as you go down, and then it opens up again," said Rochette.

They created a makeshift harness using a tarp and webbing.

"We went ahead and made a sling, like a hammock of sorts," said Rochette, explaining they rigged a system to hoist the two to the surface using pulleys, carabiners and ascenders.

Rochette, who has two dogs, kept her calm.

"I was staying with her, supporting her, keeping her comfortable so she wasn't squirming," he said. "I kind of guided us around all of those rocks as we came up and out of the cave."

The rescue effort took about three hours.

"It took some time to get us all the way up and out of the cave," said Rochette, noting that although he had never rescued an animal from a cave, it's not an uncommon thing for professional cavers to do.

"As we came up into that fresh air, she lifted her nose up and she started sniffing," he said. "You could see it was a moment of realization that she was not in the cave anymore."

Once they were a safe distance from the cave's opening, they laid the dog down on the forest floor.

"She was very glad to be out of the ordeal," said Rochette, adding that they decided to name her SPAR-C — an acronym for "small party assisted rescue." The added C represents canine.

The dog could barely move, so the cavers brought her directly to a nearby animal hospital. She was then transported to the Giles County Animal Shelter, where she is recovering from a swollen spinal cord — which has impacted her mobility — and Lyme disease. She also had difficulty putting weight on her back legs and had redness in her eyes, though her vision seemed unaffected. Remarkably, the pup had no broken bones.

"She was obviously in an immense amount of pain, but what a trouper of a dog," said Skylar Sojka, the shelter manager. "She was a great patient."

The dog — whom Sojka and shelter staff are calling "Sparsy" — is a pit bull mix and is probably between ages 5 and 7. She wasn't wearing a collar and did not have a microchip. No one has showed up to claim her, but Sojka said based on her weight, it's likely she was well taken care of before the incident.

Sojka shared Sparsy's story on the shelter's Facebook page to try to track down her owner and help raise money for her medical expenses.

"She was there in total darkness — alone. Some call it fate, some call it luck, but this was nothing short of a miracle," she wrote in the post, detailing the rescue effort, which was first reported by WDJB.



GILES COUNTY ANIMAL SHELTER

Sparsy has made good progress and can now walk a few feet.

It's unclear how Sparsy ended up in the cave, though someone commented on one of the shelter's posts, saying they might have spotted her on July 4 during the start of fireworks. Many dogs are petrified of fireworks.

One thing is for sure, Rochette said: "She had a long fall. She was lucky she missed the fate of the cave."

"I'm so appreciative of Jesse and the rest of the people that were there," Sojka said. "If they didn't do what they did, I think we all know what the end result would be."

Rochette — who will offer free mobile caving experiences in Roanoke this weekend — went to visit Sparsy at the shelter on Monday. She was already making strides.

"After spending three hours connected to each other, it felt like the right thing to do," he said. "She's a super sweetheart."

The adoration seems to be mutual.

"When she saw him, there was just a noticeable 'I remember you,'" Sojka said. "I saw her give him kisses on the face."

Over the past few days, Sparsy's health has improved, and she is now able to walk a few feet.

"To see her turn around so quickly after what she had been through, it just really warmed my heart," said Sojka.

The shelter plans to keep Sparsy for at least another week during her recovery.

"I want to make sure she's feeling her best before she goes out into the world," said Sojka.

Rochette said if he wasn't on the road for work, he would consider adopting her. He added that he'll always have a soft spot for Sparsy.

"This is an animal who went through a pretty dismal few days with not a lot of hope," he said. "This is a success story."

Metro looks to overhaul bus system

COMMUTERS FROM **C1**

beef up weekday bus use by an estimated 13,000 additional riders. About 400,000 people ride Metrobus every weekday; about half that number ride Saturday and Sunday.

There are 32 new connections in the works. New routes include lines from Bloomingdale to Tenleytown, L'Enfant Plaza to National Harbor, Fort Totten to Sibley Hospital, and Anacostia to West Hyattsville. And there will be more buses on Saturdays and Sundays as well as weekday evenings.

Other proposed connections are to the anticipated light-rail Purple Line linking Montgomery County and Prince George's County. The plan includes more frequent service to the H Street NE corridor, where bars and restaurants have struggled in the past few years with crime and decreased foot traffic.

But in some corners of the city already poorly served by rail, residents say the bus cuts will isolate them further.

Bus service in Barnaby Woods and Upper Chevy Chase, on the northwestern edge of the city, is being pushed east during the week and eliminated altogether on weekends.

James Nash, an advisory neighborhood commissioner from that part of the city, at a recent public hearing called the plan "unacceptable" in a "bus desert" that also lacks a Metro stop. "To those who have, more will be given and to those who have not, even the little they have will be taken away, to quote the Bible," Nash said.

In 16th Street Heights, another area with no Metro, over a dozen bus stops would be eliminated. Maurice Jackson, a professor of history and African American studies at Georgetown University, said the proposed changes would take away a bus he's ridden since he came to D.C. in 1972 and move the closest stop several blocks away. While it would be an inconvenience for him, he said moving the stop will fall hardest on young parents, older people and anyone uncomfortable walking in the dark — ultimately driving people who can't afford a car out of the city.

He did not submit any comments on the proposals. "I've been to enough hearings in my life," he said. "I have very little faith in the process."

D.C. Council member Janeese Lewis George (D-Ward 4) said she shared those concerns, adding that some of the routes being removed completely are used by students to get to and from school.

Clarke said the new system was designed with "a really significant equity lens," with the goal that "people with limited transportation options have the best transit options."

But he and other officials said they had to make trade-offs to keep the plan revenue-neutral. Long term, Clarke said, the system needs funding to expand by about 30 percent to fully serve riders' needs. Metro, which has no dedicated funding, just raised fares to help cover a $750 million budget deficit.

For now, Clarke said, "We have to use the limited amount of buses and operators we have to provide the most amount of service."

While some people will have a longer walk to the closest bus stop and have to transfer lines more often, officials argue the changes will ultimately save those riders time because buses will be able to move faster.

"This is a true trade-off because we want to maintain access to people to where they need to go, particularly people with mobility restrictions," Peter Cafiero, who manages service planning for Metro, said at an online meeting about the plan last month. "But on the other hand, buses just keep pulling out of traffic every block or half block — that really slows that down the route, makes it much less reliable." For rider safety, stops that don't have sidewalks or crosswalks for pedestrians are also being cut.

Some of D.C.'s lines still follow streetcar routes from the 1930s. The names and numbers reflect the hodgepodge of companies that operated in the city before a unified system was created in 1970s.

Now, lines that are primarily in D.C. are labeled D for downtown or C for crosstown. In the suburbs, the letters will signify the jurisdiction: M for Montgomery County, P for Prince George's County, A for Arlington and Alexandria, and F for Fairfax. Express buses get an X.

Tens of thousands of people have commented on the plan; Clarke said the feedback has been "overwhelmingly positive." In response to less enthusiastic responses, Metro has made some tweaks, including restoring a connection between Glover Park and Dupont Circle and adding one to Northern Virginia Community College's Alexandria campus.

Alexandria Mayor Justin Wilson (D) said as a bus rider he understands the frustration of people living in residential areas that are seeing stops cut.

"There's a route that goes right by my house that they're proposing to take out," he said — the 23B. "It stinks, I'm not happy about that, but I get it." Alexandria remade its bus system a few years ago for the first time since 1984. Lightly used lines were cut in favor of better service in the denser parts of the city where more people took the bus regularly.

"It's been a great success," Wilson said.

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THE DISTRICT

Man sentenced in 2015 revenge killing on I-295

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER

A District man was sentenced to 35 years in prison Friday in the 2015 fatal shooting of a Virginia man during morning rush hour on northbound Interstate 295.

A D.C. Superior Court jury in April convicted Oscar Ramos, 34, of first-degree murder in the killing, which prosecutors alleged at trial was part of an elaborate revenge plot in which Ramos believed the victim had been connected to his own father's slaying in El Salvador years earlier.

On the morning of May 28, 2015, authorities said Pedro Melendez-Alvarado had just emerged from crossing the Woodrow Wilson Bridge when a vehicle pulled up alongside him. Prosecutors said Ramos fired multiple shots toward Melendez-Alvarado near Exit 1 in Southwest Washington, also striking a passenger.

For years, the case remained unsolved, and police believed Melendez-Alvarado may have been shot by an angry motorist during an altercation in traffic, in part because of the account of the surviving victim.

But in 2017, D.C. homicide detectives learned that Ramos began bragging about his involvement in the shooting on social media and to friends. They began investigating, and found witnesses who claimed that Ramos had targeted Melendez-Alvarado as part of a retaliation plan he orchestrated because — in his telling — Melendez-Alvarado killed his father almost 15 years earlier, when Ramos was 12 and living in El Salvador.

Prosecutors said Ramos, who relocated from El Salvador and lived in various homes in Maryland, Virginia and Massachusetts, created a fake Facebook account posing as a Latina woman and flirted with Melendez-Alvarado to find out his whereabouts.

Ramos was arrested and charged in 2021. He maintained his innocence in court, and his lawyers argued police had arrested the wrong man. At trial, detectives testified there was no evidence that Melendez-Alvarado was linked to Ramos's father death.

Man wearing yarmulke in District is attacked

ASSAULT FROM C1

flicts involving Israel led to anti-Jewish hate, and he has seen a surge in anti-Muslim hate after terrorist attacks like the one on Sept. 11, 2001, and during overseas military conflicts.

In D.C. this year, there have been nine anti-Jewish, three anti-Israeli, two anti-Palestinian and one anti-Muslim hate crimes as of May 31, according to data Levin compiled for a forthcoming report for the Crime and Justice Research Alliance.

"It's an exceptionally bad, historically bad moment," Levin said. "When the flames of hate are burning this intensely, these are incredibly risky times for even worse types of attacks on a more mass scale."

On Wednesday at about 8:30 a.m., Golfeyz said he was assaulted while walking from his home in Foggy Bottom to his work as a cybersecurity manager near McPherson Square.

After walking through a park near George Washington University Hospital, Golfeyz said he saw a man's fist out of the right corner of his eye. Then he heard what he described as the sound of his jaw cracking.

He fell into a patch of weeds and described fighting back while being punched repeatedly before a special police officer at the hospital intervened.

According to a police affidavit, Golfeyz later told police that after the man punched him five or six times, the attacker said to him, "You are not the real Jewish and you guys are murderer, you guys kill people in Gaza and in America."

While the special police officer kept the attacker separated from Golfeyz as they waited for D.C. police to arrive, the man went on an antisemitic tirade against Golfeyz, accusing him of controlling land, money and government and blaming him for "murdering" men, women and children in Gaza, as shown in videos recorded by Golfeyz.

It was scary to hear that kind of rhetoric, Golfeyz said, as it appeared to be directed at him for no other reason than the fact that he is Jewish.

"It's turned very quickly into a very hateful time. I've never seen it in my life," he said. "I feel like it's just getting to a point where it's not about Israel, it's about the Jewish people as well."

Golfeyz was raised Orthodox by his parents, who were born in Iran and fled religious persecution in 1979. The family settled in Baltimore, where Golfeyz was raised to study the Torah, celebrate religious holidays and pray three times a day — practices he has followed into adulthood. Every Friday, he observes Shabbat with family or friends. He wears a yarmulke every day.

He became involved in the Orthodox Jewish community in the District, joining a synagogue and growing close with the other Jewish men he prays with. He is in a Sephardic Minyan group chat, referring to the Orthodox Jewish practice of needing to pray in a group of at least 10 men — called a minyan — every morning, afternoon and evening.

He's on a softball team organized through Volo Sports, a recreational sports league, called the Matzah Balls. And every day, he puts on a yarmulke, also referred to as a kippah.

But after Wednesday's incident, he wasn't sure how safe it was to be so outwardly Jewish.

A few hours later, while at urgent care for his injuries, he messaged his minyan group chat with guidance he never thought he would need to give about a D.C. neighborhood: "I would recommend no longer wearing a kipa or other jewish jewelry in that vicinity."

OBITUARIES

JUNE LEAF, 94

Spirited artist crafted with a fantastical touch

BY HARRISON SMITH

June Leaf, an idiosyncratic artist who trained in ballet as a child and went on to think of herself "as a dancer making art," leaping between paper, canvas and metal while crafting fantastical pieces that seemed plucked from dreams and nightmares, died July 1 at her home in Manhattan. She was 94, and had continued to work from her New York studio, just off the Bowery, until two weeks before her death.

The cause was gastric cancer, said her friend and agent Andrea Glimcher.

Ms. Leaf's life and art seemed to be in perpetual motion. She made expressionistic watercolors and ink drawings of winged goddesses, mechanical beings and totemic figures climbing the stairs. She crafted whimsical kinetic sculptures out of wood, wire and tin. She fashioned handheld pieces that could be turned with a crank or set off with a trigger. Even when she drew and sculpted skeletons, a macabre motif that she embraced late in life, her bony creations were far from ossified: Lounging around tables and chairs, they often seemed to be on the verge of dancing, like the drunken revelers she watched as a girl while hanging out at a tavern her parents ran in Chicago.

"She animated — with her deft hands and engineer's imagination — every bit of her material: endless amounts of wire, piles of tin, magnets that would play hide and seek on many metal surfaces, and handmade gears," Glimcher wrote in a tribute. "She ironed paper, sewed with wire, stitched canvases together to enlarge her picture plane; she drilled, hammered, soldered and welded. She was always working toward something so physically challenging to achieve."

Interviewed by the New York Times in 2022, Ms. Leaf said she realized her calling during a teenage trip to Tucson, where she saw a performance by the writer, artist and mime Angna Enters: "She danced and painted on the stage. I remember thinking, 'That's what I'm going to do.'"

While Ms. Leaf never embraced performance art, she turned her studio into a private stage of sorts, filling each space with raw materials, unfinished pieces and sculptural inventions. Bouncing from project to project, she fashioned pieces that came across, as art critic Will Heinrich once put it, "less as objects than as urgent gestures, thoughtful but intuitive, that Leaf just happened to make with charcoal or sheet metal instead of with her body."

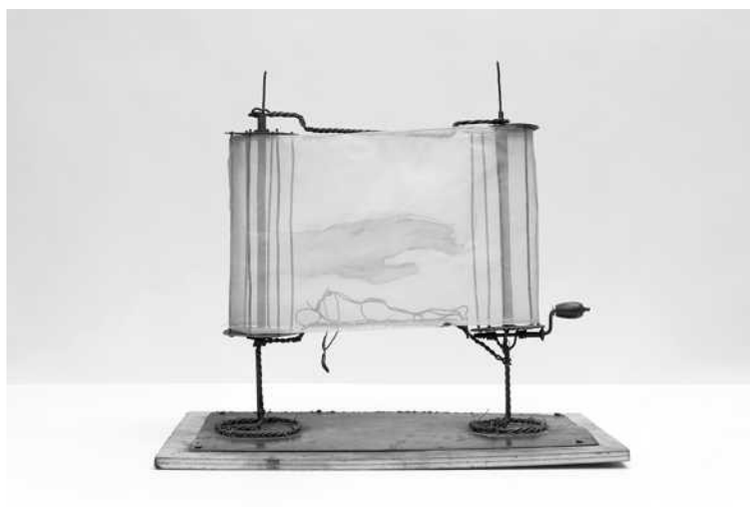
Her pieces "have such an urgency about them, such a bloody physicality," Washington Post art critic Paul Richard wrote in 1991, "that they feel as if they've been squeezed out of her flesh."

Ms. Leaf made her solo-show debut in New York in 1968, at the Allan Frumkin Gallery in Midtown, and exhibited regularly until her death, including in a 1978 retrospective at the Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago and a 2016 survey at the Whitney Museum of American Art. A retrospective of her work will open next spring at the Addison Gallery of American Art in Massachusetts before traveling to New York and Ohio.



BRIAN GRAHAM/COURTESY HYPHEN, NEW YORK

June Leaf and a few of her works in her Stanton Street studio in New York City in 1981.



ALAN WIENER/COURTESY HYPHEN, NEW YORK

Ms. Leaf's "Sleeping Man" made out of metal, wire and acrylic on fabric. She continued to work up until two weeks before her death.

For years, however, her work was frequently overshadowed by that of her husband, photographer Robert Frank, whom she married in 1975. They split their time between New York and Nova Scotia, where they renovated a weather-beaten house (her agent described it as "an old 1890s fishing hut") in Mabou, on the west coast of Cape Breton Island. The area was desolate — Frank described it as "a sad landscape" where "the sheep ate all the trees" — but proved fruitful for Ms. Leaf, who drew many of her neighbors and found inspiration from the coast, the beach and the hills.

Critics noted that the shape-shifting quality of her pieces, which eluded easy labels like pop or minimalist, may have made her a harder sell to audiences and dealers. The wildness of her work didn't seem to help either.

Ms. Leaf recalled that early in her career, while living in Paris on a Fulbright scholarship, she went to the Louvre to look at works by Old Masters, seeking to refine her technique. She was copying a Goya one day when, "all of a sudden, I felt like someone had slapped my hand. I heard my voice say, 'Go home. This is Goya's dream. You'll never reach across centuries like Goya. You're just a girl from Chicago.'"

The message was terrifying, then liberating. "I didn't sleep the whole night," she told the art publication Hyperallergic. "I thought, 'If I can get through this night, I can get through any night in my life.' I woke up in the morning and I took a sketchbook, and I made drawings that were just waiting to be made."

Looking for a new way to see the world, she turned to her imagination. One of her first pictures was of a horse with an exploding head.

The younger of two daughters, June Leaf was born in Chicago on Aug. 4, 1929.

She began exhibiting in 1948, when she was invited to participate in an annual show at the Art Institute of Chicago, according to her website. Around that same time, she developed a friendship with painter Leon Golub, who was seven years older and helped persuade Ms. Leaf's skeptical mother that she had a future in art.

Ms. Leaf became associated with the Monster Roster, a loose collective of postwar Chicago artists — including Golub and his wife Nancy Spero — known for figurative art with a gruesome, surrealist touch. She studied briefly at the Institute of Design, formerly the New Bauhaus at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago, before going to Paris in 1948, deciding that the city would offer her a better education in art.

"I spent my time with my head down, looking at textures, and patterns in the sidewalks," she recalled. Before long, she was back home, where she received bachelor's and master's degrees in art education, from Roosevelt University and the Institute of Design, respectively. She returned to Paris once more, after getting the Fulbright in 1958, and moved to New York in 1960.

Over the next decade, she became increasingly well-known for her drawings, which came to include images of flying machines, amusement park rides, a bionic "umbrella woman" and shadowy figures on operating tables. Much of her work explored traditional ideas of womanhood and femininity, and seemed to respond to an exhortation she wrote on one of her mid-1970s pictures: "Women should build a monument for themselves."

Unlike classical monuments of gleaming white marble, her pieces were more whimsical and enigmatic. She made pipes shaped like women and, in some of her sculptures, used thumbtacks for breasts. Her artistic mission was simple, she said: "To create life out of life. That's what I want to do."

Ms. Leaf's first marriage ended in divorce, as did her second, to saxophonist Joel Press. She described her first meeting with Frank, a master of documentary photography known for his 1958 book "The Americans," as a transformative encounter: "I saw him, and I said, 'There he is.' And that was true." He was married at the time, though he soon separated from his wife — Ms. Leaf's friend Mary Frank, a fellow artist — and went on to marry Ms. Leaf.

He died in 2019. Ms. Leaf leaves no immediate survivors.

Along with her drawings and sculptures, Ms. Leaf made unusual household objects, like eyeglasses, that reflected her interest in construction and offered her another vantage on art. One of her eyeglass pairs was equipped with cone-shaped lenses designed to block a viewer's peripheral vision.

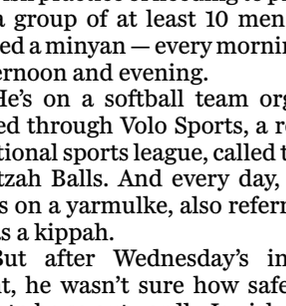
"They are about the pleasures of focusing, and not being distracted," she said. "Another pair of glasses has a mirror attached, like a rearview mirror, so that you only see what is behind you. It is just the most wonderful thing. Who needs to paint? Who needs to take photographs? You can just go around loving everything."

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IN MEMORIAM

BEATTY

ANDRE QUINTAN BEATTY
July 14, 1987 - January 30, 2006
Happy 37th Birthday Dre
God blessed us with you
on this special day
We miss your presence every day
We feel your spirit always, Love
Mom, Dad, Candyce, Colin & Family

IN REMEMBRANCE

DALEY-HYNES

KATHLEEN DALEY-HYNES (Age 72)
Kathy died in her sleep in hospice care on June 17, 2024 at Virginia Hospital Center, surrounded by family, listening to music. She is survived by her husband Hilary Hynes; daughters Jennifer Swanston and Aidan Daley-Hynes; their husbands Matthew Swanston and Jeffrey Emerson; sister Ginny Daley, sister Meg Olmert and her husband Michael Olmert; and grandsons Gannon and Gage Swanston.

Kathy was known to us all as a generous, brilliant, hilarious, gifted, stylish, and rebellious woman. She was a native New Yorker, who adored her adopted Washington, DC. She was active in DC's art scene, first as a portrait artist, then as a partner with her artist husband Hilary, in their painting conservation business for nearly 40 years. She was also a highly trained chef--famous for her delicious and constantly evolving culinary creations, which she shared readily and often with friends and family. But Kathy was at her happiest listening to music and acing Jeopardy, after a delicious home cooked dinner.

Her family welcomes anyone who knew Kathy to join them for a Celebration of her life at the Barcroft Community House in Arlington, VA on July 20 from 6 to 10 p.m. In lieu of flowers, please consider making a contribution to World Central Kitchen, because "food is our common ground." (donate.wck.org/give)



DEATH NOTICE

BOWEN

RICHARD M. BOWEN "Dick"
Richard M. "Dick" Bowen, 77, of Falls Church, Virginia, passed away on July 2, 2024. Born in Falls Church, Richard was the son of the late Russell M. and Dorothea S. Bowen.

Richard graduated from JEB Stuart High School in 1965 where he was a member of the wrestling and golf teams. He continued his education at the Pennsylvania State University, graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree in Business Administration.

After working as assistant pro at Evergreen Country Club, Richard began a career in Federal government service with the U.S. Department of Energy as a Budget Analyst in the Office of Fossil Energy. After spending more than 20 years at the Department of Energy, Richard retired in 1998.

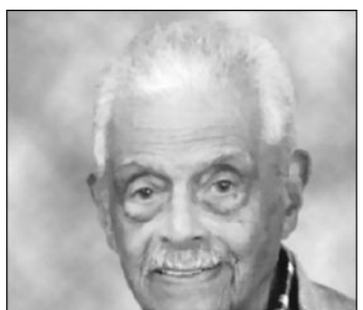
In retirement, Richard enjoyed golf, bowling and following the successes of the Penn State football and wrestling teams. Richard was a passionate and highly skilled golfer and was a member of Evergreen Country Club in Haymarket, VA for over 40 years. He was also an avid bowler and enjoyed bowling in weekly leagues all of his adult life.

Surviving are several cousins and their families.

Donations in memory of Richard can be made to one of his favorite charities: St. Jude Children's Research Hospital or the Wounded Warrior Project.

An internment service at Cedar Hill Cemetery, Hillcrest Heights, MD will be held on July 18, 2024 at 12 p.m. Cars will process to the burial site from the collection lane at the cemetery office.

BROOKS



WARREN RANDOLPH BROOKS JR. (Age 103)
Warren Randolph Brooks Jr., longtime resident of Los Angeles, California, passed away with his family surrounding him on his 103rd birthday, June 23, 2024. Warren was raised in Washington, DC. He moved to Los Angeles, CA, in the early 1950's, where he raised his family and practiced medicine.

He is preceded in death by his wife, Aurelia Roberts Brooks and son, Warren R. Brooks III "Randy". He is survived by his daughter, Lisa Washington (Tony); daughter-in-law, Jovana Lara Brooks; grandchildren, Brandon, Cameron, Ava, Scotty Lena, Alexandra, Hunter and great grand-daughter Eden, along with a host of relatives and friends.

Service will be held at Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, 4606 16th St., NW, Washington, DC in the Brooks Chapel on Tuesday, July 16, 2024. Visitation 10 a.m., followed by service at 11 a.m. Interment Lincoln Memorial Cemetery in Suitland, Maryland.
www.mcguire-services.com

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

BURTON



EDWARD GRAY BURTON "Ed"
A proud Korean War veteran of the United States Marine Corps, peacefully passed away on Tuesday, July 9, 2024. He was born on October 3,1933 in Danville, VA, but grew up in College Park, MD. Ed is survived by his devoted wife of over 70 years, Eunice Burton; daughter, Sandi Yakupkovic; son, Paul Scott Burton; granddaughters, Brooke Morgan and April Yakupkovic; and great-grandsons, Garrett, Mason, and Ashton. He loved the outdoors and was known for hunting, fishing, pigeon racing, flannel shirts, suspenders, his Marine Corps hat and walking stick. A service honoring Ed's life will be held at Borgwardt Funeral Home 4400 Powder Mill Road, Beltsville, MD on Thursday, July 18, at 10 a.m. Interment, Maryland Veterans Cemetery, Cheltenham, MD.
www.borgwardtfuneralhome.com

DEATH NOTICES
MONDAY- FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.
SATURDAY-SUNDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.

To place a notice, call:
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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
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CURRENT 2023 RATES:
(PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY
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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

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All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque

Additional plaques start at $26 each and may be ordered.

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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

ECHAVE



JOHN AUGUSTINE ECHAVE
May 5, 1946 – June 12, 2024
He was a talented and compassionate man with a powerful presence that filled a room. That is why it's difficult to accept that on June 12, 2024, the world lost a remarkable person, John Augustine Echave, who succumbed to idiopathic pulmonary fibrosis.
Born in Havana, Cuba, John came alone to the United States to avoid being sent to the Soviet Union for socialist reeducation. At 15 years old, he found himself a refugee who didn't speak a word of English.
Most think of John as a photojournalist and photo editor, but he started in broadcast journalism at WTHI-TV and WISU Radio in Terre Haute, Indiana, where he interviewed Louis Armstrong, Johnny Carson, Abbie Hoffman, Dionne Warwick, and many other influencers of their time. In 1970, he went to Columbia University as a CBS News Fellow. There, Margaret Mead's anthropology class left a lasting impression. Following Columbia, he opened his own photo agency: Echave & Associates.
Rather than business, however, John's true passion was journalism. In 1979, he took a position as a photo editor for the Associated Press. In 1982, he became the foreign picture editor for US News & World Report. There, he worked tirelessly to get ahead of the better-funded Time and Newsweek, even purchasing a seat on the Concorde supersonic airplane for his film to travel from Europe so he could have the images before his competitors. Then, in 1988, he became an illustrations editor for National Geographic magazine, where he was later promoted to senior editor.
On assignment for National Geographic in 1990, John returned to Cuba for the first time in nearly 30 years. In writing about his return, he lamented how "nothing had changed, yet everything had changed." Though it was very difficult for him, he continued to travel to Cuba—completing seven National Geographic stories about the island nation over more than a decade.
While producing an article on Mexico, John realized there were so many profound images that he convinced a skeptical editor in chief to publish an entire magazine on the country. Within a few days of publication, not a copy could be found.
John was dedicated to passing on his vision of photography as its own language, more soulful and with greater impact than the spoken or written word. He excelled at mentoring and developing photographic talent. For more than two decades, he was a professor of photojournalism at The George Washington University in Washington, DC, and taught workshops from Finland to the Philippines. He supported the careers of many budding as well as established photojournalists. He would say that he had the pleasure of working in "the Major Leagues," musing about his relationships with the Jackie Robinsons, Lou Gehrigs, and Babe Ruths of photography. Many already had successful careers, and John helped them perfect their art. They include such renowned photojournalists as Kate Brooks, Anna Clopet, Karen Kasmauski, Tim Laman, Jesus Eduardo Lopez, Steve McCurry, Matt Moyer, Norbert Rosing, Joel Sartori, Anup Shah, and Maggie Steber. Upon hearing of John's passing, a colleague remarked: "Some people change lives for the best. John was one of those people." Longtime friend Maggie Steber remembered John this way: "What he gave us went beyond the photograph. He taught us to be better people, not just better photographers. He made us better human beings in many ways. He taught us how to care about the people we photographed. That was the great gift that John gave us."
During his tenure at National Geographic, John published 217 articles, including 37 cover stories. One editor in chief wrote that John was "the most productive editor ever in the history of the magazine." He shared numerous National Magazine (Ellie) Awards with other magazine staff. His career was filled with multiple honors, including repeated awards in every editing category of the Picture of the Year Award from the National Press Photographers Association.
Following his departure from National Geographic in 2008, John started a company with sons Christopher and Matthew to produce independent documentary films. They worked together in Iceland, Mexico, and the United States. Titles such as Iceland's Mastro Geppetto, Nací Cirquero, Grandma Is HIV-Positive, Rímur: Iceland's Epic Poems, and A Grassroots Movement have been screened at international film festivals. Working closely with his sons was John's most cherished achievement.
John was a true Renaissance man, a Hemingway scholar who also had a special connection with elephants. During production of the May 1991 National Geographic cover story "Elephants: Out of Time, Out of Space," the editor in chief called John "the Jesus Christ of elephants." John was a volunteer docent at the National Zoo and worked closely with the elephants. Even after life became so busy that he had to quit his hobby, he continued to visit Asian elephants Ambika and Shanthi, with whom he had bonded. They would eagerly run to greet him when he raised his hand and called. On several occasions, he took his grandson to visit the elephants. Ambika and Shanthi always ran to them, lifting their trunks and smelling their scent in greeting. He grieved their loss when they died within four months of each other in 2020.
Beyond his gift as an elephant whisperer, John was also a polyglot. He loved languages and spoke Spanish, French, and English flawlessly. He loved to dance with abandon. "Cubans learn to dance before they learn to walk!" he frequently said. He loved life and lived it to its fullest through dance, music, travel, literature, art, photography, and his family.
Wanting to impart his love of the world and its people to his sons, John spent his summers traveling with them. Together they explored Alaska, the American Southwest, Canada, Cuba, Iceland, Mexico, and many other places. During one particularly memorable trip, the trio walked for an hour through the Mexican jungle in search of an archaeological site that a National Geographic researcher had suggested John show the boys because it was still densely covered. The directions were a bit garbled, and it was 100 degrees (and surely 100 percent humidity), but in John's inimitable fashion they persevered to finally find several extraordinary Mayan pyramids. Chris and Matt referred to that day with tongue-in-cheek fondness as "the Yucatán Death March," and so it became known in family folklore.
John met his soulmate, Anna Kerttula de Echave, in Alaska, and after a decade together, they married in 2003. She survives him, much to her great sadness. He is also survived by his son Christopher Echave and daughter-in-law Emily Echave of Maryland; his son Matthew Echave and partner Darrah Wills of Washington, DC; his brother Vincent Echave and sister-in-law Cho Thanda Echave of Montreal, Québec, Canada; his nephew Pablo Echave of Sherbrooke, Québec, Canada, and niece Vanessa Echave of Geneva, Switzerland; his godson and cousin Gonzalo Sanchez of New York City; his cousins Silvia Maria Sanchez Kaminsky and Miriam Sanchez Fromenta of Miami, Florida; and his cousin Vivian Sanchez of Englishtown, New Jersey. Deeply important to him were the grandchildren he left behind: Joseph Maxwell Echave and Megan Laurel Echave.
John Echave's talent and vision were pivotal in shaping photojournalism in the 20th and into the 21st century. He was adored by many, feared by a few, and gave 100 percent of himself to his profession and his real passion: his family. Having lost his native home as a teenager, he made a home wherever he was—a man of the world and for the world. His family, friends, and admirers offer these words of love: "Bless you, John! You are not gone. You are eternally with us. We are your legacy!"
John's family and closest friends will gather for a memorial service in his honor at a future date. The family appreciates your respect of their privacy. In lieu of flowers or donations, Anna asks that you follow the example of this sensitive and kind man:
"Hold your loved ones close, remind them how beautiful they are,
and tell them how much you love them—every day.
John would have liked that!"

Photograph by José Azel

DEATH NOTICE

CHRISTIAN

KARIN VICTORIA CHRISTIAN (Age 58)
Karin Victoria Christian of the Fort Hunt area of Alexandria, Virginia passed away unexpectedly on July 3, 2024, at Fairfax Hospital. Karin lived most of her life in Fort Hunt, staying close to her parents and her sister's family. She and her loving partner and best friend of twelve years, Garry Watkins, lived in Fort Hunt with their beloved Dachshunds, Sparky and Scooby. She enjoyed time at the Delaware beaches, where she and Garry planned to retire.
Karin was kind, generous, patient, and caring. She was well known for her warm smile and great conversation. She loved all animals. Over the years, she rescued several shelter dogs and dogs left behind when their owners passed. She enjoyed long walks with Garry and their Dachshunds, and then watching TV late into the night.
Karin loved and was very close to her sister Melanie and brother-in-law Ken, nephew Will, and nieces Isabelle and Kate. She was a hands-on Aunt, who loved participating in their life events large and small. Karin was like a second mother to Will, Isabelle, and Kate, and she was a regular and important presence in their lives.
After meeting her soulmate Garry in 2012, she warmly welcomed his family into her life. She loved spending time with his parents and kids and enjoyed his mother's home cooked meals. After the birth of Beck, Garry's grandson, she took great joy in her new and exciting role of grandmother.
Karin was the center of family events, the kin-keeper. She took great joy in planning and hosting gatherings and holidays with family and friends.
Karin was born June 16, 1966, in Heidelberg, Germany to proud parents Richard S. Christian, II, and Julita Christa Christian, stationed in Germany with the U.S. Army. Karin graduated from Fort Hunt High School, University of Virginia, and Catholic University of America Columbus School of Law. She was an attorney for the federal government for nearly thirty years, most of that time with the Department of Transportation.
Karin was loved by many people, and will be greatly missed by her partner Garry Watkins; her sister Melanie Hendricks and brother-in-law Ken; nephew William, nieces Isabelle and Kate, cousins in New Jersey, relatives in Germany, Garry's family, and her many friends. Karin was pre-deceased by her parents, LTC Richard S. Christian, II (Ret) and Julita C. Christian; and her brother Rick Christian.
Services will be held Friday, July 19, 2024, 12 to 3 p.m., at Demaine Funeral Home, 520 S. Washington Street, Alexandria, VA, where a Celebration of Life will occur at 2 p.m. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Leukemia & Lymphoma Society or to an animal rescue or shelter of your choice. Additional information may be found at www.demainefuneralhomes.com.

CONVERSE



JOHN E. CONVERSE
August 15, 1930 - June 29, 2024
John Emil Converse, age 93, of Annandale, VA, passed away peacefully on June 29, 2024, with family members by his side. Born in Canton, OH, he was the son of Leo and Florence Converse. John was preceded in death by his parents, three sisters, and one brother. He is survived by his wife Mary of 56 years, daughters Sheila (Dan) and Renee (Tony) Faulkner; seven grandchildren Eric (Celina), Emily (Alex), Sylvie, John, Lauren, William, and David; and one great-grandson Ronen. He is also survived by brothers Jim, Jerry (Valerie), Mick (Betty), and David (Marti), and numerous nieces and nephews.

After graduating high school, John worked for 2 years before serving 4 years in the U.S. Air Force during the Korean War. He then entered John Carroll University, where he earned a degree in Business Administration. He moved to Arlington, VA, in 1958 to begin his 31-year career at the U.S. General Accounting Office in Washington, DC. After retiring from there, he served the U. S. District Court for 21 years as Assistant to the Administrator of the Independent Review Board. John had a kind and gentle personality, was hard-working, and helpful. Over the years, he was actively involved in the neighborhood civic association, church groups, Toastmasters International, and the Association of Government Accountants. He enjoyed collecting coins and stamps, traveling, watching DC sports teams' games, and working in his yard and flower gardens.

Service: 10 a.m. Saturday, July 20, 2024, Fairfax Memorial Funeral Home Officiating: Holy Spirit Catholic Church. Interment:To be scheduled on a later date at Arlington National Cemetery.

DENNY

DON DENNY (Age 97)
Don Denny, devoted husband of 69 years to Gina (Virginia Lee Updegraff Denny) and beloved father of Alyson Denny and Tom Denny, died peacefully on November 29, 2023. His unwavering kindness and dry humor will be missed by all who knew and loved him.

Don was born in Iowa to Milo Bennett Denny, an artist and theatrical scene painter, and Alys Denny, who sometimes sewed the costumes.

An avid artist from an early age, Don attended the Art Students League in New York on the G.I. Bill after serving honorably in WWII. As an artist in the 1950s in New York, he had a solo show of his abstract paintings on 57th Street, and became the art director at Wanamaker's.

By the 1960s he had decided he would prefer an academic life in medieval art history. He studied at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, and his dissertation, The Annunciation from the Right, was chosen for publication. After teaching briefly at Princeton, he became a tenured professor at the University of Maryland. While there, in addition to his considerable contribution to the study of medieval iconographical images, he taught countless students. Long after he retired, when he was strolling through a museum, he would often be approached by former students to say hello and tell him how much they enjoyed one of his classes or seminars.

In 2022, the Dr. Lawrence Spielberger and Dr. Greta Spanierman Family Foundation was inspired to establish the Professor Don Denny Endowed Graduate Research Award in Art History at the University of Maryland to honor his legacy. If you would like to honor Don, you can contribute to this endowment at go.umd.edu/denny.

His ashes will be interred in Woodland Cemetery in Ashland, VA, with his wife, Gina, who died on January 26, 2024.

In addition to his son and daughter, he is survived by his grandchildren, Tira Denny and Ry Denny, and his great-granddaughter, Zoey Loranger.

DENNY

GINA DENNY (Age 92)
Gina Denny (Virginia Lee Updegraff Denny), talented pianist and piano teacher, adored wife, and caring mother, died on January 26, 2024, from lung cancer. She shared 69 wonderful years of marriage with Don Denny, who preceded her in death by less than two months. She will be remembered for her beautiful piano playing and her enormous appetite for life. Her energy was off the charts and enhanced the lives of everyone in her sphere.

Born and raised in West Hartford, CT, Gina discovered her love for the piano at an early age, going on to be a dedicated and passionate pianist her entire life. She was admitted to the Eastman School of Music, where she began her studies before transferring to the Hartt School of Music to study with Ward Davenny.

In the 1950s, Gina had a rich and exciting life in New York City. She studied dance with Merce Cunningham, and played a "taxi dancer" in Stanley Kubrick's first film, Killer's Kiss.

After Don got a tenured teaching position at the University of Maryland, the Dennys moved to Maryland. Gina began to build a thriving piano teaching practice, inspiring countless students over the years. She was also an active member of numerous piano groups, and a performing member of the Friday Morning Music Club in Washington, DC.

Gina's ashes will be interred next to her husband's in Woodland Cemetery in Ashland, VA. Woodland Cemetery is also the resting place of her parents, Rolland Ruch Updegraff and Virginia Carter Blasingame Updegraff, as well as her grandparents, James Carter Blasingame and Virginia Lee McKie Blasingame, whom she enjoyed visiting in Ashland as a child. Her grandmother was her first piano teacher.

Gina is survived by her sister, Polly Champ; her daughter and son, Alyson Denny and Tom Denny; her grandchildren, Tira Denny and Ry Denny; and her great-granddaughter, Zoey Loranger.

DEATH NOTICE

HALTERMAN

JACK HALTERMAN

With sadness we announce the passing of Jack Halterman, adoring husband, loving father, proud grandfather and true gentleman. Jack lived in Leesburg and prior to that was a 50-year resident of Ravensworth Farm in Springfield. Jack passed away on July 7, 2024 at 89.

Jack was born to Rex and Crete Halterman in Aurora, Missouri and grew up with two older brothers, Russell and Danny, all of whom predeceased him. He was a 1952 graduate of Aurora High School and a 1958 graduate of Southwest Missouri State University. After college, he served in the Army and in January 1963, he married the love of his life, Virginia Wilkerson, in Aurora.

Jack and Ginny came to Washington in 1963 where he began work as an Imagery Analyst for CIA in the National Photographic Interpretation Center. He worked across geographies and geopolitical issues, being particularly proud of his work in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War, the Middle East during the 1970s, and the Gulf War in the early 1990s. He also served three extended-duty temporary assignments. He retired in 1994 as deputy division chief overseeing imagery analysis directed against weapons proliferation and transfers.

Jack was an avid golfer his whole life. He enjoyed genealogy and history, with the Civil War a keen interest.

He also tinkered around the house and yard where his attempts to grow grass in shady areas were legendary. He and Ginny also traveled with the Outer Banks being a regular and favorite destination.

Jack is survived by his wife, Ginny, of Leesburg, and two children, Matthew and his wife Carolyn of Urbana and Alix Smith and her husband, Douglas, of Leesburg. He absolutely adored his grandsons, Patrick, William, and Jackson and so enjoyed time with them. He is also survived by numerous nieces and nephews and long-time friends from Aurora, Ravensworth, and CIA. The family also recognizes the staff at Poet's Walk in Leesburg as well as Capital Caring Hospice, both of whom took wonderful care of him over the past year.

Join us in celebrating Jack's life on Thursday, July 25, 2024 from 1 to 3 p.m. at Tuscarora Mill restaurant in Leesburg, Virginia. We invite you to drop by anytime during these hours. Jack will be interred at Arlington National Cemetery at a later date.

KRASH



ABE KRASH

Abe Krash, who lived 97 years on this earth, was a man who loved his family, the law and his law firm, his students and mentees, classical music and opera, books, fruit, fine French cheese, and his homes in Chevy Chase and Cape Cod. He died at home in Chevy Chase, MD on July 6, 2024.

Abe's distinguished legal career spanned seven decades. He served as a role model for lawyers in the law firm of Arnold and Porter, as a visiting professor at Yale Law School, and at Georgetown University Law School, where he taught Constitutional Law for 25 years. He is well known for his work with Abe Fortas on the landmark Supreme Court decision Gideon vs. Wainwright, which gave indigent defendants the right to counsel in criminal cases. He wrote many articles on topics relating to Constitutional law, criminal law, antitrust, trade regulation and Federal civil procedure. For many years, he was the head of the anti-trust practice group at Arnold & Porter, where he represented numerous major companies. He also was President of the Friends of the Law Library of Congress and, in 2013, received The American Lawyer Lifetime Achiever Award.

In addition to his close personal friendships, Abe made casual friends everywhere-- from the cheese monger, to the farmers selling produce at the Bethesda Farm Women's market, to the car valet in the office parking garage. He relished art and one could find him sitting in front of and pondering a Jackson Pollack painting deep in thought, or listening to opera at full volume in his car on the way to work. He also had a unique ability to find and invent humorous expressions and to recite them with a twinkle in his eye.

Abe was born in 1927 to Hyman and Florence Krash, who met in this country as immigrants from eastern Europe. His father, an orthodox rabbi, led the Jewish congregation in Cheyenne, Wyoming in the 1930s and 1940s. As a high school student in Cheyenne, Abe was a debater, edited the school newspaper and, at the same time, served as sports editor of the local Cheyenne Eagle. Later, as a student at the University of Chicago, he was editor of the Maroon, the student newspaper, where his idealism about freedom of the press led to some comic encounters with military censorship during the Manhattan Project. He received his bachelor's and law degrees there and, later, was a graduate fellow at the Yale Law School. He joined Arnold Fortas & Porter (now Arnold & Porter), in 1953 as the 12th attorney in the firm and remained with it until his retirement.

He is survived by his wife Joan; his daughters Jessica (David) and Carla; grandchildren Zachary (Amelia), Rachel (Jessica), Francesca (Zachary), Jinx; and great-grandchildren Ezra and Kaia. His brother, Esomor, and sister, Hadassah, predeceased him.

Please consider a donation in his memory to the National Legal Aid and Defender Association, Martha's Table, or other local food charities.

A memorial service will be held in the fall.

KRAUSE



WALTER GEORGE KRAUSE

Walter George Krause, known affectionately as Walt, passed away on July 4, 2024, in New Port Richey, Florida, at the age of 77. Formally a long time resident of Alexandria, VA and Swansboro, NC. Born on April 12, 1947, in Washington, DC, Walt led a life marked by service, community involvement, and a deep love for his family.

Walt's early educational journey took place at St. John's Catholic School, grounding him in values that he carried throughout his life. He proudly served in the US Army, a foundational experience that shaped much of his later community service, including his active participation in the American Legion.

Professionally, Walt began his career as a postal carrier before transitioning to a role with the General Services Administration (GSA) where he excelled as an elevator mechanic and later as an inspector, badge #865. His work ethic and dedication to ensuring safety in public service facilities were hallmarks of his career.

Outside of his professional life, Walt was a man of many interests. A gifted cook, he cherished family gatherings and was often found at the center of celebrations. His hobbies included fishing, boating, carpentry, and he was a passionate fan of NASCAR racing, particularly car #3. His love for the outdoors was evident in his meticulous garden and the joy he took in riding his John Deere around his property. Walt's involvement in his community extended to his service as a Town Commissioner in Swansboro, NC, where he was respected for his pragmatic and thoughtful contributions.

Walt is survived by his loving wife of 39 years, Paula; daughters Missi Krause Carroll (Ken), Sissy Krause Campbell (Robbie), Priscilla Krause Jackson (Gary); son Curtis Early (Angela); nine grandchildren; and four great-grandchildren. Each of them reflects a piece of his spirit and character.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the American Legion, an organization Walt held dear. These contributions honor his memory and his lifelong commitment to service.

The Jefferson Funeral Chapel in Alexandria, VA, is assisting the family during this time. Please visit www.jeffersonfuneralchapel.com for service details. Walt's legacy of service, love, and community engagement will be deeply missed by all who knew him.

RIFFE



JAMES LUCAS RIFFE
Col., U.S. Army (Ret.)

A retired U.S. Army colonel and Purple Heart veteran of World Way II passed away on July 4, 2024. He was preceded in death by a son, John Kendrick Riffe, who is buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

Survivors include his loving wife, Beatrice, of 70 years; a son, Thomas Riffe; and daughters Maura Riffe and Lydia Klene and her husband, Stephan. Colonel Riffe was the loving grandfather of five grand-children and three great-grandchildren.

He was born at Panther, West Virginia, on July 9, 1921, the son of the late John Franklin Riffe and Caroline Cline Riffe.

His military service of over 30 years began as a private in the U.S. Army in August, 1942, and culminated as a Colonel in September, 1972. He served in the Pacific Theater of Operations during WWII as an infantry platoon leader, infantry company commander, and as the intelligence officer and the plans, operations, and training officer of an infantry battalion. Following WWII he received a commission in the Regular Army.

During the Cold Way with the Soviet Union and building of the infamous Berlin Wall in 1961-1963. He was the Assistant Chief of Staff for Plans, Operations and Training, U.S. Army, Berlin; responsible for developing plans for the defense of the U.S. Sector of Berlin, and in conjunction with the British and French forces in that divided city, developing plans for the defense of West Berlin. After 28 months in this key staff assignment, he was selected to command a reinforced infantry battalion in Berlin. For his outstanding performance of service during this Cold Way period he was awarded what would be the first of four military Legions of Merit.

In 1947 he requested assignment to the Airborne School at Fort Benning, Georgia for the purpose of becoming a paratrooper. Upon completing the six- week course he was awarded the Army's paratrooper and airborne glider badges. These qualifications subsequently led to his command of an airborne battle group, an airborne brigade, and Chief of Staff of the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Liberty, North Carolina.

Major staff assignments were with the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Headquarters Department of the Army, and the Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff where he was appointed as a member of the U.S. Delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Military Committee.

Colonel Riffe was a graduate of the Army Command and General Staff College, the Army War College, the University of Maryland, and George Washington University where he earned Master's Degree in International Affairs and Administration.

In June, 1970, he was inducted into the Infantry Officers Hall of Fame at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Military honors include four awards of the Legion of Merit, two Bronze Star Medals for Valor, the Purple Heart, the Army Commendation Medal, the Combat Infantry Badge, the Master Parachute Badge, the Airborne Glider Badge, and the Army General Staff and Joint Chiefs of Staff Identification Badges.

During WWII he served in the Pacific Theater of Operations. Following the surrender of Japan his Infantry Battalion was flown from Okinawa to Japan to participate in the demilitarization of that nation. From 1947 to 1951 he served with various constabulary and infantry units during the occupation of Austria. In 1956 he was assigned as one of the first U.S. military advisors to the South Vietnamese Army. His final overseas assignment was with the U.S. Occupation Forces in West Berlin during the height (1961-1964) of the Cold War with the Soviet Union and the building of the infamous Berlin Wall.

Colonel Riffe was also and outstanding athlete and in June, 1963, he was named an outstanding Sports Great of McDowell County and the state of West Virginia, and was honored at ceremonies held in Welch, the county seat, and at Charleston, the state capital.

He began his civilian career as the Training Officer of the Federal National Mortgage Association. After three years with that agency, he resigned to accept a position with the Government Employees Insurance Company as Director of the Military Department.

Colonel Riffe will be buried at Arlington National Cemetery with full military honors on a date that will be announced later. A visitation will be held at Money and King Funeral Home, Saturday, July 20, 2024 1 to 3 p.m. Online condolences and fond memories may be offered to the family at:

www.moneyandking.com

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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

ROBBINS



DAVID ROBBINS "Dave"

Beloved husband, father, grandfather, and brother passed away on May 31, 2024, at the age of 89 in Rockville, Maryland. Born on January 13, 1935, Dave grew up in Washington, DC and Silver Spring, Maryland, where he attended Blair High School.

Dave is survived by his loving wife of 55 years, Anne Mahoney Robbins. He was the proud father of Sean (Joanne) and Brennan. His cherished grandchildren, Ryan and Evie, brought immense joy to his later years. Dave is also survived by his brothers, Larry and Paul. He was preceded in death by his older brother, Walter.

After graduating from George Washington University, he served in the Air Force and then pursued a career with the Federal Government. His pursuit of excellence led him to the University of Southern California, where he earned a Masters of Public Administration with a focus on Urban Affairs. Dave's professional life was as diverse as it was impactful. He worked in the White House for the Carter Administration and then served eight years as the Director of Recreation for Montgomery County. He returned to Health and Human Services, specifically within the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Association (SAMHSA), where he worked for 20 years. Dave felt strongly about public service and he was able to give back to the community as a three term member of the Rockville City Council.

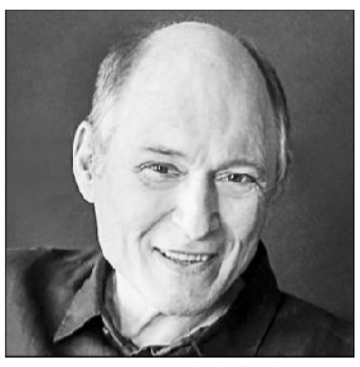
Beyond his professional achievements, Dave was known for his dedication to his family. He loved to travel, fish, and spend time outdoors. Dave was also an avid Washington sports fan, and spent many evenings watching Nationals games.

Dave's life was marked by his dedication to public service, his love for the outdoors, and the joy he found in family and friends. He will be deeply missed by all who had the privilege of knowing him.

No services are scheduled at this time.

www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com

RUSSONELLO



JOHN M. RUSSONELLO

John Russonello, a progressive pollster and political strategist, devoted father, husband and friend, died at 69 on July 8, 2024 near his summer home in Norfolk, CT. The cause of death was pneumonia; he had valiantly battled Parkinson's Disease for decades. His wife Nancy Belden, who was also his business partner at Belden Russonello Strategists, and his son Giovanni were at his bedside.

Born January 11, 1955 in Montclair, NJ, John edited his college newspaper at Drew University and wrote for local papers before moving to Washington, where he became a speechwriter and press secretary for Rep. Peter Rodino, Sen. Alan Cranston and others. On Cranston's 1984 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, John met and fell in love with Nancy, a pollster; she soon convinced him that they should become a professional duo, too.

At BRS, John's ability to see through the numbers and into people's core beliefs helped dozens of progressive organizations understand how to drive public support for issues — from civil liberties to environmental conservation and labor rights — by focusing on deeply held values.

In the late 2000s and early 2010s, John maintained a widely read blog, Think It Through, at brspoll.com and Daily Kos, dispensing sharp, no-nonsense takes on Washington politics at a time when he feared serious, progressive commentary had become an endangered art form inside the Beltway.

At home, John was as likely to insist on a post-dinner card game as he was to rise abruptly from the table to fetch a reference book. Christmas Eve at the "Beldenello" household always featured a grand feast of the seven fishes. John was an abiding fan of the New York Mets, the Green Bay Packers, Bruce Springsteen, Italy, biography, jazz, his basketball and poker buddies, and his many other friends and family. A memorial service will be held in Washington, DC in early September. Details TBA.

SCHEIG



WILLIAM H. SCHEIG

It is with deep sorrow that we share the passing of William "Bill" H. Scheig of Silver Spring, MD on Sunday, June 30, 2024 at Holy Cross Hospital in Silver Spring, MD from complications of cancer.

Bill was born in Washington, DC on August 30, 1950. He was the son of Nora Sue Horton and William "Bill" A. Scheig of Glenn Dale, MD. Bill had one brother, David H. (Annette) Scheig who died November 12, 2022, and has two surviving sisters, Patricia (Bill) Gooding, and Charlene (John) Bernsen.

Bill is survived by his wife Katharine A. Scheig, his daughter Erika L. (Michael) Krimm and their two sons, Ethan and Owen Seftor, his son David E. (Amy Swann) Scheig and their three daughters, Corin, Kira and Alexa Scheig, his stepson Justin A. Johnson, along with many extended family members and friends.

A celebration of life service will be held on Saturday, July 20 at 11:30 a.m. at the Glenn Dale United Methodist Church, 8500 Springfield Road, Glenn Dale, MD 20769.

Donations in Bill's memory can be made to Glenn Dale United Methodist Church, Glenn Dale Maryland; Phi Kappa Tau - Beta Omicron Chapter, University of Maryland, College Park; or The Humane Society of the United States. Flower donations for his memorial service can also be made in care of Glenn Dale United Methodist Church.

WICKERT



KATHERINE DESMONE WICKERT
February 20, 1933 - June 16, 2024

Kathy Wickert passed peacefully at home surrounded by her adoring family after a brave battle against pancreatic cancer at 91 years old. Kathy was preceded in death by her father, mother, and father of her children, William E. Wickert Jr. She is survived by children Julie Quarles (husband Robert), William Wickert Coulter (wife Margaret) and Lorie Wickert; and grandchildren Jacey Quarles (partner Charlie) and Robyn Quarles (husband Anton).

Kathy was born in Springdale, PA in 1933 to Louis and Angeline Desmone. As a child, she was known as "Honey" because of her sweet disposition. This sweet disposition never wavered her entire life no matter what she faced. Kathy attended Dundalk (MD) High School before graduating with a Bachelor's Degree in Journalism from the University of Maryland. She then worked for B&O Railroad in Public Relations before becoming a mother and homemaker.

Kathy and her family lived in Bethlehem, PA before moving to Potomac, in the home where Kathy lived until the end of her life. Kathy created a home where all were welcome. Kathy gave a smile to everyone she met and lent a helping hand to anyone in need. Kathy was a member of St. Raphael Catholic Church. After her children graduated Wootton High School (where she volunteered), Kathy worked at Towne and Country Realty, Prudential Realty and Westat. She retired to be a full time caretaker for her beloved mother in her final years.

Kathy's love for her family, friends, and all people, was unmatched. Her unparalleled optimism saw the best in everyone and everything and her legacy of grace will be remembered by anyone who knew her.

A Memorial Mass will be held at the St. Raphael Catholic Church at 1 p.m. on Saturday, July 27, 2024. It will also be live-streamed here: https://www.youtube.com/@straphaelcatholicchurch/stream

In lieu of flowers, donations to St. Jude's Research Hospital or The Lustgarten Foundation for Pancreatic Cancer Research would be appreciated.

WILENSKY



GAIL WILENSKY PHD

Dr. Gail Wilensky, PhD, a seminal figure in U.S. health policy, was devoted to ensuring affordable and accessible health care for all Americans while also improving health system performance and efficiency, died in her home on July 11, 2024, at the age of 81. She is survived by Robert, her loving husband of 60 years; her brother Gary Roggin; her son Peter (Shawn), her daughter Sara (Trish), and her five grandchildren.

A health economist by training, Dr. Wilensky gained early recognition for her work in developing what ultimately became one of the nation's most important ongoing surveys of health insurance coverage, health care access, and health care utilization: the National Medical Care and Expenditures Survey. Of particular importance, this survey system, which remains a core feature of U.S. policymaking, was designed to capture crucial economic and demographic information about Americans; its findings yielded some of the earliest evidence regarding health care inequality among low income people and minoritized communities. Over five decades, the results from this survey have served as the basis for major health policy reforms championed by Democrats and Republicans alike, including foundational improvements in Medicare and Medicaid, and ultimately, in enactment of the Affordable Care Act.

Dr. Wilensky spent over three decades of her career at Project HOPE, a leading global health and humanitarian organization. She was appointed by President George H.W. Bush as the head of the Health Care Financing Administration, where she both shaped important legislation and oversaw its implementation. Her leadership within HHS was followed by a senior White House appointment during the final year of the Bush presidency. During her governmental tenure, Dr. Wilensky focused on physician and hospital payment reform, health care performance improvement, the enactment of crucial improvements in Medicaid coverage of children, and reforms that ultimately enabled a historic expansion of the nation's community health centers.

Over the years, Dr. Wilensky assumed dozens of leadership and advisement roles including participation in the Congressional Physician Payment Review Commission, the Congressional Medicare Payment Review Commission, the President's Task Force to Improve Veterans' Health Care, the Department of Defense Task Force on the Future of Military Health Care, and the Defense Health Board. Indicative of her dedication to improving the health care of our country's service members, Dr. Wilensky traveled to military hospitals in Iraq and Germany to gain firsthand knowledge about ways to improve the military's health care system. Dr. Wilensky also served on numerous private, public, charitable, and foundation boards, was a much sought-after lecturer in advanced health policy programs at leading academic centers. She was elected to the National Academy of Medicine in recognition of her contributions to U.S. health policy.

Dr. Wilensky was devoted to her alma mater, the University of Michigan, where she earned her BA in Psychology and PhD in Economics and served on the Dean's Advisory Committee for the Univ. of Michigan's College of Literature, Science and the Arts (and met her husband, Robert!). She was thrilled to create an endowed chair in Applied Economics and Public Policy to help future researchers at Michigan continue her important work.

Graveside services will be held Sunday, July 14, 2024, 2 p.m., at Judean Memorial Gardens, 16225 Batchellors Forest Rd., Olney, MD 20832. The Family will be sitting Shiva following the burial, 6 p.m. at the Wilensky residence. Anyone wishing to honor Dr. Wilensky's life is encouraged to send a gift to either Project HOPE or the Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan. Services entrusted to Sagel Bloomfield Danzansky Goldberg Funeral Care.

www.SagelBloomfield.com

DEATH NOTICE

CALVERT



MARY THERESA CALVERT

Mary Theresa Calvert, 91, of Arlington, VA passed away peacefully at home on April 28, 2023. She was born into a bustling Irish family in New York City, NY and grew up during the Great Depression. Upon graduating from Roosevelt Nursing School in Manhattan in 1952, she volunteered for the U.S. Army where she served during the Korean War as Head Nurse on Ward 1 at the 121st Evacuation Hospital in Yongdong, Korea. She was a recipient of the National Defense Service Medal, the Korea Service Medal, the United Nations Service Medal and one Overseas Bar. Back in the United States she raised four children and continued her career as an RN at Kaiser Hospital in Honolulu, HI, and hospitals in the DC/VA area including Alexandria Hospital, Georgetown University Hospital and Sibley Memorial Hospital. She will be buried with honors at Arlington National Cemetery on July 22, 2024 at 9 a.m.

CAMPBELL



CARLOS CARDOZO CAMPBELL

With great sadness, we announce the loss of the Honorable Carlos Cardozo Campbell. Carlos died peacefully on July 5, 2024, surrounded by his loving family at INOVA Fairfax Hospital in Fairfax, Virginia. A life so beautifully lived deserves to be beautifully remembered. A "Celebration of Life" Memorial service will be held at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, July 17, 2024 at Westwood Country Club in Vienna, VA. Carlos' final resting place will be at Arlington National Cemetery.

ETZEL

KATHRYN ZINZI ETZEL "Kathy"

Kathryn "Kathy" Zinzi Etzel of Arlington, VA was gifted with life on September 22, 1950. She "graduated" from this earth on July 8, 2024.

Kathy was preceded in death by her father; Dr. Francis Zinzi, her mother; Kathryn Casey Zinzi, and baby sister Angela. She is survived by daughter, Casey Etzel, son, Tommy Etzel; grandson, Thomas Etzel, and granddaughter, Taven Etzel.

Her brothers, Louis (Libby) Zinzi, Francis Zinzi, Thomas (Louise) Zinzi, many beloved nephews, nieces, grand nieces, grand nephews, long time family friends and countless others who will miss her.

Kathy loved her faith, family, friends, happy hours, Christmas, and all the experiences life had to offer. She was taken way too soon and our hearts are broken.

While we will miss her each and every day, we find comfort in knowing that she is no longer in pain, rather, in Heaven enjoying a Tito's, tonic, two limes in a tall glass!

Funeral Services will be held on Monday, July 15, 2024. Visit www.moneyandking.com for funeral details. Memorial contributions can be made in honor of Kathryn Zinzi Etzel to the Poor Clare Monastery of Mary, Mother of the Church, 2505 Stonehedge Drive, Alexandria, VA 22306.

Please honor Kath by being kind to one another and to always; "Have a great day and remember who gave it to you!"

GREEN



SHARON L GREEN (Age 74)

Passed peacefully on Sunday, June 30, 2024. She is the beloved wife of 50 years to Vernon Green; mother of Kevin Green; grandmother of Kyana and Chayil; great-grandmother of Alyssa, Luke and Aurora; sister of Daniel R. Fortune Jr. and Carolyn Ann Jones. Also survived by many other relatives and friends.

She was predeceased by her parents Daniel Fortune, Sr., Virginia Fortune, siblings, Matthew J. and Jasper L. Turner, Rose Ann Allen, and Gloria Jean Hubbard.

Service will be held at Michigan Park Baptist Church, 1600 Taylor St, NE, Washington, DC on Wednesday, July 17, 20017. Viewing at 10 a.m., Funeral at 11 a.m.

www.mcguire-services.com

DEATH NOTICE

KIMBROUGH



VAUGHN CARLTON KIMBROUGH SR.

A devoted husband, father and grandfather passed away peacefully at Sibley Hospital on Tuesday, July 2, 2024. He is survived by his beloved wife, Judy; loving children, Dana Kimbrough-Dixon (James) and Vaughn Kimbrough II; grandchildren, Jabaree, Jada and Jaden Dixon; special cousin, Marvin Kimbrough, Sr. (Mary); and a host of nieces, nephews, cousins, other relatives and friends. The viewing will be held on Thursday, July 18, 2024, at 10 a.m., followed by a Celebration of Life Service at 11 a.m., Galbraith A.M.E. Zion Church, 1114 Sixth Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001. Interment, Maryland National Memorial Cemetery. Send condolences to:

www.marshallmarchfh.com

MCDONOUGH

JOHN F. MCDONOUGH

The officers and members of the Bethesda Chevy Chase Rescue Squad regret the passing of John F. McDonough who provided 51 years of dedicated service to our department. We extended our heartfelt sympathy to his family and friends. More information is available at www.bccrs.org.

Christopher Jennison, President
Edward G. Sherburne, Fire/Rescue Chief

RATKOVICH

PRISKA RATKOVICH (Age 98)

Priska was a loving wife, mother, grandmother, great grandmother, and widow of the late Maj Gen E. Ratkovich USAF (ret). She passed away on February 25, 2023. Born in Germany on Nov 18, 1924, she became a political refugee, eventually fleeing to England in 1939. After the war, she signed up as a US Army interpreter and returned to Germany. While there she met a US Army Air Corps bomber pilot born in Detroit, MI. The young officer and combat veteran was also sent to Germany as part of the occupation because he too could speak a foreign language. A romance ensues and marriage in 1947. She had a wonderful personality and was loved by everyone she met. Priska is survived by two sons, 6 grandchildren and one great grandson. Proceeding her in death was her husband, Edward and daughter Christine. Interment at Arlington National Cemetery will occur at 1 p.m. July 19, 2024.

REESE

JANE REESE

Jane S. Reese, 83, of Alexandria, VA passed away peacefully on July 6, 2024 after a brief illness. Jane was born on March 31, 1941 to Robert and Caroline Sullivan (née Horst) in Reading, PA. After graduating from the Ethel Walker School in Simsbury CT, she studied political science and received a BA from Smith College in 1963. After graduation, she worked first on Capitol Hill and then in North Carolina, where she worked at the North Carolina Fund registering African-Americans to vote. In 1965 she married David J. Reese, II, and later earned a law degree at Catholic University, after which she practiced law for many years with Ross, Marsh, and Foster in Alexandria, VA.

She is survived by David Reese, her devoted and loving husband of 59 years; her brother and sisters George Sullivan, Sue McCain, and Peg McShane, and many nieces, nephews, grand-nieces, and grand-nephews. A memorial service celebrating her life will be held at a future date. In lieu of flowers, the family suggests donations in her honor to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America or the American Civil Liberties Union.

Arrangements handled by Demaine Funeral Home of Alexandria, VA.

WHITE

SARA THEDORA WILLIAMS WHITE

Sara Thedora Williams White, a beloved pillar of the Brookland and Woodbridge communities in Northeast Washington, DC for 70 years, died peacefully on July 2, 2024, in Sarasota, Florida, where she lived with her youngest daughter Marilyn and her husband Kwame Holman for the last six years of her life. She was 99 years old.

A memorial Service will be held at Church of Our Saviour (Episcopal), 1616 Irving Street NE, Washington DC, 20018 at 11 a.m., July 20, 2024. Interment will be private.

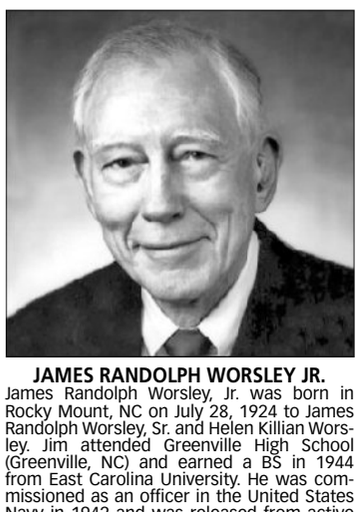
In lieu of flowers, please consider donations on her behalf to the Church of Our Saviour or the Howard University Cancer Research Center.

WILLIAMS

JOANNE WILLIAMS

Joanne Williams, affectionally known as "Chenneye" was born in Washington, DC on June 6, 1947 to Gloria Williams Thomas, has peacefully passed away on June 24, 2024. To celebrate Joanne's life, a memorial service will be held at Cedar Hill Funeral Home, 4111 Pennsylvania Avenue, Suitland, MD 20746. Family and friends can pay respects from 11 a.m. to 12 noon with a service to follow. Following the service, Joanne will be laid to rest at Lincoln Memorial Cemetery.

WORSLEY



JAMES RANDOLPH WORSLEY JR.

James Randolph Worsley, Jr. was born in Rocky Mount, NC on July 28, 1924 to James Randolph Worsley, Sr. and Helen Killian Worsley. Jim attended Greenville High School (Greenville, NC) and earned a BS in 1944 from East Carolina University. He was commissioned as an officer in the United States Navy in 1942 and was released from active duty in 1946 as a Lieutenant (jg). He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1949. He practiced law in Washington, DC, first as an associate at Klagsbrunn, Hanes & Irwin, then as a partner at Ober, Kaler, Grimes & Shriver (and predecessor firm) from 1955 until he retired in 2016. He married Cornelia Cheston on February 11, 1956 and they shared 62 wonderful years together. Nellie predeceased him in April 2018. They lived in Chevy Chase, MD, where they raised a family, were active in the community and enjoyed traveling together. Jim was active in the Democratic Party in Maryland as well as active in volunteer work at Blessed Sacrament Church. He was Chairman of the Maryland Potomac Water Authority from 1969-1971 and on the Montgomery County (Maryland) Charter Revision Commission, 1967. He was a member of the pastoral council of the Archdiocese of Washington, 1975-1978 and on the board of directors of the Madeira School, Greenway, Virginia, 1975-1981. He was also a Fellow of the American Bar Foundation and member of Chevy Chase Club, Metropolitan Club, and Knights of Malta. Jim enjoyed sailing with Nellie in the Chesapeake Bay when they first met. Later, he loved spending his summers on North Haven Island in Maine, where he raced and cruised on sailboats in the Penobscot Bay, enjoyed tennis and bike riding, and spent time with extended family and friends. Despite his active professional and volunteer life, Jim's primary commitment was to family and friends. He was a devoted father, grandfather and great grandfather and hosted many memorable parties for friends in DC and Maine. Jim passed away of natural causes in his home at Ingleside Rock Creek on July 1, 2024. He is survived by his three daughters, Nelia (John), Julie (Joe), and Charlotte (Eli); six grandchildren, Will (Angela), Alex (Audrey), Charlotte (Paul), Matt (Hanna), Ben and Hannah; four great granddaughters (Kaila, Ryan, Leigh, Chloe) and two great grandsons (Kino, Ollie); and a large extended family that includes his brother Richard and sisters Bernadine and Ann and many nieces and nephews. A celebration of Jim's life will be held Saturday, July 27, 2024 at 10 a.m. at Shrine of the Most Blessed Sacrament Church, 5949 Western Ave, Washington, DC. In lieu of flowers, donations can be given in Jim's name to Shrine of the Most Blessed Sacrament Church or Waterman's Community Center of North Haven, ME.

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DEATH NOTICE

BERNSTEIN



JERALD JACK BERNSTEIN

Jerald J. Bernstein, Ph.D., physiologist and neuroscientist, passed away peacefully on June 20, 2024 due to complications from Type 2 Diabetes. Known as "Jerry" to his friends and colleagues, his illustrious career included research on spinal cord injury and teaching at the NIH, University of Florida, George Washington University, and the VA Medical Center in Washington, DC. He also enjoyed sabbaticals in Israel and Würzburg. Dr. Bernstein retired in 1999, dedicating his time to travel the world, spend winters in Florida, and volunteer at home. He served as a docent at the Air & Space Museum, delivered presentations on old-time radio shows, and taught Chi Gung to various interest groups.

He is survived by his wife of 43 years, Frances Pitlick; his son David from his first marriage, and his grandchildren: Lyla Bernstein Ashburn and Joshua Ashburn, Dara Bernstein, and Mary Bernstein. His first son, Steven, tragically passed away just two weeks earlier in June. A private memorial service will take place at a later date.

Donations in Jerald Bernstein's honor may be made to Christopher Attinger M.D. Wound Healing and Reconstruction Endowed Fund at Medstar Georgetown Hospital or to the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Rescue Squad.

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BRADDOCK



MICHAEL JOHN BRADDOCK Skeeter

On July 9, 2024 Michael "Skeeter" Braddock passed away peacefully surrounded by some friends and staff at the Lutheran Home in Rockville, MD. Loving son of the late John and Rita Hurley Braddock; Brother of Diane Davis of Virginia and the late Denny and Jerry Braddock. Mike grew up in Our Lady of Lourdes parish in Bethesda, MD and was well known for his athletic skills at an early age. Although he was competitive in all team sports, he excelled in basketball. He graduated from Bethesda Chevy Chase High School in 1960 and starred on their basketball team in his senior year. Mike loved women, sports, cash, beer and motorcycles in his adolescent years. His working years were spent in several contracting businesses and ended with the ownership and management of the Auburn Exxon Station in Bethesda, MD. Mike played on, and later sponsored several championship softball teams in Montgomery County, MD. The highlight of his softball career was winning second place in the World Series of Softball in 1994, a team that was sponsored by Auburn Exxon. Exxon Skeeter, as his friends knew him, will be missed by sister Diane and his many friends and teammates. Friends may call at St. Bartholomew Catholic Church, 6900 River Road, Bethesda, MD 20817 on Monday July 22, 2024 from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. where a Memorial Mass will be offered at 11 a.m. Interment Private. Please sign family guestbook at:

www.DeVolFuneralHome.com

MILAM



SARAH CHAPPELL MILAM

Sarah Chappell Milam, 89, passed away surrounded by family on June 22, 2024 in Washington, DC. Born in Greenwich, CT in 1934 to Story Fancher and Marjorie (Betty) Chappell, Sarah graduated from Smith College in 1956 with a BA in Sociology and set her sights on working in New York City, NY. When she walked into the Ford Foundation there, she was hired on the spot as a research associate. Sarah later moved to Cambridge, MA, working at Harvard Business School and starting a family with her first husband, Roland (Robin) S. Homet, Jr.

When she and the family moved to Washington, DC, Sarah worked for President John F. Kennedy, assisting in the development of the Peace Corps. In 1962, Senator Edward M. Kennedy hired her to write correspondence on his behalf to dignitaries. A trusted advisor and voice for the Senator for more than 35 years, she wrote thousands of letters, led the selection of candidates to prestigious military academies, and supported key policy initiatives. Her Senate colleagues credit her leadership in the office as instrumental to Senator Kennedy's legislative success. When the Senator developed cancer in 2008, he and his wife Victoria turned to Sarah, who had retired several years earlier, for help in composing hundreds of letters in response to those who had written to him to wish him well.

Sarah re-married in 1970, wedding Robert R. "Bob" Milam, Jr. in Ponte Vedra, Florida, in a family ceremony that included four of her children. After the birth of their son Scott in 1971, she and Bob raised five boisterous children at the family home in Bethesda, MD. Together they enjoyed classical and folk music concerts, family gatherings, and many travel adventures - especially cruises - where they attended onboard lectures and met travel mates who often became lifelong friends.

Above all, Sarah will be remembered for her devotion to her family, relishing numerous family gatherings and reunions over the years, and cherishing close and meaningful relationships with her adult children, their spouses and her grandchildren.

Sarah is survived by her sister Martha Chappell Raisor and her brother Charles Clark Chappell. She is predeceased by her first husband, Roland S. Homet, Jr., and her husband of 52 years, Robert R. Milam, Jr. She leaves as her legacy her five children, Cynthia Homet McGuinness, Adrienne Homet Hand, Brian Charles Homet, Jennifer Homet Catto and Scott Wilson Milam, as well as thirteen grandchildren. She will be dearly missed by all who were blessed to have known her.

A memorial service will take place on Saturday, July 20 at 10 a.m. at the River Road Unitarian Universalist Congregation, 6301 River Rd., Bethesda, MD.

In lieu of flowers, the family asks that donations be made to the Strathmore Artist in Residence Program, which supports the transition of outstanding local musicians into career artists.

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SCHNEIDER



JUDY SCHNEIDER (Age 74)

JUDY SCHNEIDER, an expert on Congress, died peacefully June 21, 2024. A resident of Silver Spring, Maryland, Judy died of cancer under hospice at a friend's home, in the loving presence of two close friends. Nearly 4,000 people contributed to Judy's CaringBridge page or wrote her during hospice. The messages had a theme: "You showed me what I could do and how to do it." Judy, who lived to "make a difference," did so on Capitol Hill, where members of Congress, congressional staff, and people who interacted with Congress, or merely tried to understand it, sought Judy's counsel for over 40 years.

Born in Brooklyn, NY, Judy grew up in East Meadow, Long Island. She graduated from Trespar Clarke Public High School and earned her BA and MA, both in political science, from American University. She completed additional graduate work at Hebrew University (Jerusalem). Judy's chief passions comprised the Yankees, college basketball, golfing, board games, bridge, Broadway and other popular music, eating homemade meals cooked by friends, and collecting Mickey Mouse memorabilia, a hobby begun as a child.

Judy's father Herbert Schneider, a New York businessman, escaped Nazi Germany as a teenager, got to the United States, and fought in Europe with the U.S. Army. He rescued surviving family members in the Holocaust's aftermath. Judy's mother Sylvia Goldberg Schneider grew up in Brooklyn and was active in service and religious organizations during World War II. She became a homemaker after marrying. Judy's parents and younger sister Phyllis preceded her in death. She is survived by first cousins and their families.

Judy had a legendary Capitol Hill career, working first for Senate and House reform and investigative committees and, from 1979-2019, for the Congressional Research Service (CRS) in the Library of Congress. In 1990, Judy was promoted to Specialist on the Congress. Her expertise included the four party caucuses' rules and their operation; organizing the House and Senate as majorities changed; congressional committees' procedures and jurisdictions; and House and Senate procedural strategy. She collaborated with CRS subject-matter analysts so that members could astutely combine policy, politics, and procedure into legislative strategy. Judy wrote over 1,000 CRS documents for Congress, conducted thousands of consultations, taught hundreds of classes, and participated in hundreds more speaking engagements for fellowship and internship programs and for groups seeking to understand Congress. Judy was a co-founder of CRS's Legislative Procedures Institutes for congressional staff—a three-part series beginning with lectures and exercises and culminating in the Graduate Institute, a week of role-playing with participants becoming representatives and senators. Judy's presentations were universally described as "unforgettable," "career changing," and "powerful." Brad Fitch of the Congressional Management Foundation recently told Roll Call that Judy's style was "teaching the Socratic method with a bullwhip."

As a consultant to individual members and leaders, Judy's special power was her knowledge of individual members, their states and districts, their political strengths, weaknesses, objectives, and opportunities, and their office organization. Countless congressional staff and young professionals desiring to make it in Washington also benefitted from Judy's steadfast guidance.

At CRS, Judy was mentored by Senior Specialist Walter Kravitz. He chose Judy's assignments but allowed her to discover what she wanted to become as a congressional procedures analyst. Judy finally told Kravitz: "I'm fascinated by how the game is played." Judy's career built from her recognition with Kravitz's mentoring. Judy acknowledged patriotism as a public-service motivation. She often said, "Don't you sense history every time you walk into the Capitol? I still get goosebumps." As the daughter of a refugee who fled for his life from Nazi Germany for America, she loved her country, its freedom, and its meaning to people everywhere.

Judy sought to level the playing field for female members of Congress and congressional staff and women in professional jobs. For example, Judy dedicated nearly four decades' service to Women in Government Relations. In its tribute, WGR acknowledged Judy for "empowering generations of women advocates." WGR gave Judy emeritus member status and its Distinguished Member of the Year. It named its Direct Connect to Congress series, which Judy created, in her honor. In 2015, WGR launched the Judy Schneider Fellowship, "ensuring (Judy's) lasting impact on WGR and all women in government relations."

In 2018, the Congressional Management Foundation named Judy the first congressional staff member recipient of the Democracy Award for Lifetime Achievement, recognizing her "lifetime of work in the service of the Congress." CMF's tribute recalled Judy as teacher: "Who else could explain arcane parliamentary procedures while simultaneously being funny and opinionated. … (Staffers) dumb enough to ask a question … probably got what we know as 'The Judy Treatment.' But even that reprobation became some kind of honor. You'd joined some exclusive club."

Several hundred serving and former members and congressional staff, from both chambers and parties, and others celebrated Judy at her retirement reception in 2019. Speaker Nancy Pelosi and many members offered accolades. Members' presence and words reflected Judy's informed counsel and adherence to her and CRS's standards of objectivity and nonpartisanship. After retirement, Judy continued public speaking on Congress. Members, committees, and staff sought her counsel. Her intense interest in gaming out congressional and political matters continued to the end of her life.

The day before her death, Judy was sharp, insightful, gregarious, interested, witty, and incisive— attributes she exhibited as an analyst, teacher, colleague, and friend. In Jewish tradition, Judy was buried shortly after death. The Mourner's Kaddish was recited in temples on Long Island and in Jerusalem. Judy asked that friends choose charities or contribute to a charity she had supported: Women's Congressional Policy Institute (https://www.wcpinst.org); Women in Government Relations—Judy Schneider Fellowship (https://www.wgr.org); Mazon: A Jewish Response to Hunger (https://mazon.org); St. Jude Children's Research Hospital (https:// www.stjude.org); or Montgomery Hospice and Prince George's Hospice (https:// montgomeryhospice.org). A memorial tribute for Judy will be held in July at the Library of Congress. For details, please contact info@lstreetpartners.com.

IN MEMORIAM

EILERS



LAURA BETH EILERS
IN MEMORIAM
March 6, 1969 – July 13, 2023

A year has passed since Laura died following a traumatic brain injury. She is deeply missed by her family—mother, brother, sister, niece, and nephew--and a worldwide network of friends who cherish her and grieve her loss every day. Laura pursued knowledge and connection her entire life. She earned advanced degrees in cybersecurity, studied Mandarin, founded Send Something, which connected people who loved writing and receiving letters, rescued homeless kitties, and played the bassoon. She will be forever mourned and missed.

DEATH NOTICE

ALLEN



ZETA O. ALLEN

It is with deep sorrow we announce the transitioning of our beloved Zeta O. Allen on Saturday, July 6, 2024, at the age of 90. Zeta was cherished as a loving mother, grandmother, great grandmother, aunt, sister, and friend.

Born November 25, 1933, in New York, New York, Zeta spent most of her life in the Washington, DC area, mainly Alexandria, Virginia. She retired in 2013 at age 80, after working for many years at the Smithsonian and then more than 30 years as a federal contractor with the Federal Aviation Administration. Zeta was a hard worker and had an unwavering kindness to all those she encountered.

Zeta was predeceased by her loving husband of 44 years, Robert Allen as well as her son Russell and daughter Donna.

Our family invites all who knew and loved her to join us in celebrating her life on Thursday, July 18, 2 p.m. at Lee Funeral Home, 6633 Old Alexandria Ferry Rd., Clinton, MD 20735.

BUDD



MARY BUDD (Age 87)

Mary Louise Howie Budd, 87, of Bowie, MD transitioned to her heavenly home on Monday July 1, 2024. Preceded in death by her husband Theodore Budd and son Kevin Budd. Survived by sister Marcia Pollard; children Cheryl Said and Brian Budd; grandchildren Keith, Josslynn, Jacquelynn, Ryan and Kyle, and hosts of great-grandchildren, family and friends. Family will welcome friends Tuesday, July 16, 2024 at Shiloh Baptist, 1500 9th St., NW, Washington, DC, Visitation 10 a.m. until Service 11 a.m. Interment Lincoln Memorial Cemetery.

www.johnsonandjenkinfh.com

DUNCAN



DIANA MARIE DUNCAN

It is with great sadness that we announce the death of our mother, Diana Marie Duncan, of Upper Marlboro, Maryland. She entered this world on May 17, 1943. She left this world on June 29, 2024, at Doctor's Hospital in Lanham, Maryland. She was 81 years young.

She is survived by her husband, Raymond Duncan, Sr., four children, Raymond Duncan, Jr. (Diane), Anthony Duncan, Sr. (Deborah), Keith Duncan (Peggy), and Tawanna Brown (Maurice). She is also survived by her 10 grandchildren; 31 great grandchildren and four sisters.

The funeral service will be held on Wednesday July 17, 2024, viewing from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. at Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, 1636 East Capitol St NE, Washington, DC 20003, followed by burial at Heritage Memorial Cemetery, 13472 Poplar Hill Rd., Waldorf, MD 20601.

DEATH NOTICE

GIVENS



ADELAIDE PAIGE KING GIVENS

Native Washingtonian, Adelaide (Paige) King Givens went on to Eternal Rest, Wednesday June 26, 2024. Predeceased by her parents, siblings; her only child, Carolyn D. Green (Candi), and husband, James K. Givens (Jim). She leaves to mourn her devoted granddaughter, Tiffany N. Green (Tiffi); son, Sheldon Givens; niece, Leslie J. Newman; godchildren: Harold and Lola Singletary III, and many other relatives and friends. Her grand pup, Dakota Maximillian will miss her. On Friday, July 19, service and interment will be held at Fort Lincoln Funeral Home and Cemetery, Bladensburg, MD; viewing from 10 a.m. to 12 p.m., followed by service and interment. Rev. Dr. Christopher L. Zacharias, officiating.

GREAVES



JEAN GRACE GREAVES

Peacefully passed away on Tuesday, July 2, 2024. Loving grandmother of Michael A. Greaves. Jean is also survived by her siblings, in-laws, nieces, nephews, and a host other relatives friends. On Wednesday, July 17, friends may visit with the family from 10 a.m., until time of service at 11 a.m., at Shiloh Baptist Church 1500 9th ST NW, Washington, DC. Interment Cedar Hill Cemetery. Send condolences to:

www.marshallmarchfh.com

LEWIS

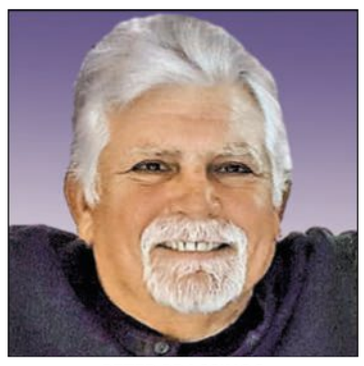


THERESA IRVA LEWIS
June 20, 1948 – July 21, 2023

The graveside service for Theresa Irva Lewis will be held on Thursday, July 18, 2024, 11 a.m. at Lincoln Memorial Cemetery, 4001 Suitland Road, Suitland, Maryland 20746. All are welcome to attend. Please arrive by 10:30 a.m. to secure parking. Send condolences to:

www.marshallmarchfh.com

PRASSINOS



PETER PRASSINOS

Peter Prassinos of Boyds, MD, passed away on May 15, 2024. Born on January 17, 1949 in Hampton, Virginia, he was the son of the late George and Helvetia (Nunes) Prassinos. His father's naval aviation career moved him to attend 8 different schools throughout the country. After graduating from Coronado CA High School, he graduated from San Diego State University with an Aerospace Engineering Degree and a Master's Degree in Nuclear Engineering from the University of New Mexico. He worked at Idaho National Engineering Lab, consulted to Sandia NL, worked at Lawrence Livermore NL, Dept. of Energy, Nuclear Regulatory Commission and NASA headquarters in Washington, DC. After retirement he became an avid golfer, bowler, woodworker, silversmith and a world traveler. Along with his wife Judy, he is survived by three children; Callie (Jason Williams) of Mount Airy MD, Nikolas of Frederick MD and Alec of San Diego CA; a brother Joe (Mary) Prassinos of Auburn, CA, a sister Patti (Dave) of Reno Nevada; threegrandchildren, Sophia, Olivia, and Emilia. He was preceded in death by his sister Suzanne Morris. A Celebration of Life will be held on July 20, 2024.

COYLE-SHEA



CAROL KLAUS COYLE-SHEA "Grammie"

Of Alexandria, Virginia, passed peacefully on June 27, 2024. Preceded in death by her beloved first husband, Robert J. Coyle, Carol is the loving wife of LTC Robert Shea (Ret) USA; mother of Pete Coyle (Tammy), Susie Poole, Patty Coyle Locke (Jason), and Tim Coyle; step-mother of Jacqueline Taffe (Joseph), Christine McFarland (Gregg), and Roberta Shea (Nicolas Slavik); cherished Grammie of Jess (TJ), Jon (Chelsea), Sam, Mary-Hannah (Alonzo), Colin, Taryn, and Remy; step-grandmother of Joseph, Heather, Cody, Tanner (Kathryn), and Madison; and great! Grammie to Myles and Cooper.

A Memorial Mass will be held at Good Shepherd Catholic Church, 8710 Mount Vernon Hwy., Alexandria, VA 22309, on Friday, July 26, 2024. Visitation 10 a.m. to 12 noon; Mass at 12 noon; reception to follow in the parish hall. To honor Carol's love for the arts, in lieu of flowers, please consider contributions in Carol's loving memory to the Montebello Music Club, C/O Charles McClelland, 5903 Mount Eagle Drive, #504, Alexandria, VA 22303, OR to your favorite community theatre. We can suggest some of her favorites. Inurnment Arlington National Cemetery on a later date.

www.jeffersonfuneralchapel.com

DEATH NOTICE

PELLICCI



JACK A. PELLICCI BG, USA (RET.)

Brigadier General (R) Jack A. Pellicci passed away on July 4, 2024. Born on May 22, 1938, he was preceded in death by the one true love of his life, Susan Genheimer, who was the only "soldier" who could give Jack orders; his parents, John and Antoinette Pellicci; and his son, Michael (Suzanne). General Pellicci is survived by his sister, Marianne (Andrew) Morzello of White Plains, NY; his son, Colonel Jack A. Pellicci, Jr. USA (Ret.) of Eagleville, PA (Ginny); his daughter Deanna Broujos (Gregg) of Pittsburgh, PA; and son David Pellicci (Kelley) of Annapolis, MD. He will be missed by his grandchildren: Gianna Pellicci; Michael and Alexander Pellicci; Zachary (Tate) and Nicholas Broujos; Susan and Olivia Pellicci; and his niece, Maria Paternoster of West Harrison, NY. The Pellicci family would like to thank Medra Keyser of Amelia Island, FL for her tremendous friendship with Jack in his later years.

Family and friends received Wednesday, July 17 from 4 to 6 p.m. at Demaine Funeral Home, 5308 Backlick Rd., Springfield, VA, 22151. Funeral Mass at 11 a.m., July 18 to be held at St. Bernadette Catholic Church, 7600 Old Keene Mill Rd., Springfield, VA, 22152. In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to the National Multiple Sclerosis Society. Please visit www.demainefunerals.com to read the full obituary and leave condolences for the family.

ROUMEL



THEODORE JOHN ROUMEL

Dr. Theodore ("Ted") John Roumel passed away unexpectedly at his home in McLean, Virginia on Sunday, July 7, 2024, at the age of 79. A native Washingtonian, Ted grew up in Tenleytown and is a proud graduate of Wilson High School. He earned his Bachelor of Science degree from Temple University, where he played football freshman year, and was a life-long Owls football fan. He earned a Masters in Public Health from Emory University and a Masters in Education from the University of Maryland in counseling psychology. Later, he earned a PhD in Metaphysical Psychology.

Ted dedicated his life to improving public health, technology transfer, and biotechnology world-wide, and he was respected as an expert in his field. He was bright, dedicated, and had an intuitive sense for finding solutions to tough problems and getting things done. Over four decades, he held senior roles at the Department of Health and Human Services, including as Chief of Grants Policy for the Public Health Service (PHS) and as Assistant Director of the Office of Technology Transfer for the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Some of his proudest achievements were his development of the PHS's Historically Black College and University Initiative, which dramatically increased funding of HBCUs, and his PHS service assisting Meharry Medical College in regaining financial stability. During President Regan's first term, Ted was also assigned to the White House as the PHS spokesperson on the White House Block Grant Taskforce. He was a frequent speaker, and his work took him around the world, including serving on the U.S. Board of Advisors for the Northern Ireland Bureau. After leaving government, he founded his own consultancy group, TRG, worked at PhRMA, and served as Vice President for Research, Innovation, and Commercialization at the University of Maryland Biotechnology Institute. He kept up with his former colleagues, especially a cohort of dedicated NIH professionals, with whom he remained close.

During his career he received five NIH Director's Awards; the NIH Visionary Award; three PHS Superior Service Awards; two PHS Special Recognition awards; and two Office of the Secretary HHS Special Commendations.

NIH also recorded an oral history of his public health experience, which is preserved in the NIH library. He was designated by French President Chirac as a Chevalier of the French National Order of Merit, an honor that he treasured.

Despite all of his career accomplishments, Ted considered his greatest achievement to be his wonderful family, whom he loved dearly. He had just spent a fantastic and fun Fourth of July weekend together with all of his children and grandchildren, who love and miss him. He is survived by his beautiful wife of 52 years -- the love of his life whom he had known since childhood -- Maria Harris Roumel; his children, Eleni Roumel Olmem and Jonathan Roumel, whom he loved deeply and were the pride of his life, and their spouses, Andrew Olmem and Lindsay Roumel. The greatest joy in his life was being a Papou to his three grandchildren, Alexis Roumel, Harrison Roumel, and John Olmem, whom he adored and around whom he became a big kid again. He loved spending time with his family and watching all of their successes. He is also survived by his sister, Angelina Roumel, dear life-long friends, colleagues, and neighbors, his godchildren, and many cousins. He is predeceased by his parents, John Theodore Roumel and Helen Stephanos Roumel.

Ted was dedicated to his faith and was a long-time parishioner of St. George Greek Orthodox church, where he served on the Parish Council, and St. Sophia, where he served as an altar boy; he had longstanding friendships from church that began in childhood. At Janney Elementary School, he was selected to present War Bonds at the White House with First Lady Mamie Eisenhower, and his picture with her ran in the movie reels and remained on the wall of Clements Pastry Shop in Washington, D.C. for decades. He was fun, strong, loved to learn, was an excellent dancer, a sharp dresser, a loyal Washington Redskins fan, and would do anything to make his wife happy. With his big smile and capacity for humor, he easily made friends who greatly respected him for his honesty, intellect, work ethic, positivity, and genuine friendship. He and his wife had recently moved from their longtime home in Potomac, Maryland to McLean, Virginia, and he instantly befriended his new community with his warm, outgoing personality. Ted will be deeply missed. May his memory be eternal.

An afternoon visitation will be held on Sunday, July 14, 2024 from 4 p.m. until 7 p.m. at Joseph Gawler's Sons Funeral Home, 5130 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20016. A funeral Service will be held on Monday, July 15, 2024 at St. George Greek Orthodox Church, 7701 Bradley Boulevard Bethesda, MD at 11 a.m. Interment will follow at Ft. Lincoln Cemetery in Brentwood, MD.

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TAISHOFF



JONATHAN BRADFORD TAISHOFF
"Brad" (Age 51)

Brad Taishoff passed away peacefully in his sleep on July 1, 2024 at his home in McLean, VA. Brad was born in Washington, DC on December 21, 1972. He was the youngest son of Lawrence B. Taishoff and Nancy Lee (Stuckey). He grew up in Bethesda, MD and moved to McLean, VA in the 80s with his family. Brad attended The Primary Day School, Landon, Massanutten Military Academy, St. Andrews and Graduated from McLean High School class of 1991 where he met his future wife Martha Vogel. He then went on to North Carolina Wesleyan where he earned a BA in History in 1997.

A lifelong music lover he became an official "Deadhead" after seeing his first show at JFK in Philadelphia on July 7, 1989. At NCWC Brad was a radio disk jockey for the college station and ran a popular open mic night with Keller Williams providing the sound system at a local bar. He hosted many epic parties at the Hippie Hole (a farmhouse that he rented in Rocky Mount, NC) after making friends with the local beer distributer. The largest of which was a concert featuring Keller Williams and The Purple School Bus.

Brad started his professional career at Gearbox Interactive Studios as a Sales Executive during the dot-com boom. He then tried his hand at promoting shows and supporting artists by launching his company, Forever Family Presents (FFP). He produced a handful of Bob Weir and Ratdog shows on the East Coast and in New Mexico from 2003-2007. He was the Manager of G-13 as well as their promoter through FFP. He worked with them in the production of their album "Still Dancin'" which was recorded at "The Groove Room" in San Rafael, CA and "The Tree House" in Fairfax, CA. The album was produced by Mark Karen of Rat Dog and Vadim Canby in 2005. Brad also represented his dear friend Sanjay Mishra as his manager and producer, serving as the executive director on Sanjay's albums "Chateau Benares" and "Lamplighter". At the time of his death, Brad was President of the Lawrence B. Taishoff Family Foundation.

Brad was a collector of people and things. He made friends wherever he went and was always willing to help those in need. Unapologetically himself, Brad had an infectious laugh, goofy sense of humor and a huge smile to go along with his 6'4 teddy bear stature - imagine a mixture of Fozzie Bear, Animal and Oscar the Grouch (when he had to do anything that he didn't want to do). Brad had a brilliant and curious mind and was a great conversationalist. He loved to travel, meet new people and experience new cultures. He was a lover of pot lucks, buffets and leftovers. He was rarely seen without a guitar or a harmonica, sang loud and proud, and was usually the last man dancing on the dance floor. Brad treated his friends like family and always had an open door and an extra room. He loved his kids most of all.

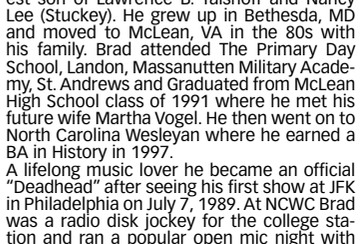
He is survived by his devoted family: wife Martha and children Samuel "Sam", Marjorie "Maggie" and Charles "CJ". His mother Nancy Lee Keshishian and his brothers Rob (Kathy) and Randy (Laine) his nieces and nephews and his beloved dog Miracle "Miri". Brad also leaves behind many, many friends who truly were his chosen family. He was preceded in death by his father Larry and his step father John Keshishian.

A memorial service/celebration of life will be held on July 20, 2024 at St. Dunstans Episcopal Church in McLean, VA at 2 p.m. Please dress colorfully in honor of Brads light and spirit. Bust out your Tye dyes, Hawaiians or colorful polo's, if that's more your jam, as Brad's only funeral request was "don't make it boring".

In lieu of flowers the family asks you to consider a donation to Brad's favorite charity, Hungry for Music.

JOSEPH GAWLER'S SONS, LLC FUNERAL DIRECTORS FOUNDED 1870

TARASCHI



ROBERT TARASCHI

Robert Taraschi--artist, writer, actor, athlete, and teacher-- died on July 5, 2024 in hospice after a suffering a head injury in a fall. He was 73.

Taraschi was the quintessential renaissance man who did everything from stand-up comedy and writing for Saturday Night Live, to acting, directing, teaching, running a business, and late in life becoming an admired artist and painter.

Born in Philadelphia, PA, he won a full scholarship to Villanova University, taught math in the city's public schools, and toured the country as an actor, comedian, and writer. Eventually he found a wildly successful career as a creative marketing consultant for many Fortune 500 companies, overseeing 90 product launches, and contributing to the naming of new products like Sprite.

In 2008, after his wife was diagnosed with an aggressive cancer, he devoted himself to her care. After her death in 2012, he moved to Washington, DC, where he pursued his talent as an artist, astounding friends and admirers with his portraiture.

A wonderful athlete, he at various times excelled at boxing, cycling, dressage, running, and in his last decade, tennis, which he pursued with his usual uncompromising dedication, soon achieving a 100 mph serve. His last formal "job" was as the JV tennis coach at the Bullis School, where he was respected and adored by his students.

He will be buried in Massachusetts next to his beloved wife Kathy Kelly Taraschi with a funeral there and a memorial service in Washington, DC, this fall. He is survived by legions of friends. His dog Connie Mack, named after the baseball stadium in Philadelphia where he went to games with his father, will miss him.

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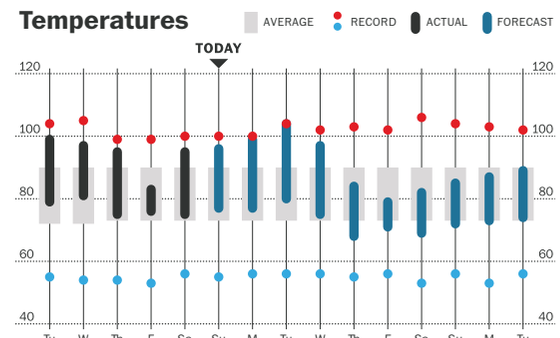
Clear skies and high temps

Skies are generally clear. A slight shower and storm chance reenters the picture into the afternoon and early evening. High temperatures in the mid- to upper 90s may feel like low 100s in the steamiest of spots. Overnight temperatures again bottom out within a few degrees of 75.

Today	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Partly sunny	Partly sunny	Very hot	A heavy t-storm	T-storms	A morning shower
96° 77°	**99°** 77°	**104°** 80°	**97°** 75°	**84°** 68°	**79°** 71°
FEELS*: **104°**	FEELS: **107°**	FEELS: **109°**	FEELS: **103°**	FEELS: **92°**	FEELS: **79°**
CHNCE PRECIP: **0%**	P: **25%**	P: **40%**	P: **55%**	P: **95%**	P: **55%**
WIND: **SSW 6–12 mph**	W: **SW 6–12 mph**	W: **SW 6–12 mph**	W: **W 7–14 mph**	W: **NNW 6–12 mph**	W: **SE 6–12 mph**
HUMIDITY: **High**	H: **High**	H: **High**	H: **High**	H: **High**	H: **Moderate**

OFFICIAL RECORD

Temperatures

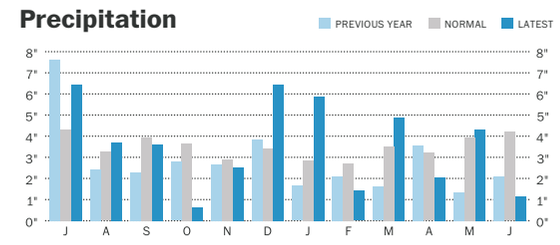


Statistics through 5 p.m. Saturday

	National	Dulles	BWI
High	**95°** 5:00 p.m.	**92°** 4:00 p.m.	**95°** 3:45 p.m.
Low	**75°** 3:00 a.m.	**73°** 1:00 a.m.	**74°** 5:00 a.m.
Normal	90°/73°	88°/67°	89°/68°
Record high	100° 1954	97° 1966	99° 1966
Record low	56° 1888	52° 1978	55° 1978

Difference from 30–yr. avg. (National): this month: **+3.5°** yr. to date: **+3.1°**

Precipitation



	National	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	0.08"	0.40"	Trace
Total this month	0.59"	1.74"	0.26"
Normal	1.90"	1.76"	1.75"
Total this year	20.28"	19.73"	21.95"
Normal	22.33"	23.40"	23.07"

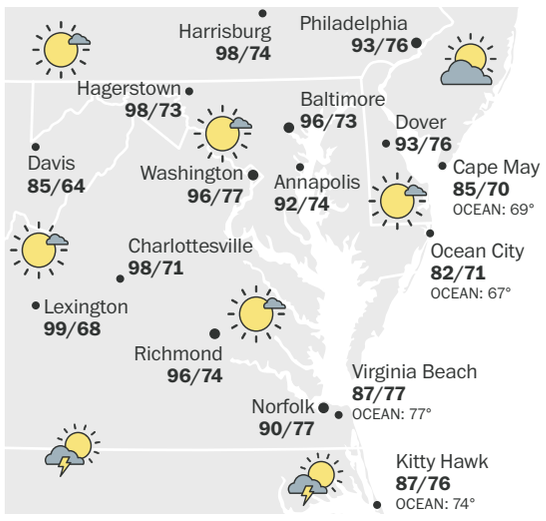
Moon Phases

July 21	July 27	Aug 4	Aug 12
Full	Last Quarter	New	First Quarter

Solar system

	Rise	Set
Sun	5:55 a.m.	8:33 p.m.
Moon	2:17 p.m.	12:32 a.m.
Venus	6:48 a.m.	9:15 p.m.
Mars	2:05 a.m.	4:16 p.m.
Jupiter	2:57 a.m.	5:32 p.m.
Saturn	11:17 p.m.	10:44 a.m.

REGION



Pollen: Moderate

Grass	Moderate
Trees	Moderate
Weeds	Low
Mold	Moderate

Air Quality: Moderate
Dominant cause: Ozone

UV: Extreme
11 out of 11+

Blue Ridge: Today, mostly sunny. Very hot in northern parts; less humid in central parts. High 80 to 85. Winds west 6–12 mph. Tonight, mainly clear. Low 67 to 71. Winds west-northwest 6–12 mph. Monday, partly sunny; hot. High 79 to 87.

Atlantic beaches: Today, partly sunny, humid; a stray afternoon thunderstorm in the south. High 82 to 90. Winds east 4–8 mph. Tonight, clear to partly cloudy. Low 71 to 77. Winds south–southwest 6–12 mph. Monday, partly sunny; hot. High 88 to 97.

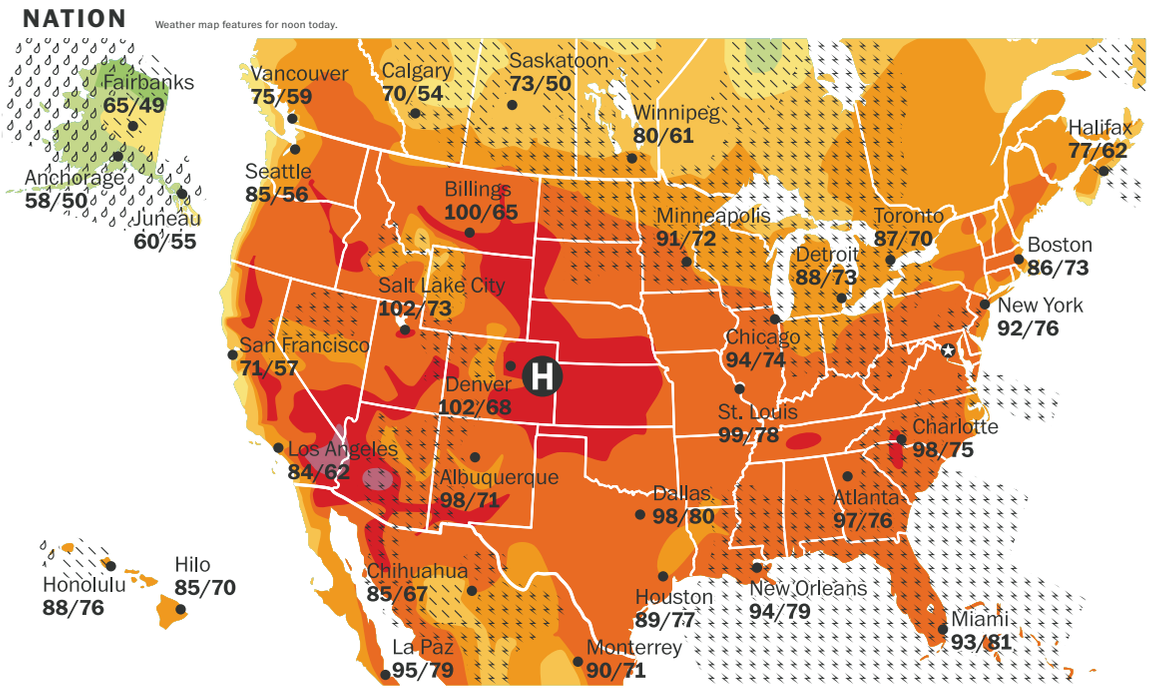
Waterways: *Upper Potomac River*: Today, mostly sunny. Wind south 4–8 knots. Waves less than a foot. Visibility unrestricted. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay*: Today, sunshine, a thunderstorm around in the afternoon. Wind south 6–12 knots. Waves 0–1 foot on the Lower Potomac; 1–2 feet on the Chesapeake Bay.• *River Stages*: The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.80 feet today, with no change of 2.80 Monday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in **Bold**)

Washington	**2:42 a.m.**	9:35 a.m.	**3:04 p.m.**	9:20 p.m.
Annapolis	**12:21 a.m.**	6:27 a.m.	**11:16 a.m.**	6:08 p.m.
Ocean City	**1:55 a.m.**	8:09 a.m.	**2:34 p.m.**	8:54 p.m.
Norfolk	**3:47 a.m.**	9:54 a.m.	**4:25 p.m.**	11:03 p.m.
Point Lookout	2:43 a.m.	**7:43 a.m.**	1:39 p.m.	**8:57 p.m.**

NATION

Weather map features for noon today.



T-storms · Rain · Showers · Snow · Flurries · Ice · Cold Front · Warm Front · Stationary Front

<–10 | –0s | 0s | 10s | 20s | 30s | 40s | 50s | 60s | 70s | 80s | 90s | 100s | 110+

Yesterday's National
High: Needles, CA **113°**
Low: Angel Fire, NM **35°**
for the 48 contiguous states

World
High: Abadan, Iran **125°**
Low: Maquinchao, Argentina **12°**
excludes Antarctica

NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	93/70/s	95/71/t
Albuquerque	98/71/s	98/72/pc
Anchorage	58/50/r	59/51/r
Atlanta	97/76/s	97/76/s
Austin	93/74/pc	95/72/pc
Baltimore	96/73/s	101/74/pc
Billings, MT	100/65/c	89/63/s
Birmingham	98/77/pc	95/76/t
Bismarck, ND	92/65/t	83/57/s
Boise	101/71/pc	99/69/s
Boston	86/73/s	94/76/t
Buffalo	87/72/t	81/72/t
Burlington, VT	91/70/s	91/70/t
Charleston, SC	95/79/t	98/79/t
Charleston, WV	95/70/t	96/73/pc
Charlotte	98/75/t	99/76/s
Cheyenne, WY	95/65/pc	90/58/pc
Chicago	94/74/t	93/75/t
Cincinnati	91/73/t	96/72/pc
Cleveland	91/73/t	89/76/t
Dallas	98/80/s	99/79/s
Denver	102/68/pc	95/63/pc
Des Moines	95/74/s	96/70/t
Detroit	88/73/t	89/74/t
El Paso	99/75/pc	99/78/pc
Fairbanks, AK	65/49/sh	64/50/sh
Fargo, ND	89/68/t	82/58/t
Hartford, CT	95/70/pc	98/71/t
Honolulu	88/76/sh	87/75/sh
Houston	89/77/t	93/76/pc
Indianapolis	91/74/t	94/74/pc
Jackson, MS	93/75/t	94/76/t
Jacksonville, FL	94/76/t	94/76/t
Kansas City, MO	96/75/s	97/76/s
Las Vegas	107/87/pc	109/86/s
Little Rock	95/76/s	95/76/s
Los Angeles	84/62/pc	82/64/pc
Louisville	95/77/pc	98/77/pc
Memphis	95/76/s	92/76/s
Miami	93/81/t	91/81/t
Milwaukee	91/73/t	86/73/t
Minneapolis	91/72/t	84/64/t
Nashville	101/75/s	100/77/s
New Orleans	94/79/t	94/80/t
New York City	92/76/s	95/76/t
Norfolk	90/77/t	97/77/pc
Oklahoma City	98/74/pc	98/74/s
Omaha	97/74/s	97/72/pc
Orlando	94/76/t	95/77/t
Philadelphia	93/76/t	94/76/t
Phoenix	110/87/t	112/88/c
Pittsburgh	94/73/t	90/75/t
Portland, ME	88/65/s	87/69/pc
Portland, OR	91/58/s	85/61/s
Providence, RI	89/69/s	90/71/t
Raleigh, NC	98/77/t	98/76/s
Reno, NV	89/66/t	94/66/s
Richmond	96/74/t	100/75/pc
Sacramento	97/60/pc	94/57/s
St. Louis	99/78/s	100/80/s
St. Thomas, VI	90/79/t	90/81/pc
Salt Lake City	102/73/pc	97/72/pc
San Diego	76/67/pc	76/67/pc
San Francisco	71/57/pc	72/57/pc
San Juan, PR	90/79/t	90/79/pc
Seattle	85/56/s	82/58/s
Spokane, WA	98/65/c	95/64/s
Syracuse	92/72/pc	88/72/t
Tampa	92/79/t	95/80/t
Wichita	103/75/s	105/76/s

WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Addis Ababa	70/56/sh	70/57/sh
Amsterdam	68/56/pc	75/62/pc
Athens	99/78/s	99/79/s
Auckland	59/53/c	59/52/r
Baghdad	108/85/pc	109/88/pc
Bangkok	91/79/t	89/79/t
Beijing	87/71/c	86/72/r
Berlin	78/59/pc	83/64/s
Bogota	66/48/pc	70/50/pc
Brussels	72/54/pc	78/61/pc
Buenos Aires	53/47/s	57/49/pc
Cairo	96/80/s	96/79/s
Caracas	78/65/t	78/66/t
Copenhagen	70/60/pc	71/57/pc
Dakar	86/79/pc	86/79/c
Dublin	65/50/sh	63/54/sh
Edinburgh	68/53/c	69/55/pc
Frankfurt	78/54/pc	85/66/pc
Geneva	79/60/pc	86/63/t
Ham., Bermuda	85/76/s	84/77/s
Helsinki	71/57/sh	73/54/pc
Ho Chi Minh City	88/77/t	85/77/t
Hong Kong	96/84/t	94/83/t
Islamabad	94/81/s	100/83/s
Istanbul	91/75/s	92/76/s
Jerusalem	84/70/s	87/69/s
Johannesburg	74/37/s	66/39/s
Kabul	88/66/s	89/67/s
Kingston, Jam.	90/81/t	94/81/s
Kolkata	92/81/t	91/80/t
Kyiv	101/76/pc	99/75/t
Lagos	84/76/r	84/76/r
Lima	64/58/pc	65/58/pc
Lisbon	78/67/pc	79/62/s
London	70/52/c	70/57/c
Madrid	91/67/s	86/64/s
Manila	89/79/t	90/78/t
Mexico City	73/57/r	74/55/sh
Montreal	88/70/s	87/68/t
Moscow	82/66/pc	85/67/t
Mumbai	84/79/t	84/79/r
Nairobi	75/53/pc	77/57/pc
New Delhi	98/85/pc	97/84/s
Oslo	65/57/r	66/56/r
Ottawa	88/69/s	85/67/t
Paris	73/55/pc	79/59/pc
Prague	79/59/pc	87/64/s
Rio de Janeiro	77/70/c	75/69/pc
Riyadh	113/86/pc	111/87/pc
Rome	89/66/s	92/67/s
San Salvador	89/69/s	88/69/t
Santiago	62/34/pc	65/36/pc
Sarajevo	101/62/s	96/63/s
Seoul	89/74/t	89/76/pc
Shanghai	83/77/t	86/81/pc
Singapore	88/80/t	88/80/t
Stockholm	71/56/pc	70/56/sh
Sydney	62/46/s	61/49/s
Taipei City	99/79/t	100/79/t
Tehran	98/77/s	98/80/s
Tokyo	85/78/c	87/76/c
Toronto	87/70/t	84/72/t
Vienna	86/67/pc	91/68/pc
Warsaw	76/63/c	86/64/pc

Key: **s**-sunny, **pc**-partly cloudy, **c**-cloudy, **r**-rain, **sh**- showers, **t**-thunderstorms, **sf**-snow flurries, **sn**-snow, **i**-ice

Sources: **AccuWeather.com**; US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data); airnow.gov (air quality data); National Weather Service

* AccuWeather's **RealFeel Temperature®** combines over a dozen factors for an accurate measure of how the conditions really "feel."

La Niña is coming, and it could have a major impact on hurricane season

BY SCOTT DANCE

The planet is officially on alert for La Niña, the foil to the El Niño climate pattern, scientists declared Thursday. It could have a cooling effect on the ongoing stretch of record global heat and is likely to help trigger a flurry of intense Atlantic hurricanes this fall.

There's a 70 percent chance that La Niña develops between August and October, and a nearly 8 in 10 chance that La Niña is in place this winter, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration scientists wrote in a forecast issuing their La Niña watch.

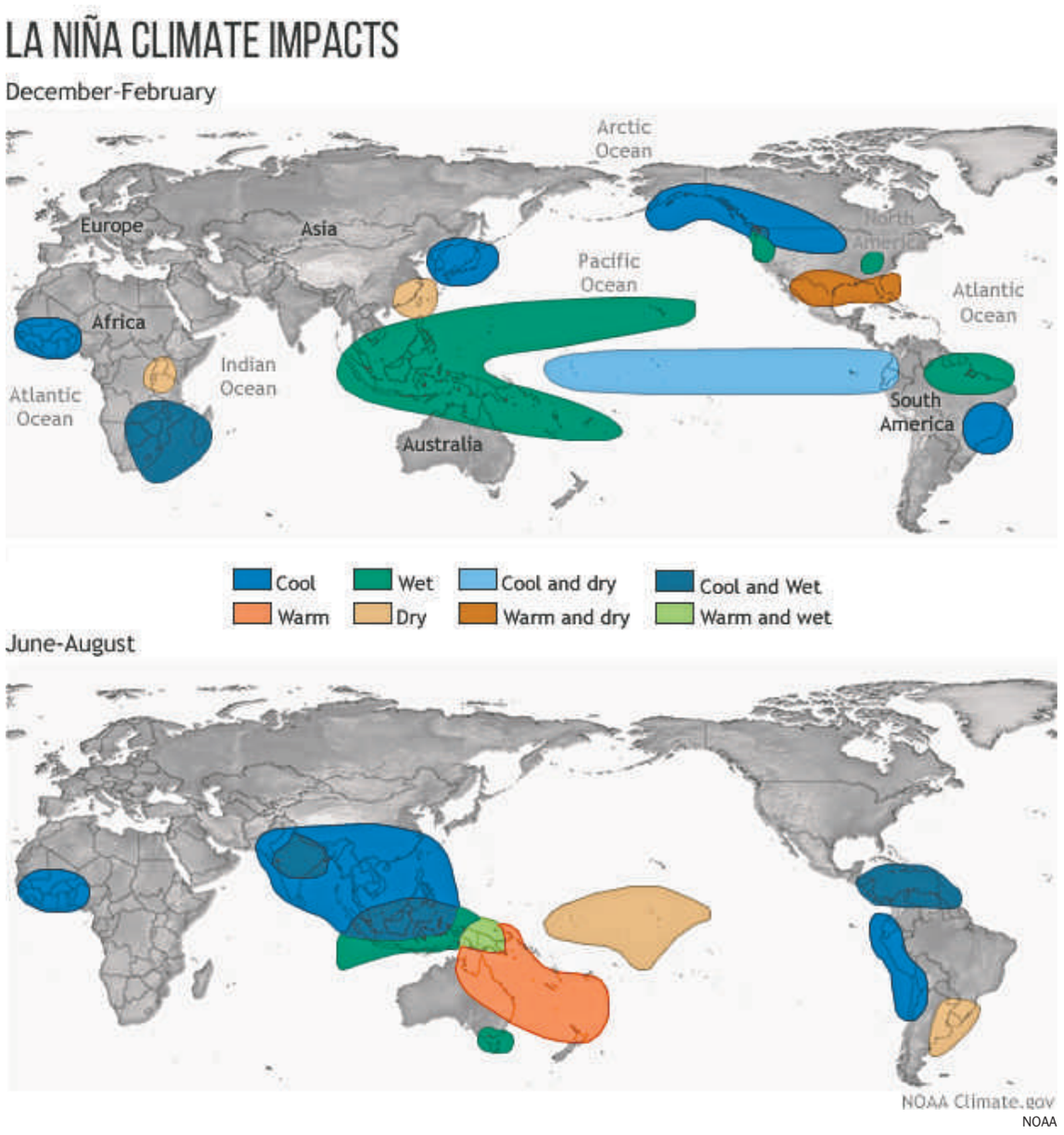
The climate pattern linked to cool Pacific Ocean conditions would have domino effects on regional weather extremes that are largely the opposite of what a strong El Niño pattern brought during its peak last winter. In the United States, it can deliver drought conditions in some places and heavy snow in others; elsewhere, its most dangerous effects can include drought in East Africa and floods in Indonesia.

But there is some uncertainty over how this episode of La Niña could play out because it arrives amid over a full year of record average global temperatures and unprecedented ocean surface warmth.

Climate scientists will be paying close attention to whether La Niña's typical global cooling influence plays out as usual — and if not, what that could signal about how humans have transformed Earth systems by burning fossil fuels and emitting planet-warming greenhouse gases.

"It's going to be interesting to see how this La Niña intersects with the generally very warm global oceans," said Nathan Lenssen, a climate scientist at the Colorado School of Mines and the National Center for Atmospheric Research. "We're in really uncharted territory, globally."

Here are answers to some common questions about La Niña and its effect on the planet.



La Niña, during which cooler-than-normal waters pool along the surface in the eastern and central Pacific Ocean, has domino effects on weather around the world.

What is La Niña?

La Niña is a global climate pattern in which cool waters from deep in the eastern Pacific Ocean well up to the surface, creating a pool of cooler-than-normal waters along the equator in the central and eastern Pacific. At the same time, stronger-than-normal tradewinds blow across the Pacific from east to west, blowing warm surface waters toward Asia and allowing those colder waters to rise up in the east.

The pattern affects conditions around the world because it shifts around the atmospheric forces that steer weather patterns through middle and upper latitudes. The contrast between the hot and stormy conditions in the western Pacific and the cooler-than-normal conditions in the central and eastern Pacific helps to drive changes in the normal flows of weather patterns such as heat waves and storm systems.

What does La Niña mean for global weather patterns?

Some La Niña impacts may be imminent. The pattern is known for fueling Atlantic tropical storm activity. Among the changes it brings to atmospheric patterns is a reduction in wind shear — a difference in wind speed and direction at varying altitudes — over the Atlantic basin. That creates an environment more conducive for tropical systems to organize and strengthen.

The La Niña outlook prompted meteorologists to revise a key hurricane season forecast upward, now calling for a near-record 25 named storm systems, including 12 hurricanes and six "major" hurricanes, which are rated Category 3 or higher.

In the United States, La Niña is best known for warm and dry conditions across the southern tier through the winter — including Southern California, the Southwest and the Gulf Coast — and wet and snowy conditions from the Pacific Northwest to the northern Plains.

Elsewhere around the world, its effects can include floods in northern South America and across Indonesia, and drought in East Africa — conditions that could exacerbate a hunger crisis amid civil war in Sudan.

How is it different from El Niño?

El Niño is associated with warmer-than-normal temperatures across the eastern and central Pacific. During El Niño, the ocean tradewinds are weaker than normal, if not reversed to blow toward the east, creating a cycle that allows warm surface waters to pool and heat up dramatically in the eastern Pacific.

El Niño contributed to a second-straight rainy California winter, a record-mild Midwest winter, deadly floods in Kenya and extreme heat in Southeast Asia.

El Niño often ushers in episodes of La Niña because it releases vast amounts of heat from the eastern Pacific, making for a quick transition to the cooler conditions of La Niña.

How might this episode of La Niña be different?

Off-the-charts warmth has dominated many corners of the world's oceans over the past year — including the western Pacific. It's possible that could exacerbate the natural contrast between hot waters on one side of the ocean and cool waters on the other side, intensifying what might otherwise have been a relatively modest episode of La Niña, said Nathaniel Johnson, a NOAA scientist involved in La Niña forecasting.

"This event could punch above its weight because of how warm the western Pacific is," said Johnson, a researcher at NOAA's Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory.

There is ongoing research to determine whether climate change may be altering the behavior of La Niña and El Niño, Lenssen said. El Niño, which is known to boost planetary temperatures, helped push the planet to what scientists say were its hottest conditions in more than 100,000 years last July — and closer than ever to a dangerous threshold of warming, 1.5 degrees Celsius above preindustrial temperatures.

Climate scientists will be watching closely to see whether and to what degree La Niña could counteract that acceleration in global warming.

How long will La Niña last?

La Niña typically lasts nine to 12 months but can sometimes last three years. It's too early to say how long this one will go.

For now, long-term climate models suggest a period of so-called "neutral" conditions — the absence of either El Niño or La Niña — could set in next, but those projections are far from firm, Lenssen said. A two-year La Niña is "definitely something that's possible," he said.

The stronger the preceding El Niño, the longer a La Niña can last, Lenssen said. After an El Niño pattern during the winter of 2015-2016 became one of the strongest observed, weak La Niña conditions persisted for two years.

But amid a relatively weak and brief El Niño in 2018 and 2019, La Niña persisted for three years in what climate scientists called a rare "triple-dip" La Niña, from 2020 through 2023.

This time, the planet is coming off a historically strong El Niño — though not quite as intense as the strongest episodes on record, including 2015-2016, 1997-1998 and 1982-1983.

Why is it called La Niña?

The pattern's name stems from legend tied to El Niño, a name that signifies baby Jesus in Spanish. Fishermen off the coast of Peru noticed periods of unusually warm waters in the eastern Pacific that sometimes developed in the winter, which changed fishing conditions around Christmas. La Niña is simply the opposite of El Niño.

The Washington Post
SPORTS
SUNDAY, JULY 14, 2024 M2 D

Gatorade is allowing banned teen to take heat



Sally Jenkins

First off, you should probably spit out Gatorade just on general principle — you can't ever forget it's sold by the same folks who make Doritos. It's got more sugar than a Snickers and pronounced links to obesity, and let's not talk about the color dyes. Second, the company deserves to be boycotted based on its dealings with Issam Asinga, the teenage sprinter who alleges his Gatorade gummies were tainted with a banned substance, earning him a four-year ban from track and field after picograms of something called GW1516 were detected in his urine. If it's a contest between the word of a 19-year-old runner and the junkfooder that managed to allow festering salmonella into its granola bar facilities, I'm backing the kid.

A picogram is a trillionth of a gram. Start there with the absurdity of Asinga's case. Further outrage against the inflexible statist ideology of the world anti-doping bureaucracy is useless. The regime's circular, Monty Pythonian "if she burns, she must be a witch" logic dooms the accused individual every time. Unless the athlete happens to belong to a notoriously human-rights-violating *state,* in which case whole fleets of Chinese swimmers, 23 of them at a time, will be (secretly) cleared by WADA despite testing positive for trimetazidine, on the excuse that it somehow leeched off the sportswashed plates in a hotel

SEE **JENKINS** ON **D7**



JULIA WALL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

An Olympic legend has a new record

Bob Beamon's mark of 8.90 meters in the long jump has remained the standard for 56 years. Now, at 77, he has started a new life as a percussionist for the B.O.N.E. Squad, a hip-hop jazz band.

The best long jumper in the history of the Games is embracing his second calling as a jazz musician

BY LES CARPENTER

NEW YORK — The B.O.N.E. Squad is the kind of jazz band that makes your knees quiver and feet convulse. Hip-hop jazz, they call it, filled with funk and groove and soul. To some in New York, the B.O.N.E. Squad is a local institution, with a standing gig as the opening act for a theater in the Bronx.

But on this January night, the B.O.N.E. Squad is in a packed Manhattan music hall called the Cutting Room to play songs from its latest album with its newest member: a tall, lean 77-year-old Olympic legend who is standing behind a set of bongo and conga drums. Stix Bones, the band's leader and main drummer, introduces him.

"The man himself," he yells into a microphone. "Bob Beamon!"

And Beamon, who for nearly six decades has held the Olympic long jump record, starts slapping his palms across the congas. *Bop-a-bop-a-bop*. The beat builds fast, until it feels as if the whole room is filled with the sound of Bob Beamon playing congas. People in the crowd start to shout.

Beamon peers at them through round glasses that appear to

SEE **BEAMON** ON **D6**

SOCCER

D.C. United's long winless streak is over: Cristian Dájome scores twice in a 2-1 win over Nashville. **D3**

SOCCER

The U.S. women find a way past Mexico to prevail in their penultimate warmup ahead of the Olympics. **D3**

BASEBALL

The Savannah Bananas pack Nationals Park with 42,000 attracted to their rare brand of the game. **D5**

Abrams's home run caps a wild rally for Nationals

NATIONALS 6, BREWERS 5

BY ANDREW GOLDEN

MILWAUKEE — When CJ Abrams launches a no-doubt home run as he did Saturday, capping the Washington Nationals' shocking 6-5 comeback win over the Milwaukee Brewers, he doesn't need to watch it — but he wants to make sure his teammates do.

Whenever he gets a hold of one, he stares at the dugout. A bat flip usually follows, and then he begins his trot around the bases. The all-star shortstop followed that script in the ninth inning after he hit a go-ahead, two-run homer off Trevor Megill 416 feet into the second deck at American Family Field. His blast rewarded a bullpen that impressed after an earlier-than-anticipated phone call.

"I looked straight in the dugout, and everyone was lit," Abrams said. "Just energy. I love it."

That carried over to postgame. In the clubhouse, reliever Tanner Rainey informed Abrams from

SEE **NATIONALS** ON **D5**

Nationals at Brewers
2 p.m., MASN

Inside: Hunter Harvey is traded to Royals for prospect and pick. **D5**

Krejcikova fights her way back to win Wimbledon



CLIVE BRUNSKILL/GETTY IMAGES

Three years and 13 Grand Slam appearances after her first major championship, Barbora Krejcikova added a second at Wimbledon.

BY AVA WALLACE

WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND — Three years can feel like a lifetime in the short span of an athlete's career.

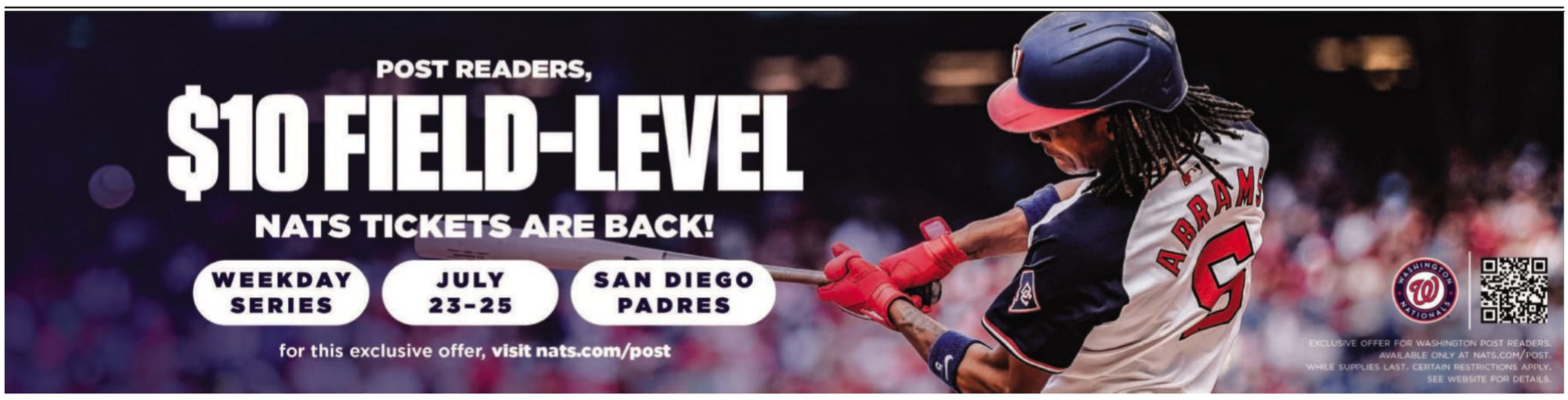
When Barbora Krejcikova won her first Grand Slam title at the French Open in 2021, it was in front of a muted crowd capped at around 5,000 spectators amid coronavirus regulations. She was a surprise finalist then, largely regarded as a doubles specialist at that point, and it wasn't always a happy time. She was riddled with stress throughout the tournament as she inched closer to realizing her dream. During the championship match, she battled knee pain that flared every time she landed after serving.

Just over three years and 13 Grand Slam appearances later, Krejcikova again found herself a surprise finalist — and again she delivered. The 28-year-old from the Czech Republic added a second Grand Slam singles trophy on the grandest stage in tennis Saturday by defeating Jasmine Paolini, 6-2, 2-6, 6-4, on a full and loud Centre Court at the All England Club.

The win prompted an ear-to-ear grin from Krejcikova as she repeated over and over to the crowd that she could not believe she was a Wimbledon champion. That brought tears to the eyes of Martina Navratilova, the Czech-born legend who won here a record nine times and was front

SEE **WIMBLEDON** ON **D8**

Wimbledon, men's final
9 a.m., ESPN



THE DAY IN SPORTS

GOLF

MacIntyre making run at Aberg in Scotland

Ludvig Aberg overcame a pair of bogeys early on the back nine with three late birdies that carried him to a 5-under-par 65 Saturday at the Scottish Open, slightly dampening the enthusiasm of a gallery fully behind local star **Robert MacIntyre** in North Berwick.

"Not the most stress-free golf, but it was again a good score," Aberg said. "I'm pleased with the way I hung in there and finished it out."

The final round before most of the field heads to Royal Troon for the British Open was packed with possibilities, starting with MacIntyre.

Scotland's best player, already with a PGA Tour victory this year in the Canadian Open, surged to a two-shot lead at one point and heard his name chanted along the way. He closed with a tough bogey and still shot 63, putting him in the final group with Aberg.

"I've not been shy in saying it: The Scottish Open is the one I want," MacIntyre said. "It's not going to change tomorrow. I'm in that position. I've been doing good things. I've been playing well, not just this week but for the previous eight weeks; I feel like my game has been in good shape. Tomorrow, I've just got to control me.

"And if I do that well, then I'm going to be in with a chance."

MacIntyre looked like a winner in the Scottish Open a year ago until **Rory McIlroy** birdied the last hole with a 2-iron from 201 yards.

Now he's back, trying to block out the hype and the cheers, knowing what it would mean.

Tougher than the expectations is chasing down Aberg, the Swedish star with the flawless swing who was at his best in a light rain to at least give himself some separation.

Aberg was at 17-under 193 as he goes for his first victory of the year and third in a career that began only 13 months ago after he left Texas Tech as the top player in college golf. ...

Pierceson Coody topped the ISCO Championship leader board for the third straight day, overcoming a slow start for a 4-under 68 and a one-stroke advantage in Nicholasville, Ky.

After playing the front nine in even par with three birdies and three bogeys, Coody eagled the par-5 11th — hitting a 225-yard shot to six feet — and added birdies on the par-5 15th and par-4 17th. ...

Steve Stricker chipped in twice for birdie on the last five holes and shot a 3-under 67 at Firestone to take a one-stroke lead into the final round of the Kaulig Companies Championship in Akron, Ohio.

Without a victory this season, Stricker is trying to win the PGA Tour Champions major for the third time in four years. ...

Indian golfer **Anirban Lahiri** shot a 5-under 66 to take a four-shot lead in the LIV Golf Andalucia tournament in Sotogrande, Spain. Lahiri added to his 69 from Friday to go 7 under overall after two rounds.

SOCCER

Uruguay comes back, beats Canada on PKs

Luis Suárez tied the score two minutes into second-half stoppage time, and Uruguay beat Canada, 4-3 on penalty kicks after a 2-2 draw, in Charlotte to finish third in the Copa América.

Uruguay goalkeeper **Sergio Rochet** saved **Ismaël Koné**'s weak penalty kick after the shooter's stutter step on Canada's third attempt, and **Alphonso Davies** put Canada's fifth and final kick off the crossbar.

Federico Valverde, **Rodrigo Bentancur**, **Giorgian de Arrascaeta** and Suárez converted Uruguay's attempts past goalkeeper **Dayne St. Clair**, while **Jonathan David**, **Moïse Bombito** and **Mathieu Choinière** made their kicks for Canada, which went first in the shootout. ...

Colombia Coach **Néstor Lorenzo** was critical of the extended halftime planned for Sunday night's Copa América final to allow a concert by **Shakira**.

Shakira will be the first musical act to perform during the halftime of the Copa América final in Miami Gardens, Fla. The Colombian pop star, a former partner of Barcelona and Spain star defender **Gerard Piqué**, has performed at three World Cups as well as the 2020 Super Bowl.

With her performance as well as the time it will take to set up and clear the field for the second half, the normal 15 minute halftime will be pushed to 25 minutes during the match between Argentina and Colombia.

"I think it should be like any game," Lorenzo said through an interpreter. "It should be the 15 minutes according to the regulations."

CYCLING

Pogacar extends lead with win in mountains

Two-time champion **Tadej Pogacar** surged ahead on the last climb to win the mountainous 14th stage of the Tour de France and extend his overall lead to nearly two minutes.

The elite climbers' duel between Pogacar and the two-time defending champion **Jonas Vingegaard** finally came when Pogacar peeled away with about five kilometers (three miles) left.

"I love racing on instinct," Pogacar said. "Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't, but I love it that way."

Pogacar caught up with and overtook his UAE Emirates teammate **Adam Yates**, while Vingegaard was initially dropped but showed good composure to limit the damage.

The Dane crossed the line 39 seconds behind the Slovenian Pogacar, who completed the 152-kilometer (99-mile) trek in just over four hours.

"Let's keep this positive energy so we can win more," Pogacar said. "I was feeling really good today."

AUTO RACING

At Pocono, Custer gets his first victory of year

Cole Custer drove away from **Justin Allgaier** over the final laps to give the 2023 NASCAR Xfinity Series champion his first win of the year, earning a playoff spot for Stewart-Haas Racing in its farewell season with the checkered flag at Pocono Raceway in Long Pond, Pa.

Custer has had another dominant season in NASCAR's second-tier series with seven top-five finishes and 14 top-10s in 18 races. He was the series points leader who just hadn't won a race. That all changed in the No. 00 Ford on the 2½-mile track.

"I've never been so frustrated being the points leader," he said. "It was the weirdest feeling in the world."

Custer also gave Stewart-Haas Racing a needed victory before it closes up shop at the end of the season. SHR this year fields Cup Series cars for **Josh Berry**, **Chase Briscoe**, **Noah Gragson** and **Ryan Preece**. Custer and **Riley Herbst** drive for the Xfinity team.

Custer lost his Cup ride at SHR after the 2022 season and spent the past two years driving for its Xfinity Series program. Custer could get a return to Cup next season. ...

Scott McLaughlin continued his fast weekend at Iowa Speedway in Newton, winning the first race of the IndyCar Series doubleheader for his first victory on an oval track.

McLaughlin led 164 of the 250 laps, winning by nearly a half-second over second-place driver **Pato O'Ward** at the 0.875-mile oval.

TENNIS

Siniakova, Townsend earn the doubles title

After seeing longtime doubles partner **Barbora Krejcikova** win the Wimbledon singles title, **Katerina Siniakova** went out on Centre Court and added another Grand Slam trophy to her own collection.

Siniakova won her third women's doubles title at Wimbledon after teaming up with **Taylor Townsend** to beat **Gabriela Dabrowski** and **Erin Routliffe**, 7-6 (7-5), 7-6 (7-1), in a match that finished after 10:20 p.m. local time under floodlights.

"Amazing. I'm so proud of Barbora," Siniakova said of her Czech countrywoman. "I'm just so happy that we could do it as well."

Siniakova has won seven major doubles titles with Krejcikova and one with **Coco Gauff** at this year's French Open. This was her first with Townsend, an American whose previous best Grand Slam result in doubles was two runner-up finishes at the 2022 U.S. Open — in a loss to Siniakova and Krejcikova — and the 2023 French Open. ...

Unseeded **Henry Patten** and **Harri Heliovaara** saved three match points in the second set before beating Australian duo **Max Purcell** and **Jordan Thompson**, 6-7 (9-7), 7-6 (10-8), 7-6 (11-9), in the men's doubles final at Wimbledon for their first Grand Slam title.

Heliovaara became the first Finnish man to win the Wimbledon doubles and sank to his knees in tears after he and Patten converted their second match point. He then put his head on his partner's shoulder, still sobbing, as they sat in their chairs and waited for the trophy presentation.

Patten is the third British man in the professional era to win the men's doubles at the All England Club, joining **Jonathan Marray** in 2012 and **Neal Skupski** last year.

Playing on Centre Court, the duo never had a break point in the match and missed a set point in the first set after coming from 6-1 down in the tiebreaker to lead 7-6. In the second set, they saved a match point at 6-5 and two more in the tiebreaker, where they trailed 5-2 before beginning their turnaround. In the third-set tiebreaker, the 15th-seeded Thompson and Purcell also led 7-6 but couldn't close it out. ...

Diede de Groot secured her 15th consecutive Grand Slam title by winning the women's wheelchair final at Wimbledon for her sixth singles trophy at the All England Club.

De Groot defeated fellow Dutchwoman **Aniek van Koot**, 6-4, 6-4, on No. 1 Court, sealing the victory with a backhand service return to extend her record streak of consecutive major titles and take her overall tally to 23 — also a record.

She has won every Grand Slam tournament since the 2020 U.S. Open and also has 19 major doubles titles.

De Groot said the support for wheelchair tennis has come a long way in the seven years since her first Wimbledon title.

"I played on Court 3, I think there was about three people watching, of my own fans," she said of that final in 2017. "So this one, playing here on Court 1, all of you are here and you were so much into the match. You were cheering for us; you were supporting us. ... Thank you so much for your support."

In the quad wheelchair doubles final, top-seeded Dutch duo **Sam Schroeder** and **Niels Vink** beat No. 2 **Andy Lapthorne** of Britain and **Guy Sasson** of Israel, 3-6, 7-6 (7-3), 6-3, for their third straight Wimbledon title.

MISC.

Rangers, Schneider agree on an extension

The New York Rangers and up-and-coming defenseman **Braden Schneider** agreed on a two-year, $4.4 million contract extension.

General Manager **Chris Drury** announced the deal with the 22-year-old Schneider, leaving fellow defenseman **Ryan Lindgren** as the only unsigned starter on defense. Lindgren has filed for arbitration.

The announcement came a day after New York added depth to the defense, re-signing veteran **Chad Ruhwedel** to a one-year deal.

Schneider had career highs last season in games played (82), assists (14), and points (19) and tied his career high with five goals. He ranked second among Rangers defensemen in hits (167) and blocked shots (133). ...

Dearica Hamby scored 27 points, rookie **Rickea Jackson** added a career-high 23 points and the Los Angeles Sparks beat the Dallas Wings, 87-81, in a battle between the WNBA's cellar dwellers in Arlington, Tex.

Azurá Stevens finished with 16 points, eight rebounds, four assists, four steals and three blocks for the Sparks.

— From news services



ANDREW REDINGTON/GETTY IMAGES

Fun in the fescue

Rory McIlroy shoots on the fourth hole Saturday at the Scottish Open in North Berwick. He is five strokes back at 12 under par.

SPOTLIGHT: PRO BASKETBALL

Reese's double-double streak ends in loss

ASSOCIATED PRESS

CHICAGO — Sabrina Ionescu scored 28 points for New York and the Liberty snapped Angel Reese's WNBA-record double-double streak at 15 games as it defeated the Chicago Sky, 81-67, on Saturday.

Jonquel Jones added 14 points, nine rebounds and seven assists for New York (20-4), which has won three games in a row, including a 91-76 victory over the Sky on Thursday. Leonie Fiebich tied her career high (set in the win over Chicago the last time out) with 13 points, and Ivana Dojkic added 12.

Reese, a front-runner for WNBA rookie of the year, finished with eight points and 16 rebounds for the Sky. Marina Mabrey finished with 21 points, a career-high 12 rebounds and seven assists, and Michaela Onyenwere scored a season-high 14.

LIBERTY 81, SKY 67

Rookie falls two points shy of extending her record run

New York shot just 29 percent (6 of 21) and allowed the Sky to grab nine offensive rebounds while Mabrey scored 11 points in the first quarter to give Chicago a seven-point lead, but the Liberty outscored the Sky 29-13 — including nine points by Dojkic — in the second.

Dana Evans hit a three-pointer that gave Chicago a 34-29 lead with 4:59 remaining in the first half, but the Sky went 0 for 5 from the field and committed five turnovers from there as New York closed the second quarter on a 14-0 run to take the lead for good and make it 43-34 at halftime.

The Liberty led by at least seven points throughout the second half.

New York, which committed five turnovers, scored 11 points off 14 Sky turnovers.

Breanna Stewart (hamstring) did not play for the Liberty. The two-time WNBA MVP (2018, 2023) leads New York in scoring (19.3), steals (2.0) and blocks (1.5) per game.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

MLB

11:30 a.m.	**New York Yankees at Baltimore** » Roku, WIYY (97.9 FM), WSBN (630 AM)
1:30 p.m.	**Colorado at New York Mets** » MLB Network
2 p.m.	**Washington at Milwaukee** » MASN, WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)
7 p.m.	**Draft, first round** » ESPN, MLB Network

NBA SUMMER LEAGUE — LAS VEGAS

3:30 p.m.	**Cleveland vs. Milwaukee** » NBA TV
5:30 p.m.	**Minnesota vs. Indiana** » NBA TV
6 p.m.	**Houston vs. Washington** » Monumental Sports Network, ESPN2
7:30 p.m.	**Orlando vs. New Orleans** » NBA TV
8 p.m.	**San Antonio vs. Atlanta** » ESPN2
9:30 p.m.	**Denver vs. Toronto** » NBA TV
10 p.m.	**Chicago vs. Golden State** » ESPN2

WNBA

1 p.m.	**Phoenix at Connecticut** » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
3 p.m.	**Las Vegas at Washington** » Monumental Sports Network, WTEM (980 AM)
4 p.m.	**Indiana at Minnesota** » ESPN

AUTO RACING

11 a.m.	**IMSA SportsCar Championship: Chevrolet Grand Prix** » USA Network
12:30 p.m.	**IndyCar Series: One Step 250** » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
2:30 p.m.	**NASCAR Cup Series: Great American Getaway 400** » USA Network

GOLF

5 a.m.	**LPGA Tour: Evian Championship, final round** » Golf Channel
10 a.m.	**DP World Tour/PGA Tour: Scottish Open, final round** » Golf Channel
Noon	**DP World Tour/PGA Tour: Scottish Open, final round** » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
Noon	**PGA Tour Champions: Kaulig Companies Championship, final round** » Golf Channel
2:30 p.m.	**American Century Celebrity Championship, final round** » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
4 p.m.	**PGA Tour: ISCO Championship, final round** » Golf Channel

SOCCER

3 p.m.	**European Championship, final: Spain vs. England** » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
8 p.m.	**Copa América, final: Argentina vs. Colombia** » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)

TENNIS

9 a.m.	**Wimbledon, men's final** » ESPN
Noon	**Wimbledon, mixed doubles final** » ESPN

PROFESSIONAL BASKETBALL

3 p.m.	**Big3: Week 5** » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)

PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL — CANADIAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE

7 p.m.	**Ottawa at Edmonton** » CBS Sports Network

Smith scores as U.S. takes a 'step in the right direction' in Olympic tuneup

UNITED STATES 1, MEXICO 0

BY ELLA BROCKWAY

HARRISON, N.J. — In her brief time officially in charge of the U.S. women's national soccer team, Coach Emma Hayes has shown her eagerness to hand the keys to the next generation. To craft her roster for the Paris Olympics, she prioritized potential and player development over veterans and named the Americans' youngest Olympic squad in 16 years.

Saturday's match against Mexico, the first of two send-off games, was the first real test of Hayes's strategy before her team heads to France. The result — a 1-0 win before a sellout crowd of 26,376 at Red Bull Arena — ensured a passing grade but showed the Americans still have plenty to learn.

Sophia Smith connected with fellow forwards Trinity Rodman and Mallory Swanson to score the winner in the 64th minute, breaking the scoreless deadlock on a humid afternoon. Smith's goal, the lone converted chance on 17 shots, gave the U.S. team its third victory in as many games under Hayes.

"I feel like you can already see the direction it's going and the way that we want to play, that fluidity," goalkeeper Alyssa Naeher said. "And now it's just the fine-tuning of getting a little bit more on the same page."

Seventeen of 22 available players saw the field, including Washington Spirit rookie midfielder Croix Bethune, who made her national team debut in the 81st minute.

The United States dominated possession and limited Mexico to just one shot on goal, a sharp contrast to the teams' previous meeting at the Gold Cup on Feb. 26. In that 2-0 defeat, the Americans were outplayed and had one shot on target.



LUKE HALES/GETTY IMAGES

Sophia Smith scored in the 64th minute against Mexico, which beat the United States in February.

When the teams met again Saturday, Hayes chose a lineup that featured nine players with World Cup or Olympic experience. Swanson, Rodman and Smith started together on the front line for just the second time in the past two years. Midfielder Rose Lavelle made her second start of 2024. (Catarina Macario, a probable starter at attacking midfield, will miss the Olympics with a knee injury.)

The United States had three shots on target in the first four minutes, but the weather made for slow play from both sides over the rest of the half. Mexico's press forced shaky U.S. ball movement from the back and multiple turnovers in the midfield, and the chances the Americans did find did not produce goals.

"I think we rushed our play a little," Hayes said. "Intention is good, so I can't fault or criticize the players for that, but it's teaching them the right moments, when to progress, when not to progress, and then in and around the penalty box, how to access the right spaces in the right moments at the right time."

The Americans pushed to open the second half, taking three shots in the opening five minutes.

As Hayes prepared to make her first substitutions, the U.S. forward trio broke the stalemate. Lavelle sent a through ball down the right flank to Rodman, who took a few dribbles and sent it to Swanson at the top of the box. Swanson dropped a pass as Smith cut left, and the 23-year-old forward found the opposite side of the net for her 20th international goal.

Smith, the reigning NWSL Golden Boot winner, had the Americans' first two goals at the 2023 World Cup but did not score for the rest of the tournament. She has rebounded this year, leading all players with five shots on target Saturday and sharing the U.S. team lead with five goals in 2024.

"I know Trin can score goals. I know Mal can score goals. I know I can score goals. That stuff, it'll come. We just need to be patient with ourselves," Smith said. "Maybe it was one touch too many, one pass too many, overthinking it a little bit. . . . Sometimes it takes a few games to get into that flow, but we don't lose confidence in each other."

Rodman and Smith had chances to double the Americans' advantage, but the score held as Hayes made the rest of her rotations. Bethune wasted no time in her debut: In the 82nd minute, she recorded her first shot, a left-footed attempt that went wide.

"There's no denying when the game opens up, we thrive. My goal is to thrive in all moments, so we still have a lot of learning to do with that as a team, as a collective," Hayes said. "But if we use [the Gold Cup] as a reference point, I think it's fair to say this game was much more measured, much more controlled, limited them to very little. So step in the right direction."

The Americans will face Costa Rica on Tuesday at Audi Field in Washington for their final tuneup before departing for France. They begin Olympic play in Group B on July 25 against Zambia in Nice.

Notes: Naeher was honored for reaching 100 appearances for the United States. . . .

The 1999 World Cup squad was honored before kickoff to mark the 25th anniversary of its title. All 20 members of the team were in attendance, including Mia Hamm, Brandi Chastain and Briana Scurry.

Costa Rica at United States
Friendly at Audi Field
Tuesday, 7:30 p.m., TNT, Universo

Dájome converts twice in second half as United snaps winless streak at 11

D.C. UNITED 2, NASHVILLE SC 1

BY BAILEY JOHNSON

After losing an ugly match in Orlando last weekend, D.C. United Coach Troy Lesesne was intent that his group would respond from what he termed an "unacceptable" outing when it hosted Nashville SC on Saturday night at Audi Field.

United looked as if it had undergone a reset in training over the past week, Lesesne told reporters Thursday, and that bore fruit against Nashville. Two goals early in the second half from Cristian Dájome powered D.C. to its first win since May 11 and first win at home since April 27, ending an 11-match winless streak with a 2-1 victory.

"These guys continue to believe in what we're doing," Lesesne said. "I think that they've taken a lot of ownership. In the last 48 hours, what I've seen in terms of training, in terms of coming together and speaking, I think that they knew this was important tonight."

It was evident from the start that United (5-11-8) was determined to rebound from last week's 5-0 loss; Ted Ku-DiPietro fired just wide in the opening minute, the first of several would-be promising sequences that D.C. produced early.

But despite the spirited start, by the 19th minute, United found itself in an all-too-familiar position: trailing.

A strong defensive effort from Dájome — tracking back to catch up to Sam Surridge down the wing and prevent a wide-open chance — led to a throw-in for Nashville (6-9-8). Daniel Lovitz threw the ball to Teal Bunbury, who won the header over United defender Aaron Herrera. Bunbury headed the ball across the box as Tyler Boyd exploited a gap between Matti Peltola and Pedro Santos, striding in front of Santos to finish the opportunity past helpless goalkeeper Alex Bono.

Bono's last start for United was June 15; Tyler Miller started United's previous five matches in goal but was on the bench Saturday. Lesesne said he made the change to see whether it would "inject a little bit of life" into the group and spark a different result.

Conceding the goal didn't seem to rattle the home side, though. United remained on the front foot, maintaining possession in Nashville's half and searching for an equalizer. Several close chances, including multiple ones for Jared Stroud, narrowly missed.

"The way that things looked at the end of the first half, it was another really good first half and we give away a goal that's one in which I think we can control better," Lesesne said. "But the guys kept going. I told them I was really proud of them at halftime and said: 'That's a really good performance. If we have that in the second half, we're going to give ourselves a chance.' And that's exactly what they did."



HANNAH PAJEWSKI/USA TODAY SPORTS

Cristian Dájome, left, here with Christian Benteke, scored in the 51st and 55th minutes of United's victory Saturday at Audi Field.

Added captain Christian Benteke: "We said that we had to keep doing what we'd been doing. We just, I would say, fell asleep on that goal, but other than that, they didn't really [get] dangerous and we were in the game. We had to keep going."

Although United couldn't find a tying goal in the first half, its determination carried over after halftime.

In the 51st minute, Mateusz Klich's corner kick found Benteke for a header that was blocked. But the ball fell to Dájome, who tapped it past Nashville goalkeeper Joe Willis.

Four minutes later, the ball was again at Dájome's feet. This time, he picked his head up as he neared the edge of the 18-yard box, saw an opening and unleashed a shot that flew into the upper corner to give United the lead.

"Dájo, he's someone who gives his all every game," Benteke said. "I'm really happy for him. He really deserved those two goals. He gave us a big boost today."

Nashville found space at times to pressure United down the stretch and threaten to equalize, but D.C. held firm defensively. Nashville's best chance came in the 80th minute on a close-range header by Hany Mukhtar, but Bono came up with the save.

United wasn't content to sit back and defend its lead, either. D.C. continued to seek an insurance goal, finding openings on the counter and keeping enough offensive intention to prevent Nashville from building momentum.

Lesesne is typically animated on the sideline, but he grew even more spirited in the final minutes as he sensed his team nearing a long-awaited victory. When referee Filip Dujic blew the full-time whistle after seven-plus minutes of stoppage time, Lesesne wiped sweat off his forehead and exhaled.

As they returned to the locker room, players could be heard yelling, "We needed that!" D.C. has a quick turnaround for its next match Wednesday at Minnesota — its final MLS match until Aug. 24 as the league heads into its annual tournament with Mexico's Liga MX at the end of the month — but for the first time in more than two months, it heads into that match with momentum from a victory.

"We'd been bleeding for so long, and for us to kind of come out and put together a really, really good team performance and stop that bleeding as we get into that final stretch of the season is so important," Bono said. "It's going to take everyone. It's going to take everything for us to make the push that we know we're capable of making, but today is a really good start for it."

D.C. United at Minnesota United
Wednesday, 8:30 p.m., Apple TV Plus

In his Las Vegas debut, Bronny James drew the spotlight but did little with it

BY BEN GOLLIVER

LAS VEGAS — Bronny James received the loudest ovation during player introductions and drew more reporters for his postgame news conference than Zaccharie Risacher and Alex Sarr, this year's top two draft picks, combined.

Before and after his Las Vegas Summer League debut for the Los Angeles Lakers, James was the star. During the game was another matter entirely.

The Houston Rockets dealt the Lakers a 99-80 blowout loss Friday in front of a nearly sold out Thomas & Mack Center and a national television audience anxious for an early look at James, the 19-year-old son of Lakers forward LeBron James and the No. 55 pick in this year's draft.

James appeared on billboards across Las Vegas to advertise the NBA's annual summer exhibition for younger players and recent draft picks, and an ESPN camera tracked his walk from the team bus into the UNLV gym. Earlier on Friday, LeBron James talked about forming the NBA's first father-and-son duo on NBC's "Today" show.

While his father's No. 6 and No. 23 jerseys were visible throughout the pro-Lakers crowd, the younger James and his yellow No. 9 uniform were depicted in a massive woven rug that hung on one of the arena concourse's walls. A life-size poster of Victor Wembanyama, the 7-foot-4 San Antonio Spurs center who took the summer league by storm last year, loomed nearby as another unfair comparison.

James's game doesn't yet match his fame, and his first summer league showing was filled with "almosts." He almost threw down a between-the-legs dunk during warmups but couldn't quite pull off the trick. He almost finished a lob pass for a transition slam against the Rockets, but the ball caromed off the rim. He almost connected on a few open three-pointers but wound up shooting 0 for 8 for deep — continuing a slump that began this past week at the California Classic exhibition tournament in San Francisco.

There were, however, several strong moments against the Rockets: James sliced to the hoop for a smooth layup less than two minutes into the game; converted a nice pass from Dalton Knecht, the Lakers' first-round pick, for a dunk midway through the first quarter; and bounced in a runner during the final period.



DAVID BECKER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

"Every game is getting easier," said Bronny James, who is averaging five points on 23.1 percent shooting in three games this summer.

Defensively, he applied diligent full-court pressure and made a heady steal by dropping into the paint to break up a pick-and-roll pass from Rockets rookie Reed Sheppard.

James finished with eight points (on 3-for-14 shooting), five rebounds, two steals and three turnovers in nearly 27 minutes. Through three summer games, he is averaging five points on 23.1 percent shooting.

"He's going to have a long career," said Dane Johnson, coach of the Lakers' summer league team. "This is just the beginning. We're always telling him to be aggressive. We'll live with the threes he shot tonight. He's going to make those going forward. He was aggressive in the beginning, and he's going to keep building on that."

Sheppard, this year's No. 3 pick, made things look easy by comparison, posting 23 points, five assists, four rebounds and three blocks. Houston outscored Los Angeles by 21 points in Sheppard's 30 minutes, and the 20-year-old guard from Kentucky delivered one of the highlights of opening day by shaking Knecht with a hesitation dribble to set up a pretty floater. The wide gap in talent between Sheppard — the first guard selected this year — and James was plain for all to see.

But the Lakers don't expect James, who played just 25 games as a freshman for the University of Southern California after suffering sudden cardiac arrest last summer, to be a polished scorer with star potential like Sheppard. Instead, General Manager Rob Pelinka and Coach JJ Redick envision James functioning as a sturdy and pesky on-ball defender like Lu Dort or Davion Mitchell while working to hone his three-point stroke and off-the-dribble attacks.

James said he would be open to playing for the Lakers' G League affiliate next season — "I'm looking forward to any basketball no matter what level I'm playing" — and found himself needing to adjust to the "speed" of summer league play. Still, he held his own physically and didn't appear overwhelmed by the rows of cameras. James kept shooting when left open on the perimeter by the Rockets, though some fans groaned as his misses piled up.

"I always just try to use my athleticism to my advantage," James said. "It will open up my shot a little bit even though it hasn't been falling. I just flat missed [the three-pointers]. ... I'm getting more comfortable. I'm getting comfortable guarding bigger guys. Every game is getting easier."

With his father joining the U.S. team in Abu Dhabi this week for a pair of exhibition games before the Paris Olympics, James played in front of his mother, Savannah, as well as a Lakers contingent that included Pelinka and Redick. Asked about James in multiple interviews Friday, Redick praised the rookie's "terrific" pressure defense and encouraged him to "let go of outcomes and enjoy the process of being in the NBA."

This first night in Las Vegas brought an unwelcome outcome, but James took another step in his developmental process in relative peace. He didn't face frenzied mobs of fans or feel the wrath of hecklers. Once the ball went up, the son of the NBA's most famous player was just another guy trying to make his way in the league.

BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Philadelphia	62	33	.653	—	6-4	W-1
Atlanta	52	42	.553	9½	5-5	L-1
New York	49	45	.521	12½	7-3	W-5
Washington	44	52	.458	18½	4-6	W-2
Miami	32	63	.337	30	2-8	L-5

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Milwaukee	54	42	.563	—	3-7	L-3
St. Louis	50	45	.526	3½	6-4	W-2
Pittsburgh	47	48	.495	6½	6-4	W-3
Cincinnati	47	49	.490	7	6-4	W-3
Chicago	46	51	.474	8½	7-3	L-2

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Los Angeles	56	40	.583	—	3-7	L-1
San Diego	50	48	.510	7	4-6	W-1
x-Arizona	48	47	.505	7½	7-3	W-3
San Francisco	46	50	.479	10	4-6	L-1
Colorado	33	63	.344	23	4-6	L-3

x-Late game

American League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Baltimore	57	38	.600	—	3-7	L-5
New York	58	39	.598	—	4-6	W-2
Boston	52	42	.553	4½	7-3	W-1
Tampa Bay	47	48	.495	10	4-6	L-1
x-Toronto	43	51	.457	13½	5-5	L-1

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Cleveland	58	36	.617	—	5-5	W-1
Minnesota	54	41	.568	4½	6-4	W-1
Kansas City	52	44	.542	7	5-5	L-1
Detroit	46	50	.479	13	7-3	W-1
Chicago	27	70	.278	32½	3-7	L-3

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
x-Seattle	52	44	.542	—	5-5	L-1
Houston	50	45	.526	1½	7-3	L-1
Texas	45	50	.474	6½	6-4	W-1
x-Los Angeles	39	55	.415	12	3-7	W-1
Oakland	36	61	.371	16½	5-5	L-1

x-Late game

Nationals 6, Brewers 5

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Abrams ss	5	1	1	2	0	1	.269
Thomas rf	5	0	2	0	0	1	.252
Yepez 1b	4	1	2	0	1	0	.353
Wood lf	4	1	1	0	0	3	.245
Ramírez dh	3	1	1	1	0	0	.242
Ruiz ph-c	1	0	0	0	0	0	.224
Vargas 2b-3b	3	0	1	1	1	0	.253
Adams c	3	0	2	1	0	0	.239
Winker ph	1	0	0	0	0	1	.263
Lipscomb 3b	2	0	0	0	0	0	.232
García ph-2b	2	2	2	1	0	0	.281
Young cf	3	0	0	0	0	0	.251
TOTALS	36	6	12	6	2	6	—

BREWERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Chourio lf	5	1	1	0	0	0	.245
Ortiz 3b	4	1	0	0	1	1	.259
Contreras dh	3	0	0	0	1	2	.287
Adames ss	4	0	1	0	0	3	.238
Hoskins 1b	4	1	1	2	0	2	.215
Frelick rf	3	1	1	0	1	0	.273
Monasterio 2b	1	1	1	1	1	0	.203
Turang 2b	2	0	0	0	0	1	.278
Perkins cf	3	0	0	0	1	1	.243
Haase c	3	0	1	2	0	2	.353
Bauers ph	0	0	0	0	1	0	.219
TOTALS	32	5	6	5	6	12	—

WASHINGTON	000	300	102	—	6	12	0
MILWAUKEE	500	000	000	—	5	6	0

LOB: Washington 6, Milwaukee 6. **2B:** Yepez (6), Vargas (13), Thomas (11), Chourio (12), Hoskins (9), Monasterio (3). **HR:** García (11), off Junis; Abrams (15), off Megill. **RBI:** Ramírez (7), Vargas (21), Adams (8), García (45), Abrams 2 (48), Hoskins 2 (46), Monasterio (10), Haase 2 (5). **SB:** Frelick 2 (14), Monasterio (5). **S:** Young.

NATIONALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NP	ERA
Parker	⅔	3	5	5	2	2	46	3.90
Weems	1⅓	2	0	0	2	3	38	5.68
Barnes	2⅓	1	0	0	0	4	34	3.62
Floro	2	0	0	0	1	2	34	2.11
Law	1	0	0	0	0	1	11	3.18
Finnegan	1	0	0	0	1	0	21	2.45

BREWERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NP	ERA
Keuchel	3	8	3	3	0	2	65	5.40
Junis	3⅓	2	1	1	0	1	36	2.84
Peguero	1⅓	0	0	0	2	1	25	3.29
Megill	1⅓	2	2	2	0	2	20	2.05

WP: Law (5-2); **LP:** Megill (0-2); **S:** Finnegan (25). **Inherited runners-scored:** Weems 2-2, Barnes 2-0, Junis 2-0, Megill 2-0. **T:** 3:00. **A:** 34,169 (41,700).

HOW THEY SCORED

BREWERS FIRST
Jackson Chourio doubles. Joey Ortiz walks. William Contreras strikes out swinging. Willy Adames strikes out swinging. **Rhys Hoskins doubles, Joey Ortiz scores, Jackson Chourio scores.** Sal Frelick walks. **Andruw Monasterio doubles, Sal Frelick to third, Rhys Hoskins scores.** Blake Perkins walks. **Eric Haase singles, Blake Perkins to third, Andruw Monasterio scores, Sal Frelick scores.** Jackson Chourio grounds out.
Brewers 5, Nationals 0
NATIONALS FOURTH
Juan Yepez singles. James Wood singles. Juan Yepez to third. **Harold Ramirez singles, James Wood to third, Juan Yepez scores. Ildemaro Vargas doubles, Harold Ramirez to third, James Wood scores. Riley Adams singles, Ildemaro Vargas to third, Harold Ramirez scores.** Trey Lipscomb pops out. Jacob Young grounds out. Riley Adams out at second.
Brewers 5, Nationals 3
NATIONALS SEVENTH
Luis Garcia pinch-hitting for Trey Lipscomb. **Luis Garcia homers.** Jacob Young lines out. CJ Abrams grounds out. Lane Thomas grounds out.
Brewers 5, Nationals 4
NATIONALS NINTH
Luis Garcia singles. Jacob Young out on a sacrifice bunt. Luis Garcia to second. **CJ Abrams homers, Luis Garcia scores.** Lane Thomas called out on strikes. Juan Yepez flies out.
Nationals 6, Brewers 5

NATIONALS' LEADERS

Entering Sunday's game.

BATTERS	AVG	H	2B	HR	RBI	BB	SB
Yepez	.353	12	6	0	2	5	0
Call	.313	5	1	0	1	3	1
García	.281	86	17	11	45	14	12
Abrams	.269	94	21	15	48	30	15
Winker	.263	77	18	11	43	48	12
Vargas	.253	43	13	1	21	15	6
Thomas	.252	67	11	8	38	24	22
Young	.251	67	13	1	18	17	20
Wood	.245	12	1	1	6	6	2
Ramírez	.242	8	1	0	7	0	0

PITCHERS	W	L	ERA	H	R	ER	BB	SO
Floro	3	2	2.11	37	13	11	12	38
Williams	5	0	2.22	45	16	14	16	47
Finnegan	2	4	2.45	28	13	11	13	42
Irvin	7	7	3.13	91	43	39	26	96
Law	5	2	3.18	57	23	20	16	49
J.Barnes	5	2	3.62	34	17	15	10	28
Parker	5	5	3.90	84	45	40	21	76
Gore	6	8	4.01	104	53	44	37	116
Harvey	2	4	4.20	43	24	21	12	50
Garcia	1	3	4.68	32	18	17	11	47

NL leaders

Entering Saturday's games.

BATTING
Yelich, Mil .327
Ohtani, LA .312
Profar, SD .307
Arraez, SD .305

HOME RUNS
Ohtani, LA 28
Ozuna, Atl 26
Walker, Ari 22
Harper, Phi 20

RBI
Ozuna, Atl 77
Bohm, Phi 70
Ohtani, LA 67
Walker, Ari 66

ERA
Wheeler, Phi 2.70
Sale, Atl 2.74
Suárez, Phi 2.76
Sánchez, Phi 2.96

SAVES
Helsley, StL 31
Finnegan, Was 24
Suarez, SD 22
Iglesias, Atl 21

STRIKEOUTS
Glasnow, LA 143
Cease, SD 138
Sale, Atl 136
Peralta, Mil 130

AL leaders

Entering Saturday's games.

BATTING
Kwan, Cle .359
Witt, KC .327
Correa, Min .308
Judge, NY .306

HOME RUNS
Judge, NY 33
Henderson, Bal 27
Santander, Bal 23
Ramírez, Cle 23

RBI
Judge, NY 84
Ramírez, Cle 77
Naylor, Cle 70
Soto, NY 65

ERA
Lugo, KC 2.21
Skubal, Det 2.40
Burnes, Bal 2.43
Blanco, Hou 2.53

SAVES
Clase, Cle 28
Kimbrel, Bal 23
Holmes, NY 21

STRIKEOUTS
Crochet, Chi 150
Ragans, KC 141
Skubal, Det 140

Tigers 11, Dodgers 9 (10)

Detroit's five-run ninth forced extra innings.

DODGERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Ohtani dh	4	3	2	2	2	1	.314
T.Hernández rf	4	0	2	0	1	1	.261
Freeman 1b	4	1	1	2	1	0	.293
Pages cf	5	1	2	0	0	1	.257
Taylor lf	4	1	1	1	1	1	.161
Lux 2b	5	0	2	2	0	0	.216
K.Hernández ss	5	1	1	2	0	0	.191
Rojas ss	0	0	0	0	0	0	.283
Biggio 3b	3	1	0	0	2	1	.175
Barnes c	4	1	1	0	1	1	.259
TOTALS	38	9	12	9	8	6	—

TIGERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Ibáñez 1b	2	1	1	1	1	0	.285
Pérez ph-rf	2	1	1	0	0	1	.265
Malloy lf	5	1	1	0	0	1	.211
Urshela 1b	1	1	1	2	0	0	.255
Vierling 3b	5	1	2	2	0	2	.248
Greene cf	5	1	3	0	0	0	.271
Canha dh	1	1	0	0	0	0	.228
Rogers ph-dh	4	0	0	0	0	1	.203
Kelly c	5	1	1	1	0	0	.245
Keith 2b	4	1	3	4	1	1	.253
Báez ss	2	0	0	0	0	0	.179
McKinstry ss	3	0	2	0	0	0	.192
Vilade rf-1b-lf	5	2	1	1	0	2	.294
TOTALS	44	11	16	11	2	8	—

L.A.	101	031	210	0	—	9	12	1
DETROIT	020	020	005	2	—	11	16	1

One out when winning run scored.
E: K.Hernández (4), Ibáñez (2). **LOB:** Los Angeles 10, Detroit 9. **2B:** Pages (15), Keith (10), Greene 2 (21), McKinstry (5), Vierling (13). **3B:** Ohtani (4). **HR:** Ohtani (29), off Montero; K.Hernández (5), off Faedo; Vilade (1), off Wrobleski; Ibáñez (4), off Wrobleski; Keith (9), off Phillips; Urshela (4), off Ramírez.

DODGERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Wrobleski	5	5	4	3	2	4	6.30
Banda	1	1	0	0	0	0	2.25
Treinen	1	2	0	0	0	1	2.28
Vesia	1	1	0	0	0	2	1.28
Vanasco	0	3	3	3	0	0	13.5
Phillips	1	3	2	2	0	1	2.73
Ramírez	⅓	1	2	1	0	0	3.33

TIGERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Montero	5	7	5	5	4	4	5.47
Wentz	⅓	1	1	1	1	0	5.22
Faedo	1⅓	3	2	2	1	1	3.53
Chafin	1	1	1	1	1	0	3.77
Miller	1	0	0	0	0	0	5.23
Vest	1	0	0	0	1	1	3.27

WP: Vest (2-3); **LP:** Ramírez (0-3). Vanasco pitched to 3 batters in the 9th **Inherited runners-scored:** Phillips 1-1, Faedo 1-0. **IBB:** off Vest (Ohtani). **HBP:** Vest (T.Hernández). **WP:** Montero. **T:** 3:11. **A:** 40,196 (41,083).



GREG FIUME/GETTY IMAGES

Midsummer mashing

Aaron Judge launches a pitch in the fifth inning against the Orioles to set a Yankees record with 34 home runs before the all-star break. Roger Maris hit 33 before the break in 1961, when he finished with 61.

Pirates 6, White Sox 2

Bryan Reynolds had four hits and drove in four runs, Luis Ortiz pitched neatly into the sixth inning, and Pittsburgh beat Chicago.

Reynolds gave the Pirates a 3-1 lead in the seventh with a two-run single against Tanner Banks and singled in two more during a three-run ninth.

PIRATES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
McCutchen dh	4	1	2	0	0	1	.227
Bart ph-dh	0	1	0	0	1	0	.235
Reynolds lf	5	0	4	4	0	0	.281
Cruz ss	4	0	0	2	0	2	.244
Tellez 1b	5	0	0	0	0	2	.246
N.Gonzales 2b	5	0	0	0	0	0	.265
Palacios rf-cf	3	0	1	0	1	1	.240
Taylor cf	0	0	0	0	0	0	.203
Hayes 3b	4	1	2	0	0	0	.238
Suwinski cf	1	0	0	0	1	0	.177
Joe ph-rf	0	2	0	0	1	0	.242
Grandal c	4	1	0	0	0	1	.178
TOTALS	35	6	9	6	4	7	—

WHITE SOX	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Pham rf	3	2	2	0	1	0	.265
Benintendi lf	3	0	0	0	0	0	.192
Jiménez ph	1	0	0	1	0	0	.234
Lee c	0	0	0	0	0	0	.222
Robert cf	4	0	1	1	0	1	.222
Sheets dh	4	0	0	0	0	2	.224
Vaughn 1b	4	0	0	0	0	1	.237
Sosa 2b	4	0	1	0	0	2	.240
Lopez ss	3	0	0	0	0	1	.244
DeJong 3b	3	0	0	0	0	1	.229
Maldonado c	2	0	1	0	0	1	.119
Julks ph-lf	1	0	0	0	0	0	.239
TOTALS	32	2	5	2	1	9	—

PITTSBURGH	100	000	203	—	6	9	1
CHICAGO	000	001	010	—	2	5	1

E: Ortiz (3), Vaughn (4). **LOB:** Pittsburgh 8, Chicago 4. **2B:** McCutchen (10). **3B:** Pham (1).

PIRATES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Ortiz	5⅔	4	1	1	1	5	2.84
Nicolas	1⅓	0	0	0	0	1	3.81
Chapman	1	1	1	1	0	1	4.15
Santana	1	0	0	0	0	2	6.10

WHITE SOX	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Flexen	6	5	2	2	2	4	4.82
Banks	1⅓	2	1	1	0	2	4.33
Anderson	1⅓	2	3	2	2	1	4.97

WP: Nicolas (1-2); **LP:** Flexen (2-8). **Inherited runners-scored:** Nicolas 1-0, Banks 1-1. **HBP:** Banks (Joe). **T:** 2:39. **A:** 20,437 (40,241).

NOTES

PERSONNEL DEPT.

Orioles: Baltimore put OF Heston Kjerstad on the seven-day concussion injured list less than 24 hours after he was hit in the helmet by a pitch.

Baltimore recalled OF Kyle Stowers from Class AAA Norfolk.

Phillies: LHP Cristopher Sánchez is set for his first All-Star Game as the replacement for Atlanta's Chris Sale, who will start for the Braves on Sunday and won't pitch in the Midsummer Classic.

The addition of Sánchez pushes the Phillies' MLB-leading total to eight all-stars, adding to the franchise record.

Misc.: Cincinnati's Cam Collier and Atlanta's Drake Baldwin hit 400-foot solo home runs as the National League beat the American, 6-1, in the All-Star Futures Game featuring top prospects.

TODAY

NL games

NATIONALS AT BREWERS, 2:10

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Irvin (R)	7-7	3.13	8-11
Rea (R)	8-3	3.80	11-5

ROCKIES AT METS, 1:40

Márquez (R)	0-0	0.00	0-0
Quintana (L)	4-5	3.91	10-8

MARLINS AT REDS, 1:40

Rogers (L)	1-9	4.82	3-15
Lodolo (L)	8-3	3.30	10-3

CUBS AT CARDINALS, 2:15

Taillon (R)	6-4	2.99	8-7
Mikolas (R)	7-7	4.88	9-10

BRAVES AT PADRES, 4:10

Sale (L)	12-3	2.74	12-5
Vásquez (R)	2-4	4.66	5-7

NL scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS
Washington 5, at Milwaukee 2
at Cincinnati 7, Miami 4
at N.Y. Mets 7, Colorado 6
Chicago Cubs 5, at St. Louis 1
Atlanta 6, at San Diego 1

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
Washington 6, at Milwaukee 5
at N.Y. Mets 7, Colorado 3
at Cincinnati 10, Miami 6
Game 1: at St. Louis 11, Chicago Cubs 3
Game 2: at St. Louis 5, Chicago Cubs 4
at San Diego 4, Atlanta 0

AL games

YANKEES AT ORIOLES, 11:35

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Rodón (L)	9-7	4.63	11-8
Kremer (R)	4-5	4.42	5-6

ROYALS AT RED SOX, 1:35

Singer (R)	5-5	2.93	11-7
Bello (R)	9-5	5.40	10-6

GUARDIANS AT RAYS, 1:40

Lively (R)	8-4	3.59	10-5
Pepiot (R)	5-5	4.20	8-8

RANGERS AT ASTROS, 2:10

TBD	----	----	----
Blanco (R)	9-3	2.53	13-4

MARINERS AT ANGELS, 4:07

Gilbert (R)	6-5	2.94	11-8
TBD	----	----	----

AL scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS
N.Y. Yankees 4, at Baltimore 1
at Tampa Bay 2, Cleveland 0
Kansas City 6, at Boston 1
at Houston 6, Texas 3
at L.A. Angels 6, Seattle 5 (10)

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
N.Y. Yankees 6, at Baltimore 1
Cleveland 4, at Tampa Bay 2
at Boston 5, Kansas City 0
Texas 2, at Houston 1 (10)
Seattle at L.A. Angels, late

Interleague games

ATHLETICS AT PHILLIES, 1:35

	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Estes (R)	3-4	5.53	5-6
TBD	----	----	----

DODGERS AT TIGERS, 1:40

TBD	----	----	----
TBD	----	----	----

PIRATES AT WHITE SOX, 2:10

Keller (R)	10-5	3.40	12-6
TBD	----	----	----

TWINS AT GIANTS, 4:05

Paddack (R)	5-3	5.18	11-5
Snell (L)	0-3	7.85	3-4

BLUE JAYS AT DIAMONDBACKS, 4:10

Kikuchi (L)	4-8	4.00	5-14
Gallen (R)	6-5	3.33	7-7

Interleague scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS
Oakland 6, at Philadelphia 2
L.A. Dodgers 4, at Detroit 3
Pittsburgh 4, at Chicago White Sox 1
at Arizona 5, Toronto 4
at San Francisco 7, Minnesota 1

SATURDAY'S RESULTS
at Detroit 11, L.A. Dodgers 9 (10)
Pittsburgh 6, at Chicago White Sox 2
at Philadelphia 11, Oakland 5
Minnesota 4, at San Francisco 2
Toronto at Arizona, late

GAME 1
Cardinals 11, Cubs 3

Alec Burleson hit a three-run homer to cap a nine-run first inning, Lance Lynn pitched six solid innings, and St. Louis rolled in the opener of a split doubleheader. The Cardinals sent 12 men to the plate in the first, their biggest inning in more than a year.

CUBS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Hoerner 2b	3	0	1	0	1	0	.255
Busch 1b	4	0	0	0	0	2	.270
Suzuki rf	4	1	1	1	0	1	.264
Happ lf	2	1	1	0	0	0	.243
Wisdom 3b-2b	2	1	1	1	0	1	.196
Morel dh-3b	4	0	1	0	0	1	.199
Swanson ss	2	0	1	0	0	1	.215
Canario lf	2	0	1	0	0	0	.280
Mastrobuoni 3b-ss	3	0	0	1	0	1	.203
Crow-Armstrong cf	3	0	0	0	1	1	.192
Nido c	3	0	0	0	0	2	.135
TOTALS	32	3	7	3	2	10	—

CARDINALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Winn ss	5	2	2	2	0	2	.285
Burleson 1b	4	2	3	3	0	0	.288
Carpenter 1b	1	0	1	0	0	0	.247
Contreras dh	4	1	2	1	1	1	.270
Nootbaar rf	5	1	0	0	0	1	.235
Arenado 3b	2	3	1	0	1	0	.265
Crawford ph-3b	2	0	0	0	0	1	.169
Donovan lf	4	1	1	1	0	0	.270
Gorman 2b	4	0	1	1	0	2	.207
Pagés c	4	0	1	1	0	1	.209
Siani cf	1	1	0	1	0	0	.227
Carlson cf	2	0	1	0	0	1	.211
TOTALS	38	11	13	10	2	9	—

CHICAGO	100	100	001	—	3	7	2
ST. LOUIS	910	100	00X	—	11	13	0

E: Wesneski 2 (2). **LOB:** Chicago 5, St. Louis 6. **2B:** Morel (7), Burleson (13), Gorman (13), Carpenter (4). **HR:** Suzuki (13), off Lynn; Wisdom (4), off Leahy; Burleson (16), off Wesneski.

CUBS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Wesneski	4	10	11	4	1	4	4.03
Roberts	2	2	0	0	0	3	0.00
Bigge	1	0	0	0	0	2	3.86
Bote	1	1	0	0	1	0	0.00

CARDINALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Lynn	6	5	2	2	2	6	4.39
Liberatore	1	0	0	0	0	2	4.18
Leahy	2	2	1	1	0	2	4.15

WP: Lynn (5-4); **LP:** Wesneski (3-6). **HBP:** Wesneski (Siani). **T:** 2:27. **A:** 39,129 (44,494).

GAME 2
Cardinals 5, Cubs 4

Nolan Arenado hit a two-run single in the eighth inning, Masyn Winn and Willson Contreras homered, and St. Louis completed a doubleheader sweep.

Four Cardinals relievers combined to pitch five scoreless innings.

CUBS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Hoerner 2b	5	1	2	1	0	0	.257
Busch 1b	5	0	3	0	0	0	.275
Suzuki rf	5	0	2	1	0	2	.266
Happ lf	4	0	0	0	1	2	.240
Morel dh	5	0	1	0	0	1	.199
Swanson ss	4	1	1	0	0	0	.215
Mastrobuoni 3b	3	0	0	0	0	1	.194
Bote ph-3b	1	0	1	0	0	0	.353
Amaya c	2	1	1	2	2	0	.201
Crow-Armstrong cf	4	1	1	0	0	0	.194
TOTALS	38	4	12	4	3	6	—

CARDINALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Winn ss	4	1	2	1	0	1	.288
Burleson rf	3	0	0	1	0	0	.285
Siani cf	0	0	0	0	0	0	.227
Contreras c	2	2	1	1	2	1	.273
Goldschmidt 1b	4	1	2	0	0	0	.232
Donovan lf	4	0	1	0	0	1	.270
Arenado 3b	4	0	2	2	0	1	.268
Nootbaar cf-rf	4	0	1	0	0	0	.235
Carpenter dh	4	0	1	0	0	2	.248
Gorman 2b	2	1	1	0	1	1	.209
TOTALS	31	5	11	5	3	7	—

CHICAGO	040	000	000	—	4	12	0
ST. LOUIS	210	000	02X	—	5	11	0

E: Gorman (9). **LOB:** Chicago 10, St. Louis 6. **2B:** Busch (19), Crow-Armstrong (5), Donovan (22), Goldschmidt (14). **HR:** Amaya (3), off Gibson; Winn (5), off Assad; Contreras (10), off Assad.

CUBS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Assad	2⅓	7	3	3	2	0	3.27
Smyly	1⅔	2	0	0	0	1	3.21
Miller	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.66
Leiter	1⅓	0	0	0	0	3	4.78
Hodge	1⅔	2	2	2	1	2	2.16

CARDINALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Gibson	4	10	4	4	2	3	4.16
King	2	0	0	0	0	0	2.43
Kittredge	1⅓	0	0	0	0	2	3.19
Romero	⅔	1	0	0	1	0	2.43
Helsley	1	1	0	0	0	1	2.36

WP: Romero (4-1); **LP:** Hodge (0-1); **S:** Helsley (32). **Inherited runners-scored:** Smyly 1-0. **WP:** Gibson, Helsley. **T:** 2:41. **A:** 43,827 (44,494).

Phillies 11, Athletics 5

Tyler Phillips pitched into the seventh inning in his first career start, Bryce Harper and Trea Turner hit two of Philadelphia's four home runs, and the Phillies defeated Oakland.

ATHLETICS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Butler rf	3	0	0	0	0	0	.201
Andujar ph-lf	2	0	1	1	0	1	.289
Gelof 2b	4	1	1	1	1	0	.204
Bleday cf	4	0	0	0	1	2	.224
Rooker dh	5	2	3	1	0	2	.287
Langeliers c	3	1	1	0	1	1	.216
Brown 1b	4	0	1	1	0	3	.191

BASEBALL

Nats trade Harvey to Royals for third base prospect and No. 39 draft pick

BY ANDREW GOLDEN

MILWAUKEE — After the Washington Nationals' win over the Milwaukee Brewers on Saturday, Manager Dave Martinez called reliever Hunter Harvey into his office. Soon, several other pitchers joined him and Martinez closed the door.

A few moments later, the Nationals announced they had traded Harvey to the Kansas City Royals for prospect Cayden Wallace and a competitive balance draft pick — the 39th overall selection in this year's draft, which begins Sunday. That was the opening salvo of the trade deadline for the Nationals (44-52), who by sending away their setup man suggested they will be sellers. How aggressive they will be remains to be seen.

The Nationals claimed Harvey, 29, off waivers in March 2022 hoping the 2013 first-round pick with a long history of injuries could contribute in the bullpen. Harvey stayed healthy for the most part and blossomed into one of the Nationals' top relievers. Over 2½ seasons, he had a 3.17 ERA and 162 strikeouts over 145 innings in 138 games. He typically was the setup man for Kyle Finnegan but also posted 10 saves.

Harvey got off to a quick start this season but struggled over the past month. He has a 4.20 ERA in 43 appearances. Regardless, this trade is an organizational win for the Nationals, who made a low-risk waiver claim and turned Harvey into a trade chip.

And they probably aren't done. Barring injury, it seems likely outfielder Jesse Winker and reliever Dylan Floro could be traded by the July 30 deadline. Outfielder Lane Thomas is another option, but that's far from a certainty. Finnegan could be in the mix, too, but like Thomas he has one more year of team control.

Wallace, a third baseman, was the Royals' No. 2 prospect, according to MLB Pipeline. He suffered an oblique injury in late May and missed more than a month but returned to action June 27 during a rehab assignment with Kansas City's rookie-ball team. He suffered a setback July 6 when he was hit by a pitch that fractured a rib and has not played since. Wallace, a second-round pick in the 2022 draft out of Arkansas, was hitting .282 with a .777 OPS, three homers and 16 RBI in 34 games with Class AA Northwest Arkansas.

The trade gives the Nationals three picks on the first night of the draft: Nos. 10, 39 and 44. The 39th pick comes with a slot value of $2.395 million, which boosts the Nationals' bonus pool to $13,895,100. Competitive balance picks — this year, there are six after the first round and eight after the second — are the only picks that can be traded.

The Nationals are recalling right-hander Amos Willingham to take Harvey's roster spot, according to a person familiar with their plans. Willingham, 25, had a 4.54 ERA in 32 games at Class AAA Rochester; he appeared in 18 games for the Nationals last year.

With 'nonstop action and energy,' Savannah Bananas light up Nationals Park

BY SCOTT ALLEN

Just before 2 p.m. Saturday, Princess Potassia — wearing her signature bright yellow dress, white gloves and a sparkling gold tiara — serenaded the crowd gathered outside the center field gate at Nationals Park with a baseball-inspired take on "Be Our Guest" from "Beauty and the Beast."

"Be our fans, be our fans, come along and clap your hands," the Savannah Bananas entertainer sang. "Get ready for the greatest show in sports — throughout the land!"

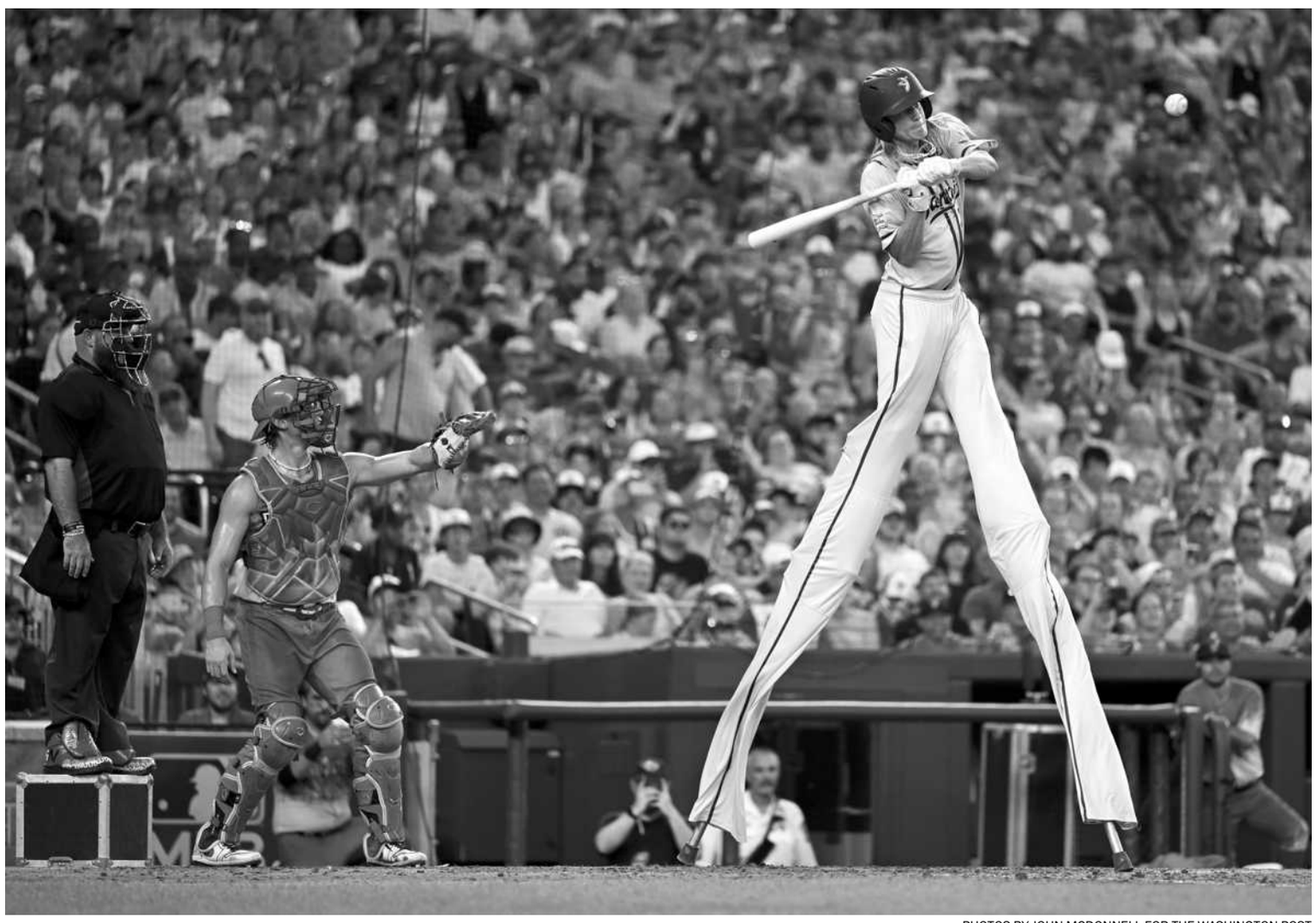
Moments later, the gates opened and a horde of giddy yellow-clad fans streamed into the center field plaza, where they were greeted by Bananas staff members in banana costumes and signs directing them to yellow tents selling Bananas merchandise. The Harlem Globetrotters-esque show wouldn't stop for more than seven hours.

The barnstorming Bananas, who are in the midst of a sold-out 96-game 2024 world tour that includes stops at six major league ballparks, may not be *exactly* what former Nationals star Bryce Harper had in mind when he launched his "Make Baseball Fun Again" campaign in 2016, but there's no arguing with the zany exhibition squad's appeal. (Someone get Anthony Rendon to a game.)

Saturday's announced sellout crowd of 42,000 was the largest in Banana Ball history. Nationals Park hadn't been so loud since Juan Soto's liner to right field skipped under the glove of Milwaukee's Trent Grisham in the 2019 National League wild-card game.

The Bananas, a former summer collegiate team in the Coastal Plain League that went out on its own in 2022, play by their own set of rules, which were helpfully explained for any first-timers before Saturday's 4-3 win over the Firefighters, another exhibition team owned by Bananas founder Jesse Cole. Bunting, walks, mound visits and stepping out of the batter's box are prohibited, and foul balls caught by fans in the stands count as outs. Games feature a two-hour time limit and a unique scoring system that awards points for winning an inning.

The elaborate pregame and in-game entertainment is scripted down to the minute, but the baseball, contested by former college and minor league players and interspersed with choreographed celebrations, walk-ups and trick plays, is real. Bananas center fielder DR "The Doc" Meadows made a backflip catch for the second out of the second inning.



PHOTOS BY JOHN MCDONNELL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Dakota Albritton, who plays on stilts, is just one of the attractions of the Savannah Bananas' lively and idiosyncratic brand of baseball.

"It's not strict, so it's not how real baseball is," said 11-year-old Tyler Arnoto of Gainesville, who attended the game with his parents and two sisters, Kinley and Everly. "It's fun."

Arnoto brought in a homemade sign for Bananas left fielder and former Nationals signee RobertAnthony Cruz, known as Coach RAC to his large number of fans on social media, where he posts baseball coaching videos. Before his second at-bat, the viral video Cruz posted to TikTok after he surprised his dad, Ron, with the news that Washington had signed him as an undrafted free agent in 2021 played on the scoreboard. Cruz saluted the crowd before making his way to home plate, where his dad greeted him with a hug.

"It was surreal," Cruz said before the game of walking into Nationals Park for a scrimmage Friday. "I took a moment up in the stands by myself. … I hit a ball off the top of the wall, so I'm hoping that some in-game adrenaline will push that ball out."



Former Nationals pitcher and fan favorite Gio González received a warm welcome from the crowd, then threw a perfect third inning.

In his third at-bat, Cruz homered to right field before grabbing an American flag and leading his entire team in a trot around the bases.

After they struck out on getting tickets through the lottery announced last fall, Sarah Thomas and Jeremy Hedlund of D.C. decided to splurge for Diamond Club seats a few weeks ago. They wore banana hats that encircled their faces for the occasion.

"I hadn't seen the Bananas until last week when we were watching ESPN and they were on," said Hedlund, who has never been to a Nationals game. "I didn't know they were that big."

"Looking at the merch line, I'm having flashbacks to a Taylor Swift concert," said Thomas, who discovered the Bananas on TikTok. "We were on the Metro, and everyone was in yellow. It's great. We love *this* kind of baseball. This is our jam. Keep it fun, keep it quick."

The concourses Saturday were Opening Day-like, a sea of bright yellow jerseys and linen shirts featuring every banana print known to man. In the hours before the first pitch — and the start of the two-hour countdown clock — at 7 p.m., fans were treated to performances by a magician, the Bananas' dad bod cheerleading squad (the "Man-Nanas") and the home plate umpire, who twerked after being introduced.

The second inning featured a dueling singalong to Bon Jovi's "Livin' on a Prayer" between the first base and third base sides of the park. Former Nationals fan favorite Gio González received one of the loudest cheers of the night when he was introduced as a guest pitcher before throwing a perfect inning for the Bananas in the third. Ashton Lansdell of the U.S. women's baseball team pitched for the Bananas in the fourth and faced her national team teammate (and Firefighters manager) Val Perez.

Saturday's game was a homecoming for the Bananas' Danny Hosley and the Firefighters' South Trimble, both of whom ended their college baseball careers at George Mason. Hosley, a first-team All-Met selection at Langley as a senior in 2017, distributed 50 tickets to friends and family.

"Just getting to interact with so many different fans has been pretty unbelievable," Hosley, who pitched the ninth inning Saturday, said of his two years with the team. "A lot of the fans we get haven't come to a baseball game before, and then they come to this and just enjoy the heck out of it."

"It's all about making it memorable for the kids," Trimble said.

Clark Harris, 10, of Front Royal had been looking forward to his first Bananas game since he received tickets from his grandfather for Christmas. He said he was most excited to see the Bananas' "tall kid" — Dakota Albritton, who plays on stilts. Albritton grounded out as a pinch hitter in the fifth.

Myersville resident Jim Assurian and his family, who have attended a half-dozen Bananas games since first seeing the team in Savannah in 2021, worked Saturday's game as ticket scanners.

"We still follow major league baseball, but I've got to tell you, the Bananas have had an effect on us, and it's kind of boring," said Assurian, who went to Friday's Yankees-Orioles game in Baltimore. "We're expecting the nonstop action and energy. It's strange when we go to regular games now."

The Bananas, who have played at Minute Maid Park and Fenway Park this year, will make stops at major league ballparks in Cleveland, Philadelphia and Miami over the next three months. Cole, the Bananas' yellow tuxedo-wearing founder, has grander plans for 2025.

"Right now, we have 2.7 million people on the wait list for tickets," he said. "We have a lot of fans we want to take care of. We've got a big vision. We're just getting started."

Abrams comes up clutch to bring Washington back

NATIONALS FROM D1

across the room that he had told the bullpen that Abrams would homer.

The Nationals were playing from behind almost all afternoon. Rookie left-hander Mitchell Parker had the worst outing of his young career, recording just two outs. Washington trailed 5-0 by the end of the first inning, forcing the bullpen to cover the rest of the game.

It didn't allow a run over 8⅓ innings. And the Nationals (44-52) slowly clawed their way back into it, giving their star shortstop a chance to deliver a signature moment. Abrams did just that.

"It was unbelievable," said reliever Jacob Barnes, who was watching from the training room when Abrams homered. "… To get over that hump and not just tie it but take the lead was huge."

Kyle Finnegan closed it out in the bottom of the ninth for his 25th save — but not without a scare. With the tying run at second base, the Brewers' Joey Ortiz hit a flyball to the warning track in right, where Lane Thomas made a leaping catch to end it.

After the game, Washington traded reliever Hunter Harvey to the Kansas City Royals for Cayden Wallace — a 22-year-old third baseman in Class AA who is the Royals' No. 2 prospect, according to MLB Pipeline — and the 39th pick in the draft, which begins Sunday.

Well before that, the Nationals' outlook was dire. Parker had gone 16 major league starts without the sort of painful outing that hits even the best rookies. He had shown poise. He had shown confidence. And, as Manager Dave Martinez said many times, he always had a steady heartbeat.

Then came start No. 17, when everything fell apart and none of Parker's pitches seemed to work together. Just 46 pitches into his day, he handed the ball to Martinez, put his head down, walked past his coaches in the dugout and went straight into the locker room.

Parker's outing opened with a Jackson Chourio double and an Ortiz walk. He struck out the next two batters and was poised to escape the jam unscathed. But then he fell behind to Rhys Hoskins, who roped a two-run double to give Milwaukee (54-42) the lead.

AARON GASH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

After his go-ahead two-run homer in the ninth inning, CJ Abrams looked into the Nationals' dugout. "Everyone was lit," Abrams said.

Up next, Sal Frelick worked an 11-pitch at-bat. He fouled off five pitches before the matchup ended with a walk on a curveball in the dirt. Parker yelled into his glove as pitching coach Jim Hickey walked out for a mound visit.

By that point, there was movement in the bullpen. Andrew Monasterio worked a full count and then ripped an RBI double that extended the Brewers' lead to 3-0 and ended Parker's outing. After a walk, Jordan Weems allowed a two-run single to Eric Haase to make it 5-0 as Milwaukee batted around.

The outing provided a sour end to a strong first half for Parker, a 24-year-old who wasn't expected to be in the rotation so soon. He closed Saturday at 92⅓ innings. His minor league career high was 124 a season ago. Missing up in the strike zone may have been a sign of fatigue. Even with the all-star break looming after Sunday's series finale, Washington's bullpen also has shown cracks; Saturday brought the team's 16th game in as many days.

Before the game, the Nationals promoted right-handed reliever Eduardo Salazar from Class AAA Rochester and optioned righty Jackson Rutledge, who made a spot start Friday. Salazar, 26, started the season with the Los Angeles Dodgers, who designated him for assignment in May. The Seattle Mariners claimed him, then designated him for assignment in June; Washington scooped him up and sent him to Rochester. There, Salazar had an 0.84 ERA in nine appearances. He provides another option out of the bullpen, which it appeared the team would need Saturday after Parker struggled.

Instead, five relievers — Weems, Barnes, Dylan Floro, Derek Law and Finnegan — allowed just three hits and struck out 10.

All the while, the Nationals chipped away. In the fourth, they recorded five straight hits off 2015 American League Cy Young Award winner Dallas Keuchel to trim their deficit to 5-3. In the seventh, Luis García Jr. pinch-hit for Trey Lipscomb and slugged a solo homer to cut the Brewers' lead to one. García's ninth-inning single set the table for Abrams's heroics.

Since dealing Juan Soto at the 2022 trade deadline, Washington has been looking for a hitter who can change the course of a game with one swing. Outfielder James Wood, acquired with Abrams in the Soto trade, might become that player. But Abrams has shown the potential, and Saturday, he powered the Nationals to an uplifting win.

"As soon as he hit the ball, I don't even know where the ball landed — I was watching him," Martinez said. "But great feeling. The kid was battling, gets a fastball over the middle of the plate and hammered it. … I always say it: CJ is the guy that we count on to get us going. Today was a good moment for him."

NATIONALS ON DECK

at Milwaukee Brewers

Sunday	2:10	MASN

vs. Cincinnati Reds

Friday	6:45	MASN
Saturday	6:45	MASN
July 21	1:35	MASN

vs. San Diego Padres

July 23	6:45	MASN2
July 24	6:45	MASN2
July 25	12:05	MASN2

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)

Beamon became synonymous with a record. Now he has his name on an album.

BEAMON FROM **D1**



JULIA WALL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

change color in the light and look almost like a pair of Olympic rings. A small smile slides across his lips. For anyone watching him, it would be impossible to imagine that less than a year earlier he could barely play, that he had never been trained and had to relearn many of the basics. Getting to this night, with this band, took months of agonizing work.

The B.O.N.E. Squad's album cover is a black-and-white photograph of a brick apartment building that looks much like the 40 Projects in South Jamaica, Queens, where Beamon grew up. It bears two names: Stix Bones and Bob Beamon.

"I'm big time now," Beamon said.

The album is called "Olimpik Soul." The first song — an exaltation of saxophone, bass and drums — is called "Leap."

More than just a record

Once, he flew across the sky. Footage from that afternoon in Mexico City in 1968 shows Beamon hurtling into the air, legs pedaling as if running up invisible stairs until, at the peak of his ascent, they flatten like wings and he inexplicably keeps soaring. He's above the ground so long it almost appears the film has skipped.

When Olympic officials finally measured his jump, it was almost two feet beyond the previous record. His distance, 8.90 meters (29 feet 2½ inches), flashed on the scoreboard and has glowed ever since as perhaps the Olympics' most unbreakable record. It has been surpassed just twice in non-Olympic competition — on the same 1991 night by Americans Michael Powell and Carl Lewis.

Another Olympics is just weeks away with no indication Beamon's mark will be broken. For 56 years, he has lived as that record, even writing "29 2½ 1968," when signing his name. The record put him in the National Track and Field Hall of Fame and the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Hall of Fame. It allowed him to see places and meet people he never could have imagined. Muhammad Ali was a close friend. Arnold Schwarzenegger still is. This summer, he will play drums in Paris during the Olympics with famous French trumpeter Ibrahim Maalouf.

Several online dictionaries have a word for his jump: "Beamonesque." Defined by Wiktionary, it means "spectacular, remarkable."

"I never had a library card, and I have my name in the dictionary," he often tells people.

But Beamon didn't want his life to just be a record. Now, mostly retired from years of work with youth programs and mentoring as well as his own companies, he couldn't imagine sitting around the living room of the house not far from the ocean in Myrtle Beach, S.C., where he and wife Rhonda have lived for the past three years. His hair is gone and he walks with a bit of a lurch at times, but he seems to be in perpetual motion. Friends say he acts more like a man in his 40s.

"I'm going to be so busy I won't have time for my own funeral" is another thing he likes to say.

Drumming was always his passion, even before he discovered track and field. He figures he has 6,000 jazz records, many of which he keeps stored on metal bookshelves in a second-floor alcove that is both his study and recording studio.

"All the time that I was doing the sports, I was like, 'Wow, what would it have been like if I continued to play drums and to be around great musicians?'" he said four months after the Cutting Room show. "That haunted me for years and years and years after the Olympics and so forth."

Early last year, Beamon asked his younger cousin Al Brisbane, the B.O.N.E. Squad's bassist, if he could join the band. That led to more conversations, an underwhelming tryout and months of excruciating practice in his second-floor studio that left Beamon's hands aching before they finally made "Olimpik Soul."

"Bob is a guy who is saying, 'I'm not done living yet,'" says Abiodun Oyewole, a childhood friend who is also a founding member of the influential rap group the Last Poets and performs a spoken-word song on "Olimpik Soul." "Life begins at 70 for some people."

One giant leap into history

Beamon remembers everything about Oct. 18, 1968. He remembers the midday heat. He remembers the humidity. He remembers the persistent threat of rain, which came every afternoon despite the Olympics having been moved to fall because the summer months in Mexico City were too wet.

He remembers wanting to take his first-round jump before the rain. He was the fourth person in the first rotation of what would be six rounds. The first three had faulted on their leaps, stepping over the jump line. He worried about doing the same. He had faulted twice in that morning's qualification round and had to take off extra far behind the line to be sure he qualified for the final.

He remembers feeling nothing extraordinary about his sprint down the runway. The jump itself didn't seem special to him. He remembers the first thing he did after landing was to see whether he had faulted. The jump official held a white flag. The jump was clean. He remembers feeling relieved.

He remembers the judges standing around the camera-like device that had been installed on a railing beside the jumping pit to measure each leap. He remembers someone telling him the device couldn't be used because he had jumped beyond the end of the railing. That's when he realized that maybe his jump was longer than he thought.

The judges asked for a tape measure, but no one had one. Beamon remembers standing and waiting while one was retrieved. He wondered whether he had broken the world record, which was 8.35 meters (27 feet 4¾ inches). He thought he might have beaten it by two or three inches. His stomach twisted. Minutes went by, five, 10, 15. The start of the 400-meter final was held up. He kept standing. Time, it seemed, stopped.

Finally, someone brought a tape measure. Beamon remembers watching the officials tugging the tape, stretching it out, pinning it to the spot where he had landed in the sand. He remembers seeing 8.90 appear on the scoreboard. He remembers thinking it was a result in the women's discus, which had been going on at the same time. He wondered when they were going to post his jump. Then people started coming toward him. He heard a roar from the crowd. He saw fans spilling down from the stands. Somebody told him the 8.90 was for him. He had broken the world record by almost two feet.

He remembers his legs going weak. He remembers falling to the ground. He remembers being on his knees. He remembers being so overwhelmed that all he could do was cry.

Then the rain came, drenching history. He remembers feeling sorry for the other competitors because most long jumpers don't like bad weather. He remembers taking his second-round jump, which was just a mere 8.09 meters, before skipping the final four rounds. There was no point. For the next 13 Summer Olympics, no one was coming close to 8.90.

Escaping an at-risk youth

Beamon knows exactly the moment he fell in love with drumming. He was 9 years old and sitting, on a warm Saturday morning, in his grandmother's apartment, where he lived. The window was open, and he could hear a drumbeat coming from outside.

"The sound was so awesome that I can hear every stick hitting and every drum hitting," he said. "I said, 'Well, I don't know what they're playing on, but I want to get a drum set and start playing that kind of music.'"



JULIA WALL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Last year, Bob Beamon asked his cousin Al Brisbane, top left, whether he could join his jazz band. After months of practice on the drums, Beamon helped put out "Olimpik Soul."

Beamon's childhood at the 40 Projects had not been good. His mother died when he was a baby. His father was in and out of his life. His grandmother raised him. He struggled to know whom to trust. His refuge was the basketball courts outside, where Oyewole would pick him first in games because even then he jumped higher than everyone else. He couldn't read or write. He got in trouble at school. He was forced to hang around with a gang.

He looked at his life and the world around him and knew something had to change.

"I was a bad boy," he says. Heroin was making its way into the city, and he was attending funerals for friends dead after overdoses.

"We had conversations about what we want to do when we grow up and you're actually looking at this person in a coffin," he said. "And he's not moving, he's not talking, and they're getting ready to close up this box on him, and they're going to put him in the ground so he's never going to come out of the ground.

"And I was like: 'Bob, are you trying to be there with them? Are you trying to do the same thing?' And I said, 'Hell, no.' I knew I had to get out of that coma I was in."

At 14, he was sent to an alternative school in Manhattan. He saw it as a chance to start fresh. He learned to read by looking at the sports pages. He found friends who liked drums, too. He found coaches who introduced him to track and field. He found he could jump really far.

The next year, he took a subway to New York's Junior Olympics, begged one of the other competitors to loan him spikes, took one turn in the long jump and broke the Junior Olympics record. His picture was in the New York Mirror. Soon he was off to high school and then college at North Carolina A&T and then the University of Texas El Paso and the Mexico City Olympics.

A beat he couldn't resist

At first, being the man who jumped 8.90 meters wasn't much easier than growing up in the 40 Projects. His track scholarship at UTEP had been pulled before the Olympics when he refused to compete in a meet against BYU following Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination. There was no professional track and field at the time. He didn't have many endorsements. He felt used and unsure. He was drafted by the Phoenix Suns but never played. He got his degree from Adelphi University in New York, worked for a time in banking, never really tried for another Olympics and stumbled through jobs, all while appearing on occasional Olympic telecasts and "Superstars" episodes.

"Do you know who you are, Bob?" Basketball Hall of Famer Julius Erving asked him in 1984.

In his 2000 memoir, "The Man Who Could Fly," Beamon writes that he really didn't. He had one of the most famous names in sports, yet it didn't feel special. He smoked cigarettes and ate too much. Eventually he pulled himself together, lost weight and found a career in the Miami area working with kids' programs, then started his own businesses. He became, as Dr. J had told him, *Bob Beamon*. He designed his own line of Olympic ties and scarves.

But he missed playing the drums. Once while living in San Diego a few years after the Olympics, he dragged his drums to a local jazz club and sat in with the musicians. For a night, he played like a real drummer, just as he had dreamed. But he was too busy to keep going to the club, and the idea of drumming again stagnated.

When Brisbane first approached the B.O.N.E. Squad about Beamon early last year, Stix wasn't completely surprised. He knew Beamon. They had met at some of Brisbane's family functions, and Beamon had said he played drums. He heard Beamon was once a good athlete, but that was about it.

"He was just Al's cousin who had been in the Olympics," he says.

Stix wasn't really adding musicians to the band, but Beamon was such a nice guy and Brisbane was so enthusiastic about the idea that Stix agreed to try. In the spring of 2023, the band had a session at a club on the west side of Manhattan called Funkadelic. Beamon flew up from Myrtle Beach to join them.

"He wasn't very good," Stix said.

Beamon couldn't keep up; his timing was off. At the end, he remembers Oyewole saying: "If you're going to be in this business, you better get your act together. You better get your hands together."

That night, Stix drove Beamon back to his hotel. In the car, Beamon was disconsolate. Oyewole's words played in his head: *You better get your hands together*. He knew Oyewole was right, but the coldness of his delivery felt like a challenge. Get his hands together? Oh, he was going to get his hands together, all right.

"Stix, will you help me?" he said.

Something in Beamon's tone led Stix to agree. A few days later, they got started with a Zoom session — Stix in the studio he built at his home in Queens, not far from South Jamaica and the 40 Projects, and Bob in the loft in Myrtle Beach.

Stix showed Beamon how to use a metronome to measure beats. He scheduled three Zoom sessions per week, each from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., prerecording his own drum work and making Beamon listen on headphones to account for the online lag. Beamon never missed a practice. When they finished, Beamon would spend two more hours on another video call with Robert Thomas Jr., who had been a percussionist in the band Weather Report.

In two months, Beamon went from 50 beats per minute to 150. "It was like being back in my training again, preparing for the Olympics," he said.

Stix kept thinking of the scenes in "Rocky IV" in which the boxer trains relentlessly in an icy wilderness.

"Now I see how Bob made that jump," he says.

In early August, Stix brought Beamon with the B.O.N.E. Squad to a festival in Branford, Conn. It was the first time Stix had seen Beamon play in person since the night at the Funkadelic, and he couldn't believe what he heard. Beamon was smooth, poised and confident. Already Stix had decided the B.O.N.E. Squad's next album was going to include Beamon. After Branford, he was sure it was the right thing to do.

Stix had been writing music for what would become "Olimpik Soul," and the band recorded at Stix's studio, one or two members at a time as Beamon played from the alcove in Myrtle Beach.

They made plans for the album release party at the Cutting Room and started rehearsing inside clubs. Pressure was building. "I felt that I had to be ready to do something onstage," Beamon said. They scheduled some shows to prepare. During the first, in a small New Haven, Conn., club, Beamon found himself so transfixed by the band around him that he forgot his solo. As the rest of the band looked over, he sat behind his drums staring into space.

"Um, Bob, do you get it?" he remembers them saying, enunciating each word as if he were too old to understand. "It's. Time. For. Your. Solo."

Everyone liked Beamon, even though he was two or three decades older. He told jokes. He made them laugh. He was so earnest. They found he was actually a decent drummer. One day, as the B.O.N.E. Squad was practicing "Leap," Brisbane realized the rest of the band had never seen Beamon's jump. He pulled it up on YouTube and noticed that, when you play "Leap" over a video of the jump, the music matched perfectly.

On the night of the album debut, Beamon nervously prowled the Cutting Room's floor. Afterward, he said it was like Mexico City again.

"You've rehearsed with the best," he kept telling himself. "Now all you have to do is deliver."

He climbed the stage, adjusted his drums, stepped down, then climbed back up and adjusted his drums again, then stepped down once more. He shook hands with anyone who walked past. He introduced the band members to old friends. He had an old neighbor from Florida meet one of the agents for former New York Yankees center fielder Bernie Williams, a guitarist himself. He made circles around the room.

Then the show started. As they played, Stix kept looking at Beamon, his eyes alive, a smile on his face, at one point turning a baseball cap sideways, shaking his head, his hands slapping the drums in perfect rhythm.

"I never knew how much it meant to Bob until then," Stix said.

A few weeks after the show, Beamon sold his gold medal, auctioning it through Christie's. For half a century, he cherished that medal, storing it in a safe-deposit box. But last year he started wondering what would happen to it when he died. He had been thinking about what he could "leave behind as a legacy." He wants to start a foundation or a trust to help nonprofits that support people in need. By selling the medal, he could fund the foundation.

The medal sold in February for $441,000 after premium fees were added to the winning price. Neither Beamon nor Christie's will name the person who bought the medal.

"It's in good hands," he says while sitting in his Myrtle Beach alcove.

Possession of the medal was never what preserved the memories.

"Guys like you still allow me to keep reliving it," he says to a visitor in the room.

He thinks more about drumming anyway. "Olimpik Soul" has done well. In mid-February, it was Jazz Week's 71st-most-played jazz album on radio stations and has been in the 100s through the spring. There has been talk of a Broadway show based on Beamon's life.

Late one evening, in his Myrtle Beach alcove, Beamon places "Olimpik Soul" on his turntable and turns up the volume. The frantic drums of "Leap" fill the room. He sits behind his congas again and begins pounding, Bob Beamon playing along to Bob Beamon.

With his wall of records behind him, he stares across the room toward a poster that says "Mexico68," a framed "certificate of recognition" from Mexico City and a black-and-white photo of him on the podium, the now-sold medal around his neck.

"You've squeezed all the juice out of life," Brisbane is constantly telling him.

Beamon nods slowly to the beat. Then the holder of one of the Olympics' greatest records closes his eyes as he slaps the top of his drums, lost in the music of another kind of record with his name on it.



IMAGO IMAGES SPORTS/REUTERS

Bob Beamon's long jump at the 1968 Games in Mexico City is considered perhaps the Olympics' most unbreakable record.



DAMIAN DOVARGANES/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Issam Asinga filed a lawsuit claiming he received tainted Gatorade gummies, costing him a chance to run in the Paris Olympics.

SALLY JENKINS

Gatorade gums up system against banned teenager

JENKINS FROM D1

kitchen. If the IOC's ally Xi Jinping says it's an innocent mistake, it must be.

But you can feel plenty of fresh spanking outrage at Gatorade, and you certainly will, when you read the civil case filed this month by Asinga's attorneys against the sports drink and its parent, PepsiCo, for negligence and product liability. A Texas A&M freshman who competes for Suriname and runs like a flash, Asinga was barred from the Paris Olympics after GW1516 (or cardarine) was detected in a drug test. Cardarine is a metabolic-burner compound originally developed by Big Pharma as a possible treatment for obesity that never made it to the market over cancer-causing results. It's illegal as well as banned but has made its way into dietary supplements anyway, especially in weight loss products, and the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency has warned to beware of it in supplements.

When Asinga received notice that he had failed a urine test, the suit says, he turned over everything he consumed to a sanctioned lab for testing — including some Airborne, melatonin and two jars of berry-flavored Gatorade "recovery" gummies gifted to him by the company. Surely the Gatorade test was a silly formality because the renowned product came with a stamp promising it had been "NSF certified for Sport," meaning checked out by a lab as safely clean of any mystery ingredient.

But of all things, it was the *Gatorade gummies* that came back with a preliminary positive for trace picograms of GW1516.

Could Asinga have doctored the gummies himself? Perhaps. The more reasonable assumption here is that the gummies were contaminated in an understandably messy manufacturing environment. Anyone who has taken a CBD chew knows that raw ingredients are heated and stirred into a slurry, flavored and infused, and poured into molds, such an uneven process that one gummy can leave you unmoved while another makes you think you're hang gliding.

But reasonable is not good enough in the famously draco-governed anti-doping system. Asinga was required to submit an unopened, *sealed* bottle of the Gatorade gummies from the very same manufacturing lot as his, No. 22092117150234, for further testing, to compare results and try to ascertain who was at fault.

Gatorade declined to provide it.

When Asinga asked Gatorade to send him a sealed bottle of gummies from the same lot for drug testing, this is what he got back:

"Okay so bad news, turns out we discontinued the gummies so we don't have any more!" a company rep texted him, according to his suit. "… They may come back but sound[s] like we've had manufacturing issues!"

Manufacturing issues.

Stay with me now. It gets even stenchier.

Companies are required by the FDA to preserve portions of lots and to code them, in case things such as, say, poisonings occur and the ingredients need to be traced. But somehow Gatorade just couldn't find a companion bottle from this same lot.

It turned out Gatorade had farmed out manufacturing of these "recovery gummies" to a smaller company called Better Nutritionals, a firm that was deep in debt — and shade. In 2019, its manufacturing facility was cited by the FDA for not doing a proper check of ingredients. In 2023, it was on the verge of bankruptcy, after partnering with another supplement company called Goli, which also made gummies, including ones that purported to support weight loss and metabolism burn.

Instead, Gatorade offered up a bottle from a different lot altogether. Amazingly, it tested clean!

From there, the case reads as the same old story of bureaucratic persecution of an athlete simply for swallowing, with the usual censorious talk of "strict liability." The naked hostility of the World Athletics anti-doping authorities against Asinga merely for bringing an appeal is hard to comprehend.

"The panel is not convinced by the Athlete's argument that Better Nutritionals is a 'shady third-party company,'" the ban reads. "Although this does not mean that no contamination could have taken place in the Gardena [Calif.] facilities, credible evidence would be required to prove this beyond mere speculation."

The doping authorities acknowledge that Gatorade's conduct was "odd at best" and that "there may have been something to hide." But in the next breath they pronounce these factors "inconsequential" and blithely accept the assertions of two witnesses from Better Nutritionals that it didn't use GW1516. As if they would have admitted it.

Here you have the world of Kafka: Anti-doping authorities constantly warn athletes against using dietary supplements. Yet they accept the word of two supplement makers as more credible than that of the 19-year-old athlete.

Asinga will now sit out for an Olympic cycle. Meanwhile, the politicized travesty that is the anti-doping system will grind on, issuing nonsensical results that create questions instead of fair results. Such as, why is four years the right suspension when the more uncooperative party was the *supplement provider*, not the athlete?

Is it possible Asinga contaminated his gift gummies? Maybe. But surely the more likely suspect is the company that markets drinks as "born in the lab" and colors them with Red 40, Blue 1 and Yellow 5. You don't have to test that stuff to know it's probably not something you should swallow. All you have to do is really look at it — and how they treated Asinga.

SCOREBOARD

PRO BASKETBALL

WNBA

EAST	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	20	4	.833	—
Connecticut	17	5	.773	2
Indiana	10	14	.417	10
Chicago	9	14	.391	10½
Atlanta	7	15	.318	12
Washington	6	17	.261	13½

WEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Minnesota	16	7	.696	—
Las Vegas	15	7	.682	½
Seattle	15	8	.652	1
Phoenix	12	11	.522	4
Los Angeles	6	17	.261	10
Dallas	5	19	.208	11½

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Las Vegas 84, at Atlanta 70
at Indiana 95, Phoenix 86
at Seattle 91, Minnesota 63

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

New York 81, at Chicago 67
Los Angeles 87, at Dallas 81

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Las Vegas at Washington, 3
Phoenix at Connecticut, 1
Indiana at Minnesota, 4
Atlanta at Seattle, 6

TUESDAY'S GAMES

Phoenix at Washington, 11:30 a.m.
Seattle at Los Angeles, 3:30
Connecticut at New York, 7
Chicago at Las Vegas, 10

Liberty 81, Sky 67

New York	14	29	18	20	— 81
Chicago	21	13	20	13	— 67

NEW YORK	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Burke	30:34	3-9	0-0	0-3	2	1	7
Fiebich	30:33	5-10	0-0	0-6	2	1	13
Jones	34:12	6-14	1-2	2-9	7	2	14
Ionescu	34:22	9-21	6-7	0-3	6	2	28
Vandersloot	14:35	0-2	1-2	0-2	3	2	1
Thornton	25:12	0-5	0-0	0-1	1	1	0
Dojkic	17:30	4-5	2-3	1-2	0	1	12
Sabally	13:02	3-5	0-0	1-2	0	1	6
TOTALS	200	30-71	10-14	4-28	21	11	81

Percentages: FG .423, FT .714. **3-Point Goals:** 11-36, .306 (Ionescu 4-12, Fiebich 3-5, Dojkic 2-3, Jones 1-5, Burke 1-6, Sabally 0-1, Vandersloot 0-1, Thornton 0-3). **Team Rebounds:** 9. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 6 (Jones 3, Burke, Fiebich, Sabally). **Turnovers:** 5 (Vandersloot 2, Burke, Ionescu, Jones). **Steals:** 7 (Burke 3, Dojkic, Ionescu, Sabally, Vandersloot). **Technical Fouls:** None.

CHICAGO	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Mabrey	37:45	8-19	1-1	0-12	7	1	21
Reese	36:25	3-13	2-2	6-16	1	5	8
Cardoso	34:29	3-8	0-0	3-5	0	2	6
Allen	32:15	4-7	0-0	1-2	4	2	8
Carter	15:49	3-10	1-1	2-3	0	3	7
Onyenwere	19:56	6-7	0-0	0-2	0	2	14
Harrison	9:06	0-0	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
Evans	7:45	1-3	0-0	0-0	2	0	3
DeShields	6:30	0-2	0-0	0-1	1	1	0
TOTALS	200	28-69		4-4 12-41	15	16	67

Percentages: FG .406, FT 1.000. **3-Point Goals:** 7-15, .467 (Mabrey 4-7, Onyenwere 2-2, Evans 1-3, Allen 0-1, Carter 0-1, Reese 0-1). **Team Rebounds:** 8. **Team Turnovers:** 3. **Blocked Shots:** 2 (Cardoso, Harrison). **Turnovers:** 14 (Mabrey 4, Cardoso 3, Allen 2, Reese 2, DeShields, Evans, Onyenwere). **Steals:** 4 (Allen 2, Cardoso, Reese). **Technical Fouls:** Mabrey, 2:22 second; Reese, 7:07 fourth; coach Teresa Weatherspoon, 1:58 fourth.
A: 9,025 (10,387). **T:** 1:48.

Sparks 87, Wings 81

Los Angeles	22	23	16	26	— 87
Dallas	18	26	19	18	— 81

LOS ANGELES	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Jackson	29:23	8-14	7-9	0-7	2	4	23
Stevens	37:56	6-10	0-0	1-8	4	5	16
Hamby	36:25	13-24	0-1	1-4	5	4	27
McDonald	28:11	4-7	4-4	1-3	4	0	12
Nurse	24:51	1-4	0-0	0-2	1	2	3
Clarendon	13:31	1-3	0-0	0-0	1	1	2
Talbot	13:04	1-2	0-0	0-2	4	0	2
Cooke	8:51	0-5	0-0	1-2	0	1	0
Burrell	7:48	1-1	0-0	1-1	3	0	2
TOTALS	200	35-70	11-14	5-29	24	17	87

Percentages: FG .500, FT .786. **3-Point Goals:** 6-14, .429 (Stevens 4-4, Nurse 1-2, Hamby 1-3, McDonald 0-1, Talbot 0-1, Jackson 0-3). **Team Rebounds:** 8. **Team Turnovers:** 1. **Blocked Shots:** 4 (Stevens 3, Hamby). **Turnovers:** 12 (Jackson 3, Stevens 3, Hamby 2, Talbot 2, McDonald, Nurse). **Steals:** 11 (Stevens 4, McDonald 3, Hamby 2, Burrell, Jackson). **Technical Fouls:** None.

DALLAS	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Howard	36:06	6-18	2-2	2-7	4	3	14
Sheldon	34:39	3-4	0-0	1-5	2	4	6
McCowan	16:48	5-7	0-0	1-6	1	1	10
Ogunbowale	37:53	2-15	6-6	1-3	4	5	12
Sims	38:30	9-17	3-4	1-5	5	3	23
K.Brown	22:41	5-9	3-6	4-6	2	3	13
Uzun	8:58	1-1	0-0	0-0	0	1	3
Billings	4:25	0-0	0-0	0-1	0	0	0
TOTALS	200	31-71	14-18	10-39	18	20	81

Percentages: FG .437, FT .778. **3-Point Goals:** 5-16, .313 (Sims 2-4, Ogunbowale 2-9, Uzun 1-1, Howard 0-1, Sheldon 0-1). **Team Rebounds:** 13. **Team Turnovers:** 1. **Blocked Shots:** 8 (Howard 2, K.Brown 2, Ogunbowale 2, McCowan, Sims). **Turnovers:** 16 (Ogunbowale 5, Howard 3, K.Brown 3, Billings 2, Sheldon, Sims, Uzun). **Steals:** 6 (Howard 2, Ogunbowale 2, K.Brown, Sheldon). **Technical Fouls:** None.
A: 6,251 (7,000). **T:** 2:03.

Storm 91, Lynx 63

Late Friday

Minnesota	22	15	19	7	— 63
Seattle	25	25	22	19	— 91

MINNESOTA	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Carleton	30:00	1-8	0-0	0-3	1	2	2
Smith	29:03	1-4	0-1	0-3	5	3	2
Juhász	20:25	2-6	0-0	3-7	1	3	4
McBride	25:18	7-13	7-7	0-1	1	1	27
Williams	17:27	2-6	2-3	0-3	3	1	6
Miller	22:45	1-5	2-4	1-4	0	2	4
Hiedeman	22:33	2-9	0-0	2-2	2	1	4
Zandalasini	11:40	2-5	2-2	0-2	1	3	7
Koné	10:57	1-3	3-4	1-2	0	0	5
Pili	9:52	0-3	2-2	1-4	0	1	2
TOTALS	200	19-62	18-23	8-31	14	17	63

Percentages: FG .306, FT .783. **3-Point Goals:** 7-30, .233 (McBride 6-12, Zandalasini 1-2, Juhász 0-1, Miller 0-1, Pili 0-3, Smith 0-3, Carleton 0-4, Hiedeman 0-4). **Team Rebounds:** 8. **Team Turnovers:** 1. **Blocked Shots:** 3 (Carleton, Miller, Smith). **Turnovers:** 15 (Pili 3, Juhász 2, Miller 2, Smith 2, Williams 2, Zandalasini 2, Hiedeman, McBride). **Steals:** 8 (McBride 3, Hiedeman 2, Juhász, Miller, Smith). **Technical Fouls:** None.

SEATTLE	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Horston	21:46	2-5	0-0	0-2	2	2	4
Ogwumike	24:26	10-14	5-5	4-7	3	1	26
Magbegor	28:04	4-8	2-2	3-8	2	3	10
Diggins-Smith	27:37	3-10	3-3	0-5	12	3	10
Loyd	26:44	5-13	4-5	0-2	5	2	14
Whitcomb	19:49	4-10	2-2	0-0	1	1	14
Vivians	18:14	3-4	0-0	2-8	2	1	8
Russell	17:23	1-3	0-0	0-2	0	2	2
Holmes	10:07	1-2	0-0	1-5	2	2	3
Mühl	5:50	0-2	0-0	0-0	0	0	0
TOTALS	200	33-71	16-17	10-39	29	17	91

Percentages: FG .465, FT .941. **3-Point Goals:** 9-26, .346 (Whitcomb 4-9, Vivians 2-3, Diggins-Smith 1-2, Holmes 1-2, Ogwumike 1-2, Horston 0-2, Mühl 0-2, Loyd 0-4). **Team Rebounds:** 9. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 3 (Diggins-Smith, Magbegor, Russell). **Turnovers:** 11 (Diggins-Smith 4, Holmes 2, Horston, Magbegor, Mühl, Ogwumike, Russell). **Steals:** 8 (Horston 3, Diggins-Smith 2, Loyd 2, Russell). **Technical Fouls:** None.
A: 8,320 (15,354). **T:** 1:50.

TRANSACTIONS

MLB

Baltimore Orioles: Selected the contract of RHP Vinny Mittoli and OF Kyle Stowers from Norfolk (IL). Optioned LHP Cade Povich to Norfolk. Transferred LHP Danny Coulombe to the 60-day IL from the 15-day IL. Placed OF Heston Kjerstad on the 7-day concussion IL.
Houston Astros: Agreed to terms with SS Aledmys Diaz on a minor league contract.
Los Angeles Angels: Released 3B Miguel Sanó.
Washington Nationals: Recalled RHP Eduardo Salazar from Rochester (IL). Optioned RHP Jackson Rutledge to Rochester.

SOCCER

MLS

EAST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Cincinnati	15	5	3	48	43	29
Inter Miami CF	14	4	5	47	51	37
x-Columbus	11	3	6	39	40	18
New York City FC	11	9	3	36	33	27
x-New York	9	4	9	36	36	27
Charlotte FC	10	8	5	35	27	24
Orlando City	8	9	6	30	35	37
Toronto FC	8	13	3	27	32	44
Nashville	6	9	8	26	26	33
CF Montreal	6	9	8	26	32	46
Atlanta	6	11	6	24	31	33
D.C. United	5	11	8	23	32	48
New England	7	13	1	22	21	41
Chicago	5	11	7	22	28	40
Philadelphia	4	10	9	21	37	41

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
x-Los Angeles FC	13	4	4	43	43	24
x-Real Salt Lake	12	3	7	43	48	27
LA Galaxy	12	5	7	43	44	32
x-Colorado	11	8	4	37	44	37
Vancouver	10	7	5	35	38	30
Seattle	9	7	7	34	32	26
x-Portland	9	8	6	33	45	39
x-Houston	8	7	6	30	29	26
Austin FC	8	9	6	30	25	32
x-Minnesota United	8	9	5	29	35	37
FC Dallas	7	11	5	26	34	37
St. Louis City SC	4	9	10	22	31	43
x-Sporting KC	5	13	5	20	37	48
x-San Jose	4	16	2	14	30	56

x-Late match

SUNDAY, JULY 7

at Sporting KC 3, FC Dallas 2
at San Jose 1, Chicago 0
at Colorado 4, St. Louis City SC 1
at LA Galaxy 2, Minnesota 1
at Portland 4, Nashville 1
Los Angeles FC at Houston, ppd.

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

at D.C. United 2, Nashville 1
Charlotte FC 3, at Cincinnati 1
at CF Montreal 1, Atlanta 0
Orlando City 3, at New England 1
at Toronto FC 2, Philadelphia 1
Seattle 1, at Austin FC 0
New York City FC 0, at Chicago 0
at FC Dallas 2, LA Galaxy 0
Vancouver 4, at St. Louis City SC 1
Minnesota at Houston, late
New York at Colorado, late
Real Salt Lake at Portland, late
Columbus at Los Angeles FC, late
Sporting KC at San Jose, late

WEDNESDAY'S MATCHES

D.C. United at Minnesota, 8:30
New York City FC at Atlanta, 7:30
Chicago at Cincinnati, 7:30
Charlotte FC at Columbus, 7:30
Toronto FC at Miami, 7:30
CF Montreal at New York, 7:30
New England at Philadelphia, 7:30
Austin FC at FC Dallas, 8:30
Orlando City at Nashville, 8:30
Colorado at LA Galaxy, 10:30
Houston at San Jose, 10:30
St. Louis City SC at Seattle, 10:30
Sporting KC at Vancouver, 10:30
Real Salt Lake at Los Angeles FC, 10:45

D.C. United 2, Nashville SC 1

NASHVILLE	1	0	1
D.C. UNITED	0	2	2

First Half: 1, Nashville, Boyd, 2 (Bunbury), 19th minute.
Second Half: 2, D.C. United, Dajome, 2, 50th; 3, D.C. United, Dajome, 3, 55th.
Goalies: Nashville, Joe Willis, Elliot Panicco; D.C. United, Alex Bono, Tyler Miller, Luis Zamudio.
Yellow Cards: Surridge, Nashville, 73rd; Peltola, D.C. United, 84th.
Nashville, Joe Willis; Josh Bauer, Daniel Lovitz (Alex Muyl, 90th+7), Jack Maher, Shaq Moore; Sean Davis (Isaiah Jones, 83rd), Hany Mukhtar, Dru Yearwood (Amar Sejdic, 83rd); Tyler Boyd (Brent Kallman, 77th), Teal Bunbury (Forster Wekem Ajago, 76th), Sam Surridge.
D.C. United, Alex Bono; Aaron Herrera, Christopher McVey, Matti Peltola (Garrison Isaiah Tubbs, 90th+4), Pedro Santos; Mateusz Klich, Theodore Ku-DiPietro (Gabriel Pirani, 76th), Martin Rodriguez, Jared Stroud (Jacob Murrell, 87th); Christian Benteke, Cristian Dajome.

CF Montreal 1, Atlanta United 0

ATLANTA	0	0	0
MONTREAL	0	1	1

First Half: None.
Second Half: 1, Montreal, Ruan, 2 (Edwards), 51st minute.
Goalies: Atlanta, Brad Guzan, Josh Cohen; Montreal, Jonathan Sirois, Sebastian Breza.
Yellow Cards: Gregersen, Atlanta, 37th; Edwards, Montreal, 53rd; Martinez, Montreal, 88th; Saliba, Montreal, 90th+4.
Atlanta, Brad Guzan; Noah Cobb, Stian Gregersen, Ronald Hernandez, Brooks Lennon, Derrick Williams; Saba Lobzhanidze (Luke Brennan, 89th), Bartosz Slisz; Tristan Muyumba (Dax McCarty, 78th), Daniel Rios (Jamal Thiare, 71st), Xande Silva (Ajani Fortune, 71st).
Montreal, Jonathan Sirois; Fernando Alvarez, George Campbell, Ruan (Gabriele Corbo, 89th), Joaquin Sosa; Ariel Lassister, Nathan-Dylan Saliba, Victor Wanyama (Bryce Duke, 71st); Raheem Edwards (Mason Toye, 71st), Josef Martinez (Matias Coccaro, 88th+2), Kwadwo Opoku (Jules-Anthony Vilsaint, 60th).

Charlotte FC 3, FC Cincinnati 1

CHARLOTTE FC	2	1	3
CINCINNATI	1	0	1

First Half: 1, Charlotte FC, Tavares, 2 (Westwood), 20th minute; 2, Charlotte FC, Abada, 4 (Westwood), 22nd; 3, Cincinnati, Acosta, 11 (Asad), 45th+1.
Second Half: 4, Charlotte FC, Vargas, 5 (Westwood), 66th.
Goalies: Charlotte FC, Kristijan Kahlina, David Bingham; Cincinnati, Roman Celentano, Alec Kann.
Yellow Cards: Diani, Charlotte FC, 3rd; Westwood, Charlotte FC, 45th+4; Malanda, Charlotte FC, 47th; Byrne, Charlotte FC, 54th; Robinson, Cincinnati, 59th; Acosta, Cincinnati, 87th; Smalls, Charlotte FC, 90th+9.
Charlotte FC, Kristijan Kahlina; Nathan Byrne, Adilson Malanda, Jere Uronen; Brandt Bronico, Djibril Diani (Benjamin Bender, 60th), Andrew Privett, Ashley Westwood; Liel Abada (Nick Scardina, 90th+2), Iuri Tavares (Brecht Dejaegere, 60th), Kerwin Vargas (Tyger Smalls, 81st).
Cincinnati, Roman Celentano; Ian Murphy, Alvas Powell (Gerardo Valenzuela, 46th), Miles Robinson, DeAndre Yedlin; Luciano Acosta, Yamil Asad (Bret Halsey, 73rd), Pavel Bucha; Kevin Kelsy (Sergio Santos, 46th), Yuya Kubo (Kipp Keller, 79th), Luca Orellano (Corey Baird, 86th).

Orlando City 3, Revolution 1

ORLANDO CITY	0	3	3
NEW ENGLAND	1	0	1

First Half: 1, New England, Vrioni, 8 (Jones), 23rd minute.
Second Half: 2, Orlando City, Torres, 7 (Angulo), 51st; 3, Orlando City, Enrique, 2 (Araujo), 58th; 4, Orlando City, Torres, 8 (Muriel), 81st.
Goalies: Orlando City, Pedro Gallese, Javier Otero; New England, Aljaz Ivacic, Earl Edwards Jr..
Yellow Cards: Jansson, Orlando City, 50th; Harkes, New England, 68th; Schlegel, Orlando City, 77th.
Orlando City, Pedro Gallese; Robin Jansson, Rodrigo Schlegel, Kyle Smith (Rafael Santos, 46th); Cesar Araujo (Jeorgio Kocevski, 90th+2), Wilder Cartagena, Martin Ojeda (Nicolas Lodeiro, 69th), Dagur Dan Thorhallsson, Facundo Torres; Ivan Angulo (David Brekalo, 85th), Ramiro Enrique (Luis Muriel, 69th).
New England, Aljaz Ivacic; Brandon Bye (Andrew Farrell, 88th), DeJuan Jones, Henry Kessler, Dave Romney; Esmir Bajraktarevic, Ian Harkes, Tommy McNamara (Mark-Anthony Kaye, 56th), Jack Panayotou (Bobby Wood, 81st), Matt Polster; Giacomo Vrioni (Malcolm Fry, 88th).

Toronto FC 2, Union 1

PHILADELPHIA	1	0	1
TORONTO FC	0	2	2

First Half: 1, Philadelphia, Baribo, 3 (Wagner), 39th minute.
Second Half: 2, Toronto FC, Elliott, (Marshall-Rutty), 74th; 3, Toronto FC, Kerr, 1 (Insigne), 78th.
Goalies: Philadelphia, Andrew Rick, Oliver Semmle; Toronto FC, Sean Johnson, Luka Gavran.
Yellow Cards: Sullivan, Philadelphia, 77th.
Philadelphia, Andrew Rick; Jack Elliott (Chris Donovan, 83rd), Jakob Glesnes, Damion Lowe, Olivier Mbaizo, Kai Wagner; Jesus Bueno (Alejandro Bedoya, 59th), Leon Maximilian Flach, Daniel Gazdag; Thai Baribo, Mikael Uhre (Quinn Sullivan, 59th).
Toronto FC, Sean Johnson; Kevin Long, Shane O'Neill (Nickseon Gomis, 46th), Raoul Petretta (Lorenzo Insigne, 46th), Sigurd Rosted (Deybi Flores, 61st); Derick Etienne (Aime Mabika, 87th), Matty Longstaff, Kosi Thompson; Federico Bernardeschi, Jahkeele Marshall-Rutty, Prince-Osei Owusu (Deandre Kerr, 62nd).

Sounders 1, Austin FC 0

SEATTLE	0	1	1
AUSTIN FC	0	0	0

First Half: None.
Second Half: 1, Seattle, Morris, 9 (Rothrock), 63rd minute.
Goalies: Seattle, Stefan Frei, Andrew Thomas; Austin FC, Brad Stuver, Stefan Cleveland.
Yellow Cards: Gomez Andrade, Seattle, 34th; Hines-Ike, Austin FC, 58th.
Seattle, Stefan Frei; Yeimar Gomez Andrade, Jackson Ragen, Nouhou Tolo; Leo Chu (Reed Baker-Whiting, 66th), Joao Paulo (Danny Leyva, 90th+3), Alex Roldan, Paul Rothrock (Dylan Teves, 86th), Obed Vargas; Pedro De la Vega (Albert Rusnak, 46th), Danny Musovski (Jordan Morris, 46th).
Austin FC, Brad Stuver; Guilherme Biro, Julio Cascante, Jon Gallagher (Ethan Finlay, 87th), Brendan Hines-Ike; Daniel Pereira, Alexander Ring (Jhojan Valencia, 72nd), Owen Wolff (Leo Vaisanen, 83rd); Sebastian Driussi, Jader Obrian (CJ Fodrey, 86th), Gyasi Zardes (Diego Rubio, 72nd).

Whitecaps 4, St. Louis City SC 1

VANCOUVER	2	2	4
ST. LOUIS CITY SC	1	0	1

First Half: 1, Vancouver, White, 11 (Gauld), 9th minute; 2, St. Louis City SC, Thorisson, 2, 27th; 3, Vancouver, White, 12 (Picault), 44th.
Second Half: 4, Vancouver, Raposo, 3, 63rd; 5, Vancouver, Picault, 5 (Gauld), 90th+2.
Goalies: Vancouver, Yohei Takaoka, Isaac Boehmer; St. Louis City SC, Roman Burki, Ben Lundt.
Yellow Cards: Blom, St. Louis City SC, 19th; Berhalter, Vancouver, 45th+7; Reid, St. Louis City SC, 53rd; Durkin, St. Louis City SC, 71st; Cubas, Vancouver, 88th; Johnson, Vancouver, 90th+6.
Vancouver, Yohei Takaoka; Mathias Laborda, Luis Martins (Alessandro Schopf, 67th), Bjorn Utvik, Ranko Veselinovic; Sebastian Berhalter (Levonte Johnson, 90th+3), Andres Cubas, Ryan Gauld, Fafa Picault (Ralph Priso, 90th+3), Ryan Raposo (Sam Adekugbe, 84th); Brian White (Damir Kreilach, 90th+3).
St. Louis City SC, Roman Burki; Tim Parker, Jayden Reid, Tomas Totland, Joshua Yaro (Samuel Adeniran, 70th); Njabulo Blom (Akil Watts, 46th), Chris Durkin, Johnny Klein (Caden Glover, 90th+5), Eduard Lowen (Hosei Kijima, 77th), Indiana Vassilev; Nokkvi Thorisson (Michael Wentzel, 90th+4).

NWSL

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Orlando	11	0	5	38	32	12
Kansas City	10	1	5	35	40	22
Washington	11	4	1	34	32	18
Gotham FC	9	3	4	31	19	13
Portland	8	5	3	27	27	20
North Carolina	8	7	1	25	20	17
Chicago	7	7	2	23	23	22
Bay FC	6	10	0	18	19	28
Louisville	3	6	7	16	21	22
San Diego	3	7	6	15	12	17
Angel City	4	9	3	15	16	26
Houston	3	8	5	14	11	23
Seattle	2	9	5	11	16	28
Utah	2	11	3	9	8	28

SUNDAY, JULY 7

at North Carolina 3, Louisville 1
Utah 1, at Seattle 1

FRIDAY, AUG. 23

Orlando at Houston, 8
Bay FC at Utah, 9:30

Copa América

SUNDAY, JUNE 30

Mexico 0, Ecuador 0
Jamaica 0, Venezuela 3

MONDAY, JULY 1

United States 0, Uruguay 1
Panama 3, Bolivia 1

TUESDAY, JULY 2

Brazil 1, Colombia 1
Costa Rica 2, Paraguay 1

QUARTERFINALS
THURSDAY, JULY 4

Argentina 1, Ecuador 1; Argentina 4-2 on penalty kicks

FRIDAY, JULY 5

Venezuela 1, Canada 1; Canada 4-3 on penalty kicks

SATURDAY, JULY 6

Colombia 5, Panama 0
Uruguay 0, Brazil 0; Uruguay 4-2 on penalty kicks

SEMIFINALS
TUESDAY'S RESULT

Argentina 2, Canada 0

WEDNESDAY'S RESULT

Colombia 1, Uruguay 0

THIRD PLACE
SATURDAY'S RESULT

Canada 2, Uruguay 2; Uruguay 4-3 on penalty kicks

CHAMPIONSHIP
SUNDAY'S MATCH
IN MIAMI GARDENS, FLA.

Argentina vs. Colombia, 8

European Championship

ROUND OF 16
SATURDAY, JUNE 29

Switzerland 2, Italy 0
Germany 2, Denmark 0

SUNDAY, JUNE 30

England 2, Slovakia 1 (OT)
Spain 4, Georgia 1

MONDAY, JULY 1

France 1, Belgium 0
Portugal 0, Slovenia 0; Portugal 3-0 on penalty kicks

TUESDAY, JULY 2

Netherlands 3, Romania 0
Turkey 2, Austria 1

QUARTERFINALS
FRIDAY, JULY 5

Spain 2, Germany 1 (OT)
Portugal 0, France 0; France 5-3 on penalty kicks

SATURDAY, JULY 6

England 1, Switzerland 1; England 5-3 on penalty kicks
Netherlands 2, Turkey 1

SEMIFINALS
TUESDAY'S RESULT

Spain 2, France 1

WEDNESDAY'S RESULT

England 2, Netherlands 1

FINAL
SUNDAY'S MATCH
IN BERLIN

Spain vs. England, 3

TENNIS

Wimbledon

At All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club; in London
Purse: £17,942,000
Surface: Grass

WOMEN'S SINGLES — CHAMPIONSHIP

Barbora Krejcikova (31), Czechia, def. Jasmine Paolini (7), Italy, 6-2, 2-6, 6-4.

MEN'S DOUBLES — CHAMPIONSHIP

Harri Heliovaara, Finland, and Henry Patten, Britain, def. Jordan Thompson and Max Purcell (15), Australia, 6-7 (7-9), 7-6 (10-8), 7-6 (11-9).

WOMEN'S DOUBLES — CHAMPIONSHIP

Taylor Townsend, United States, and Katerina Siniakova (4), Czechia, def. Gabriela Dabrowski, Canada, and Erin Routliffe (2), New Zealand, 7-6 (7-5), 7-6 (7-1).

WTA

GRAND EST OPEN 88

At Tennis Club de Contrexeville (France)
Purse: $100,000
Surface: Red clay

WOMEN'S SINGLES — SEMIFINALS

Lucia Bronzetti (4), Italy, def. Gao Xinyu, China, 6-2, 6-1; Mayar Sherif (3), Egypt, def. Selena Janicijevic, France, 4-6, 7-5, 7-6 (7-4).

GOLF

PGA Tour

SCOTTISH OPEN
At Renaissance Club; in North Berwick, Scotland
Purse: $9 million
**

Three years after first Grand Slam title, Krejcikova adds second at Wimbledon

WIMBLEDON FROM **D1**

and center to see Krejcikova triumph.

"Somewhere inside me, I hoped I could win," Krejcikova said. "But I didn't know until the very last point."

The flood of tears did not come until Krejcikova was off the court, looking at the board that lists champions' names and seeing hers alongside that of her late coach, Jana Novotna, whose career advice Krejcikova sought when she sent the 1998 Wimbledon champion a letter as an 18-year-old at a crossroads.

Novotna and Krejcikova hit together for the first time a week after she sent that letter, and Novotna eventually opened a world of possibility for her young mentee. Krejcikova had long poured her tennis dreams into winning the French Open, and only once Novotna began sharing her memories of the torture and triumph of playing on grass and the emotion of finally capturing the trophy did Krejcikova start thinking of Wimbledon as "the biggest tournament in the world."

They worked together for about three years, until Novotna died of cancer in 2017 at 49.

"Jana was the one that told me I had the potential and [to] definitely turn pro and try to make it. Before she passed away, she told me to go and win a Slam," Krejcikova said. "I achieved that already in Paris in 2021, and it was an unbelievable moment for me. I never really dreamed that I would win the same trophy as Jana did."

Krejcikova said she thought she made her mentor proud with the determination she showed in a tense, high-quality final set. Asked if she ever found herself conversing with Novotna in her head as she picked off opponent after opponent at Wimbledon, Krejcikova answered immediately.

"I'm dreaming about her a lot," she said. "… We talk in the dreams."

Novotna also might have been proud about the self-belief it took for Krejcikova to get to the final in the first place. She had won just three singles matches between her exit in the quarterfinals of the Australian Open and the start of Wimbledon.



TOLGA AKMEN/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

"Somewhere inside me, I hoped I could win," Barbora Krejcikova, left, said after her 6-2, 2-6, 6-4 triumph over Jasmine Paolini. "But I didn't know until the very last point."

Neither No. 31 seed Krejcikova nor No. 7 seed Paolini was among the expected finalists when the tournament began, despite Paolini's run to the French Open final last month. The Italian's breakthrough at Roland Garros was so out of the blue — and women's tennis can still be so unpredictable at majors — that her Grand Slam success might have been over in a flash. Paolini arrived in London having never achieved a tour-level win on grass before last week.

Her stints at the All England Club always seemed to start with a bit of bad luck. For the past two years, she drew two-time Wimbledon champion Petra Kvitova in the first round, and losing those matches, even in three sets, warped her perception of her grass-court abilities.

"I wasn't believing too much," Paolini said.

But her confidence grew round by round, and she defeated multiple top-50 players on her way to the final: No. 37 Donna Vekic in the semifinals, No. 17 Emma Navarro in the quarterfinals and No. 13 Madison Keys, who retired with a leg injury at the tail end of a tight, three-set match in the fourth round.

Injuries and upsets were the dominant subplots of the tournament. By the time the second week rolled around, Paolini was one of just three top-10 seeds left in the women's draw. With the top three seeds out, Krejcikova beat No. 4 seed Elena Rybakina, the 2022 Wimbledon champion, in the semifinals to book her ticket to final.

For Krejcikova, who has won 10 Grand Slam doubles titles in addition to her two singles trophies, it was a long road back to a championship match. She made 13 Grand Slam appearances between her win over Anastasia Pavlyuchenkova at Roland Garros in 2021 and Saturday's final. Only three players have done at least that since the Open era began in 1968: Mary Pierce had 20 major appearances between finals, Arantxa Sanchez Vicario had 19, and Svetlana Kuznetsova had 18.

Krejcikova took the first set in 35 minutes, her doubles skills apparent as she wielded her racket like a carving knife, injecting the match with geometry and moving Paolini around expertly. The Italian had enchanted the crowd for the past week and had it on her side again. But Paolini started tight, and Krejcikova's all-business attitude did her well at first — she served impeccably and was the aggressor for the entire opening set.

"She takes really great angles with the shots," Paolini said. "She's a very complete player. She's so good."

Paolini left the court before the second set and returned with a more attacking mind-set, stepping forward and pressuring Krejcikova into faltering on serve. The Czech veteran had served 31 double faults entering the final, more than any other player during the tournament, and that shakiness emerged as she was broken early and allowed Paolini to find a groove.

The third set was the tightest until Krejcikova used a pair of monster forehands to generate her first break points of the set and Paolini double-faulted to give away a 4-3 lead. Krejcikova held at love to get within a game of the match and won on her third championship point with a big serve that Paolini sent sailing out.

"I don't have any words right now. It's just unreal what just happened — it's definitely the best day of my tennis career," Krejcikova said, "and also the best day of my life."

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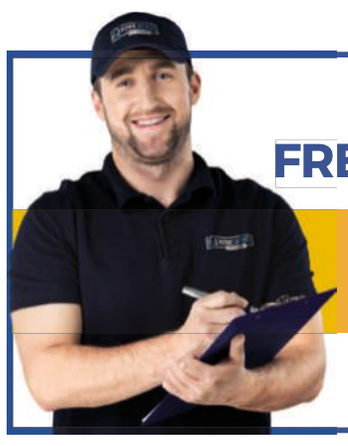
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The Washington Post
Arts&Style
SUNDAY, JULY 14, 2024
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EM MONFORTE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

SCREAM

How Maika Monroe, star of 'Longlegs,' became a defining horror actor of our terrifying times

BY JAKE KRING-SCHREIFELS

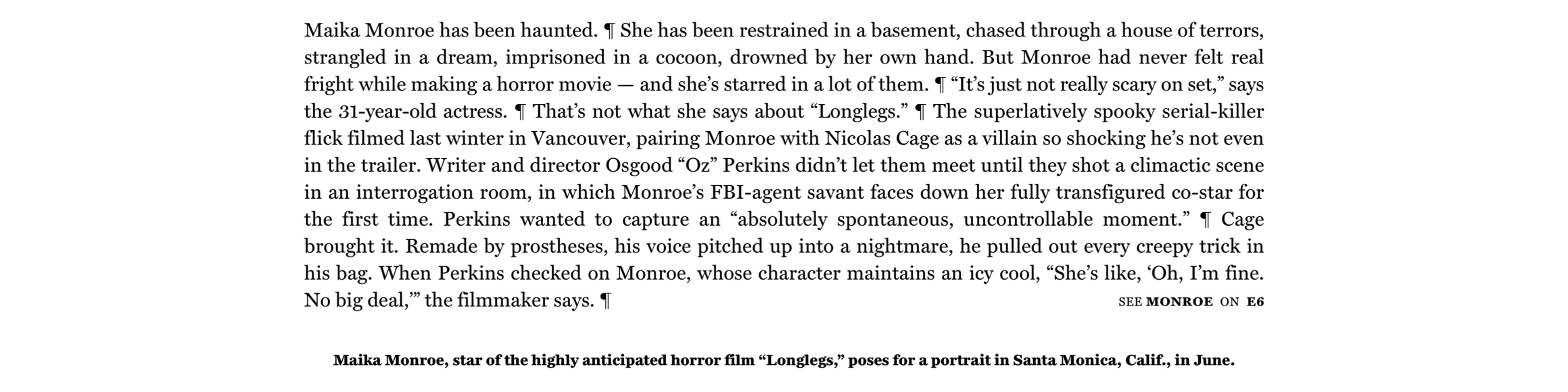
Maika Monroe has been haunted. ¶ She has been restrained in a basement, chased through a house of terrors, strangled in a dream, imprisoned in a cocoon, drowned by her own hand. But Monroe had never felt real fright while making a horror movie — and she's starred in a lot of them. ¶ "It's just not really scary on set," says the 31-year-old actress. ¶ That's not what she says about "Longlegs." ¶ The superlatively spooky serial-killer flick filmed last winter in Vancouver, pairing Monroe with Nicolas Cage as a villain so shocking he's not even in the trailer. Writer and director Osgood "Oz" Perkins didn't let them meet until they shot a climactic scene in an interrogation room, in which Monroe's FBI-agent savant faces down her fully transfigured co-star for the first time. Perkins wanted to capture an "absolutely spontaneous, uncontrollable moment." ¶ Cage brought it. Remade by prostheses, his voice pitched up into a nightmare, he pulled out every creepy trick in his bag. When Perkins checked on Monroe, whose character maintains an icy cool, "She's like, 'Oh, I'm fine. No big deal,'" the filmmaker says. ¶

SEE MONROE ON E6

Maika Monroe, star of the highly anticipated horror film "Longlegs," poses for a portrait in Santa Monica, Calif., in June.

Jenny Holzer's pithy declarations from decades ago feel sadly prophetic in Guggenheim retrospective **E8**

ALSO INSIDE Recent reissues help to expand the story of D.C. hardcore punk **E2** | 'Guillaume Lethière' traces artist's epic journey from slavery to Napoleon's circle **E10**



CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

D.C. hardcore is a story that never ends

BY CHRIS RICHARDS

In most punk scenes on this noisy planet, the line between romantic obscurity and total oblivion runs dangerously thin, with countless bands perpetually slipping through the cracks, vanishing from our collective memory, quietly and permanently. But Washington, D.C., has always been different. Ours is a hardcore punk scene of deeply committed, highly disciplined self-documenters working in the long shadows of Bad Brains and Minor Threat: zine makers, documentary film folk, punk librarians and, of course, record labels. More often than not, the cracks are pried open and the music is lifted out of the void. ¶ Over the past year, we've seen a growing pile of freshly retrieved records to prove it — many of them surfaced by L.G. Records, a new label masterminded by Andy Coronado, formerly of the great D.C. punk groups Monorchid and Skull Kontrol. Along with recent releases from Skam (a forgotten teen band from the early '80s) and Pitchman (a forgotten teen band from the early '90s), these reissued recordings help to expand the story of D.C. punk, providing new pieces to a puzzle that seemingly has no edges. ¶ Snapping the puzzle together takes work, though. Aside from the aforementioned Skam and Pitchman records, all the recordings discussed below have been released on L.G. and are available exclusively on vinyl. Sorry, no streams. As ever, punk requires commitment from all parties involved.

Fury, "Resurrection"

To my ears, this is fact: Chris Thomson is one of the greatest punk singers to ever exhale on society. Ever heard him? In this band, Fury? Or in Circus Lupus? Or in Las Mordidas? Monorchid? Skull Kontrol? Red Eyed Legends? Coffin Pricks? Listen to each of these bands immediately, I say, then keep listening to them until you're dead. That voice, especially. Maybe you'll hear the indignation of Steve Ignorant and the disdain of Mark E. Smith holding hands on some nightmare mission through Darby Crash's sinuses, but I still hear Thomson sneering with an existential displeasure that belongs exclusively to him. Just imagine coasting through A.D. 1989, knowing Thomson primarily as the bassist of post-hardcore outfit Ignition, then finding out that he's fronting a new band with the frenzied members of Swiz. Imagine him raising the microphone to his teeth for the first time. Imagine him howling, "I ain't afraid of you," and believing him on the cellular level. What a debut. This legendary EP — one of the greatest hardcore 7-inch singles to ever come out of D.C., now reissued on 12-inch — might be filled with harrowing songs about betrayal and shotgun blasts, but Thomson is essentially shooting up a flare. Something starts here.



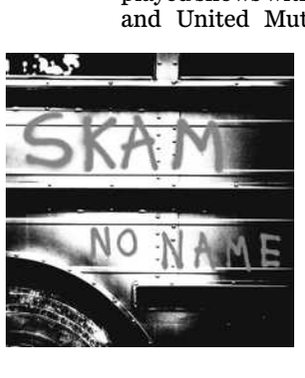


The D.C. hardcore band Fury — with vocalist Chris Thomson, front — performs in 1989.

JOE WONGANADA

Skam, "No Name"

Based on the taut punk missives they recorded in 1982 and 1983, these Northern Virginia teens knew who their enemies were: the cops, the IRS, Jim Bakker and Ronald Reagan. Who were their friends? Skam played shows with the likes of Scream, Nuclear Crayons and United Mutation, but during their few years together, the band's only 9:30 Club show was canceled, making it something of a footnote to a footnote. (Bassist Jack Anderson graduated to a style of exponentially gnarlier doomsaying in No Trend while singer-guitarist Vince Forcier eventually played in Racer X, then Second Wind.) Now, four decades later, "No Name" compiles handfuls of rowdy Skam live cuts and tightly clenched studio recordings, including a stealthily tender cover of "Search and Destroy" by the Stooges, which feels less like a rabid declaration of punkness and more like an exercise in youthful introspection. "I'm a street-walking cheetah with a heart full of napalm" has never sounded more like, "*Is this really who I am?*" More than a band trying to find its place in the scene, Skam sounded like kids trying to find their place in this world.



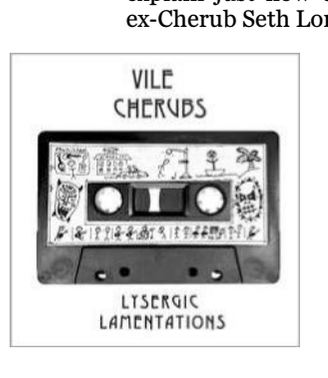
Shudder to Think, "1987"

Let's try to hear Shudder to Think as a long-term reconciliation of opposites — a band forever rearranging the uncomplicated urgency of hardcore punk so that it could better accommodate the rococo wowee of its singer, Craig Wedren. Yeah, Wedren loved Rites of Spring and the Misfits, but he says he initially took his biggest vocal cues from rock's most moneyed shriekers (Steve Perry, Ozzy Osbourne). How did that work? Well, it was all working like crazy in 1994 when Shudder to Think dropped "Pony Express Record," its major-label debut and the apex of this impossible balancing act. But rewind your brain back to the group's earliest recordings from 1987, collected here, and you'll hear Wedren singing in his tangy mewl with a certitude so reflexive, it almost feels shocking. It's not that his voice was inimitable. It's more like who would dare? Thankfully, his original bandmates — drummer Mike Russell, guitarist Chris Matthews, long-haul bassist Stuart Hill — never balked, and once everything tightens up in the closing moments of this record during "Take the Child," we become privy to the holiest of sounds, a band learning itself.



Vile Cherubs, "Lysergic Lamentations"

In punk, outsiders can become insiders through wild displays of charisma and force, and the Vile Cherubs seem to have had just enough of both. "It's hard to explain just how different it was back then," writes ex-Cherub Seth Lorinczi in the liner notes of "Lysergic Lamentations," an album conjoining the band's first two demos from 1987 and 1988. "Downtown Washington, D.C. was roached. After the torrential rain storms that broke like water balloons over your head, you could literally smell the decay wafting up from the abandoned buildings. The city was falling apart in real time, but it was also our playground: Chinese takeouts; wig shops; pay phones; liquor stores that sold to anyone. And d.c. space" — the experimental downtown venue that admirably opened its doors to this teenage quartet's acid-chomping style of garage rock, a hardcore-resistant sound that skewed less "Flex Your Head," more "Nuggets." But these moody, mischievous songs were the Cherubs' keys into the scene and later into the city's proper hardcore lineage. Guitarist Tim Green would eventually join the feral Nation of Ulysses. Lorinczi would sign up with Circus Lupus. But here, these Cherubs were still outsider kids who seemingly approached their music, their city and their youth as the same thing: an unknowable play space being eaten by time.



Circus Lupus, "Circus Lupus"

With Fury lasting only a few months, a few songs and two shows, Chris Thomson skipped off to college in Wisconsin where he joined this early version of Circus Lupus, then quickly boomeranged everyone back home to record these nine tracks at Inner Ear Studio in the summer of 1990. New band, new sound. Bristly. Caustic. Not fast, but busy. Not funky, but lumpy in a way that thrilled. All over the place, but totally tight. Drummer Arika Casebolt brought the indomitable thud. Reg Shrader — later replaced by Seth Lorinczi — moved his fingers around the bass in puzzling almost-grooves. Chris Hamley liked to make his guitar talk in prickles and scribbles, and then Thomson would bark back. "Ink for my poison pen!" "Wear your mask and frown!" Is that what he was saying? The poetry kept breaking up inside his mouth until everything sounded like threats. Somehow, it made you want to only get closer.



Pitchman, "My Angel Age"

Circus Lupus existed for roughly four years, winning admirers high and low. Up there was Joan Jett, who produced the band's "Pop Man" single in 1992. Down here was Pitchman, a group of local teens who wanted to destroy the world, or at least their high school. "My world ends with strawberry shampoo!" screams then-16-year-old singer Drée Thibert on "Dead Girls," one of the most ferocious cuts Pitchman recorded in 1993, triangulating the knottiness of Circus Lupus, the rage of Huggy Bear and the sass of Nation of Ulysses. As evidenced by these songs — there are a dozen of them streaming on Bandcamp, titled "My Angel Age," four of which have been released on an eponymous 7-inch EP by guitarist Mat Keel and Thibert — Pitchman's preternatural cool frequently boiled over into fury, burning bright, burning fast, then, after less than a year together, burning out, their momentum carrying them into new bands. Drummer Aaron Brenner would quickly join the Meta-Matics, one of the most righteously inventive bands in D.C. punk history. Bassist Gabe Andruzzi eventually became a Swiss Army knife member — saxophone, percussion, keys, etc. — of the major-label iteration of acclaimed dance-punk band the Rapture.



Las Mordidas, "Ex-Voto"

If we're assigning superlatives to all the bands that Chris Thomson fronted, let's agree that Monorchid was the harshest. Skull Kontrol was probably the coolest. Aptly, Fury was the most unambiguously furious. And Las Mordidas was definitely the weirdest. The band's rhythm section had been transplanted from neighboring punk-funk crew Fidelity Jones, with drummer Jerry Busher and bassist Dug E. Bird confidently locked into their own private pocket language. The band's guitar player was the melody-minded Jon Kirschten, previously of the band Rain and younger sibling of Faith bassist and scene hero Chris "Bald" Kirschten. That left Thomson holding the microphone in a riptide, following superball grooves as they bounced down alleyways, then chasing Kirschten's anthemic chords up mountainsides. In any other band, Thomson's voice sits dead center, like a bruise that keeps asking to be poked. Here, he's floating in some kind of limbo, and for once, it doesn't hurt.



ART

GREAT WORKS, IN FOCUS

As war raged, an Italian model helped Matisse get out of his own head

BY SEBASTIAN SMEE

"Our interest's on the dangerous edge of things," wrote the poet Robert Browning. "The honest thief, the tender murderer, the superstitious atheist." One reason — one of many — to be interested in Henri Matisse is that he was the severest, the most ruthlessly disciplined of sensualists.

In early 1917, when he painted this stunning work in the Phillips Collection, the 10-month German attack on Verdun had only recently ended, as had the battle of the Somme, with combined casualties of around 2 million. Matisse, whose mother was ill behind enemy lines, had tried three times to enlist. He was rejected each time because of his age. (He was 47.)

As if to compensate, in such paintings as "The Piano Lesson" and "Bathers by a River" (completed around the same time), he had pushed his painting closer and closer to abstraction — not for its own sake, but out of a self-imposed drive toward discipline. He wanted (as he wrote to the Italian painter Gino Severini) to "dominate reality, and by extracting its substance, to reveal it to itself."

Matisse was completely wrapped up in his own head, in other words.

But then he met Laurette, a young Italian artists' model.

The war, as Hilary Spurling explains in her great Matisse biography, had dried up the Parisian model pool, so Matisse was fortunate to find anyone. Over 12 months, he painted Laurette more than 50 times. In his first effort, "The Italian Model," he gave her pursed lips and dark, intolerant eyes. He erased one of her shoulders and transformed her long black hair and the shadows under her chin into a single, menacing shape. Matisse at his most severe.

But Laurette was playful. She seems to have felt safe with Matisse, and she knew how to use her sensuality to help him loosen up. She dressed up in costume, now as a Spanish senorita, now as a turban-wearing European in an Arab harem, or she wore nothing at all. "She had a theatrical gift for transformation," writes Spurling, "switching from ethereal purity to luxuriant abandon. … She could sleep at will like a cat, retaining a regal dignity even when slumped, dozing."

Slowly, Matisse's whole approach to art began to change.

"Studio, Quai Saint-Michel" was the last in a series of four canvases depicting Matisse's studio overlooking the Seine. Within this quartet, it formed a pair with "The Painter in His Studio," which showed the painter, nude, seated before an easel painting Laurette in a green robe.

In the Phillips Collection work, the painter's chair is empty and Laurette, on the divan, has shed her clothes. The divan's red floral cover dominates the composition, setting off the tangle of thick black outlines and shadows defining her recumbent body.

Otherwise, the painting's austerity is striking. Paris, in all its gray rigidity, is outside. The room itself, gray and brown, has a hardness, reinforced by Matisse's intentionally visible, scratchy revisions and by the (unintentional) craquelure in the wall above Laurette's body.

But Matisse is Matisse — the greatest colorist of all time — and his sparing use of localized color (mauve through the window, turquoise inside) lends the painting a sensuality that's all the more poignant for being provisional, hard-won.

What a strange, self-conscious painting! The two empty chairs, one of them holding an unfinished picture, bookend Laurette, as if her body were a library. A taut, brimming sense of the artist's proximate presence holds the whole scene in like a meniscus.

Posing and painting, painting and posing … what a thing to be doing! What a sober, heartbreaking affirmation of life, and play, and sensuality, there in Paris, beside the turbid Seine, with the trenches — brimming with mud, death and excrement, not far to the east.



PHILLIPS COLLECTION, WASHINGTON, D.C./2024 SUCCESSION H. MATISSE/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK.

Henri Matisse (b. 1869)

Studio, Quai Saint-Michel, 1916 or 1917

At the Phillips Collection

A series featuring art critic Sebastian Smee's favorite works in permanent collections across the United States



ART

IN THE GALLERIES

The tension between humans and the environment

BY MARK JENKINS

The visual entryway for a Curtis Bartone picture is usually small, simple and organic: a flower, an insect, a pea pod. But these little things, rendered with exquisite precision, represent merely the first step on the passage toward a larger world. One possible meaning of "In the Drift," the title of the artist's Washington Printmakers Gallery show, refers to the way his masterly compositions lead the eye, gently but irresistibly, from a specific detail to a sweeping panorama.

Bartone is a Georgia-based artist who teaches printmaking at the Savannah College of Art and Design. He employs various methods, including woodcut, intaglio and lithography, with equal assurance. One of his prints took first prize in last year's Peggy Doole National Small Works Competition, whose winner is awarded a solo show at Washington Printmakers Gallery.

Nature is central in these prints, all of which are black-and-white save for the gold-kissed "Let the Sun Cast a Spell on the Sky," in which flowers and a butterfly flourish beneath a fiery, low-slung orb. Some of the simpler pictures depict only plants and animals, but there's almost always a human presence in the background, whether a lone farmhouse or a large city. In "Trillium," Bartone's prizewinning lithograph, leaves and moths frame a distant structure that looks like a refinery or a chemical plant.

One of the most complex visions is "Divining," which foregrounds fruit, a snail and a butterfly before receding through a cornfield toward a thicket of skyscrapers and finally the mountains that tower over them. The elements are portrayed naturalistically, yet a set of columns and arches on one side gives the scene a theatrical quality.

A central theme is the "battle between stewardship and overconsumption," according to the artist's statement. Bartone includes such ominous ecological consequences as the cracked earth of "Dustbowl," and tornado-spawned funnel clouds spin threateningly through several pictures. Yet reverence for nature doesn't prevent the artist from acknowledging mankind's dominion. The places Bartone

SEE GALLERIES ON E5



WASHINGTON PRINTMAKERS GALLERY

"Divining" by Curtis Bartone, in his exhibit "In the Drift" shows his approach from small details to sweeping panorama.

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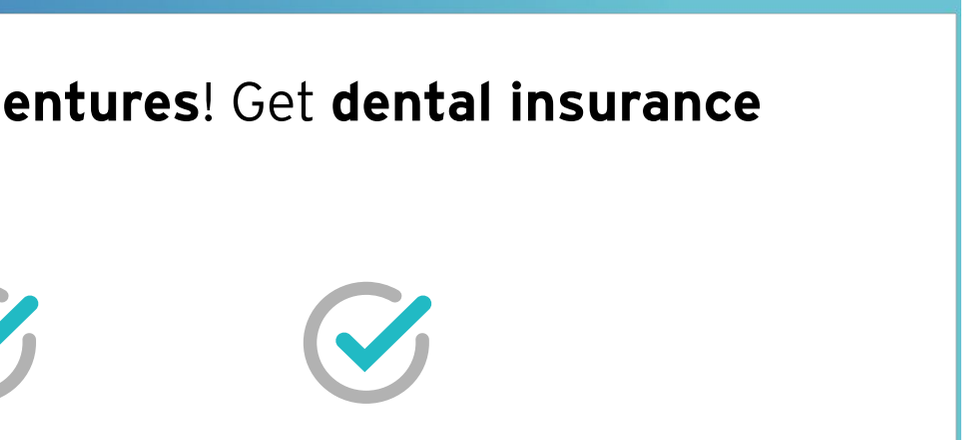
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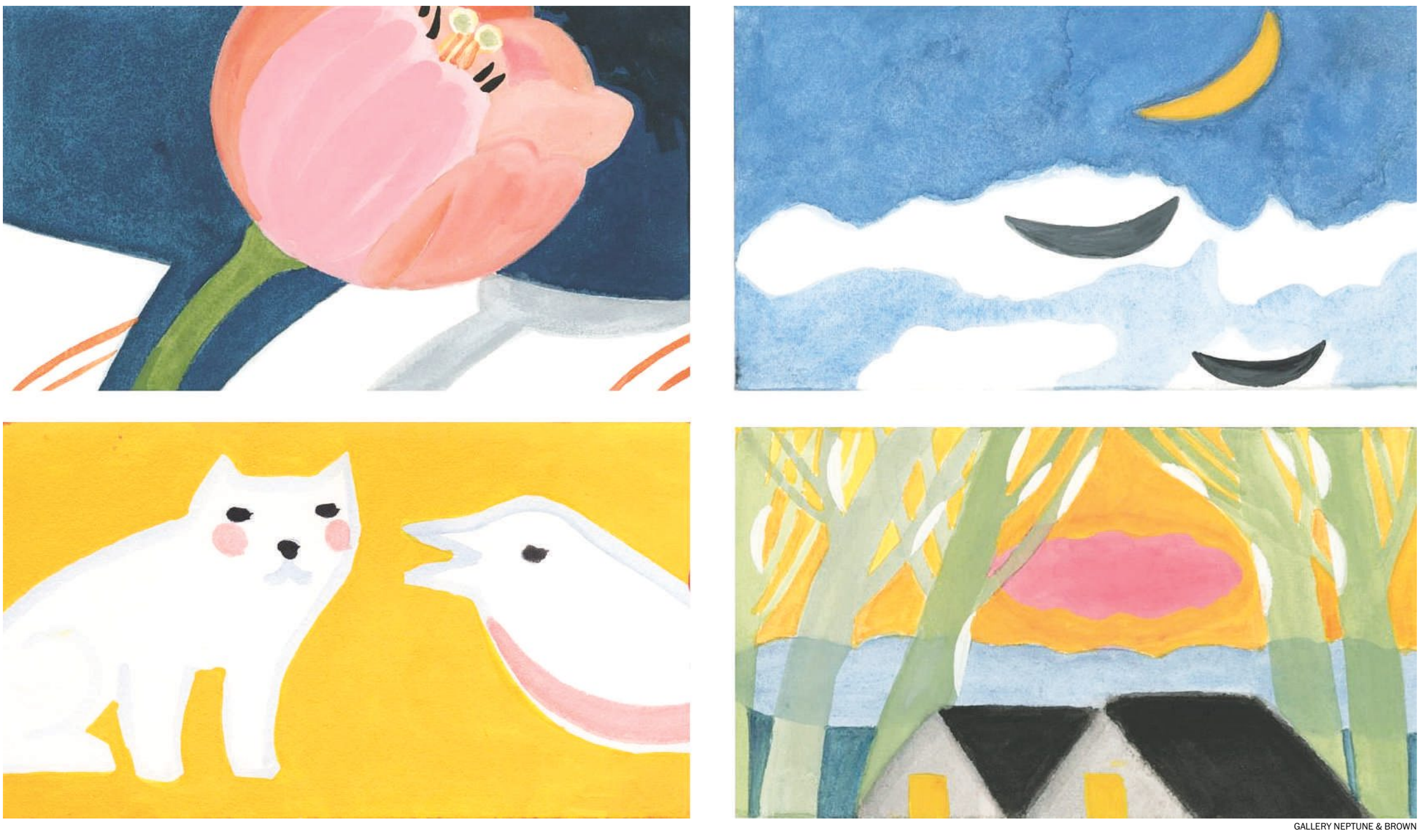
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ART



GALLERY NEPTUNE & BROWN

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Raya Bodnarchuk's works "A Tulip on the Table," "The Moon and the Clouds," "An Unusual Red Cloud in the Evening" and "Happy New Year."

GALLERIES FROM **E4**

illustrates are not wildernesses but agricultural zones, with urban or industrial areas usually nearby. And, as the stage-set border in "Divining" indicates, people control not only how land is used but also how it's seen.

In the Drift: Recent Prints by Curis Bartone Through July 28 at Washington Printmakers Gallery, 1675 Wisconsin Ave. NW. washingtonprintmakers.com. 202-669-1497.

Eileen Martin & Translation Through Art

The two exhibitions at the Mansion at Strathmore express contrasting meanings of worldliness. Mixed-media artist Eileen Martin employs various formats, but many of the pieces in her "Thinking Globally" feature planetlike orbs. "Translation Through Art," curated by Thai-born local painter Emon Surakitkoson, offers pieces by 25 Asian American and Pacific Islander artists.

Martin works primarily, though not exclusively, with glass, metal and found objects. Her beautifully crafted stained- or fused-glass creations feature religious scenes or abstracted nature imagery such as cascading water. The local artist's concern with the natural world can be expressed playfully, as in a gray ceramic teapot that takes the shape of a whale or dolphin. But Martin's style is not always gentle: Other ingredients include barbed wire and a model handgun cast in pewter.

Spherical forms defined by open lattices suggest cages, while solid ones evoke the Earth. The globes can appear light, or as heavy as the two concrete half-orbs of "God Save the Press," whose weight threatens to crush lead type-forms left over from an obsolete form of newspaper printing. A ring of consumer trash orbits Earth in "Space Junk," and a sphere made of repurposed eyeglasses encloses the planet in "Looking Out." More open visually yet just as trapped thematically is a sculpture in which a cuffed hand, clutching some fentanyl, is imprisoned within a circular cell of copper tubing. Martin's spherical forms yield elegant compositions, but what's inside the globe is often messy and disturbing.

The works in "Translation Through Art" are as diverse as the various artists' heritages. Some of the contributors depict American places or things: Yoshika Greene rips multiple photos of Baltimore street scenes and stitches the pieces together with actual thread, while photorealist Samantha Van Heest paints a gold sweatshirt that pirouettes on a white backdrop. Others recall former or ancestral homelands: Nam Ko inscribes a Chinese landscape in blue on a large white porcelain vessel, and Yerkezhan Abuova portrays an eerily abandoned village, perhaps in Kazakhstan, overgrown with moss that seems to have also tinted two faces partly green.

Among the highlights are metal sculptures by Jean Jinho Kim and layered paper collages by Shanye Huang, both of whose work have been reviewed in this column previously. Equally notable are Shyama Kuver's drawing-paintings of blue-faced women, in which the artist effectively contrasts opaque and watery pigment. Rather than denote a particular country, these portraits evoke a land of myth.

Eileen Martin: Thinking Globally and **Translation Through Art** Through July 27 at the Mansion at Strathmore, 10701 Rockville Pike, North Bethesda. strathmore.org. 301-581-5109.

Raya Bodnarchuk

Offhand and archetypal at the same time, Raya Bodnarchuk's artworks closely observe and affectionately celebrate daily life. The local artist and longtime teacher (who lived from 1947 to 2021) counseled her students to "do something you love every day," advice that serves as the title of a commemorative show at Gallery Neptune & Brown.

From 2013 to 2019, Bodnarchuk made a small picture each day, beginning with drawings that later evolved into a series of more than 1,900 gouache paintings. These are mostly bright-hued studies of nature as it manifests in the Maryland suburbs: moons, flowers, leaves, trees, and many sorts of domestic and not-very-wild animals. Some of the 200 examples on display are rendered in simple outlines, but others are modeled and shadowed realistically.

The streamlined cats, birds and other creatures seen in the artist's paintings echo the forms of her earlier sculptures. A selection of about 20 of these, mostly from the 1970s, complement the show's pictures. Usually made of cast aluminum, the small figurines are sleek, but with rough surfaces that resemble concrete. They appear ideal for placement in the sort of garden Bodnarchuk tended daily.

Raya Bodnarchuk: Do Something You Love Every Day Through July 27 at Gallery Neptune & Brown, 1530 14th St. NW. galleryneptunebrown.com. 202-986-1200.



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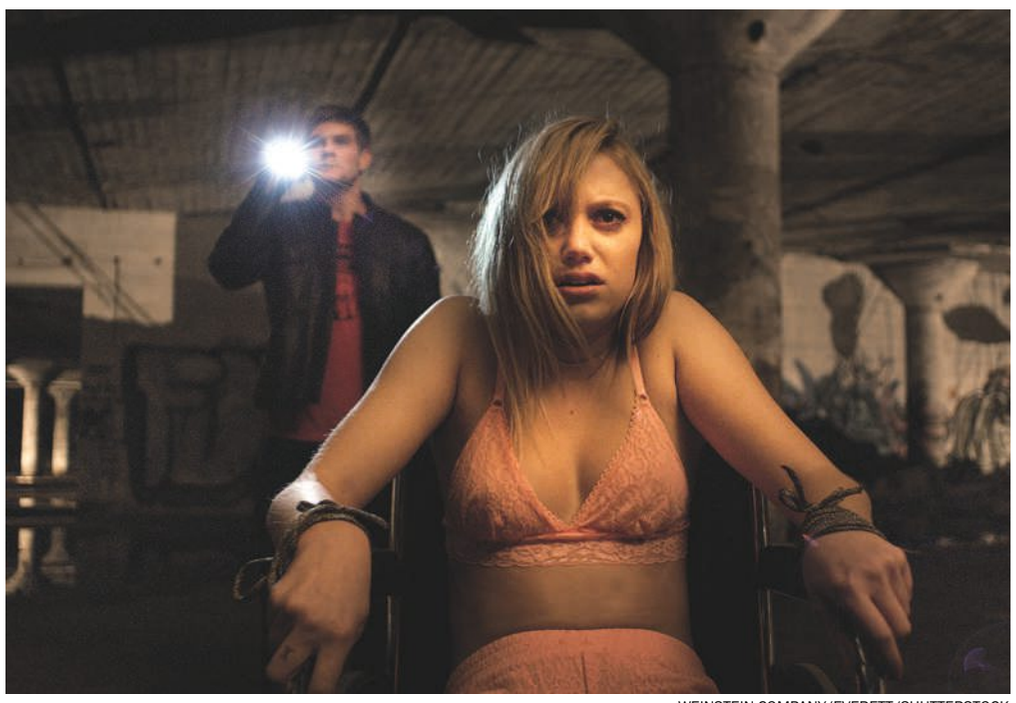
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EM MONFORTE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

When it comes to horror roles, Monroe isn't afraid to go all in

MONROE FROM E1



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TOP: Maika Monroe, who as an FBI agent in "Longlegs" gets a chance to be the hunter instead of the hunted, says she taps into her personal traumas to reach the dark spaces of the characters she tends to play. ABOVE: Monroe is strapped to a chair in a scene with Jake Weary from the horror film "It Follows," which was was released in 2014.

But months later, at the editing bay, Perkins panned down all the microphones except one that had been taped to Monroe's chest. There, underneath her dialogue, "you could hear her heartbeat going a mile a minute," Perkins says. "Her whole system was on fire."

That moment still gives Monroe chills.

"I don't know if I've ever felt that level of nerves," she says. "I had no idea what I was walking into."

That might be a good tagline for "Longlegs," the buzz for which has grown all year amid a canny whisper campaign by distributor Neon, the only hitch being that the ecstatic rumors are true. Submerged in a suffocating, fog-like atmosphere, the movie truly is terrifying, a twist on the Hannibal Lecter idiom as well as a novel statement on the horror genre's possibilities.

The film follows Monroe's FBI agent Lee Harker, a recruit whose intuitive talents get her assigned to an unsolved case. As she investigates a string of family murder-suicides, she unearths a close connection to the primary suspect, a haunting figure from her own past whose coded crime-scene notes and calling card — *Longlegs* — suggest something occult.

Even the script made her uneasy, in the right way. "I had one idea of what the movie was going to be," Monroe says — a "Silence of the Lambs" riff, with Lee Harker its Clarice Starling — but "then there was a twist and then another twist." She studied Rooney Mara's performance in "The Girl With the Dragon Tattoo," sensing an overlap between Lisbeth Salander and her own investigator, whose anguished and isolated lifestyle hardens her to grisly crimes and sends her down demented rabbit holes. "Oz and I worked a lot to try and pin this character down," Monroe says. "There's a lot that is suppressed."

But also something insuppressible. At this point, Monroe is used to playing cold, traumatized and tortured women who have an uncanny knack for finding and confronting evil. Since breaking into the horror genre in 2014 with "The Guest" and widely influential indie hit "It Follows," she's become a strong candidate for her generation's defining scream queen — and she doesn't even mind the designation. If she did, she would have fled the genre by now. "I read these scripts, they're so f---ing good, they're such great roles" she says. "I'm like, 'I don't want anyone else to [have them].'"

Besides, her performances belie any gendered assumptions packed into the "scream queen" moniker. More than just a pretty blond Final Girl, Monroe is a subtle and cerebral calculator whose elegant features suggest both Old Hollywood screen star and emo girl next door. The captivating expressions that result often stir courage and vulnerability into the stomach-churning cocktails created by her collaborators. As Perkins suggests, her introspective presence in a movie now functions like a "shorthand with the audience," giving a director "extra square footage to do your own thing."

"It all comes from her ability to internalize her performance," says "The Guest" director Adam Wingard. "What makes an interesting scream queen is when you feel like there's a depth of soul behind an actor's eyes. I think she has that in spades."

Monroe's father, a construction worker by trade, introduced her to genre classics like "A Nightmare on Elm Street" and "The Shining" when she was a preteen in Santa Barbara, Calif. But unlike her friends at sleepovers, she could handle the movies' shocks and gore without letting them linger in her subconscious. "That age kind of defines whether you're gonna be all in, or you're just completely freaked out and you can't watch anything," Monroe says. She could watch anything.

When she started to act at 13, horror roles seemed to come to her. "Most of your auditions are for Disney Channel and Nickelodeon and I never booked any of those," she says with a laugh. "I wasn't in that wheelhouse." To her mother's initial worry, the first job Monroe took was in a short film about a young girl who gets abused by her father and ends up taking her own life. A year later, she landed a part as a background dancer in a schlocky B movie called "Bad Blood," which introduced her to fake guts and murder scenes that she watched with the movie's director on the monitor. "I was just like, 'This is the coolest thing ever,'" she says. "It was a game changer for me. Like, this is absolutely what I want to do."

Throughout high school, Monroe also pursued professional kiteboarding — so successfully that during her senior year, she moved with her mother (a sign language interpreter) to the Dominican Republic to commit to the extreme water sport while finishing school online. She eventually earned second place at the 2012 Red Bull International Big Air Style competition. Then "reality came crashing down" after a bad head injury, she says. "I was just like, 'Oh, this is the end of this.'"

Monroe returned to Los Angeles to try acting again, soon landing a breakout role in "The Guest" as a 20-year-old live-at-home waitress who gradually suspects her brother's ex-military friend is a killer. Wingard, the movie's director, had written her character as more of a tomboy, but her audition convinced him to tailor the part around her deadpan vibe. "It's not easy to be a character that's very sarcastic and checked out and still seems likable and engaging," he says. "It has to come from a place of authenticity, which is what she's able to bring to it."

In the midst of filming, Monroe booked the lead in "It Follows," director David Robert Mitchell's thriller about a sexually transmitted curse. After raves at Sundance, the movie was released to critical and commercial success, putting Monroe at the center of a new "elevated" wave of horror. Throughout the previous two decades, the genre became saturated with winking, self-aware slashers and "tied-to-chairs" movies, Wingard says — basically, torture porn. By contrast, his and Mitchell's movies leaned into highbrow nostalgia, imbuing their spins on John Carpenter with atmosphere and tone — artiness, even — rather than gory tropes.

"It felt like there was this new life brought into the horror genre," Monroe says. "Those two movies came out and things started to change for me."

The success of "The Guest" and "It Follows" was in part a testament to Monroe's acting skills, but also forecast her interest and growing taste in vividly imagined scripts and inventive filmmakers. She pursued "It Follows," for example, because Mitchell had told her the idea came from a recurring nightmare he was having. Over the next several years, she joined a handful of independent psychological dramas and horrors — most notably "The Stranger," a Quibi series that Hulu recently released as a full movie — that took advantage of her skills maneuvering out of precarious places.

"For whatever reason," she says, "I have great taste in picking horror films."

In 2022, after watching Chloe Okuno's short film "Slut," Monroe jumped at a chance at the lead role in the director's feature debut "Watcher," a chilly, slow-burn thriller in which she plays a woman terrorized in a foreign city by a male stalker. The Hitchcockian ode reaffirmed her scream-queen status, particularly in the way she often crescendos an understated performance into something intensely physical. "Maika is really the dream collaborator for a director because she just has this innate ability to express emotions in ways that feel completely genuine," Okuno writes in an email. "Part of it might be that Maika has great taste, loves film and loves the genre. She's one of us."

Unlike the damaged characters she tends to play, Monroe is bubbly and upbeat when we chat. It's a contradiction that intrigued Perkins, especially after watching Monroe's

SEE MONROE ON E7



EM MONFORTE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

MONROE FROM **E6**

"Longlegs" audition tape, which highlighted her "electric noodle presence in person," he says, and her diametrically opposed "extremely serious presence on camera." The difference was so stark that he had a difficult time wrapping his mind around her modes. "The distance between those two points is just filled with fascination and wonder and mystery and power," he adds. "You're kind of a fool not to take on that kind of power." (In contrast, her Oscar-winning co-star stayed in one gear during filming. Cage came in serial-killer mode, says Perkins. "And he wasn't going to talk to anybody but me.")

Throughout "Longlegs," Perkins often captures Monroe's performance in close-up and at the center of his frame, leaning on her small facial maneuvers to relay Harker's unusual mental process. In one scene, as she sits beside her boss to interview a witness, she spends a couple minutes listening to testimony without ever blinking, a small choice that telegraphs her descent into a new reality.

At a recent screening of "Longlegs," Monroe admitted to turning to her boyfriend, Dalton Gomez (yes — Ariana Grande's ex-husband), and asking him whether he thought her performance was scary. "All I can picture while watching it are the funny stories that happened that day," she says. "It's kind of a bummer." Nobody else has trouble wondering, though.

> "In the horror genre, I try to ground insane situations from the most human feelings."
>
> **Maika Monroe**

"She can make a micro-adjustment when she emphasizes a certain beat or the physicality of her performance, and she can do it while she's also having these hugely intense emotional scenes," Okuno says. "You need an actor who is exceptionally good at emotional authenticity so you go with her on this journey without question."

To get into those darker spaces, Monroe has often mined her personal history, aiming to draw from something real and human from her life as long as it fits within her character. "In the horror genre, I try to ground insane situations from the most human feelings," Monroe says. "It absolutely is tapping into my own traumas, my darkest moments, to try and bring the most vulnerable emotion to the role." She clarifies that while she hasn't been stalked by someone before, a la "Watcher," "there's definitely been overlap" with regards to being gaslit and doubted by men.

Though "Longlegs" offers her a chance to hunt down a serial killer — usually, she's the one being hunted — operating for months alone in the wintry, gloomy parts of Vancouver took its toll. As a way of counteracting the movie's unsettling and foreboding energy, she brought a friend to stay with her during the length of the movie's shoot, allowing her to more easily escape her macabre head space. "It's the best decision I've ever made," she says. "I'm able to finish work and not have it continue festering in my brain. I can grab a glass of wine with my friend and talk about any random thing — not dead bodies. That's been a lifesaver."

The side effects of this persistent work haven't bothered her enough to take a break. She's about to reteam with Mitchell early next year to shoot "They Follow," a sequel to "It Follows." She's read the script and she's "insanely excited."

Despite being "drawn to these darker roles," Monroe jokes, she's still holding out hope for something a bit lighter. A romantic comedy, perhaps? "I think it'd be so fun," Monroe says. "Maybe I'll just start putting it out in the universe."

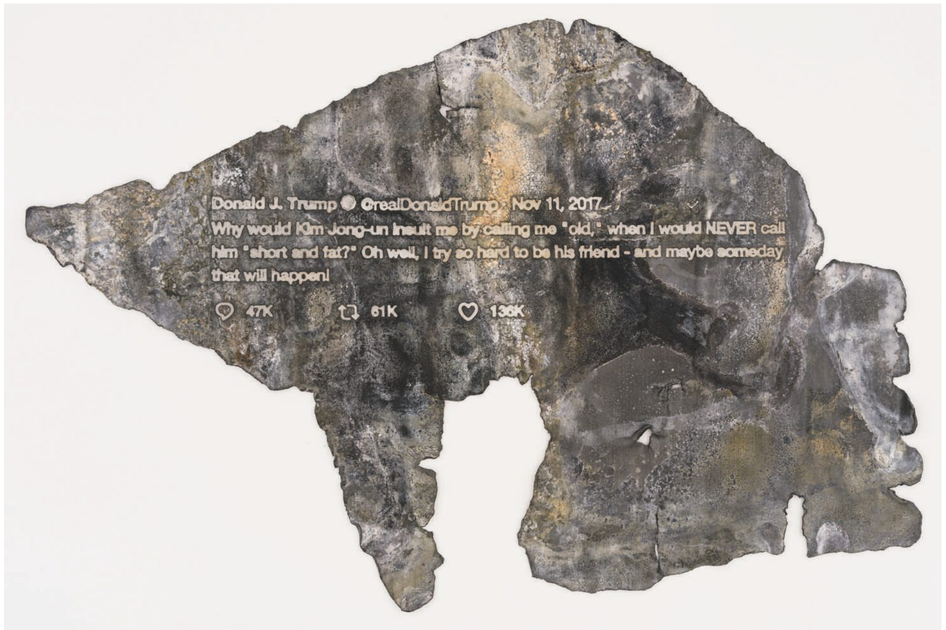


NEON PHOTOS

Handout images from the movie "Longlegs," starring Maika Monroe as FBI agent Lee Harker and Nicolas Cage as the film's villain. Writer and director Osgood "Oz" Perkins didn't let the actors meet until they shot a climactic scene in an interrogation room.

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

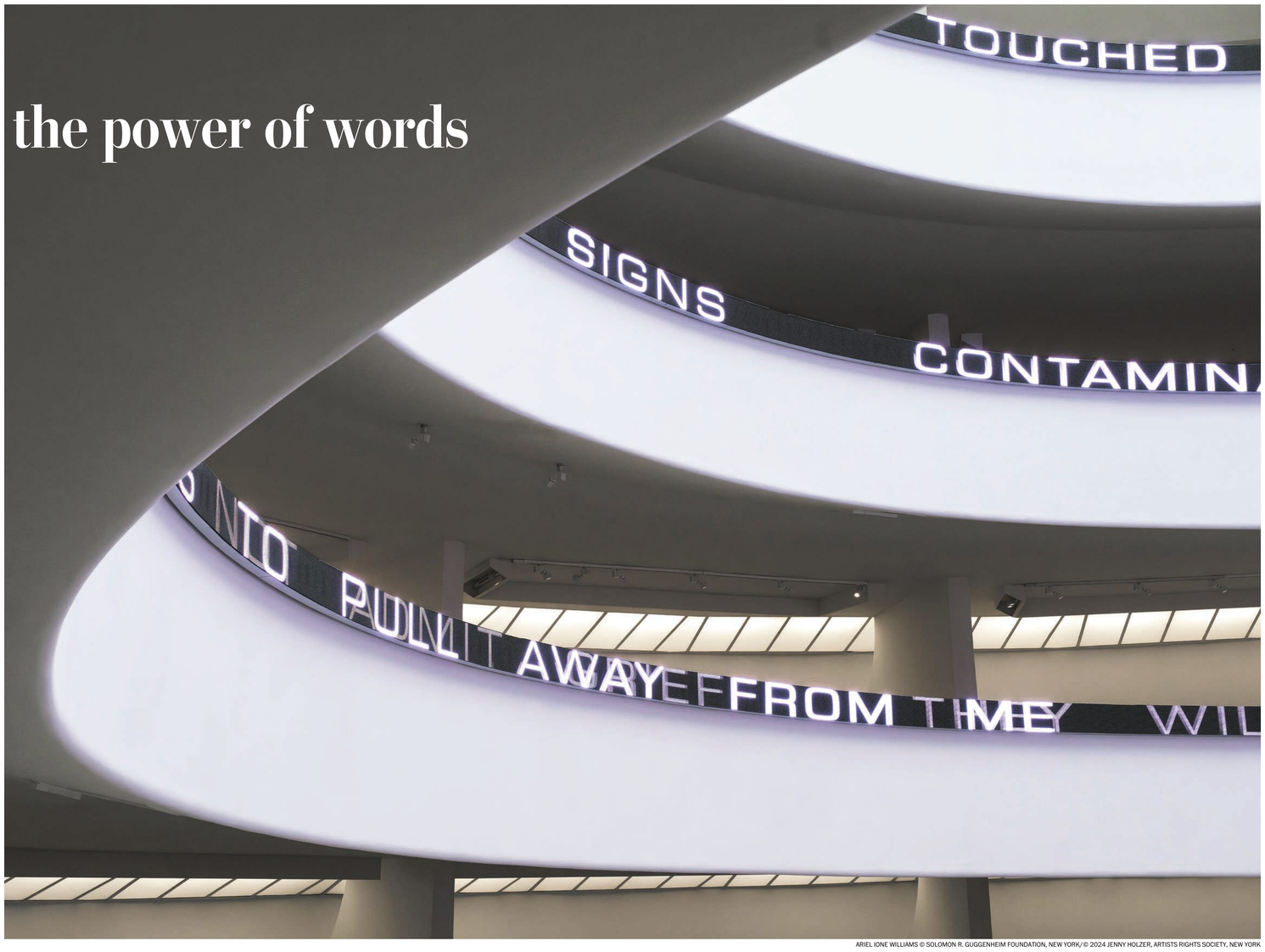
Jenny Holzer won't let us forget the power of words



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BY PHILIP KENNICOTT
IN NEW YORK

The truths, truisms and truthy aphorisms of Jenny Holzer scroll up the spiral ramp of the Guggenheim Museum's central atrium, rising heavenward in a procession that feels both monumental and ephemeral. Holzer's work, a reprise, expansion and updating of her 1989 LED installation for the museum, features a wide range of the texts she wrote from 1977 to 1996, and it is the literal and symbolic centerpiece of the exhibition "Jenny Holzer: Light Line" that surveys some six decades of text-based work by the conceptual artist.

Among the scrolling texts are the classic "truisms" that defined Holzer's early career in the late 1970s, phrases that reduced the cruelty and cynicism of capitalism, empire and patriarchy to pithy one-liners, some of them becoming so familiar that they seem to be general maxims of modern life, not written by an artist but part of the free-floating wisdom of the culture.

"Abuse of power comes as no surprise."

"Everyone's work is equally important."

"Lack of charisma can be fatal."

These were ideas hiding in plain sight, so blindingly obvious that one might not think they needed expression at all. Yet once expressed, they exposed chinks and cracks in the facade of power. Holzer came of age as an artist just as the country was lurching to the right, opting for the feel-good vibes of nostalgia and nationalism, while politicians from both major parties dismantled the social safety net, allowed inequality to grow to crisis proportions and committed the country to a foreign policy based on militarism.

By the 1980s, Holzer's work felt as ubiquitous in New York as lampposts and fire hydrants. Printed on card stock, tacked to the refrigerator with a magnet, scrawled by hand on the wall of an alley, emblazoned on T-shirts, it captured the frustration and anger of an age of resistance, when memories of the old social contract were still vivid enough that people felt outrage as the new one, based on Darwin and drafted by oligarchs, was being quietly and inexorably enacted.

So, how does Holzer's conceptual work hold up today? Its intellectual vigor is undiminished. But the world has changed, and we have changed, which makes the Guggenheim's survey both an intellectual challenge and an emotional journey. Getting the mind back to a place of raw receptivity isn't easy. And a sustained confrontation with our failure to remake American society is gutting. If you came of age with Holzer's work, as I did, the exhibition feels like both an indictment and a requiem. She has spent a career doing the Sisyphean work of placing what we already know directly in front us, polished into things so sleek and smooth they leave hardly any exit wound when they pass through the body politic.

Fortunately, her work has grown and developed over the decades as she negotiates the fundamental tension between monumental and ephemeral truths. And it has become more visual, too, more ocular as it strays from the core word-based origins of her early work. Among the most striking works on view is the 2022 "Cursed," a collection of stamped lead-and-copper plates, ripped into fragments, bearing the image of tweets sent by President Donald Trump. Some of them are affixed to the wall, in a line that trails off into a heap of discarded texts on the floor, like leaden lemmings going over a cliff.

Tweets are by nature ephemeral; presidential tweets, however, are documents of power. The social media platform now known as X created a style of thinking and discourse that mimicked in a sick and debilitating way the pithiness of Holzer's art. While her living texts are ascending on the ramps of the Guggenheim atrium, a heap of tweets falls to the floor, dead letters, evidence of Trump's cruelty, stupidity and divisiveness. Reread the tweets, and you will confront your own powers of forgetting, what one critic has called the "unknown knowns" that are the crux of Holzer's work.

"Cursed," like other essential Holzer works, is about how we misconceive memory, monuments and truth itself. In the largest gallery, near the base of the Guggenheim spiral, is a collection of six truisms, carved into the seats of pristine benches made of white marble. In Central Park, across the street from the Guggenheim, one will find names on plaques affixed to benches, memorials to donors to the park and, if you think about it for just a moment, monuments to forgetting. So many names, so many people, so much anonymity. Many of them are dead and, like Holzer's marble benches, the plaques are small reminders that we create memorials because we know we are going to forget what we feel we ought to remember.

Monuments embody the constant war we fight against forgetting, while truth isn't eternal or immortal but rather a process of learning the same thing over and over. Another series of work is made up of tracings, smudgy texts of carbon on paper, that mimic a quaint and touching pastime that is mostly forgotten today: making images from grave markers or memorials by tracing over them with graphite. These are pictures of the world that are more immediate than photographs or video, the physical impress of truth on paper. Visually, they feel evanescent, reminding our eyes that tracing leaves only a trace, something scant, fragile and easily dissipated.

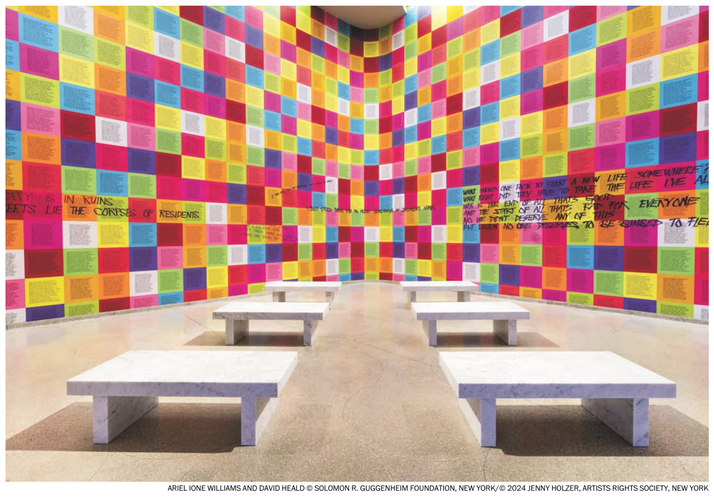
Or is the trace more resilient and lasting than we think? If it's all we have left, then it is all we will ever have, which makes it everything. The same might be said of Holzer's redaction paintings, in which she reproduces archival documents, often redacted, of American militarism, torture and colonial ambition from our terrible adventures abroad, including the 2003 invasion of Iraq, which was launched on false pretenses and ultimately killed, by some estimates, more than 200,000 people.

Some of these paintings use precious materials, gold and platinum, further monumentalizing them. All of these documents are easily available — if you look for them, and if you want to see them and know the truth. Among them, a sickening document labeled "Alternative Interrogation Techniques," which includes things that "often call for medical personnel to be on call for unseen complications."

Fun fact that isn't included in this exhibition because it happened too recently: The Supreme Court just gave a green light for any future president, including those with a taste for violence and sadism, to do this without reservation or hindrance, not just in Iraq but at home, too.

We will never learn. That is certainly one message from Holzer's show. But there is also humor and levity. Her early aphorisms included ironic and searing observations about love and sex. And laughter remains both a tonic and a strategy for shaming people into better habits. "It is in your self-interest to find a way to be very tender," she wrote on a metal plaque in 1984, the same year she inscribed on another plate, "Laugh hard at the absurdly evil." One of the last works in the show is a painting of various hues of gold on linen, perhaps another redacted document bespeaking things absurdly evil, from which only one word remains legible: "Thanks."

We should say the same thing to Holzer. Thanks for reminding us. And again, thanks.



ARIEL IONE WILLIAMS AND DAVID HEALD © SOLOMON R. GUGGENHEIM FOUNDATION, NEW YORK/© 2024 JENNY HOLZER, ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY, NEW YORK

THIS PAGE, FROM TOP: Part of the Guggenheim exhibition "Jenny Holzer: Light Line" includes scrolling text along the balconies of the museum's central atrium. A collection of Holzer's "truisms," carved into marble benches, at the New York exhibit. FACING PAGE, FROM TOP: "Cursed" (2022) comprises stamped lead-and-copper plates bearing tweets sent by President Donald Trump. A 1984 work from Holzer.

Jenny Holzer: Light Line is on view at the Guggenheim Museum through Sept. 29. *guggenheim.org*

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Born into slavery, he rose to the top of France's art world



TOKYO FUJI ART MUSEUM

"Lafayette Introducing Louis-Philippe to the People of Paris," 1830-1831, is part of a new exhibition that explores Guillaume Lethière's life and career through periods of unrest, tumult and violence in France.



FRANK E. GRAHAM/WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

Lethière's "Woman Leaning on a Portfolio," circa 1799.

BY **SEBASTIAN SMEE** IN WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

During the most tumultuous period in France's modern history, Guillaume Lethière was one of its most venerated artists. His story is epic. Charles Dickens or Alexandre Dumas (who delivered a eulogy at Lethière's funeral) would have struggled to make it sound credible. Pity me, your poor reviewer.

He was the third child ("Le Thière" is French for "the third") of an enslaved, mixed-race woman and a White plantation owner. Today, his paintings — some of them cinematic in scale — can be found in museums in the United States and Europe, including the Louvre, and also in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Among his smaller works is one of the most tender and beautiful portraits I know.

Don't feel bad if you've never heard of him. But be aware that in Guadeloupe, where he was born in 1760, Lethière has long been celebrated. According to Esther Bell, the curator of an extraordinary new exhibition about Lethière, there is an auto-body repair shop in the coastal town of Sainte-Anne bearing the name "Guillaume Lethière." Nearby, in the center of a busy rotary in the French neighborhood — previously the site of the plantation where Lethière grew up — is a huge steel sculpture in the shape of an artist's palette alongside two enormous paintbrushes. Shapes cut out of the steel reveal the face of Lethière as he looked in an 1815 drawing by his pupil, the great neoclassical artist Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres.

This summer, you might see Lethière's loveliest portrait (scholars think it probably depicts his stepdaughter, Eugénie Servières, herself an accomplished artist) blown up on highway billboards advertising "Guillaume Lethière" at the Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Mass., through Oct. 14. The exhibition will travel to the Louvre in November.

Researched and developed over many years by Bell, the Clark's deputy director and chief curator, with Olivier Meslay, the museum's director, and accompanied by a 432-page catalogue, the exhibition tells the story of Lethière's improbable life.

To understand his significance, it's not enough just to look at his paintings and drawings — although these are very good and earned him accolades aplenty during his lifetime. You need to consider his own complicated proximity to the world-historical events through which he lived.

Born into slavery (or so it's assumed, given his parentage and the telling absence of baptismal records), Lethière was brought to France by his father, the French king's public prosecutor in Guadeloupe, in 1774, when he was 14. He began training as an artist in Rouen. Thanks to his father's influence, he was already close to serious power by his late teens.

But of course, staying close to power is not easy when the personnel keeps changing. Like others of his generation, Lethière had to steer a course through the last days of the Ancien Régime, the French Revolution, the Terror, the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, European conquest, imperial collapse, a brief Bonapartist revival, a restored monarchy, and finally, just before Lethière's death in 1832, a constitutional monarchy.

What makes him uniquely interesting is

ART

"(Guillaume Lethière) won the esteem and friendship of everyone by his honesty, his politeness, and a frank and loyal character that never wavered."

Francois-Guillaume Ménageot director of the French Academy



FRANCK RAUX/MUSÉE NATIONAL DES CHÂTEAUX DE VERSAILLES ET DE TRIANON/RMN-GRAND PALAIS/ART RESOURCE, NEW YORK

"Joséphine, Empress of the French," 1807, is a portrait of Napoleon's Caribbean-born wife.



GÉRARD BLOT/MUSÉE DU PANTHÉON NATIONAL HAÏTIEN, PORT-AU-PRINCE

"Oath of the Ancestors," 1822, is considered one of Lethière's most audacious canvases.

that he managed all this while also navigating the shifting implications of his illegitimate, mixed-race origins in Guadeloupe.

Lethière was neither smarmy nor sycophantic, but he knew how to ingratiate himself to others. He "won the esteem and friendship of everyone by his honesty, his politeness, and a frank and loyal character that never wavered," wrote Francois-Guillaume Ménageot, the director of the French Academy.

Lethière and his mother, Marie-Françoise Pepeye, were both emancipated by his father, Pierre Guillon. But it was many years before changes to the law allowed Guillon to recognize Lethière as his son. Lethière and his sister were named as Guillon's heirs around the time Napoleon seized power in 1799.

Even so, years later, Lethière had to defend himself against an embarrassing challenge by a distant cousin, who claimed he was the rightful heir. This was in 1819, when the artist was at the height of his renown. The courts eventually found in Lethière's favor — but not before humiliating references in the press to the esteemed painter's "naive and modest genealogy."

Moral and political complexities choked almost every aspect of Lethière's life. There's no doubt, for instance, that he was an abolitionist. And yet he benefited financially from his father's plantation, which depended on enslaved labor.

Although Lethière never returned to the Caribbean, he cared deeply about the fate of its people. He supported the revolution in Haiti, which began in 1791, just before the French monarchy was abolished, and welcomed the French government's decision, in 1794, to end slavery in all its territories.

When, eight years later, Napoleon reinstated slavery in the colonies, brutally suppressing an attempt at resistance in Guadeloupe, Lethière was surely disappointed. But by now he was in with the Bonapartes. He painted portraits of, among others, Napoleon's Caribbean-born wife, the Empress Joséphine, and hitched his fortunes to Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother.

In 1807, Lethière's friendship with Lucien Bonaparte led directly to his appointment as director of the French Academy in Rome — an immensely prestigious post. There he reinvigorated the academy and oversaw the training of dozens of France's best artists — among them Ingres, who made a series of stunning drawings of Lethière's family (included in the show), and a female pupil, Antoinette Cécile Hortense Lescot, who went on to exhibit more than 100 paintings in the Paris Salon.

Ancient Rome was of intense interest not only to France's revolutionaries, who looked to republican Rome as a model, but also to Napoleon, who of course saw more upside for himself in Rome's imperial period. Art played a huge role in establishing these lines of pedigree.

The French Revolution had broken out while Lethière was a student at the same academy in Rome. At the time, inspired by his environs, he worked on a major canvas, "Brutus Condemning His Sons to Death." In a carefully structured, frieze-like composition, he depicted the founder of the Roman republic, Lucius Junius Brutus, looking on stoically as his sons, who had plotted to restore a monarchy, are decapitated.

Lethière returned repeatedly to this subject and to another episode from ancient Rome, "The Death of Virginia." We can perhaps imagine the painting's special significance for him when we understand that its subject — a father killing his daughter, at her own request — hinges on the dishonor of being enslaved.

Versions of both paintings enjoyed great success when they were exhibited in Rome and London. But in Paris, tastes were changing, and by the 19th century's second decade,



BEAUX-ARTS DE PARIS/RMN-GRAND PALAIS/ART RESOURCE, NEW YORK

"Académie" comes from early in Lethière's career, in 1782.

romanticism was on the rise. Lethière's neoclassical style began to fall out of favor.

Winning the 1819 inheritance case seems to have inspired Lethière to turn his attention back to the Caribbean, and in 1822 he painted one of his most audacious canvases — an enormous (approximately 11 by 7 feet) painting owned by the Musée du Panthéon National Haitien in Port-au-Prince. It shows two generals, one mixed-race and the other Black, swearing an oath to fight together for the freedom and independence of the people of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti).

After a risky and clandestine sea voyage, Lethière's son personally delivered the painting to Haiti's President Jean-Pierre Boyer in Port-au-Prince. Two years later, France's Charles X grudgingly recognized Haiti — but only in return for an indemnity payment that would cripple the young nation for decades.

Unfortunately, the recent civil strife in Haiti has prevented the painting from traveling to the United States. Lethière himself intended the painting for a Haitian audience and, according to Bell, who has tastefully installed a reproduction of it in the exhibition, it "encapsulates Lethière's fidelity to his place of origin."

The Clark show immerses us in several decades of political tumult that continue to reverberate today. It has much to say about other French artists and writers with ties to the Caribbean. So it is much more than just a monographic exhibition. For all the stately arrangement of the Clark's galleries and the superficial stiffness of Lethière's neoclassical style, the exhibit is like a pinwheeling firecracker, blazing out light, knowledge and cultural energy, and deepening our understanding of a remarkable inheritance.

Guillaume Lethière Through Oct. 14 at the Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Mass., and then at the Louvre in Paris from Nov. 13 through Feb. 17. clarkart.edu.

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—— Weddings ——

Asha Sullivan Marries Ryan Givhan

—July 11, 2024—



Meet The Givhans!

Ryan Givhan and Asha Sullivan are pleased and ecstatic to announce their marriage that took place this month on Thursday, the eleventh of July two thousand twenty four.

The bride is the daughter of Harry Sullivan and Sandra Sullivan of Atlanta, Georgia. The groom is the son of Leonard Givhan and Evelyn Givhan of Coconut Creek, Florida.

Samara Rose Fantie Marries Carl Elliott Lindstrom

—May 4, 2024—



Deborah Henken and Bryan Fantie of Gaithersburg, Maryland, announce the marriage of their daughter, Samara Rose Fantie, to Carl Elliott "Ott" Lindstrom, son of Jessica and Timothy Lindstrom of Williamsburg, Virginia.

Samara received degrees from Amherst College and American University, is a 2D/3D digital artist and the CCO of a video game development startup. Ott, a graduate of Amherst College and William & Mary Law School, is an attorney and litigation associate.

The ceremony was attended by friends and family and took place on May 4, 2024 at the Old Lantern Inn and Barn in Charlotte, Vermont. The couple honeymooned in St. Lucia and reside in Burlington, Vermont.

Tip #1:
Just engaged? First things first. Find your ceremony and reception locations 9 to 12 months before your wedding date.
C330 1x3

Tip #4:
Book your photographer at least 6 months in advance.
C330 1x1

Tip #12:
Honeymoon: When making hotel or resort reservations, be sure to mention it's for your honeymoon. Upgrades often follow.
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All materials must be received by Monday at 1 p.m.



S0115-2x1.5

Sister's abusive husband is the reason we keep our distance. But would knowing that help or hurt her?



Carolyn Hax

Dear Carolyn: My sister is in an abusive marriage and is not ready to leave her husband. I want to be supportive, but getting time with her away from her husband is extremely difficult.

My partner and I both have a hard time being around my sister and her husband together. He feels like a powder keg that is waiting to blow, and my sister is always completely checked out trying to manage his feelings.

My sister has expressed hurt feelings that my spouse never spends time with her anymore, and I find myself seeing her less and less as well. It also feels like we are missing being a part of my nephews' lives.

How honest should I be with my sister about our feelings regarding her husband? It feels like emotional blackmail to tell her, "I would love to spend more time with you if we could do things away from your husband." But I also know that people in abusive relationships need breaks, and to know they have a support network when and if they are ever ready.

Will I be threatening one of my sister's few family bonds outside of her husband if I'm truly honest with her? Or is that honesty more important in the long run?

— Sad Sister in Dallas



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Sad Sister in Dallas: First, thank you for asking these questions. Your sister does need you. When they are victims of intimate-relationship abuse, people urgently need bonds outside their relationships for exactly the reason you say — as lifelines, when they're ready to use them. That's why abusers isolate their victims, to cut those lifelines. Making their partners' family and friends really uncomfortable is one of the ways abusers do that.

Second, a reminder that the National Domestic Violence Hotline is a resource for loved ones like you, too; there's a "Support Others" button right there on the homepage, thehotline.org. Or you can call 1-800-799-SAFE.

Third, yes, being around the abuse dynamic is *hard*. Unnerving, sad, even dangerous. But when someone you love is being abused, your visits are no longer about what you get out of a visit socially or emotionally. They're about what you can do, safely, to help your loved ones — and I include your poor nephews in this, who are both victims here and, by no fault of their own, abusers in training at their father's knee.

In other words, there are multiple emergencies here for which laypeople — meaning friends or family members like you and whatever partners come along with them — are clearly in over their heads. But until your sister is ready to ask for expert help, the best chance she and her kids have got is for you to do the asking for her.

It's also your best chance to be safe. "Powder keg waiting to blow" is, too often, not just colorful writing. So don't keep guessing at what to do or follow one-time advice; share the details of your sister's situation with on-call experts today *and* as this volatile situation evolves. And make sure your sister knows, state this clearly, you are there for her 24-7 — no questions asked.

Hi, Carolyn: My friends and I are in our late 30s, early 40s. I spent last weekend with them, and so much of their conversation centered on the burdens and challenges of owning a second home. I felt annoyed and a bit sad and, I'll admit, jealous. I don't have a first home to complain about! It's not all privilege — two of them grew up on food stamps and worked their way into this lifestyle — but they did buy houses 15 years ago, not in the market now.

I know my choices have led me here; I went abroad, worked as an artist, etc. But, man, I found myself so annoyed by this endless lament about the hassles of being a landlord. Is there any way I can shut this down? I mean my own jealousy and also this conversation, which just felt so tone-deaf.

— Burdens of Having a Second Home

Burdens of Having a Second Home: A shutdown response is not going to improve upon the two things you so clearly have in your favor, honesty and perspective:

"I appreciate this is your reality and you're just sharing in the spirit of friendship, but as someone who'd be grateful for even one home to complain about, I'm struggling with this conversation."

I expect the moment and the envy and the dull-topic-induced catatonia will long since have passed by the time this comes out, but I'm answering you anyway because it's a universal complaint. Your friends themselves can use an adapted version of this own-your-discomfort response if they'd like, for their own flare-ups of envy and self-consciousness — for never having lived abroad or chased their creative dreams, perhaps. For choosing safe careers, safe havens in real estate or wherever echoes of growling bellies drew them instead.

Write to Carolyn Hax at *tellme@washpost.com*. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at *wapo.st/gethax*.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at washingtonpost.com/live-chats.

Reader's persistent coughing causes social anxiety

Asking Eric

R. ERIC THOMAS

Dear Eric: I am in my 70s, and for the past couple of decades I have had occasional coughing fits that are triggered by talking too long and/or too loudly. When these fits happen, I literally can't talk or stop coughing for several minutes. I've been to several doctors but have not been able to get a clear diagnosis or effective treatment.

My closest family and friends understand the problem, but it's still embarrassing, especially when it happens with people I don't know well or in a public setting.

When I am talking to others, should I warn them at the beginning of the conversation that I might start coughing and have to interrupt the conversation, either by hanging up the phone or walking away until the fit ends? If so, how should I explain it? I don't want to give them my medical history, and I don't want them to think that I'm sick or contagious.

— Curious Cough

Curious: Everybody's body does strange things from time to time. I'm sorry that your body is doing something that's causing you social anxiety. I understand how having a prolonged cough can invite questions, comments or other unwelcome reactions, especially in a world still dealing with the impact of the covid-19 pandemic. There's nothing wrong with having a cough; it's just a matter of figuring out how best to care for yourself and your community.

For your peace of mind, try telling people "Just so you know, I have a condition that causes me to cough sometimes. It's not contagious or cause for concern, but I don't want you to think I'm rude if I have to leave abruptly. Thanks for understanding!"

You don't have to do this. But you may find it reduces your anxiety and sensitivity about the issue.

If and when you tell people about your cough, think of it not as an apology for having a body, but rather as information that will help them make the conversation a more welcoming, less tense experience for you.

Dear Eric: A young neighbor couple confided in me that their young daughters told them that an out-of-town uncle visiting recently had exposed himself to them. These parents are beyond stunned, are unsure how to proceed, and asked me for my perspective. They are concerned they are perhaps required to inform some child protective services entity and/or police. However, this is a much-loved uncle. They also don't want to destroy his career and family. He is married and is in a medical profession where he occasionally has children as clients.

They feel that taking any formal action could create major upheaval. However, some family members are urging them to report. They want to find a way to first protect their daughters and inform the uncle he will never be allowed to be alone around their kids again. This is creating ongoing family strife. How should they address this situation?

— Concerned Neighbor

Neighbor: Report it. I can't emphasize enough how important it is to take action now to protect these children, and other children the uncle may come in contact with. Depending on where you live, it actually may be a legal requirement.

You can look up the specifics, and also get information on where to report in your state, on the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network's State Law Database. RAINN also has specific steps that will help parents as they go through this emotionally fraught process, which include telling the children that what happened was not their fault and that they are going to report it, as well as practicing self-care as the parents navigate the process.

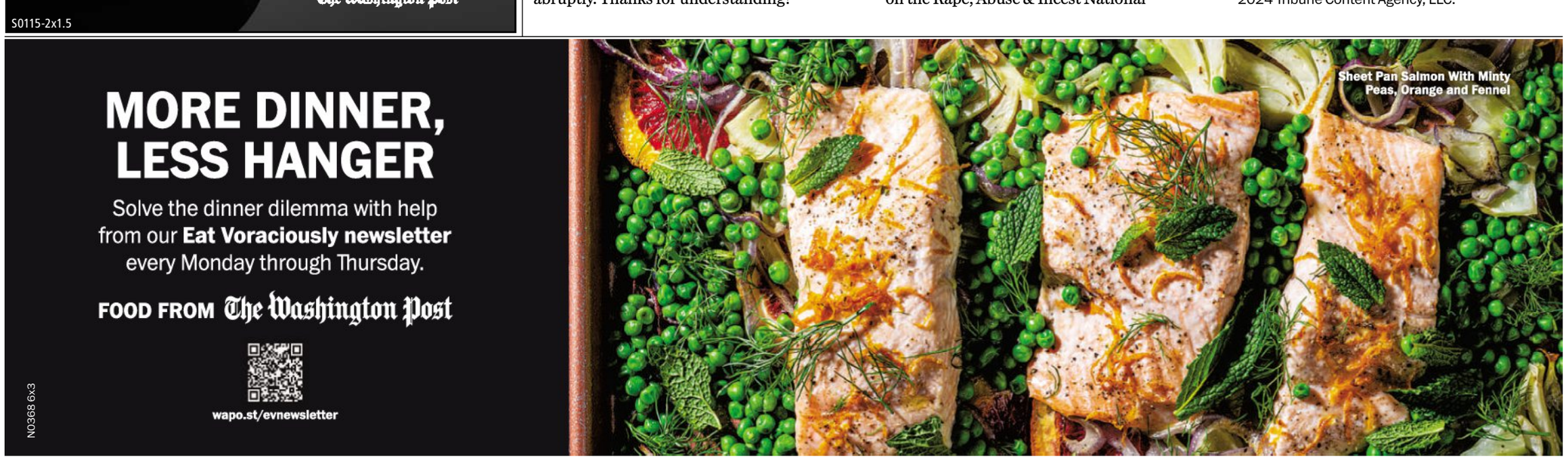
This will begin an investigation. It is not a trial and it is not a verdict. Often, it's easy for our thinking to snowball through potential consequences and overwhelm us. By telling the authorities what they know, these parents are fulfilling their duty to their children and entrusting trained professionals with the next steps.

The professionals will engage in a trauma-informed process to find out what happened and determine next steps. It may be difficult to think about this beloved family member suffering consequences of his actions, but if the parents hold this information in, they make themselves responsible for meting out justice. That's not their job. Their job is to listen to and protect their children. Tell the parents to resist any feedback that scolds them for "destroying the uncle's career" or making this more than a "family issue." The uncle did that on his own, if his actions are as they're described.

The children need advocates; the uncle needs help. The parents can get trained guidance from RAINN 24/7 by calling 1-800-656-HOPE. Urge them to do so today.

(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 *rericthomas.com*.)

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the GUIDE to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
MUSIC - CONCERTS					
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THE PRESIDENT'S OWN **United States Marine Band** United States Marine Big Band	Wednesday, July 24 at 7 p.m. Thursday, July 25 at 7 p.m.	The Marine Big Band comes to the U.S. Capitol and National Mall! Hear classic pieces from George Gershwin, Duke Ellington and more. Bring a chair/blanket and take part in this fun American tradition!	**U.S. Capitol West Terrace: Wednesday, July 24 at 7 p.m. Sylvan Theater: Thursday, July 25 at 7 p.m. Full Details: www.marineband.marines.mil**	FREE, No Tickets Required	Weather updates posted on social media & website by 6 p.m.

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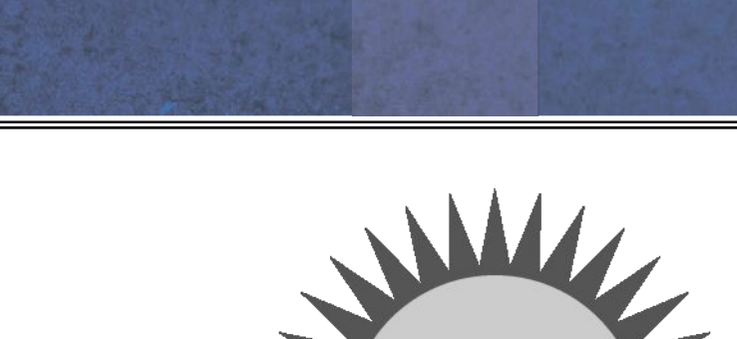
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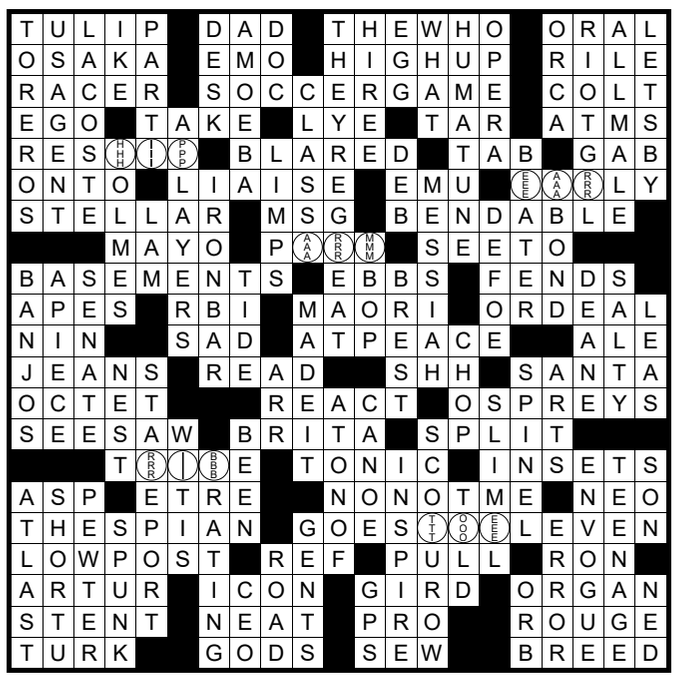
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@capitalweather

S0141 6x5

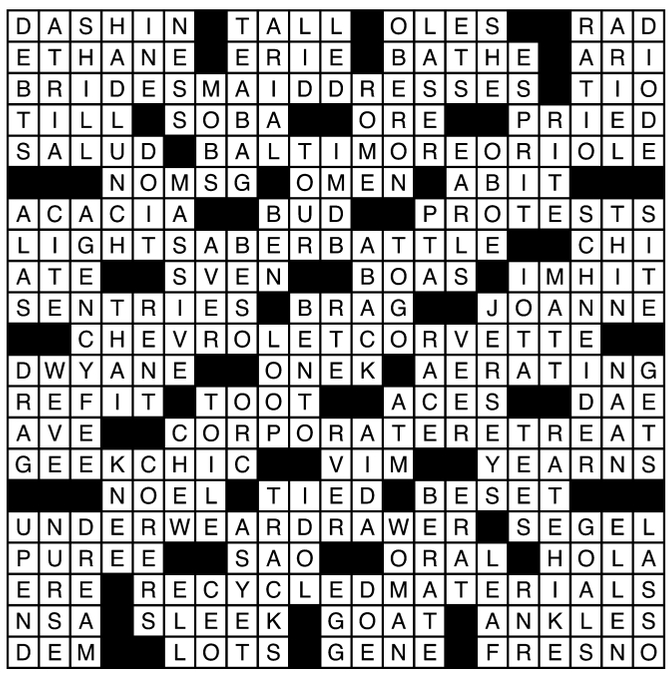
Answers to last week's puzzle.

THE THREE-BODY PROBLEM (JULY 7)



The first letters of the tripled body parts spell out **HEART**.

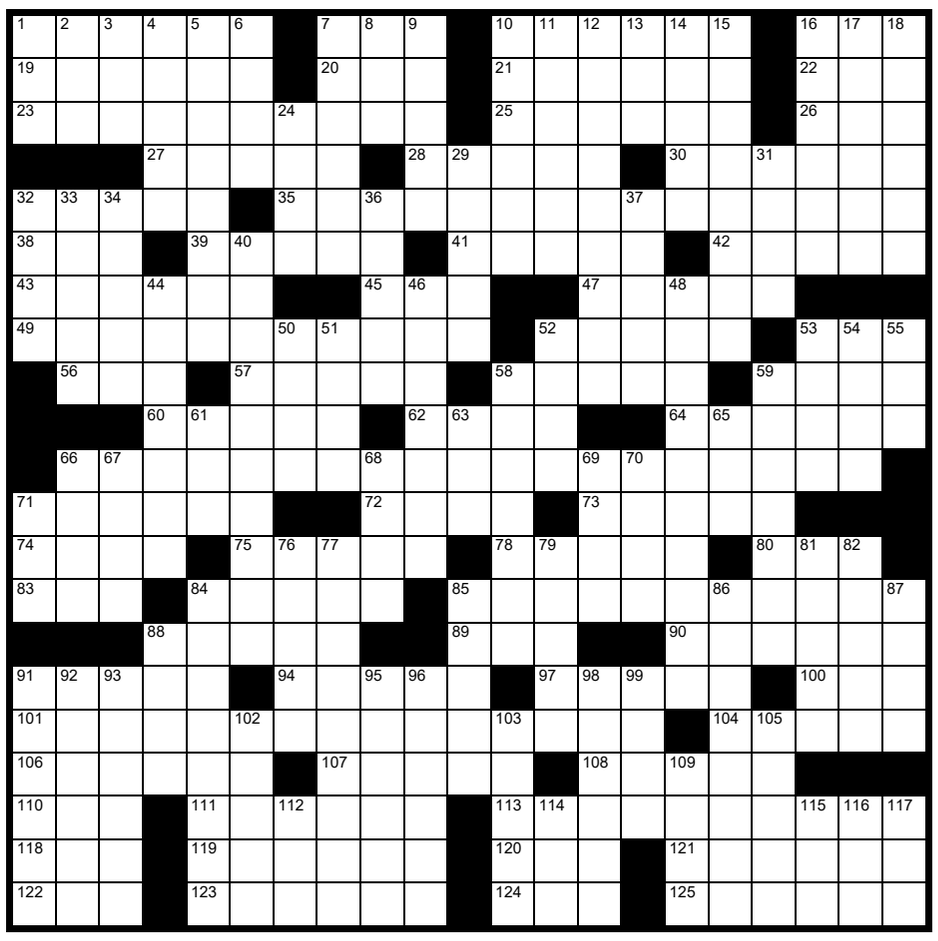
Answers to last week's L.A. Times Sunday puzzle.



7/7/24

CROSSWORD

"CAPTAIN OBVIOUS, POKER EXPERT" BY EVAN BIRNHOLZ



ACROSS

1 Notify
7 Source of "Sprockets" sketches in the 1990s
10 Piece of table tennis equipment
16 Financier's deg., often
19 Ma known as the Mother of the Blues
20 Video game console that sounds like a pronoun
21 Subject of the podcast "Inside Conan"
22 Its crude form is rich in hydrocarbons
23 "____? That means you got good cards"
25 Newsgroup system established in 1980
26 WA, CO, or Waco locale
27 Ellen who was the first Latina woman to go to space
28 Televised
30 Reasons for relief efforts
32 Barely sufficient
35 "____? Then those cards will be in a neat little pile"
38 Like some flames from years past
39 In other words, in Latin
41 Confirmation key, often
42 It comes from the heart
43 Ouchie
45 DCA inspection org.
47 Pores (through)
49 "____? Those have higher cards than weak ones do"
52 "Swan Lake" dresses
53 Letters from one's closest pal?
56 Garment edge
57 Approximately, chronologically
58 Recorded, in a way
59 Pizzazz
60 Alvin who was the first prosecutor in American history to win a conviction against a former president
62 Pompous sort
64 Run for a 50-yard pass, say
66 "____, you'll need to win some back to keep playing"
71 Mitterrand's successor as French president
72 "Electro-Shock Blues" band with a fishy name
73 Put back to zero
74 Blunder statement
75 Building passageways
78 ____-Loompas (chocolate factory workers)
80 When doubled, dance often featuring three slow steps followed by two quick steps
83 Functioned as
84 Penultimate rounds
85 "____, and I'll be able to see those cards"
88 14th of Adar festival
89 Percussionist Keszler
90 Haudenosaunee Confederacy people
91 Mil. mind tactic
94 Connection points
97 Backs of necks
100 "Cheers" actor Danson
101 "____? Then that shirt would explain why we have only 51 cards"
104 Fishing platforms
106 Cosa ____ (term for the Mafia that literally means "our thing")
107 The L.A. Rams' region
108 "Click" actor Sean
110 Historic period
111 Pacific climate pattern
113 "____, and you'll risk losing all your crops"
118 Stimpy's buddy on TV
119 One with many joint accounts?
120 Some reproductive cells
121 Meteorological pressure line
122 Say further
123 Most wise, as advice
124 What a pacifist opposes
125 Sprinkles

DOWN

1 401(k) relative
2 Bobtailed horse of "Camptown Races"
3 Many a Christmas tree
4 Situation after a triple
5 Change in a lab
6 Story of Echo and Narcissus, e.g.
7 Shows an effect of strenuous exercise
8 "My Big Fat Greek Wedding 2" star Vardalos
9 "____ Bush" (floral painting by Van Gogh)
10 Arrive, as a big crowd
11 Missing school for the day
12 Brings to light
13 Persistent noise
14 Bloodsucking organism
15 Pleads
16 Rodent-hunting cat
17 Cut equally in two
18 About one-third of its land is in the Arctic Circle
24 Prescribed amount
29 Stores selling Storemolla dressers
31 Wedding commitments
32 Weeps loudly
33 Woven material
34 Have much affection for
36 Space that may have exposed rafters
37 Overdone
40 Position that an inept politician could supposedly never be elected to
44 Bronx ____ (nickname for the Yankees)
46 Hidden stockpiles
48 Chocolaty topping
50 [Those were the days]
51 Try to persuade
52 Surfing sub-windows
53 Pores' place
54 Traditional singer of "Ievan Polkka"
55 Eerie blanket in a forest, perhaps
58 Upper layer of an outdoor bed
59 Irregularly spotted
61 "Messenger" molecule
63 0, at the UEFA European Championship
65 Lyrical tribute
66 "Hold on a minute there!"
67 Body parts that "don't lie" in a Shakira hit
68 Disney sheets
69 Risk factor?
70 Seized auto, for short
71 "Holy ____!"
76 ____ acid (organic molecule)
77 Stretch out on the road?
79 Editorialize
81 ____ cuisine
82 Tirade emotion
84 Keep secret
85 Nikola who developed electric coils
86 Most grating, as a voice
87 Some who drive to and from day care
88 Look of annoyance
91 Bakery-cafe chain with a Rapid Pick-Up option
92 Dunked, say
93 Phrase of acceptance, in improv comedy
95 Devices providing bird's-eye views
96 Usher in, say
98 Sci-fi film with the fictitious mineral unobtanium
99 Termite, e.g.
102 City on the Black Sea
103 Nudging joint
105 Awaiting
109 That alternative
112 Yuletide beverage
114 "Perfect Sense" actress Green
115 Pollin who owned the Washington Capitals
116 How Gollum eats fish, in "The Two Towers"
117 ____ Butterworth's (brand of syrup)

L.A. TIMES SUNDAY PUZZLE

EDITED BY PATTI VAROL AND JOYCE NICHOLS LEWIS

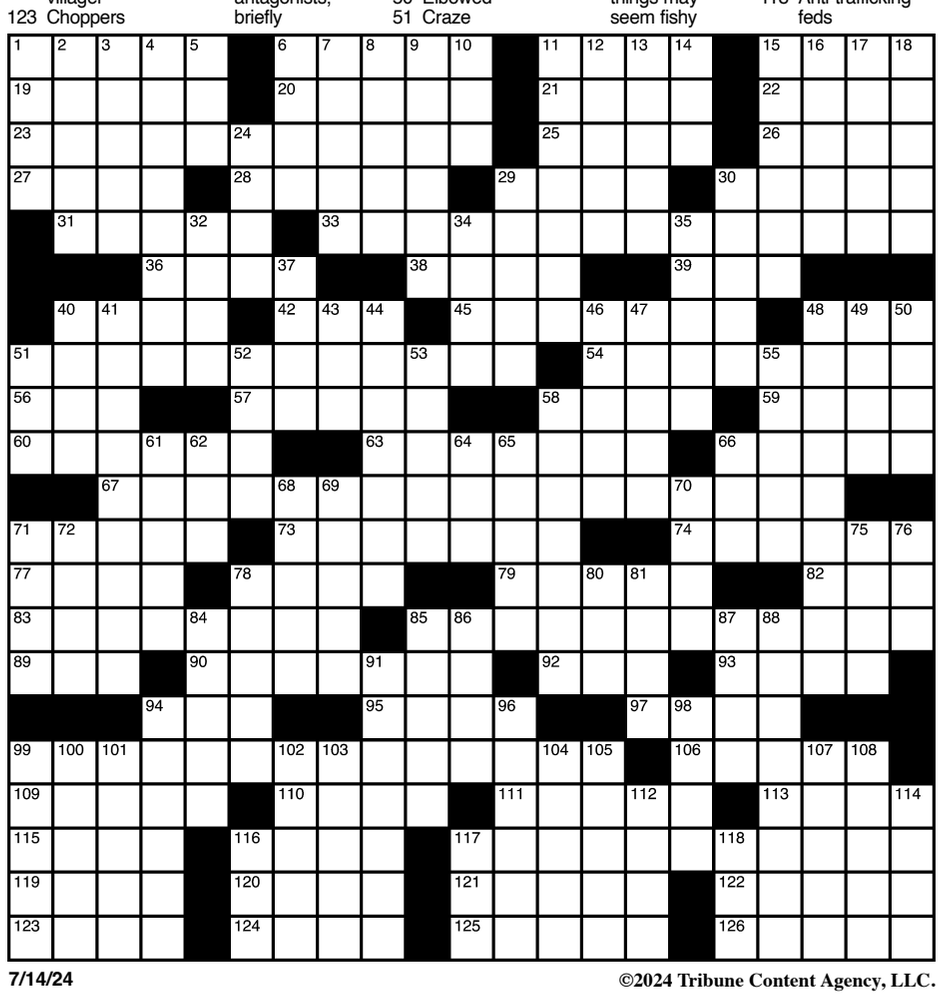
"IT'S A SIGN" BY SCOTT HOGAN & KATIE HALE

ACROSS

1 "Kung Fu __": Jack Black film franchise
6 Italian "Enough!"
11 Seat on a hayride
15 Kiss, in Camden
19 Phone setting
20 "Bunnicula" voice actor Sean
21 "You haven't changed __"
22 Cod, for one
23 "Put that Sandra Bullock bomb-on-a-bus DVD in the clearance bin!"
25 Reasons not to
26 Say, say
27 Molding, e.g.
28 Sends
29 Common nest spot
30 False flattery
31 Fruity baked treats
33 "Keep it clean! This is a family musical!"
36 "Fine, I guess"
38 More than want
39 Letters on a face
40 Tierra en el océano
42 Sup
45 "The Morning Show" star
48 Blow in the ring
51 "Base jumping is awesome!"
54 Porcelain treasure
56 Before now
57 Spanish 101 verb
58 Breathes on glass, say
59 Sharqiya Sands country
60 Real drag
63 Tart pub quaff
66 Very good (at)
67 "Play every song the whole way through!"
71 Late-night host Ferguson
73 Gives off strongly
74 Boss
77 Sunscreen metal
78 Brought a case
79 Word on a Paris map
82 Evian or Perrier
83 Student's hoped-for university response
85 "Don't you dare throw another interception!"
89 Tuna tartare topper
90 Conference unit
92 Cargo weight
93 Writers McEwan and Fleming
94 Pronoun option
95 Small change
97 Artful
99 "Our new corporate partners are almost here!"
106 October birth sign
109 Extend a subscription
110 Biscuit containers
111 Pulls down
113 State with a triangular swallowtail flag
115 Utah ski resort
116 Subj. for which trig is a prereq
117 "Can we please banish traveling salespeople already!?"
119 Like some humor
120 "Mon __!"
121 Bar perch
122 Respected villager
123 Choppers
124 "Make it shorter," made shorter
125 Fish with neon stripes
126 Carne __: grilled meat

DOWN

1 Pigtails separation
2 Phone setting
3 Gymnast Comaneci
4 Announcement build-up, maybe
5 "Dark Winds" network
6 Ram
7 Molded jelly made with meat stock
8 2022 NBA Finals MVP Curry
9 Aptly links (with)
10 "Do go on ... "
11 Rum brand with a bat logo
12 __ and beyond
13 Summer fabric
14 "3 Body Problem" antagonists, briefly
15 Garlicky dish
16 Like a sub
17 Glass production?
18 In need of an antibacterial wipe
24 Petrol pump brand
29 Paradises
30 Undercover operation
32 Massaman curry cuisine
34 Cause of a drip
35 Neural transmitters
37 Some barrels
40 Othello manipulator
41 Potentially awkward time at a middle school party
43 Wall display
44 Said "Cheers!"
46 Young salmon
47 Big cat
48 "East of Eden" co-star
49 "Make haste!" abbr.
50 Elbowed
51 Craze
52 Roman emperor after Claudius
53 Swindler
55 Screwdriver need
58 Event for the faithful
61 Neat
62 London lang.
64 eBayer's option
65 Inn requests
66 Deck one?
68 Sets to right
69 Root origins
70 Oh so much
71 Policy honcho
72 Puerto __
75 Some audio receivers
76 Word on a Paris map
78 Longhorn, e.g.
80 Even prime
81 Zest source
84 "Phooey!"
85 Some wedding readings
86 "The Crown" role for Erin Doherty
87 Many an audio receiver
88 Places where things may seem fishy
91 "No argument here"
94 __ volumes
96 Dix x trois
98 To whom Anna sings "Do You Want to Build a Snowman?"
99 Italian fashion house
100 Chill
101 __ nous
102 ASOS biz
103 Like a Scrabble board, in a way
104 Gal of "Death on the Nile"
105 Overthrow in the infield, say
107 Valerie Harper sitcom of the 1970s
108 Ran a program
112 Saints city, informally
114 Stew pod
116 Summer hrs. in Houston
117 Not just -er
118 Anti-trafficking feds



7/14/24

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HOROSCOPE

BY GEORGIA NICOLS

Happy Birthday | July 14: You're intelligent, magnetic and diplomatic. You have excellent communication skills, and you know how to entertain others. This is a slower-paced year. Take time to rejuvenate both your energy and your outlook on life. Seek out people who are kind and helpful and who have your back.

Moon Alert: After 11 a.m. there are no restrictions to shopping or important decisions. The Moon is in Scorpio.

ARIES (March 21-April 19)
Tread carefully, because dealings with others about shared property, shared responsibilities, taxes or debt could be challenging. Likewise, paying for the cost of something to do with kids or fun outings also might be challenging. People are confrontational. Peace.

TAURUS (April 20-May 20)
Be patient with others. Things could go off the rails very quickly. In particular, your dealings with partners, spouses and close friends could be challenged because authority figures and family members are at odds with you.

GEMINI (May 21-June 20)
Avoid arguments with others. They will accomplish little, and you will only alienate yourself from others, especially neighbors, relatives and siblings. Power struggles that are work-related also might take place. Yes, it's that kind of day.

CANCER (June 21-July 22)
Financial squabbles will take place. They might be about earnings or loans. Or they might be about the cost of a social event or something to do with kids. Try to sidestep this messiness if you can to avoid creating hard feelings.

LEO (July 23-Aug. 22)
It's challenging to keep the peace with others because of petty arguments that might flare up. Unfortunately, these will upset people and hurt your feelings, which means nothing gets accomplished.

VIRGO (Aug. 23-Sept. 22)
You have strong opinions right now, especially about sensitive subjects such as race, politics or religion. Because you feel this way, it's a poor day to engage in arguments with a relative or sibling. Why create problems with someone?

LIBRA (Sept. 23-Oct. 22)
You like to keep the peace. You like to please others and not rock the boat. That's why you might feel challenged when dealing with someone about social issues, kids, the cost of something or how to share responsibilities.

SCORPIO (Oct. 23-Nov. 21)
The Moon is in your sign, but it's at odds with Venus at the top of your chart and Pluto at the bottom, which means relations with others will be testy! Therefore, play your cards close to your chest. Stay out of trouble.

SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 22-Dec. 21)
Avoid controversial topics, because they will quickly disintegrate into power struggles. Remember: Physical activity and optimism are survival issues for you. Avoid arguments. Enjoy outdoor exercise!

CAPRICORN (Dec. 22-Jan. 19)
Power struggles about money, shared property, taxes, debt, inheritances or friendships might cloud your day. However, this can be a productive day. It's also a playful time with a strong focus on competitive athletics.

AQUARIUS (Jan. 20-Feb. 18)
This is a poor day to ask for permission or approval from authority figures. Even your relations with partners and close friends might be stressed. You're high-viz, which means others will notice how you react to these challenges.

PISCES (Feb. 19-March 20)
This is a poor day for controversial discussions. Fortunately, you have a choice. Choose some playful options like the arts, the entertainment world or the hospitality industry — perhaps sports.

MOVIE DIRECTORY

(!) No Pass/No Discount Ticket

Sunday, July 14, 2024
www.washingtonpost.com/movies

DISTRICT

AMC Georgetown 14
3111 K Street N.W.

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:30-7:30-9:50
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 9:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 7:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:30; 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00-10:20
MaXXXine (R) CC: 11:15-1:50-4:40-7:15-10:30
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) CC: 9:00
Robot Dreams CC: 2:00
The Bikeriders (R) CC: 11:10AM
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 8:10
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:10-5:15-7:50-10:20
Touch (R) CC: 7:10-10:10
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 3:30
Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) CC: 12:15-2:45-5:15-7:45-10:15
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 11:20-9:00
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 5:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 4:00-7:00-10:00
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 1:00-6:15
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 1:20-5:00-7:50-10:20
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30-9:40
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) OC: 2:15
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 12:00-4:50-7:20
Longlegs (R) OC: 2:40
Touch (R) OC: 4:20
Kinds of Kindness (R) OC: 4:15
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) OC: 1:00
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) OC: 2:30

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - DC Bryant Street
630 Rhode Island Ave NE

Twister (PG-13) 6:00
Nausicaa of the Valley of the Wind (Kaze no tani no Naushika) (PG) 11:15AM
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 10:30-1:30-4:45-7:45-10:45
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 10:30-2:20-4:00-5:15-6:45-8:15-9:30-11:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 12:30-3:15
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:15-11:00-1:15-2:00-5:00-6:30-8:00-9:30-10:45
MaXXXine (R) 12:00-3:00-6:15-9:15
Longlegs (R) 9:15
Kinds of Kindness (R) 2:40
Twister (PG-13) 11:30AM
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 1:30-4:30-7:15-10:15
Longlegs (R) 10:15-4:15-7:00-10:00; 1:15

Angelika Pop-Up at Union Market
550 Penn Street NE - Unit E

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:15-2:35-4:35-7:20
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:00-2:15-5:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:30-3:30-6:45

Avalon Theatre
5612 Connecticut Avenue

Thelma (PG-13) 12:00-2:15-4:35-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:00-1:50-4:45-7:45

Landmark Atlantic Plumbing Cinema
807 V Street Northwest

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 1:50-4:20-7:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 4:30-7:20
Inside Out 2 (PG) 1:15-2:15-3:50-5:00-6:40-7:40
MaXXXine (R) 1:40-4:10-7:10
Longlegs (R) 4:00-7:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 2:00
Longlegs (R) 1:30

Landmark E Street Cinema
555 11th Street Northwest

Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:15-1:15-3:30-4:30-7:15
MaXXXine (R) 12:45-7:45
Touch (R) 1:00-7:10
Thelma (PG-13) 1:25-4:15-6:30
Kinds of Kindness (R) 12:00-3:00-7:00-8:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:30-1:30-3:45-7:30-8:30
MaXXXine (R) 3:15
Touch (R) 4:45
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 5:00

Regal Gallery Place
701 Seventh Street Northwest

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 10:30AM
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:00-12:00-12:30-1:15-1:30-3:05-4:00-6:30-8:10-9:00-10:40
MaXXXine (R) 11:40-2:20-5:00-7:40-10:20
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 8:50
Longlegs (R) 11:10-4:40-7:30-10:10
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 10:35-2:40-4:15-8:30
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 11:30-2:00-4:30-7:05-9:30
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:20-7:20-10:25
Dandelion (R) 10:20AM
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 10:40-1:20-3:50-6:20
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:10-1:10-2:50-4:20-5:20-6:40-6:50-7:50-9:20-9:50-10:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:50-1:40-3:10-4:10-6:10-7:10-8:40-9:40
Longlegs (R) 1:50
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 5:30
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 3:40
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:40

MARYLAND

AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center
8633 Colesville Road

North by Northwest (1959) OC: 12:00; 7:00
Possessed (1931) (NR) 5:15
Anna Christie (1930) 11:00AM
The Big House 3:15
Godzilla (Gojira) (1954) (NR) 1:00-9:40
Last Summer (2023) 2:00-4:10-8:30
Thelma (PG-13) 2:45-4:45-6:20

AMC Academy 8
6198 Greenbelt Road

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 1:00-4:00-6:50-10:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 1:40-4:20-6:45-9:15
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 2:00-7:00
MaXXXine (R) CC: 2:20-4:50-7:20-9:50
Longlegs (R) CC: 2:00-4:40-7:30-10:00
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 5:15-7:45-10:10
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 1:10-4:10-7:10-9:40
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 2:10
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 4:30-9:30

AMC Annapolis Mall 11
1020 Annapolis Mall Road

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:10-2:00-4:50-7:40-11:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 9:30; 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-11:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:45-2:10-4:35-7:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:15-11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00
MaXXXine (R) CC: 12:40-3:10-5:45-8:20-10:50
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) CC: 6:50
Robot Dreams CC: 2:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:10-2:45-5:20-8:00-10:30
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 10:10
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 10:00AM
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 10:20
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 10:00-1:00-4:10-7:20-10:00
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 11:10-4:40-7:50-10:25
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) 12:30-2:15
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 9:55-11:45-4:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:45-1:10-3:35-6:00-8:30-10:15

AMC Center Park 8
4001 Powder Mill Rd.

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:15-3:00-5:45-8:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00-10:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:00-12:00-2:30-5:00-6:45-7:30-10:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:30-1:15-3:45-6:15-9:00
MaXXXine (R) CC: 1:45-4:00-6:30-9:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 11:15-2:15-4:45-7:15-9:45
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 4:15
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 12:45
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 1:00-4:00-7:00-9:15

AMC Columbia 14
10300 Little Patuxent Parkway

Despicable Me 4 (PG) OC: 2:00
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:05-2:45-6:00-10:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 8:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 6:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:30-1:00-3:30
MaXXXine (R) CC: 11:25-2:05-4:35-7:10-9:50
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:10-1:40-4:10-7:20-9:10
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) CC: 9:25
Robot Dreams CC: 2:10
Longlegs (R) CC: 3:30-6:15-9:05
Touch (R) CC: 12:30-3:20-6:20-9:20
Thelma (PG-13) CC: 10:05AM
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 2:30-7:30
Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) CC: 11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 11:50-3:00-6:10-9:15
Dandelion (R) CC: 9:50
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 9:00
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 11:40-4:40-6:40
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:35-2:10-4:45-7:05-9:40
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 12:00-4:40-7:10
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:30-12:00-4:30-5:00-7:00-9:30
Longlegs (R) OC: 12:50
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) OC: 2:20

AMC DINE-IN Rio Cinemas 18
9811 Washingtonian Center

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:30-2:15-5:00-8:00-10:45
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 10:45
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 8:15
If (PG) CC: 11:30AM
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 12:15-3:00-5:30
MaXXXine (R) CC: 11:00-1:45-4:30-7:10-10:00
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) CC: 9:00
Robot Dreams CC: 2:00
The Bikeriders (R) CC: 10:15
Longlegs (R) CC: 11:15-2:00-4:45-7:30-10:15
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 5:45-9:45
Touch (R) CC: 10:30-1:25-4:20-7:15-10:15
Thelma (PG-13) CC: 10:40-1:10-3:40-6:15-9:00
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Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 9:30
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 10:30-4:30-7:30-10:30
Dandelion (R) CC: 11:15-4:45
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:40
Hijack 1971 (R) 12:30
Indian 2 7:45
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 10:30-1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 11:00-4:00-6:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:15-12:15-3:00-5:30-7:00-8:15
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:45-1:45-4:15-6:45-9:15
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:45-7:15-9:45
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) OC: 1:30
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) OC: 1:30

AMC Magic Johnson Capital Center 12
800 Shoppers Way

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 2:30-5:15-8:00-10:45
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:10-2:40-5:10-7:40-10:10
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 1:15-3:45-6:15
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00
MaXXXine (R) CC: 12:00-12:25-3:30-6:10-8:45-10:20
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00
A Quiet Place: Day One: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: 9:10
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 12:45-3:15-5:45-8:15-10:40
Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) CC: 1:45-4:15-6:45
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:40-6:45-9:50
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 12:15
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30
Bull Street (R) 8:45
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 12:45-3:05-5:25-7:45-10:05

AMC Montgomery 16
7101 Democracy Boulevard

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 2:15-5:00-7:45-10:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:15-3:00-5:30-8:00-10:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:00-1:30-2:45-4:00-6:30-7:45-9:00-10:15
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:30-12:30-2:00-4:30-5:15-7:00-9:30
MaXXXine (R) CC: 11:15-1:45-4:45-7:15-10:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 11:00-4:30-7:30-10:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 11:15-4:15-7:15-10:15
Longlegs (R) OC: 2:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) OC: 1:15

AMC St. Charles Town Ctr 9
11115 Mall Circle

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 1:15-4:00-6:45-9:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00-8:30-10:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 2:15-4:45-7:15-9:45
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 12:10-2:40-5:10-7:40-10:10
MaXXXine (R) CC: 12:15-2:45-5:15-7:45-10:15
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 12:45-6:00
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 12:15-3:30-6:45-9:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 12:00-3:00-6:00-10:00
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 3:20

Cinemark Egyptian 24 and XD
7000 Arundel Mills Circle

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) XD: 9:30; 9:00-11:35-2:15-5:25-7:35-8:05-10:15-10:45; 4:55
Despicable Me 4 (PG) XD: 9:00-11:30-2:00-4:30-7:00; 2:20
Inside Out 2 (PG) 2:35; 9:25-10:45-11:05-12:00-1:20-1:40-3:55-4:15-5:10-6:30-6:50-7:45-9:25-10:25
Longlegs (R) 2:35
Indian 2 10:35
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 11:00-5:00-7:55-10:50
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:10-1:50-4:30-7:10-9:55
Inside Out 2 (PG) XD: 9:05-11:40-2:20-4:55
MaXXXine (R) 9:20-12:00-5:20-8:00-10:40
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 9:05
Kalki 2898 AD (Telugu) 2:25-6:40-10:40
Longlegs (R) XD: 7:30-10:10
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 9:25-1:25
Touch (R) 9:40-3:45-6:45-9:45
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 10:50-11:50-3:50-6:20-8:50
Kalki 2898 AD (Hindi) (Telugu) 8:20
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Kinds of Kindness (R) 9:35
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 9:30-9:55-1:15-4:00-4:30-7:15-7:45-10:30-11:00
Sarfira 10:20
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 9:10-3:50-7:05
Indian 2 9:10
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 9:10-11:45-2:15-4:45-7:10
Kalki 2898 AD 3D 10:25AM
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 2:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 9:20-9:40-10:00-10:20-11:00-12:10-12:30-12:50-1:20-1:30-2:40-3:20-4:00-4:50-5:10-5:50-6:40-7:20-7:40-9:50-10:10-10:40
MaXXXine (R) 2:40
Longlegs (R) 9:15-11:55-5:15-7:55-10:35
Touch (R) 12:40
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 12:35
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:45
Indian 2 10:30-2:30-6:35

Cinépolis Gaithersburg
629 Center Point Way

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 3:30-6:45-10:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:45-1:45-4:45-7:45-10:45
Longlegs (R) 10:30-1:45-4:45-7:45-10:45
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:00-3:30-7:00-10:30
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 12:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 10:15-1:15-4:15-7:15-10:15
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:15-2:00-3:45-4:45-7:30-10:15
MaXXXine (R) 12:30-6:30-9:30

Greenbelt Cinema
129 Centerway

Robot Dreams 5:30
Janet Planet (PG-13) 2:45
Kinds of Kindness (R) 5:45; 2:15

Landmark Bethesda Row Cinema
7235 Woodmont Avenue

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:55-5:30-7:45
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 12:30-1:30-2:45-3:45-5:00-6:00-7:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:00-1:15-2:15-3:15-4:30-7:15-8:00
Robot Dreams 12:15
Touch (R) 3:40-6:30
Thelma (PG-13) 2:50-7:35
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 4:00-5:15-7:00-8:15
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 3:10
Touch (R) 1:05
Thelma (PG-13) 5:20
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 1:00

Landmark at Annapolis Harbour Center
2474 Solomons Island Road Unit H-1

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 6:50
Sing (PG) 11:00AM
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:25-2:15-4:50-7:20
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:10-12:10-1:25-2:25-3:40-4:40-6:00-7:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:30-2:45-5:00-7:15
Robot Dreams 12:20
Longlegs (R) 12:05-2:20-4:45-7:05
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 3:00-6:30
Thelma (PG-13) 4:10-6:45
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:00-1:30-4:20-7:10

Phoenix Theatres Marlow 6
3899 Branch Avenue

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:35-3:30-6:45-9:35
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:05-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 12:10-1:20-2:30-3:45-4:45-6:05-7:05-9:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00
Longlegs (R) 12:05-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 11:00-8:35

Regal Cinemas Majestic Stadium 20 & IMAX
900 Ellsworth Drive

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 10:25
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:30-12:05-1:40-2:40-4:15-4:45-5:15-7:10-7:30-8:00-9:45-10:15-10:40
MaXXXine (R) 1:15-4:00-6:50-10:10
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 9:05
Longlegs (R) 11:50-2:30-5:10-7:50-10:30
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 1:00-5:05-9:20
A Quiet Place: Day One: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) 8:45
Touch (R) 2:05-5:00-8:05
Thelma (PG-13) 10:15-4:25-7:05-9:55
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 1:05-3:40-6:20-9:00
Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) 10:00-12:40-3:15-6:00
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:10-3:25-6:40-9:50
Dandelion (R) 11:10AM
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 1:20
Indian 2 12:30-4:35-8:40
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 10:35-1:10-3:50-6:25
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:35-1:35-2:15-4:10-4:55-6:55-7:40-9:40-10:35
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 2:10
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:20-11:20-12:55-1:55-3:30-4:30-6:10-7:20-9:10-10:00
Indian 2 12:15-4:20-8:20

Regal Cinemas Majestic Stadium 20 & IMAX
900 Ellsworth Drive

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 10:25
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:30-12:05-1:40-2:40-4:15-4:45-5:15-7:10-7:30-8:00-9:45-10:15-10:40
MaXXXine (R) 1:15-4:00-6:50-10:10
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 9:05
Longlegs (R) 11:50-2:30-5:10-7:50-10:30
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 1:00-5:05-9:20
A Quiet Place: Day One: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) 8:45
Touch (R) 2:05-5:00-8:05
Thelma (PG-13) 10:15-4:25-7:05-9:55
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 1:05-3:40-6:20-9:00
Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) 10:00-12:40-3:15-6:00
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:10-3:25-6:40-9:50
Dandelion (R) 11:10AM
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 1:20
Indian 2 12:30-4:35-8:40
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 10:35-1:10-3:50-6:25
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:35-1:35-2:15-4:10-4:55-6:55-7:40-9:40-10:35
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 2:10
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:20-11:20-12:55-1:55-3:30-4:30-6:10-7:20-9:10-10:00
Indian 2 12:15-4:20-8:20

Regal Germantown
20000 Century Boulevard

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 11:50-10:20
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:00-2:40-5:20-8:00-9:45
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:45-12:20-1:20-4:00-5:50-6:30-8:30-9:10
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:00-12:40-1:30-3:20-4:20-6:00-7:10-8:40
MaXXXine (R) 11:30-2:20-5:00-7:40-10:15
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 12:50-2:00-4:50-7:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:30-11:00-11:40-12:30-1:10-1:50-2:30-3:20-4:00-4:40-5:15-6:40-7:30-8:15-8:50-9:40
MaXXXine (R) 11:45-2:40-5:20-8:00
Longlegs (R) 10:40-1:30-4:15-7:00-9:55
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 8:30
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 6:00
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-6:50
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:50-3:10-6:30-9:20
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 11:30-1:20-5:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:20-3:50-6:20-9:00

Regal Hyattsville Royale
6505 America Boulevard

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 11:45-10:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:00-3:30-6:30-9:10
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:00-11:50-12:40-1:40-2:30-3:20-4:20-5:10-6:10-7:10-8:40-9:40
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:20-12:20-1:00-1:30-2:10-3:10-4:00-5:00-6:00-6:50-7:40-8:50-10:20
MaXXXine (R) 12:30-3:40-6:40-9:30
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 8:00
Kalki 2898 AD (Telugu) 8:20
Longlegs (R) 11:40-2:40-5:20-7:50-10:10
Kalki 2898 AD (Hindi) (Telugu) 7:20
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:30-2:50-6:20-9:50
Dandelion (R) 11:10-2:20-5:40-9:00
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 4:10
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 12:10-2:45-5:30

Regal Laurel Towne Centre
14716 Baltimore Avenue

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:50-2:00-4:50-7:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:30-11:00-11:40-12:30-1:10-1:50-2:30-3:20-4:00-4:40-5:15-6:40-7:30-8:15-8:50-9:40
MaXXXine (R) 11:45-2:40-5:20-8:00
Longlegs (R) 10:40-1:30-4:15-7:00-9:55
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 8:30
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 6:00
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-6:50
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:50-3:10-6:30-9:20
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 11:30-1:20-5:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:40-4:40-7:50-10:40

Regal Rockville Center
199 East Montgomery Avenue

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:10-11:30-12:45-1:45-3:15-4:00-5:00-5:45-6:30-7:40-8:15-9:00
MaXXXine (R) 11:20-2:10-4:40-7:20-9:50
Robot Dreams 2:00
Longlegs (R) 11:40-2:20-5:20-7:50-9:40
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 12:30
Kalki 2898 AD (Hindi) (Telugu) 12:15
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Kinds of Kindness (R) 11:45-6:10
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:50-2:50-6:20-9:20
Blue Lock The Movie -Episode Nagi- (PG-13) 3:40
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 2:45
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:10-2:30-4:50-7:30-10:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:00-12:20-1:30-4:10-4:30-5:50-6:40-7:10-8:20-9:10-9:30

Regal Waugh Chapel
1419 South Main Chapel Way

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:40-3:30-6:40-9:40
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:00-2:30-5:20-8:10-9:50
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:50-1:10-2:20-5:10-6:10-7:50-9:00-10:25
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:40-1:50-3:10-4:30-7:20-8:20-10:10
MaXXXine (R) 1:30-4:10-6:55-10:00
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 11:20-2:40-6:20
Longlegs (R) 10:35-11:30-2:10-4:50-7:30-10:20
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 9:35
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 3:40
Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) 10:50-1:40-4:20-6:50-9:30
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 10:25-12:20-3:50-7:10-10:30
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 11:40AM
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) 12:10-5:40

Regal Westview
5243 Buckeystown Pike

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:35-3:10-5:45-8:30; 11:15-1:50-4:30-7:10-9:55
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:00-10:35-12:30-1:05-3:05-3:35-5:35-6:15-8:10; 11:20AM
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:15-12:50-3:25-6:00-8:25
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 10:40-1:30-4:20-7:20
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 9:15
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 2:00-4:35-7:15-9:50

VIRGINIA

AMC Courthouse Plaza 8
2150 Clarendon Blvd.

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:15-2:05-4:50-7:40
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:20-1:50-4:30-7:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:05-1:30-4:00-6:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30
MaXXXine (R) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:40-7:20
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 12:30-5:30
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 11:25-2:20-5:20-8:20
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 3:00-8:10

AMC Hoffman Center 22
206 Swamp Fox Rd.

Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) OC: 5:00
Dandelion (R) OC: 2:30
Indian 2 7:00-10:45
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:20-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 9:00; 10:00-11:15-12:30-1:45-3:00-4:15-5:30-6:45-8:00-9:45-10:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 6:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:00-1:30-4:00; 10:00-11:45-12:20-2:15-2:45-4:45-5:15-7:15-7:45-9:45-10:15
MaXXXine (R) CC: 10:30-1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30-11:00
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) CC: 9:15
Project Silence 11:30-7:35
Robot Dreams CC: 2:00
The Bikeriders (R) CC: 11:20-2:05-4:50-7:40-10:25
Longlegs (R) CC: 10:45-12:00-1:15-2:30-3:45-5:00-6:15-7:30-8:45-10:00
Kill (R) CC: 8:00-10:30
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 10:10-4:30
Touch (R) CC: 11:15-2:00-4:45-7:30-10:30
Thelma (PG-13) CC: 11:10-1:35-4:00-6:20-8:40-11:00
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:30-7:00-9:30
Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience (PG) CC: 10:10-12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00-10:30
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 11:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 11:00-2:00-8:00-11:00
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 12:00-10:15
Sarfira 10:05
Dandelion (R) CC: 5:10
Lumina (R) 8:15
Indian 2 11:00-3:00
Bull Street (R) 4:50
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 10:00-12:15-2:30-4:45-7:00

AMC Potomac Mills 18
2700 Potomac Mills Circle

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 1:00
Longlegs (R) 7:40
Indian 2 3:40-7:40
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 1:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:10-1:45-4:25-7:05-9:45
MaXXXine (R) 11:50-2:40-5:20-8:00
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 8:50
Kalki 2898 AD (Telugu) 5:10-9:20
Longlegs (R) 12:30-2:10-4:50-7:30-10:05
Kill (R) 7:20-10:00
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 11:05-3:10
Kalki 2898 AD (Hindi) (Telugu) 12:50
Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024 (PG-13) 3:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 10:55-3:40-6:50-9:55
Sarfira 12:10-4:40-9:00
Indian 2 11:20AM
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 10:50-1:10-3:50-6:20
***Indian 2*



PHOTOS BY SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

La Grande Boucherie features a windowed kitchen, a pewter bar, a century-old chandelier and a gilded ceiling inside the historic National Bank building near the White House.

La Grande Boucherie is the Titanic of D.C.'s dining scene

Ornate chain restaurant near the White House is big, beautiful and something of a wreck

BY TOM SIETSEMA

From the moment it opened in April, dozens of you have asked me if I've visited La Grande Boucherie, the splashy French talker near the White House.

Inevitably, the question is followed by either another question — "How does it compare to Le Diplomate?" — or, if my inquisitor had already sampled La Grande Boucherie, their one-word judgment.

So far, "bad" vies with "awful," along with eyerolls and thumbs down.

Everybody seems amazed that the space — the historic National Bank building on the corner of 14th and G streets — sat vacant for nearly 30 years. And lots of us can admire how the Group Hospitality, based in New York and led by founder Emil Stefkov, elevated the already good bones of the interior into even more of an eye-catcher with the help of $10 million and artisans in Europe. Behold the pewter bar, coaxed from an ancient mold! Note the 15-foot-high sculpture that greets arrivals! "Our version of the Statue of Liberty," jests Stefkov. Early descriptions of the 14,000-square-foot expanse, outfitted with the city's most-gilded ceiling and graced with a century-old chandelier, read similar to those of other anticipated spectacles — say, the Titanic. So big. So grand.

Meals there are indeed nights to remember, but not in a good way. From a culinary standpoint, La Grande Boucherie bears as much resemblance to the beloved Le Diplomate as T.J. Maxx does to Galeries Lafayette. Baguettes bend when you want them to snap, hot food frequently arrives tepid, the French onion soup borders on dessert, and halibut with carrots — Ambien on a plate — is something that might fly at 30,000 feet but not in a restaurant with any aspirations.

More spoiler alerts: For a place that puts such an emphasis on meat (boucherie references butchery), steak frites is cooked past the medium-rare we request and gets most of its moisture and flavor from a knob of herbed butter. Rack of lamb is dragged down by a reduction of lamb jus that's heavy as a lead apron and salty as the Dead Sea. I love omelets for lunch, and this one, filled with ham and cheese and free of any brown spots, looks like a textbook version. A few bites in, I push the plate — essentially, a yellow salt mine — away.

The decor does its best to divert your attention. Stefkov says his company is "trying to revive epic buildings around the country, and eventually the world." (La Grande Boucherie's other branches are in New York and Chicago.) In a phone call from Lisbon, where the native of Macedonia owns a restaurant carved from a 400-year-old convent, Stefkov tells me, "I find Washington, D.C., to be the most elegant city in the U.S."

The owner knows he took on too many customers too soon. "Obviously, we can't make 4,000 people a week happy," says Stefkov, who says he has addressed complaints by cutting back the number of reservations and enlisting mystery shoppers. Smart moves, but four months in, the 450-seat La Grande Boucherie still acts like a wreck waiting for a tow.

Chef de cuisine Ahmed Ibrahim is a native of Egypt with three science degrees and a restaurant résumé sans prior Gallic examples. His past employers include Kona Grill, the American concept owned by ONE Group Hospitality, parent to the unfortunate STK collection of "vibe-" focused steakhouses, and the Spanish watering hole Barcelona. For sure, the chef has his hands full, watching over nearly 30 cooks in La Grande Boucherie's sprawling kitchen, visible behind glass on the main floor, which is dramatically accessed by a steep set of stairs paved in red carpet.

"I come bearing gifts!" a gregarious server announces one night. I want to believe him. *I do, I do, I do.* The reality on our plates is more like penance: The pink tuna tartare is a snooze of an appetizer, while salmon rillettes, served with a ball of herbed butter in a little glass jar, is so dense I'm tempted to ask for a drill because my spreader isn't cutting it. A tomato salad is so overdressed, there's no tasting the tomatoes. Grainy bars of duck breast set off with orange segments come with apples poached in saffron syrup, which sounds intriguing but smacks of old perfume. Bon appétit, gang!

Take a deep breath. The air is heavy with the scent of fried potatoes. Give in to the subliminal advertising and order a burger and fries. They might be the best pairing on the menu. No need to upgrade to the wagyu model; the patty built partly with chuck, joined with brie cheese and set in a tender, toasted brioche bun is plenty satisfying. The kitchen does right by french fries, too, soaking Idaho potatoes in cold water, cutting them by hand and frying them twice.

A few other dishes rise to the occasion. Oysters on the half shell are cool, well-shucked introductions. Escargots are solid, too, reminders that butter and garlic improve pretty much whatever they douse. And kudos to the bar, whose life rings embrace a winning combination of vodka, sparkling wine, lychee, cranberry and Lillet Blanc, a.k.a. La Vie en Rose. When the thermometer approached triple digits outside, I revived myself at La Grande Boucherie with a nonalcoholic swirl of watermelon, grapefruit, lime and fresh basil, as thirst-quenching a drink as I've encountered all summer.

You might be hungry after turning in unfinished appetizers and entrees. Consider filling in the gaps with some light profiteroles, robed in dark chocolate sauce at the table.

Ultimately, too much of the menu, which includes such large-format dishes as suckling pig, leads me to wonder if food critics can file for hazard pay.

Service proves a mixed bag. For every genial host and deft waiter, there's someone pouring water as if the table were in flames, interrupting conversation, and someone who doesn't bother to write down an order, so has to ask again. Long gaps between courses sometimes have diners looking at their watches. "Did the chef go on vacation or what?" a pal asked during one "War and Peace"-length wait.

Grand doesn't necessarily translate to comfort. Some of the seating shows why restaurants should audition everything diners touch before they buy it. The tiny table two of us were led to one visit would have worked in an ice cream parlor or espresso joint, but not in a restaurant where multiple courses are part of the drill. The sweep of the restaurant can't obscure a few other facts. That acres-long red carpet already looks like it could use a good shampoo, and I noticed a hole in the linen on my table the last time I dropped in. And yes, that's a food stain on the paper menu. Details, details.

My initial inclination was to ignore La Grande Boucherie. D.C. brims with French restaurants, after all, most better than this one. Location, location, location makes the arrival hard to dismiss, though, and the job of a critic includes writing warnings as well as raves, or at least telling readers where they might want to spend their hard-earned money. La Grande Boucherie is not that place. Further, the owner intends to install a couple more venues within the building, one Italian, the other Japanese, yet this year.

Meanwhile, the next La Grande Boucherie is destined for Miami. Poor thing.





FROM LEFT: The burger and fries are among the best pairings on the menu — and there's no need to upgrade to the wagyu patty. The escargots are served with shallots, lemon, parsley and garlic butter.

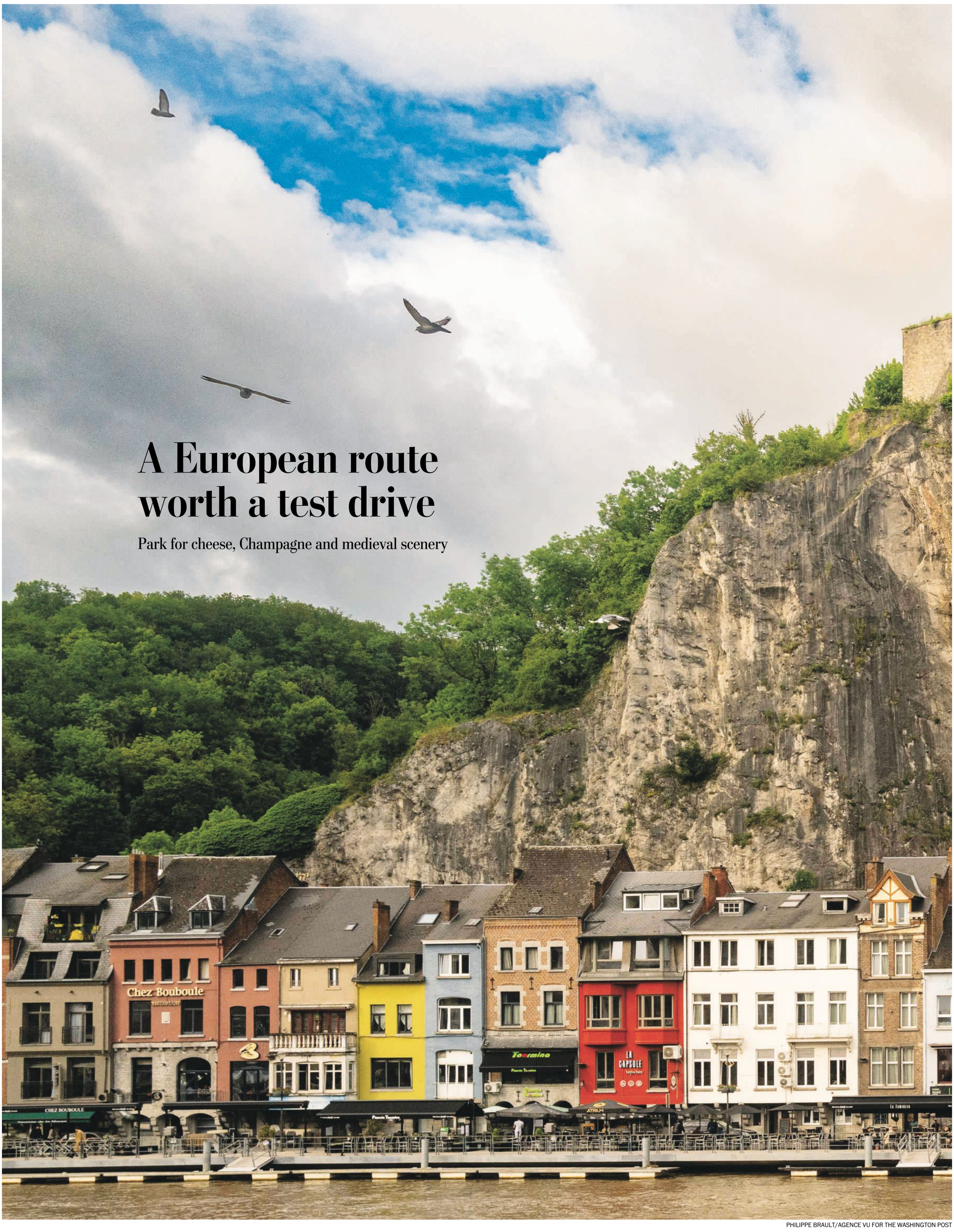
La Grande Boucherie

699 14th St. NW. 771-208-4804. *boucherieus.com*. Open for indoor dining and takeout 11 a.m. to midnight Monday through Friday and 10 a.m. to midnight Saturday and Sunday. **Prices**: Dinner appetizers $18 to $32, main courses $28 to $78, large-format dishes $170 to $600 (for whole suckling pig). **Sound check**: 76 decibels/Must speak with raised voice. **Accessibility**: An elevator on the street level goes to the second and third floors. Bar includes space for wheelchairs. Restrooms are ADA-compliant.

The Washington Post
TRAVEL
SUNDAY, JULY 14, 2024 · SECTION F
EZ EE

A European route worth a test drive

Park for cheese, Champagne and medieval scenery



PHILIPPE BRAULT/AGENCE VU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Dinant is a charming, well-preserved city in Wallonia in southern Belgium.

BY JESSICA VAN DOP DEJESUS

One of the first words you should learn in France or Belgium is "grève," the French word for "strike," because you'll often hear it in the local news. ¶ During the past few years, strikes have consistently interrupted European airlines and rail services. Instead of being vulnerable to tricky cross-country connections, travelers should consider renting a car. That's even more appropriate if you're in a small group that enjoys going off the beaten path. ¶ As Americans head to Europe over the summer, many will try to fit several countries into their itineraries. A road trip allows you more flexibility and access to places that are harder to connect to by rail or plane. Even for locals, traveling by car can be a fun alternative.

SEE **EUROPE** ON **F3**

BY THE WAY CONCIERGE
How do I avoid the dreaded rental car bait-and-switch? **F2**

EUROPE
How to get around paying for bathroom access abroad. **F2**

TRAINS
Are overnight railway options worth it? Our reporter's verdict is clear. **F5**

SWIMMING
Reserving chairs is a good way to make enemies. This pool primer can help. **F6**

You asked: How do I get rental car companies to hold my car?

By The Way Concierge
NATALIE B. COMPTON

Q: I haven't done much car renting, and for a vacation I need a rental agency that is reliable in terms of definitely having the car there when I arrive, so I'm not stuck waiting. Are certain agencies more dependable than others?

— Elliot S., Washington, D.C.

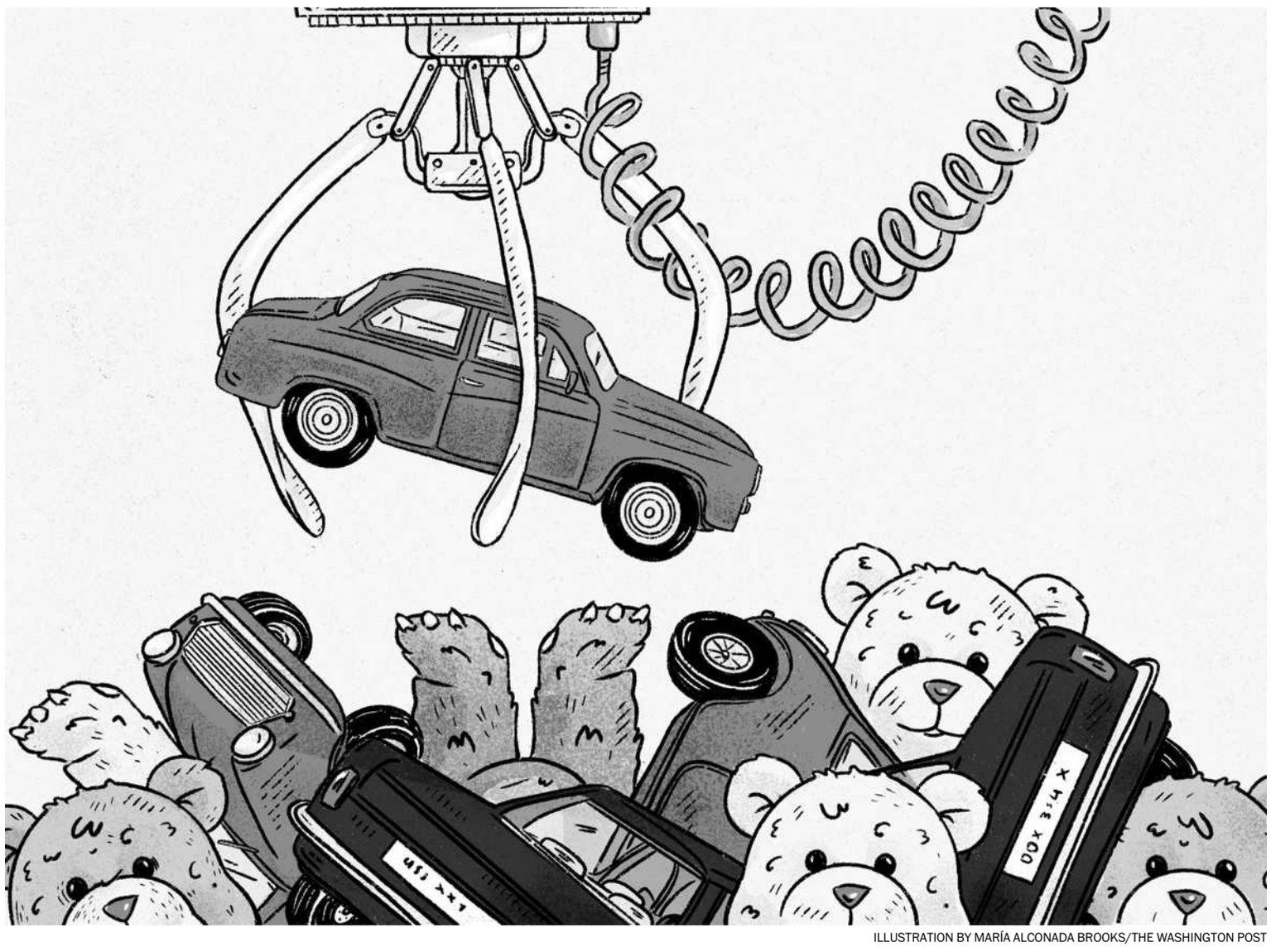


ILLUSTRATION BY MARÍA ALCONADA BROOKS/THE WASHINGTON POST

A: Our team clashed over your question, but a few themes emerged:

1. Sign up for a rental car company's rewards program.
2. Check in online. (Who wants to wait in line?)
3. Brace yourself for disappointment anyway.

I also took your question to a few travel experts, who echoed the same suggestions, plus added a few other thoughts.

Let's start with Tip 1. Even if you just signed up, being a rewards program member often lets you earn loyalty benefits over time — such as free upgrades and discounts — and skip the line to go straight to your car. That's if all goes according to the rental car company's plan. But those plans are based on a loose sense of fleet availability.

The standard rental car business model is not as straightforward as locking in a reservation and having a car set aside for you. It's a fluctuating game of give and take, with customers ditching reservations last-minute, not bringing cars back on schedule, vehicles needing repairs and unexpected changes in demand.

To offset the chance of getting stuck with nothing, Peter Vlitas, the executive vice president of partner relations at Internova Travel Group, recommends booking a car with one of the big companies, such as Hertz, Enterprise or Avis. "Their fleets are very large, and on the off chance a chosen vehicle isn't available, they can quickly swap another car so you're not waiting at the airport," he wrote in an email.

My colleague, travel reporter Hannah Sampson, likes booking the most basic rental car options available, because if they do run out of what you chose, you'll get bumped up to something better. You can also just ask for an upgrade at the desk if you don't mind swinging by the rental office, said Lauren Doyle, president of the Travel Mechanic travel agency. "Kindness goes a long way in today's world," she added.

You can further improve your odds by paying in advance; it's a more firm agreement, because there's a financial obligation attached to it, making you a higher priority over customers who haven't paid.

It doesn't hurt to give the rental location a call ahead of your pickup date to see whether there have been any spikes in demand that could derail your reservation.

By The Way Editor Gabe Hiatt has been burned too many times to feel completely confident in any of these fail-safes. He has seen people do everything right and still get bounced around to several locations before obtaining a car.

That's why Vlitas also suggests using a company like his to find a travel agent to deal with the car rental for you, arguing that, because travel advisers book many rental cars on a regular basis, they "hold a lot of sway with the rental car companies," he said. Plus, if something does go wrong, you'll have a professional ready to advocate on your behalf.

"These businesses want to make sure the advisor continues to work with them and treats their clients as VIPs," he wrote. "With a travel advisor, you have the best chance of your rental car of choice waiting for you so you can get your vacation going. If your destination is very popular or you're renting a car in the high season, a travel advisor can also do the legwork and call ahead to make sure the car is there."

Alternatively, you could try booking direct from another car owner through peer-to-peer services such as Getaround or Turo. They're not working with a fleet of cars and flighty customers; they list a specific car you can rent, so you should drive away with the car you booked.

A third option is booking a rental that gets delivered to you. New companies such as Kyte allow customers to book a car online and choose a delivery site most convenient for them. Turo hosts may offer the same for a fee. Uber has also gotten into the rental car delivery market with its Valet service. Laura Lindsay, global travel trends expert at Skyscanner, said you can use search filters on the site to find "Meet and Greet" options where available.

Want to see your question answered? Submit it online at *wapo.st/btwc*.

Know before you go: In Europe, paying for public toilets is the norm

You'll probably have to spend money to enter a bathroom in European countries. But some advocates are bringing relief to tourists and locals.

BY ANDREA SACHS

Two summers ago, Pauline Frommer was at the train station in Dijon, France, when she had to run to the automatic bank machine for an emergency withdrawal. Her purchase couldn't wait.

"I needed a euro so I could pay for the toilet," said the co-president and editorial director of Frommer Media, which publishes Frommer's guidebooks.

As temperatures rise in Europe, travelers will need to stay hydrated to avoid heat-related illnesses. The more liquids they consume, the more bathroom breaks they will need. To avoid the wiggly dance, they should familiarize themselves with Europe's restroom practices. Although the mechanics are similar, the experience might cause culture shock.

"It is a surprise to have to pay," Frommer said.

Public toilets are often affiliated with the local government or municipality. Visitors can find the facilities in train and bus stations, parks and gardens, and touristy areas. The restrooms can be traditional, with a row of stalls and bank of sinks, or a standalone cabin with a basin activated by a foot pedal. Look for the universal symbols: a pair of male and female figures. "WC," the abbreviation for "water closet," or some variation of "toilette" are also common.

During a recent trip to Europe, I found a slew of public toilets requiring a small fee: in the Berlin and Zurich train stations, by a cruise ticket booth on Lake Zurich, near the beach in Positano, Italy, and off the main square in Ravello, also on the Amalfi Coast.



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

"Europe has more public restrooms than we do," said Kate Storm, a New York-based travel blogger who covers bathroom culture on her site, Our Escape Clause, "but you generally have to pay for them if they're not owned by a private business."

Pay-to-go facilities are typically cared for by an attendant or are self-cleaning. The fee, which helps cover maintenance, supplies and labor, is typically small change: 50 cents or a euro in a European Union country, one or two Swiss francs or 20 pence to a pound in the United Kingdom. Restrooms with additional amenities, such as changing rooms or showers, might charge a bit more.

Many destinations are moving toward a cash-free economy, and a growing number of lavatories accept credit cards. For the ones that don't, you will need coins. Otherwise, you will get stuck on the wrong side of the turnstile or bathroom attendant.

Access fees for public toilets vary. Several cities have free facilities, such as London, which offers restrooms at National Rail stations; Copenhagen, which eliminated the charge in 2013; and Paris, which has 400 "sanisettes," or automatic public toilets.

Raymond Martin, managing director of the British Toilet Association, advocates for free and inclusive toilets. However, without government oversight, he said the toilets come with risks, such as a lack of safety, sanitation and functional equipment.

"Unfortunately, in this country, like many countries, we have some miscreants, … people who just can't see anything bright and shiny," he said. "So things start to get broken."

Open-bathroom policies

Using a bathroom in a private establishment, such as a restaurant, cafe or shop, is trickier. Some businesses, especially in busy tourist areas, deter non-customers with "no public restroom" signs. However, cities facing a crush of visitors and a shortage of public lavatories are nudging businesses to open their restrooms to the general public.

A German initiative called Nette Toilette, or Nice Toilet, pays restaurants and stores a monthly subsidy of about $65 to $105 in exchange for allowing people to use their toilets. The program, which launched in 2000 in the German town of Aalen, has expanded to more than 200 cities and 2,500-plus businesses in Germany and Switzerland. Participants place a red sticker with a smiley face in their storefront window. Visitors can also find the locations on the Nette Toilette app.

In London, the Community Toilet Scheme is a collection of businesses that grants people access to their bathrooms with no purse strings attached. The map includes such establishments as the Old Doctor Butler's Head pub, Shaws Booksellers and a Nando's, plus several UriLifts (pop-up urinals).

Travel experts recommend shopping malls, restaurants and cafes that are so busy or big, they won't notice you slipping inside to use the toilet. In his book "Europe Through the Back Door," travel guru Rick Steves suggests dining spots with outdoor seating or fast-food joints. He said buying a token soda or fries is not necessary, though sometimes the bathroom door code is printed on the receipt.

Frommer has no qualms about sauntering into an establishment and asking to use its toilette, baño, banheiro or loo.

"If I needed to go, I would walk into a cafe or restaurant and just ask," she said. "I've never been turned away in Europe, especially if you learn the phrase in the language of the place you're in."

Apps that map bathrooms

When you gotta go, you don't really have time to waste time on a toilet scavenger hunt.

Thankfully, many tourist offices and information booths print or post maps with bathroom locations. Some municipalities also provide this information online or in an app, such as Oslo and Rome, which has compiled a list of P.Stops that welcome tourists. Many of the maps also highlight accessible toilets for travelers with disabilities.

Companies that specialize in restroom development as well as tech entrepreneurs have created navigation tools for restroom seekers. JCDecaux, which designs free public toilets in more than a dozen cities in Sweden, unveiled an app called ToaSverige in 2021. It lists 100 toilets in Stockholm alone. HogeNood claims more than 9,500 sites in the Netherlands.

A few apps, such as Bathroom Scout and Flush, offer a broader sweep of the lavatory landscape. However, the crowdsourced data might be outdated, so don't use these on a full bladder.

BYOTP and other tips

If you are traveling on a budget, strategize your bathroom visits. Use the restroom (twice if necessary) at every museum and cultural attraction you visit. (The entry ticket includes the bathroom.) At the train station, wait and use the onboard latrine, though it might not be as pleasant as the one in the depot. Listen to your inner parent and use the bathroom after every meal.

Martin said some U.K. service stations on motorways and in train depots include a perk with their toilet admission: a discount on a candy bar, cup of coffee, doughnut or other small snack item. So, hang on to your receipt and cash in your coupon.

"I think only 20 percent of those tickets are redeemed," he said. "So it's actually a very clever scheme."

At some facilities, attendants resupply the rolls of toilet paper or hand out sheets. Spots with a less rigorous maintenance schedule might run out of the paper product. As insurance, Storm always carries a small packet of tissues.

"Bring some change, bring some toilet paper," she said, "but don't overthink it."

Also, don't go overboard with the toilet paper. Europe's plumbing can be old, and you don't want to be the traveler who clogs the public toilet.

"Americans are notorious for using half a roll of toilet paper at a time," said Bob Cromwell, who runs Toilets of the World, an online resource.

You may see signs inside the bathrooms urging visitors to be thrifty with the toilet paper. The PSAs are typically written in English.

TRAVEL

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Editor: Gabe Hiatt
Art directors: Katty Huertas, Elena Lacey
Photo editor: Lauren Bulbin
Staff writers: Natalie B. Compton, Andrea Sachs, Hannah Sampson
Copy editor: Rachael Bolek
Travel advertising: Ron Ulrich, 202-334-5289, *ronald.ulrich@washpost.com*

Driving down roads less taken

EUROPE FROM **F1**

"I'm all about driving, flexibility and accessibility," says Jane Bertch, founder of the cooking school La Cuisine Paris and author of "The French Ingredient." "Stay off the highways, and stop by small villages for lunch and shopping. I love buying food and wine as souvenirs, and not having to deal with baggage on a train or plane is a plus."

If you're looking for a trip that covers three countries in 10 to 12 days, I've designed an itinerary for you to use. (The Google map at *wapo.st/road-trip* has all the driving instructions you'll need.)

Renting a car in Europe

If you're used to driving in the United States, driving in Europe may seem more relaxed. Road rules are mostly the same in continental Europe — except in the United Kingdom and Ireland, where you drive on the left side.

Keep in mind that the speed limits are in kilometers per hour, not miles. Even after almost 10 years of living in Europe, I still have to do the math in my head. The easiest way to figure it out is to multiply the number by .60; it's .62, to be exact, but you should go with the easier math to avoid speeding tickets. (They will find you!) The Netherlands and Belgium have speed cameras that capture the average speed of a trip rather than one moment on the road, so set your cruise control and don't worry about the people zipping by you.

Renting a car is straightforward in Western Europe. Most of the big brands in the United States — Hertz, Budget, Avis, Enterprise — are available at most large airports. I stick to those brands, because I can earn my airline miles and address any issues at the corporate level back home.

As for driving licenses, I've rented cars from Austria to Greece and have never been asked for an International Driving Permit. If you're pulled over, however, having one could save you a ticket. They're only $20 with an easy application process via AAA.

Roads and parking spots are often much smaller in most of Europe than in the United States, so be careful about how large of a car you rent. You can get a small SUV, but I wouldn't recommend anything larger than a Volkswagen Tiguan or a BMW X3. Also, if you can't drive a manual, specify an automatic car in your booking, because manual vehicles are still pretty standard across Europe.

Electric vehicles are more common in Western Europe than in the United States, and there are plenty of charging stations along the highways, in parking garages and in most urban neighborhoods. If you choose to rent an electric car, plan your stops around your charging time. That's also an excellent way to explore a small town. Grab lunch and go for a stroll while your car charges. To find charging stations, use apps, such as PlugShare, that display availability and the type of chargers supported.

Google Maps works just as well in Europe as in the United States, so it's an excellent tool for road trips. Another tip is to pay for parking in advance when visiting the big cities. For example, when I drive to the Netherlands, I use a website called ParkBee. Amsterdam is notorious for its high parking fees, but I still find parking spaces for 20 euros a day. In France, Onepark offers a similar service.

Start from Amsterdam

After a few days strolling along the city's quaint canals and admiring the Dutch masters at the Rijksmuseum, pick up your rental car at Schiphol Airport and head south to Brussels, which should take less than three hours.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



PHOTOS BY PHILIPPE BRAULT/AGENCE VU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST





CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: While in Dinant, Belgium, stock up on chocolates and artisanal local cheeses. Biesbosch National Park, one of the last freshwater marshes in Europe, is seen from the road from the Netherlands to Belgium. Gouda, Netherlands, is famous for its cheese. Dinant is the birthplace of Adolphe Sax, the inventor of the saxophone. The Saint-Germain-des-Prés district on a Sunday morning in Paris.











PHOTOS BY PHILIPPE BRAULT/AGENCE VU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: The Grand-Place of Brussels. Kaasboerderij De Twee Hoeven, a family-owned farm and cheese factory on the outskirts of Gouda, Netherlands. The city hall in Brussels, on the Grand-Place. Kaaswinkeltje, the oldest shop in the city center of Gouda, has long specialized in farmhouse cheeses.



FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Stop in Gouda, Netherlands

Gouda is known for its cheese but also for its history; the city is more than 750 years old. The charming city center, warm stroopwafels and enticing cheese present a more laid-back side to Holland without the mass tourism of Amsterdam's city center.

Look up the many kaasboerderij (cheese farms) on the outskirts of Gouda. One of my favorites is Kaasboerderij De Twee Hoeven.

Stop in Brussels

Brussels is known for its art nouveau architecture, gastronomy and, of course, chocolates.

A stop at the Grand-Place (where you can also find several parking garages) is a must. Afterward, walk to the Sablon, known for its art galleries, chocolate shops and weekend antique market.

With your car parked, explore the city by metro, tram or bus and head to Saint-Gilles and Ixelles. These local favorite neighborhoods are teeming with cozy cafes and a bustling restaurant scene, where you can eat Belgian classics, a pot teeming with mussels with a side of frites at La Quincaillerie, or a crispy gray shrimp croquette at Fernand Obb. You can also explore global cuisines, including Vietnamese and Congolese options, reflecting the city's diverse population.

Stop in Dinant, Belgium

Make some time for the charming, well-preserved medieval city in Wallonia in southern Belgium. Take a boat ride along the Meuse River with a view of the rolling hills of the Ardennes, go for a tour of the Citadel of Dinant, and stock up on chocolates and artisanal local cheeses.

Stop in Reims, France

It takes less than three hours to drive from Brussels to the Champagne region. Make your base at Reims, where you can walk or take public transportation via bus or tram to many Champagne producers.

Having a car will allow you to explore other picturesque Champagne-producing towns, such as Aÿ-Champagne, Bouzy and Avize, as many of these small towns either don't have train stations or have only limited schedules. These spots have independent producers whose products are hard to find outside of France. Just make sure someone agrees to be a designated driver.

"If you are on a wine trip, be sure to spit, as the legal limit is equivalent to .05 percent blood alcohol content (the standard in the U.S.A. is .08 percent). Depending on the size of the pour and your size, even one drink could put you above the limit," says Caro Feely, co-founder of Chateau Feely, a winery and guesthouse in the south of France.

Stop in Lyon, France

Known as the gastronomic capital of France, Lyon, with its cozy taverns, known as bouchon Lyonnaise, serving local fare such as pates and sausage-stuffed brioche and Côtes du Rhône wines, has an entirely different feel than Paris, with a less touristy vibe and restaurants and bars catering to the home crowd. Just as in other cities, there are plenty of parking garages where you can secure a spot in advance.

Lovers of French cuisine should include a stop at Les Halles de Lyon Paul Bocuse, a food hall with several restaurants, for oyster shuckers, decadent cheeses, charcuterie and wine.

For stunning city views, catch a funicular to the Basilique Notre-Dame de Fourvière, a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Stop in Dijon, France

Known for its mustard, Burgundy's capital has a picturesque city center worth a stop. With its cobblestone streets and Gothic architecture, it's a good place for a petit pause.

Stop in Paris

You could return your rental car to Lyon and take the TGV (fast train) to Paris, which will take about two hours. But if you're looking for more adventure, drive back to Paris and head to Auxerre, a small city in the Burgundy region.

Also, take advantage of the car to go to landmarks on the outskirts of Paris, such as Versailles or Parc du Bois de Boulogne, with a bit more ease. The latter is the home of Fondation Louis Vuitton, which not only houses magnificent artworks but also Frank Gehry-designed buildings and gardens that are just as impressive.

Jessica van Dop DeJesus is a travel and food writer, a digital content creator, and the author of "The Dining Traveler Guide to Puerto Rico." She divides her time between Brussels, D.C. and western New York. Follow her on Instagram: @diningtraveler.

Can a European sleeper train replace a pricey hotel? We tested it out.

BY ANDREA SACHS

On an overnight train journey in Europe, I slept — or at least tried to — through sections of Germany, Switzerland and Hungary tucked under a dark sky. Through the snores of travelers inches from my face and the antics of schoolkids ignoring their chaperones. Through the morning rush for the bathroom and the exodus of passengers.

When I finally woke up, I was in Berlin, Zurich, Budapest. It was as if I had checked in to a hotel and discovered a secret transporter behind the shower curtain.

In Europe, sleeper trains are experiencing a boom. Railway companies are introducing inaugural routes, expanded service and modernized cabins. Train enthusiasts are thrilled by the overnight train movement, of course, but so are environmentalists, slow-travel advocates, budget warriors and politicians tackling climate change.

"People who take sleeper trains are fed up with the airport and airline experience," said Mark Smith, who founded the Man in Seat 61, an online train guide, "and they want to cut their carbon emissions."

Overnight trains resemble a mobile hostel. Similar to a stationary room, the sleeping quarters provide varying levels of privacy and cushiness, and fit a range of budgets. Whether you stay in a private cabin with a shower or you bunk with six strangers and share a bathroom, the upshot is the same. You can sleep through the travel portion of your European vacation and be awake for what matters most: the destination.

"Overnight trains are at the frontier of travel," Smith said. "The problem is now a lack of capacity. They are just not building them fast enough."

The last time I overnighted on a train, I was in college. I nursed a neck crick and lack-of-sleep hangover for most of the trip. Decades later, I was ready for another sleepover on the rails. So, in early June, I boarded the first of three sleeper trains. The ultimate test was: Would I bound out of my compartment ready to explore each new city, or would I wish for a hotel bed to crawl into?







PHOTOS BY ANDREA SACHS/THE WASHINGTON POST

Breakfast in bed, at top, on the Nightjet train, with views of Switzerland whizzing by. The sleeper cabin on the Nightjet train, above left, from Berlin to Zurich included a free bottle of German wine, above right. Overnight trains can help you save money on your travels.

Get your eight hours of sleep

The overnight train rewrites the rules of travel. Shorter isn't always better, for instance. At the very least, the length of the trip should cover the recommended amount of sleep: seven or eight hours. You should also factor in extra time to get settled into your cabin and enjoy breakfast before disembarking. Other considerations: You don't want to board too late and risk nodding off in the station, or arrive too early in the new city and have to wait around for restaurants, shops and attractions to open.

"If the night train leaves at 7 or 8 in the evening, you can have a bit of time to open a bottle of wine and read a book by the glow of your berth light," Smith said. "And you don't want to arrive at 6 in the morning."

For my journey, my latest boarding time was at 10:30 p.m. (Amsterdam), and my earliest arrival was 6:30 a.m. (Berlin). My excuse: It was my first outing.

The other critical decision is the type of accommodations, which range from totally private (if you're willing to purchase the whole cabin) to shared among as many as six strangers. (Women-only rooms are available.) You will probably want a bed, which is not a big ask: The majority of compartments cater to people who sleep horizontally. However, if you're the resilient type, you can book a cabin with seats and sleep upright.

Leg 1 to Berlin

For my train experiment, I booked three straight nights, starting in Amsterdam. I had a full day (plus early evening) in each destination: Berlin, Zurich and Budapest. I checked my luggage at the train station and, when necessary, washed up there, too. I could drop into hotels, but only to charge my phone and cool off — no catnapping allowed.

I booked the first leg on European Sleeper, a community-owned start-up that debuted in May 2023. In March, it extended its Brussels-to-Berlin service to Prague, a nearly 16-hour trip.

I had booked the top-tier accommodations, a sleeper cabin with a real bed. A few days before my departure, I received an apologetic email informing me that I had been downgraded because my cabin was broken. The company didn't specify what exactly was busted.

An employee later told me that the cars date from the 1950s to the '90s. He said new cars can cost $5 million to $8 million each, so railways often refurbish or retrofit used ones.

"The fact that this train is still rolling is nothing short of a miracle," he said.

In my new digs, I had three female bunkmates, the same number and gender as my original booking. But I was now in a "couchette" — train lingo for a room with seats that convert to beds. I also lost many of the other hotel-caliber comforts, such as the duvet (now a paltry blanket), the en-suite sink (now a basin in the bathroom shared by everyone in my car), the welcome glass of wine or soda (a carton of water), and the towel and toiletries (had to bring my own).

Upon entering the cabin, I placed my hand on the upper bunk and felt something soft and warm. It was my roommate, who had boarded two hours earlier in Brussels. My other cabin mate, who hailed from The Hague, had an early-morning meeting in Berlin. She wasted no time transforming her seat into a single bed, laying down the sleep sack, thin gray blanket and pillow.

Before crawling into her cocoon, she stretched an arm across the narrow space separating our beds and handed me a wad of cotton containing wax earplugs.

"I'm a snorer," she said. "I brought you these."

I wasn't tired, so I went in search of a diversion, a challenge on a train whose primary activity is sleeping. I found the cabin attendant in her cubbyhole and inquired about a cafe car. She pointed behind her, at a kettle and basket of tea and coffee. She flashed me a sympathetic look and offered me a free coffee.

"Because I was downgraded?" I asked.

"No, because you are nice," she replied.

I resumed my wanderings and settled in the bike storage area, the only open space. A procession of Canadians passed through, toting cans of beer. A member of the entourage joined me on the floor. Toby said his group of 18 was on its eighth annual surprise trip. Only the two organizers knew the itinerary. He never asked where I was going, keeping the secret to the end.

Eventually, a staff member making the rounds ordered us back to our cabins. I tiptoed into my compartment, installed my earplugs and wriggled into the sleep sack that had as much charm as a laundry bag.

At 5:45 a.m., the cabin attendant appeared at our door with coffee and an update: We were ahead of schedule and had to idle to ensure a punctual arrival in Berlin.

Legs 2 and 3

For my second and third overnights, I booked passage through Nightjet, which is owned by the Austrian rail company ÖBB. For the Berlin-to-Zurich trip, I reserved a sleeper car, the highest-end option, which cost about $215 per person. (On this particular train, the cushiest choice was still shared among up to three guests and didn't have a private shower.) Still, after the spartan night on the European Sleeper, I greeted each amenity like an old friend whom I'd missed terribly.

While I was digging through my goody bag (slippers, earplugs, eye mask, Tutti Frutti candies) a steward entered my compartment to take my breakfast order. He said I could choose six items off the menu. I consulted with my neighbor, a Dane who lives in Berlin and does not like to fly. She didn't have her glasses on, so I helped her read the tiny print on the menu: calf's liver pate, Gouda slices, muesli yogurt, salami.

"The trains have really stepped it up," she marveled. "Breakfast used to be a dry roll and bad coffee."

I was cooing over my bathroom vanity when the cabin attendant returned with a bottle of German sparkling wine. I asked him whether anyone was occupying the other two beds. He said he would know in Leipzig, adding, "I hope they don't come, so you can just rest."

To pass the time, I poked around my section of the train. My cabin's beds were stacked like shelves. I scaled the ladder to the top bunk, which was protected with a safety net. I peered down and wished I had a climbing harness. I played with the mood lighting before heading to the front of the car, where I could connect to the train's internet and watch Railnet TV.

At midnight, I proclaimed that the cabin was all mine. I celebrated by brushing my teeth in my private sink.

In the morning, I opened my eyes to discover a Bernese mountain dog strolling by my window. We were in Basel, about 90 minutes from Zurich. The attendant dropped by with my vegan breakfast — green tea, two slices of Mestemacher bread and raspberry jam — which I ate in bed as scenes of Switzerland flickered by.

After the morning rush, the shared shower was available. I stepped inside the stall and tried to close the door. It fell off its hinges, so I brought it inside with me. I had just lathered up when the water stopped flowing. I returned to my cabin to rinse off in the sink. My door was locked.

I tracked down the cabin attendant, who opened the door for me. He didn't ask any questions.

I wanted to stay forever in the sleeper car, but alas, it was sold out on my final leg. For the Zurich-to-Budapest voyage, I chose the next-best option, the couchette carriage. Four of the six beds were set up. My cabin mate, who had teased bangs and a sweet smile, helped me make up mine — fitted sheet, top sheet, brown blanket, pillow — across from hers. She didn't speak English, but her body language said she was ready to call it a night.

Similar to the other trains, there was no communal area, but the corridor was outfitted with pull-down seats. I claimed one and waved at a mom with a baby sitting a stool away.

In Buchs, our last stop in Switzerland, we had an hour layover. Adult passengers and kids on a field trip spilled onto the platform to smoke and dance, respectively. I chatted with an employee who explained that I was in the Hungarian section of the train and that he was in the Austrian half. He said I was welcome to hang out in his car, which was brighter and more modern. However, I would have to return to my cabin by 3 a.m. or I would be bound for Vienna instead of Budapest, because the trains were set to detach mid-trip.

In the morning, I woke up to a pair of feet dangling in my face. The other two roommates had arrived late in the night and quietly crawled up the ladder into bed. They lived in Liechtenstein but were visiting Budapest, the hometown of one of the women.

From up high, she shouted down recommendations for Budapest. She strongly recommended the Szechenyi Baths in Heroes' Square, where I could soak in peace.

The takeaway

After three nights on sleeper trains, I am ready to quit hotels and planes. Though I was a little sleep- and shower-deprived, the sacrifice was worth it. (If you require a solid eight hours and a luxurious soak, you would probably disagree.)

First and foremost, I saved a bundle. The most I paid was about $215 for the Berlin-to-Zurich trip, a fragment of the cost for a flight, hotel and transportation to the city center. I had a few additional expenses, such as luggage storage and the bathroom fee at the train station, but they didn't add up to much.

Experience-wise, I appreciated the ease of boarding the train: no security checks, baggage limits or liquid restrictions. I explored my trio of cities until a half-hour before departure time, an impossible feat if I had traveled by plane.

Along the way, I picked up some nuggets of wisdom. For the next time, I would stick with the sleeper car and, if possible, travel with friends or family members who can provide a doctor's note asserting that they don't snore. I would follow Smith's advice and catch an earlier evening train — maybe closer to dinnertime — so I could enjoy the onboard experience more. And I would remember to take the room key before heading down the corridor for a shower.

Submit your photo to the 2024 Washington Post Travel contest

BY STAFF OF BY THE WAY

Submissions are open for the 25th annual Travel photo contest! Please read the complete contest rules (**wapo.st/contest-rules**) before you submit your photograph. You can submit your photos at **wapo.st/2024photocontest**.

Here are some highlights:

- Photo must have been taken between July 1, 2023, and June 30, 2024.
- Images that have been heavily manipulated or generated by artificial intelligence will not be accepted.
- Only amateur photographers are eligible. Professional photographers (i.e., anyone who earns more than 50 percent of their annual income from photography, determined at Sponsor's sole discretion) are not eligible.
- Entrants must be 18 or older and residents of the United States.
- By entering, you grant The Washington Post permission to use your photo in perpetuity in any medium.
- Only one entry is allowed per person. By submitting a photo, you are stating that you took the photo and own the rights to the photo. All submissions must be received by 11:59 p.m. Eastern time on Aug. 1, 2024.

Winners will be announced in print Sept. 5, 2024, and online shortly beforehand.



AMY GARRICK

Last year's second-place photo, which was shot in Antarctica in December 2022.

The definitive guide to pool deck etiquette

BY HANNAH SAMPSON



ILLUSTRATION BY SAM RODRIGUEZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

On a recent trip to an Italian resort, etiquette expert Myka Meier thought she would be arriving at the pool early. Although it wasn't yet 8 a.m., she found the earliest birds had swarmed.

"There were already a chunk of chairs with towels, but nobody sitting on them for about three hours," said Meier, founder of Beaumont Etiquette and a frequent pool lounger. "I was there the whole time reading and working."

The subject of poolside power struggles has launched countless social media gripes: How long can you save a prime spot before someone lays claim to your territory?

Jen Gay, who creates guides to Las Vegas under the name Vegas Starfish, has felt the tension. She recently encountered a woman who had reserved a row of chairs in the shade at a resort off the Strip. Gay said she would use some of the seats until the woman's family showed up.

"She threw a fit," Gay said. "We sat there for three hours. Her family never came."

Although chair-hogging is one of the most well-known pool offenses, it's hardly the only one. We asked swimming pool experts to share their pet peeves and top tips for summer sunbathing season.

Know the time limits

At Fontainebleau Miami Beach, which has 10 pools and as many as 1,200 loungers, the policy says guests can't abandon their chairs for more than 45 minutes without losing them.

Cole Boucher, founder of Essential Hospitality, which oversees the hotel's pool operations, said attendants will explain the guidelines to guests and keep track of when people leave their chairs. There might be a grace period, he said, but it won't last all day.

"If you come down two, three hours later, your chair is not going to be there," he said.

On Celebrity Cruises, whose ships have less-sprawling pool decks, the rules are even tighter. The cruise company says guests shouldn't move other people's belongings, but items left unattended for more than 30 minutes will be collected and stored at a guest relations desk.

Meier said her personal standard is to give people two hours away from their chair, which she considers a "reasonable time" for someone to leave, eat lunch, stop by their room and return. Even if someone left items for longer, she said, she would never move their things herself.

"If anything, I would try to find somebody who worked there," she said.

Keep the music to yourself

Carly Caramanna, a theme park journalist who regularly spends time at Disney- and Universal-area resort pools and water parks, said personal sound systems are her biggest pet peeve. Often, she said, poolgoers will blast tunes that are not appropriate for the setting.

"People come here, I know they spend a lot of money," she said. "You have to understand that other people are trying to enjoy their time, too."

Boucher said greeters at the Fontainebleau's pool deck will make sure guests understand the rules — including a ban on outside speakers.

"But sometimes people sneak them in," he said.

Don't expect quiet at the party pool

Many hotels and resorts have a veritable pool buffet: one for adults, one for families, one for the party crowd, etc. If you end up at the wrong one, you have only yourself to blame.

"I sometimes am in the mood to go on slides and I want a piña colada, so I'll go to the lively pool for atmosphere," Caramanna said. For waterside working or chill lounging, the quieter pool is her choice.

Options are even more varied in Las Vegas, where there are multiple types of pool scenes, said Gay, who focuses on resorts, food, entertainment and other activities outside of gambling. She said day clubs are essentially nightclub atmospheres in a daytime pool setting, with bottle service, high-profile performers and costs that can run into the high thousands. Party pools are targeted to more budget crowds. (Think Budweiser rather than bubbly.)

Then there are luxury or family pools without the party vibe.

"If you expect an adult experience, go to a 21-and-over pool, of which there are many," she said. "Do not go to a family-friendly pool and be upset at the presence of children."

Keep meals clean — and on land

You may be tempted by the poolside menu, and you absolutely should indulge. But once that food arrives, you have responsibilities.

"I wouldn't eat chicken tenders in the pool if I were you," Boucher said. He predicted disaster: Someone does a cannonball and drenches the snack. A wayward beach ball slams into your meal. "Your chicken tenders are going to go in the pool, and we'll have to fish it out."

Meier recalled spending time by a pool in Miami surrounded by sunbathers who were eating.

"The bugs were horrible, because people would just leave their trash afterwards," she said. "I think if you do eat at the pool, it's your responsibility to either clean up after yourself or call the pool server to help remove your dishes so people aren't tripping over them, [and] they're not baking in the sun."

Drink responsibly

You're surrounded by liquid; you're taking a plunge every now and then. But don't forget to drink water — especially if you're drinking other things.

Gay said that at pricey Vegas day clubs, revelers will stay cool in the pool, drink alcohol and forget that the temperature is above 100 degrees. That can lead to intoxication and illness.

"You don't want to pay $10,000 to not remember your day," she said. Hydrating "is the most important thing. Just because you're in water doesn't mean you're soaking it up."

Tip the attendant

The pool attendant might free up a claimed-but-unused lounge chair for you. They might angle your umbrella, bring towels or offer water. All of that deserves a tip, experts say.

Meier went to one pool at a hotel in Cabo San Lucas, Mexico, where someone cleaned sunglasses and guests could go to a tent where a worker would apply sunblock.

"There's varying degrees of service that I've seen," she said. She recommends a couple bucks to $5 a day, depending on how pool attendants help.

Gay said that, in a hospitality-centric destination like Las Vegas, people who do these jobs are paid with the expectation that tips will supplement their salaries.

"I am a big proponent of tipping anyone who provides you with service," she said, adding that pool guests who get their own towels and drinks need not bother. "If you are not utilizing the services, obviously you don't have to tip."

Use umbrella courtesy

Maybe you've been baking for a while and need shade — or you're done hiding from the heat. But if you want to raise or lower an umbrella over your seat, check with your neighbor before making changes. Depending on the angle of the sun, it could cover more than one chair.

"I think that's really important to ask before you put up the umbrella. Or move to a place that's shaded," Meier said. "Same with putting it down."

Cover chairs with pool towels

Meier compared a pool chair to a gym mat: Both are best when covered by a towel for reasons related to hygiene.

"You're sweating, you've got sunscreen," she said. "You should put the towel on the pool chair as a consideration to the next guest."

Dress for the environment

Caramanna said she sees a lot of people wearing thong bathing suits at theme-park-area resort pools. And although they may look fantastic, it's not necessarily the right venue.

"I don't think that's appropriate at a family-friendly resort," she said. "I feel like you need to get to know the lay of the land and the codes of etiquette."

Don't spray your neighbor with sunscreen

Doctors recommend applying sunscreen before going outdoors and giving it about 15 minutes to be absorbed by the skin. Boucher has a similar suggestion to avoid subjecting fellow poolgoers to secondhand sunscreen application. Especially if you're using an aerosol bottle.

"Do it inside your room or before you get to the pool, or even an open space area where there's not a lot of people," he said. "People are consuming food and beverages around the pool at all times. Getting up and spraying, it's definitely a don't."

To have a hoot in cities like Paris and Rome, embrace your inner night owl

BY NATALIE B. COMPTON AND ANDREA SACHS

All day, ferries come and go, depositing hundreds of people onto the tiny Italian island of Capri. The tourists cram into restaurants and shops and stand in snaking lines for a scoop of gelato or a ride on the funicular. The pedestrian traffic is stop-and-start. And then the magic hour arrives.

In the early evening, the last ferry departs, signaling a changing of the guard. The day-trippers are gone, and the overnight guests start emerging from their self-imposed isolation. They reclaim Capri, at least for the night.

If you come in the evening, you'll see a completely different island, residents say. One that's more chic and relaxed, with more gowns and hair down.

It's another gangbusters season for European travel, and the usual suspects are dealing with the usual headaches: baking heat and swarms of tourists. If you're going to the most popular parts of the continent — Italy, France, Greece, Spain — you're bound to end up feeling hot and cramped during some part of your trip. But you can dodge some of that discomfort and jet lag at the same time, by shifting your daily schedule.

No, not earlier. Much later.

Here's how to embrace being a night owl in Europe.

Escape the heat

Temperatures begin to climb rapidly during the busiest times at the Acropolis, 9 a.m. to 12 p.m., said Ioannis Giannakakis, CEO and co-founder of Athens Walking Tours. Because the Greek treasure is open between sunrise and sunset, he recommends going before that peak period, or closer to closing as the heat begins to drop.

For those scorching hours to kill in the afternoon, "do nothing," Giannakakis said. "Have some drinks, sit by the pool, take a nap." You'll avoid the hottest parts of the day, plus many of the crowds, and be prepared for your evening activities.

Dodge the cruise-ship crowd

In cities that get flooded with cruise crowds, there is a predictable rhythm to the influx. Usually, people disembark in the morning, explore all day, then report back to the ship by the early evening. If you time your sightseeing around this exodus, "you will avoid more people," said longtime Dubrovnik, Croatia, tour guide Ivan Vukovic.

The same is true of places that attract a day-tripper crowd that needs to catch a ferry to home base. You'll see the phenomenon across Italy's islands, such as the aforementioned Capri, as well as Ischia and Ponza, said Simone Amorico, CEO of the private tour operator Access Italy.

Sightsee at the end of the day

Near closing time, when the typical tourist is starting to think about happy hour or dinner plans, popular sightseeing spots thin out. "That's why I always recommend visiting major sights in the afternoon," said Sandra Weinacht, who co-owns the tour company Inside Travel Experiences.

There are caveats to this tip. Going closer to closing means you'll have less time to enjoy a place. Alternatively, you can look for sites that stay open late.



ILLUSTRATION BY YIFAN WU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Paris's most popular museum, the Louvre, doesn't close until 9 p.m. on Wednesdays and Fridays, and it offers tours on Fridays at 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. The Yves Saint Laurent museum stays open until 9 p.m. on Thursdays. In Rome, tour guide and author Katie Parla said that both the Colosseum and the Roman Forum are amazing to admire at night from outside; the latter is open until 7:15 p.m. in peak season.

Visit sites after hours

Private guides and organized tours can open doors after hours, too — for a fee.

You can find night tours of the Colosseum that can be more expensive than a daytime option, around $100 per person. Privatizing the Louvre for a visit, on the other hand, requires a "donation" of at least 30,000 euros (about $32,000). Weinacht and Access Italy can organize private visits for higher-end clients to peak-crowded places such as the Vatican Museums. Giannakakis said you can do a VIP tour of the Acropolis after 8 p.m., but it will set you back about 5,000 euros ($5,400) for a group of up to five people.

Look for unique evening experiences

Many popular tourist destinations offer special evening programs over the summer that can make a night visit more appealing, even if you're not going for a traditional tour.

At the Palace of Versailles, there are nighttime fountain shows, complete with fireworks, that run until nearly midnight every Saturday, plus a few other special dates. In Rome, Parla recommends seeing an opera performance at the Baths of Caracalla, the site of the city's second-largest Roman public baths, dating to A.D. 200s.

Dine as the Romans do

Americans and Europeans diverge on dinnertime preferences. Embrace the European ethos and lean late.

In Paris, "if you are willing to eat at 9 or 9:30, it's easier to get a good reservation, and you'll be surrounded by locals," said Meg Zimbeck, who runs Paris by Mouth.

Croatians "don't eat before 9 p.m.," Vukovic said. He recommends booking a table for at least that time, if not later, then enjoying the country's nightlife, as bars stay open until 2 a.m. and nightclubs till 5 a.m.

In Greece, whether you're in a bustling city or on a quaint island, Giannakakis said locals wait until at least the sun sets for more comfortable alfresco dining. To accommodate that schedule, it's not uncommon for kitchens to stay open until midnight.

Italians prefer eating around 9 p.m., Amorico said, with many restaurants offering a last seating around 9 or 9:30 p.m. If you want to sit down after 10 p.m. with a local crowd, stick to wine bars and gastropubs. Pizzerias also serve until 11 p.m. or midnight.

Know when going out late is less effective

Staying up late isn't a foolproof way to avoid all crowds. In destinations with less cruise traffic, more overnight guests and nocturnal locals, you may still encounter a bustling scene well into the night. Amorico said that's true of Rome, where he prefers sticking to early-morning exploring. If you hit the churches when they open around 8 a.m., you'll find them empty, he said.

Weinacht added that another way to avoid cruise traffic is to stick to local neighborhoods over tourist hot spots. In Rome, for example, Prati is much quieter than the Vatican area next door. In Barcelona, staying around Eixample will be a calmer experience than Las Ramblas, no matter what time of day.

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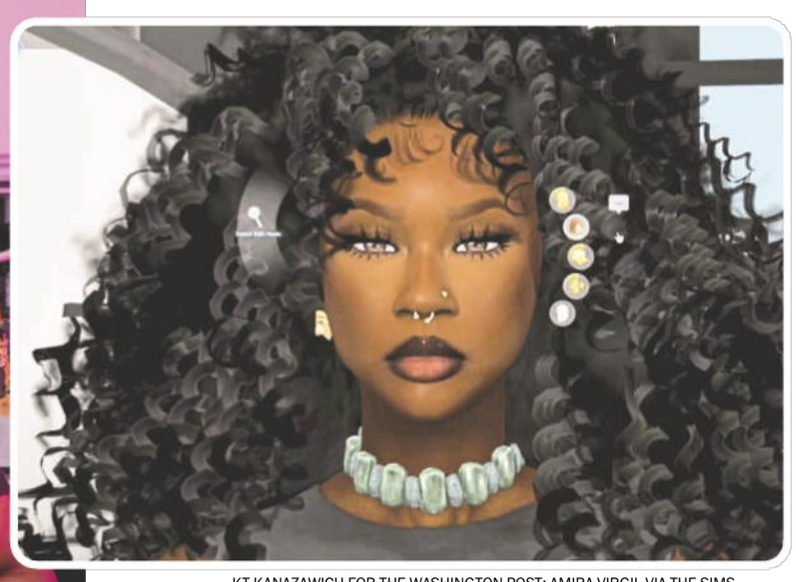




Allen Lu, left, and his brother, Barton, picked up English slang from The Sims.

ALLEN LU AND BARTON LU VIA THE SIMS; KAREN HUANG





KT KANAZAWICH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; AMIRA VIRGIL VIA THE SIMS

Amira Virgil has worked with Electronic Arts, which publishes The Sims, to make the game more inclusive.





KURSTIN KALISEK VIA THE SIMS; CAROLYN FONG FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Kurstin Kalisek cared for cats in the game to test pet ownership before actually adopting cats.

BY EMMA KUMER, RACHEL LERMAN, HEATHER KELLY AND CHLOE MEISTER

If your Sim can do it, why can't you?

The Sims is more than just a video game: See how it helped some players change their lives.

The Sims isn't like other video games. Instead of inviting players to explore faraway fantasy lands or fight in imagined battlefields, the world of The Sims hews closer to reality. Through avatars called "Sims," players build homes, have careers, form relationships and try on gender identities — all while meeting their basic needs, like sleep and hunger. Over 24 years, the game has evolved to include four main editions and dozens of expansion packs. Its latest edition has 88 million users, according to developer Maxis. There are even plans for a movie based on the cozy-quirky game. But for a subset of players, it's not just a game. They're using it to practice for their real lives. For these fans, the game has transformed into an incubator for ideas, lifestyles and feelings before they're fully formed. Here's how nine people used The Sims to inspire their real lives.

SEE **SIMS** ON **G3**

Financial advice isn't 'one size fits all'

Michelle Singletary

THE COLOR OF MONEY

This column was originally published June 9, 2023, and has been updated.

There's a lot of pressure to prosper, especially for young adults.

I see this in my own 20-somethings. They all live at home, and despite it being the smartest move in a high-cost area, I often feel the need to explain their living situation to people who think they should be living on their own.

This makes me wonder: Are we pushing people too hard, fearing they'll be financial failures if they don't hit certain money milestones soon enough?

A Pew Research Center report generated headlines about how today's young adults are behind in five frequently cited benchmarks of adulthood.

After analyzing Census Bureau data, Pew found that 21-year-olds are less likely than their predecessors four decades ago to have a full-time job, be married, be financially independent, live on their own or have a child. Being financially independent was defined as having income of at least 150 percent of the poverty line.

In 2021, about 68 percent of 25-year-olds were not living with their parents, compared with 84 percent in 1980, according to Pew.

This brings me to a column I wrote on financial tips for graduates. Readers had a lot to say, some disagreeing with my advice, which included paying off student loans before investing for retirement and not rushing to buy a home.

Here are my responses to those who took issue with my guidance.

SEE **SINGLETARY** ON **G4**

Fragrance industry is smelling sweet

Sales climb as buyers reach for prestige brands and a scent for every mood

BY JACLYN PEISER

Warm and spicy. Sweet and floral. Woody and earthy.

It used to be that a spritz of fragrance was singular to the wearer, a medley of notes both distinct and familiar. Though that dynamic has long influenced sales, powerhouses such as Coty and L'Oréal are seeing a surge as consumers retreat from the notion of having a "signature scent" and treat aroma as a barometer of their moods.

Fragrance is the fastest-growing category in the prestige beauty sector, with sales climbing 13 percent in the first quarter, according to market research firm Circana. First-time buyers and men are driving much of those gains, gravitating to high-end brands such as Chanel, YSL, Dior, Le Labo, Jo Malone and Tom Ford. Meanwhile, younger shoppers, particularly tweens, are stocking up on gift sets and body sprays available at lower price points, such as Sol de Janeiro.

The upswing speaks to evolving consumer habits after the pandemic, from which Americans emerged flush with savings and eager to indulge. Beauty influencers and the "quiet luxury" aesthetic also propelled interest in prestige scents, which, even at $100 a pop or more, are relatively affordable in a retail space where clothes and accessories routinely come with four- and five-digit price tags. More than 100 million units were sold in the United States last year, Circana said. Annual sales are projected to hit $9 billion by 2026.

"This is unprecedented in industry," said Larissa Jensen, a

SEE **FRAGRANCE** ON **G4**

DEPARTMENT OF DATA

Who's most likely to wear sunscreen — and who needs it the most

BY ANDREW VAN DAM

In honor of summer, we rummaged around in the Department of Data mailbag for what we thought was a fun, harmless question. Here it is:

In the '80s, sunscreen was called suntan lotion and was basically baby or coconut oil. Now, if you're not wearing 15-SPF or higher when you step outside, you're being careless.

Do we really feel the sun more strongly these days? Is the ozone layer truly thinner so I'm exposed to more UV than a few decades ago?

— Stuart Ridgway, senior product manager, The Washington Post

Can you spot the oncoming freight train? We certainly couldn't. This deceptively innocent query led us down a warren of rabbit holes that left us questioning everything we thought we knew about sun protection.

First of all, Stuart's right about the rising stock of sunblock. About 69 percent of Americans smeared on sunscreen at least occasionally in 2020, up from 60 percent in 2000, according to the National Health Interview Survey, which reaches about 30,000 Americans with sun questions every five years or so. (A 2019 methodology change means the two numbers aren't totally comparable, but earlier data still paints a positive picture.)

Stuart's also right about the sun-protection-factor arms race. In 2000, most sunscreeners used SPF 15 or below. By 2015, more than three-quarters of them reached for SPF 30 or higher.

Meanwhile, the answer to his basic question of whether the sun had become sunnier was reassuringly straightforward — even uplifting. If anything, we're exposed to less of the sun's ultraviolet waves than we were a few decades ago, the Environmental Protection Agency told us.

That's because the UV-blocking, bazillion-SPF ozone layer grows thicker every year thanks to one of the environmental movement's great success stories: the treaty that phased out chlorofluorocarbons and their ilk starting in 1989. You're still getting more UV than you did in the 1950s, but the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration estimates we'll be back to full ozone protection by the middle of this century.

Who uses sunscreen? Women are more than twice as likely as men to always wear it when they go out in the sun for over an hour, and White people are almost four times more likely to always wear it than their Black friends. But sunscreen use has risen across the board.

Seemal Desai, president of the American Academy of Dermatology (AAD), attributed the shift to "really good information being put out by organizations like the American Academy of Dermatology that advocate for sun protection, skin cancer education, skin cancer awareness."

But when we looked to see how American perceptions of solar danger had changed, we spotted a fly in the ointment.

About 19 percent of Americans say that if they avoided the sun for months, then spent an hour basking in direct rays without protection, nothing would happen to them. That figure was 15 percent in 2015 and 12 percent in 2000.

Self-reported sun resistance has risen fastest among Black and Hispanic Americans as well as young men in general. But even White and older Americans have become slightly more likely to report that they're impervious to insolation.

Are they right? Uh, for the most part, no, said Rebecca Hartman, chief of dermatology at VA Boston Healthcare System and assistant professor of dermatology at Harvard Medical School and the affiliated Brigham and Women's Hospital.

Hartman explained that it's a stretch to say "nothing" will happen if you go out into the sun. Unless you happen to have the darkest skin type (which applied to just 9 percent of Americans, according to an analysis of photos of 2,691 people's skin taken in 2003 and 2004 as part of the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey).

"For most people, something happens," Hartman said. "It's not necessarily sunburn, but they get darker, more tan, like even someone with naturally darker skin."

So why do a growing number of people seem to think they're immune to the sun?

Hartman suggested we call Adewole "Ade" Adamson, a University of Texas at Austin dermatologist and professor prone to disarmingly straight talk in a medical world where people tend to wrap every answer in the cautious vernacular of public health. Adamson said he hadn't noticed a surge in denialism of the sun's effects, but such an attitude might be justified among his Black, Asian and Hispanic patients.

"Melanoma is primarily a White person disease," Adamson told us. "It is not very common in people with darker skin types, period. Period!"

And just like that, our fun little column about sunscreen transmogrified into a bigger mystery with reams of new data to consider.

Of the 39 cancers tracked by the National Cancer Institute, melanoma is the 35th most common among Black Americans. It's the fifth most common among White folks. Put differently: White Americans have a 3 percent chance of being diagnosed with melanoma in their lifetimes, compared with 0.1 percent for Black Americans, 0.2 percent for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, 0.5 percent for Hispanic Americans, and 0.7 percent for Native Americans.

A melanoma forms when cells producing the dark-brown UV-protecting pigment melanin go rogue, sometimes because they were hammered by the very DNA-damaging UV rays they're designed to block. (You darken or tan in the sun because incoming UV rays signal to your cells that they should probably churn out more melanin.)

To be sure, Americans of non-European descent aren't immune to melanoma, Adamson said. Their rates are low, not zero. That's partly because, despite the focus on sun exposure, you can also get non-sun-related melanoma, often in your nails, the palms of your hands or the soles of your feet. (This kind of melanoma, beginning in the toe, felled Robert Nesta Marley in 1981.)

Furthermore, people of color are also more likely to die of melanoma once they're diagnosed with it. Part of that may have to do with overdiagnosis in White people, Adamson said, but it's also because people in low-risk groups may not be expecting a melanoma, so they don't always catch it before it's too late.

Still, about 95 percent of Americans killed by melanoma from 2008 to 2020 were White, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Among 117 causes of death tracked by the CDC, melanoma ranked 91st for Black Americans over that time. That's below malnutrition, drowning, fire, complications of medical care, hernias, pregnancy and childbirth, and a category called "legal intervention," which includes police shootings and executions.

Does that mean you can skip the sunscreen if your forebears weren't White Europeans?

"I don't have all the answers," Hartman told us. "But as a scientist, I want to be data-driven. If someone has a really low risk of skin cancer, I don't really want to hound them to wear sunscreen all day to prevent skin cancer. It doesn't really make sense. Maybe they should instead take that energy and time and money and focus on eating healthy and exercising."

Adamson agrees, of course, but the AAD takes a harder line. It clearly advises that all Americans, regardless of skin tone, should wear broad-spectrum SPF 30-plus sunscreen, seek shade and wear protective clothing.

"No one is immune. Melanoma can affect any skin type," said Desai, who has devoted his career to skin diseases in people of color. "People are dying and we've got to work together … to educate the public."

In some places, melanoma doesn't look like such a public health crisis. African and Asian nations have some of the lowest melanoma rates in the world, according to the World Health Organization. Northern Europe has some of the highest. And the cancer really runs amok in those places where European colonists have dragged their genes far from the cloudy continent to which they adapted — such as Australia, melanoma capital of the world.

Even on that sunburned continent, top dermatology groups in February endorsed a new sun-safety position statement that says people with the darkest skin colors don't need sunscreen if they're going out for less than two hours and the UV index isn't too high.

The new advice comes in response to concerns about the cost of sunscreen, environmental and otherwise, and about the higher risk of vitamin D deficiencies in people of color, said Rachel Neale, the Queensland professor behind the new effort. Your body needs vitamin D to absorb calcium, move muscles, communicate with the brain and respond to infection. Extra melanin in our epidermis protects us from the sun, but also makes it harder to produce the vitamin.

"If I'm Black … and I'm getting the possible downside of not getting enough vitamin D, that is not a winning public health strategy," Adamson told us. "That is actually harming. There's no benefit and clear possible harms."

(AAD's Desai counters that "the truth is that there is no level of sun exposure that enables the body to produce ample vitamin D without increasing the risk of skin cancer," and he questions evidence for the vitamin's value beyond its crucial role in bone health.)

How do we reconcile the big-picture data with the more dire situation that dermatologists — some of the most elite specialists in the most elite profession in the country — see on the ground?

The answer seems to lie in the fact that these aren't abstract statistics for the men and women in the trenches. Because of their specialization, dermatologists see a disproportionate share of the small minority of people of color who develop melanoma. And to these patients and their doctors, every melanoma is a tragedy.

"Some people with very dark skin may think they don't need to protect their skin from the sun because they are not at risk for UV-induced skin cancer," said Oma Agbai, professor and director of multicultural dermatology at the University of California at Davis Medical Center. "This is a myth, as I've seen patients of all skin tones develop skin cancers like squamous cell carcinoma, basal cell carcinoma and melanoma on areas of the skin with high UV exposure."

She also reminded us, as did many dermatologists, that sun protection isn't just about avoiding melanoma.

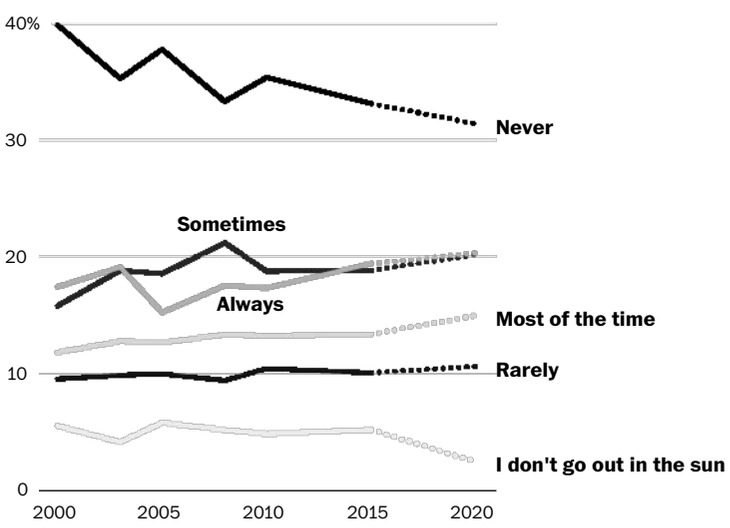
"Everyone can benefit from regular sunscreen application, even those with dark skin and a lower risk of sunburn and skin cancer," Agbai said, noting that routine sunscreen application can also reduce the risk of other UV-related skin problems, including hyperpigmentation and premature aging.

The Department of Data craves questions. What are you curious about: Really, why do a growing number of Americans say nothing will happen to them if they spend an hour in the sun? We'll have more data on this about a year from now; what possible reasons should we test? What parts of the United States are exposed to the most UV? Just ask at *wapo.st/department-of-data*.

If your question inspires a column, we'll send you an official Department of Data button and ID card. This week's envelope goes — via interdepartmental mail — to Stuart.

Americans are using suncreen more often

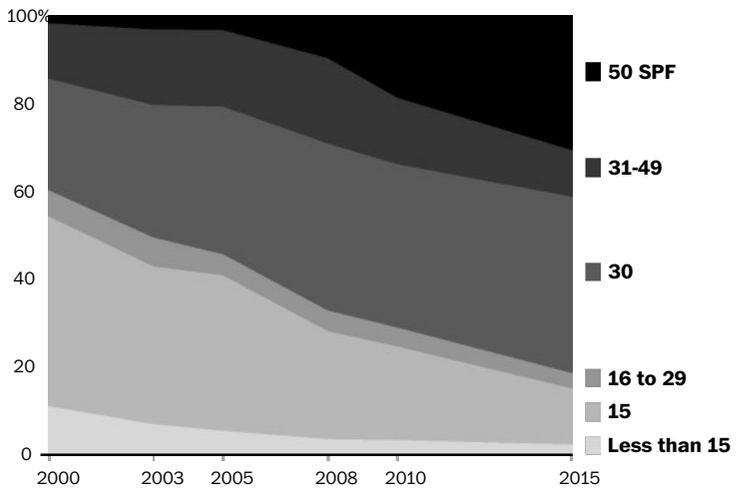
When you're going to be out in the sun for more than an hour, how often do you wear sunscreen?



Note: Methodology changed in 2020. The question remained the same, but it was asked in a different part of the survey, which could affect results.
Source: National Center for Health Statistics' National Health Interview Survey

We've upped our SPF game considerably

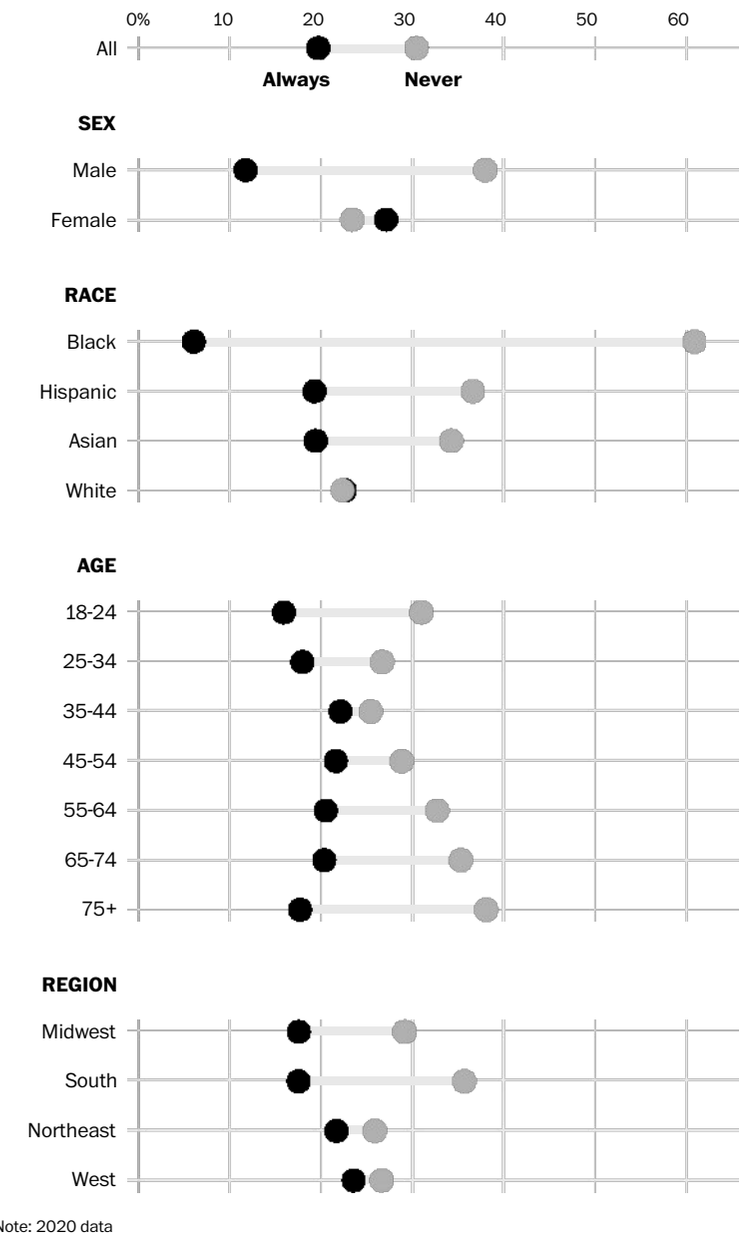
What is the SPF number of the sunscreen you use most often?



Source: National Center for Health Statistics' National Health Interview Survey

Women are more likely to always use sunscreen

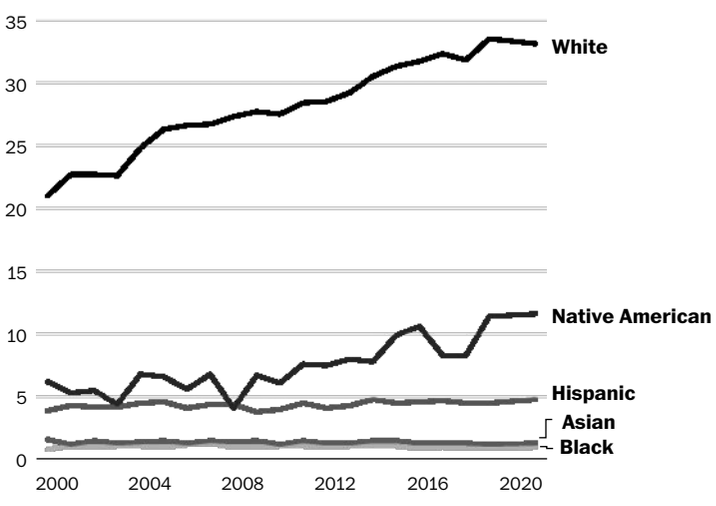
When you're going to be out in the sun for more than an hour, how often do you wear sunscreen?



Note: 2020 data
Source: National Center for Health Statistics' National Health Interview Survey

White folks are more likely to wear sunscreen, probably because they're much more likely to get melanoma

Melanoma rate per 100,000 Americans, adjusted for age



Source: National Cancer Institute's Surveillance, Epidemiology and End Results Program

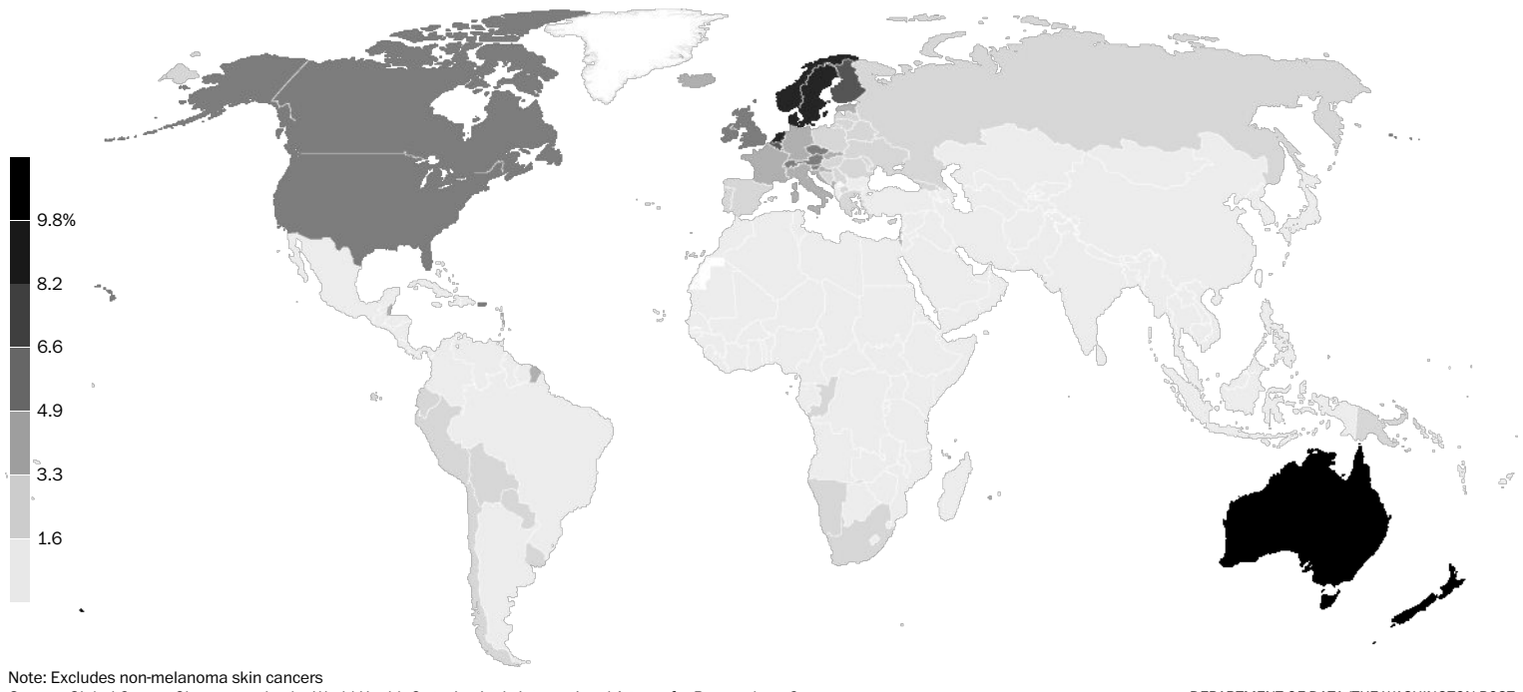
Statistics for melanoma of the skin, adjusted for the age of each population

NAME	CHANCE OF EVER BEING DIAGNOSED	CHANCE OF EVER DYING FROM IT	FIVE-YEAR SURVIVAL
White	2.96%	0.29%	94.1%
Native American	0.67%	0.06%	85.9%
Hispanic	0.49%	0.08%	83.3%
Asian	0.16%	0.04%	76.7%
Black	0.09%	0.03%	69.6%

Note: Dates vary. Incidence is for 2018, 2019 and 2021, mortality is for 2020 to 2022, survival is for 2014-2020. Native American includes Alaska Native; Asian includes Pacific Islander.
Source: National Cancer Institute's Surveillance, Epidemiology and End Results Program

As a rule, melanoma is common in Northern Europe and its settler colonies, and rare in Africa and Asia

Melanoma as a share of all cancer diagnoses (for 2022, adjusted for age)



Note: Excludes non-melanoma skin cancers
Source: Global Cancer Observatory by the World Health Organization's International Agency for Research on Cancer

DEPARTMENT OF DATA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Editor: Lori Montgomery • **Design:** Andrew Braford • **Photo Editor:** Haley Hamblin • **E-mail:** sundaybiz@washpost.com • **Telephone:** 202-334-9800 • **Mail:** The Washington Post, Sunday Business, 1301 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071 • **Advertising:** Noelle Wainwright, 202-334-7610, wainwrightn@washpost.com

The Sims influences real life for some fans

SIMS FROM **G1**

Building a business

Kristen Thom turned to The Sims when she worried the space she and a friend found to start their used-book store in Nampa, Idaho, was too small.

Thom created a copy of the shop in her Sims universe. She measured the digital space block by block until it was as close as possible to the real-life layout. She loaded all the furniture, seating and bookshelves that she wanted in the shop. Everything fit.

"It was kind of like our validation step that our smaller space could bring forward what we wanted to," she said. The real-life version turned out nearly identical.

Many Sims players say interior design is the most translatable element from the game to their own lives. For Madelyn House in eastern Montana, The Sims let her mock up a colorful version of her future business. House now has two greenhouses — one in Glasgow, Mont., the small town where she lives and sells plants to customers, and one in The Sims, where she first designed her dream nursery.

"It sparked my imagination for different ideas," she said of the 16 hours she spent building the digital greenhouse, moving plants and tables around and tweaking the layouts of trees and shrubs.

The virtual legwork paid off and her real-life plant business doubled its sales in two years.

Perhaps no one knows how to re-create virtual spaces in real life better than Kelsey Impicciche. She spends two to three hours per day playing The Sims, in a real-life home office she designed in the game. She turned her hobby into a job in 2019 and makes a living as a Sims content creator, posting to her YouTube channel from the Los Angeles home she shares with her dog, Chewie, who also has a Sim version of himself.

Her real life and Sims life are often intertwined. Some days Impicciche will bake whatever her character made, or play 24 hours in the game then re-create the day entirely in real life for a video.

Creating community

Amira Virgil launched the online forum called The Black Simmer about eight years ago after playing the game for more than a decade. Her goal was to create a space where Black players could share photos of their Sims' lives and discuss outfits, culture and anything they wanted without fear of the racism or microaggressions they say they often experienced in other online spaces. The community has since expanded and has tens of thousands of members across platforms.

The success of The Black Simmer inspired Virgil to pursue a career as a full-time professional video game streamer under the tag Xmiramira.

"The Sims is like a cozy game, so people think prejudice or ignorance don't exist," Virgil said. "Within the Sims community, those things definitely do exist."

As a young Sims player, Virgil grew frustrated at the darker skin tone options in The Sims. They looked gray and ashy, she said, and didn't reflect the Black and Brown skin tones she saw in her real life. Now, Virgil, 30, is the driving force behind the creation of an extended range of skin tones for Black characters in The Sims.

Shortly before launching The Black Simmer, Virgil created her first "melanin pack" with 55 skin tones that Sims players could use to customize their characters. It was so popular that she has released three versions of the pack, which also comes with makeup that looks good on dark skin.

In 2020, Electronic Arts, which publishes the game, released an update for Sims 4 with more than 100 new skin tones and said it was working with creators, including Virgil, to make the game more inclusive.

Virgil's work has also led to real-life friendships. When she traveled abroad for the first time in 2018, she visited with a fellow Black Simmer whom she had known and created Sims content with online for years.

"Years ago, we didn't have this," she said of the community. "We didn't have so many options and freedom of choice."





Canary Books co-owners Erin Gulley and Kristen Thom, below, at their new store in Nampa, Idaho. Thom used the video game The Sims to design the layout of the bookstore, which opened for business in April.

KRISTEN THOM VIA THE SIMS

SARAH A. MILLER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



MADELYN HOUSE VIA THE SIMS



MADELYN HOUSE

Madelyn House used The Sims to design her business, Prairie House Gardens, in Glasgow, Mont. Sales doubled in two years.





ZACK WITTMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

CAROLINA LIMA VIA THE SIMS

Carolina Lima, who is from Brazil, picked up English from playing the game starting when she was 11 years old. She moved to the United States 10 years ago. At right, one of her Sims reads on the couch.



CAROLYN FONG FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



NICK ALCAZAR VIA THE SIMS

Nick Alcazar had his Sim learn to paint. As Sim-Nick improved, Alcazar began painting in real life. "It just got me thinking, 'Well, if I can allocate that time to my Sim in the Sim World, why can't I do that now?' "

From Simlish to English

Gaming is a common way people pick up on language, said Jonathon Reinhardt, a professor at the University of Arizona who studies how language is learned through video games. Some classes even use The Sims and other games to teach it.

This was true for Carolina Lima, who received the game on her 11th birthday in Brazil. Lima was so excited to start playing, she never attempted to change the game's default language from English to Portuguese. At the time, she spoke little English, but she soon began picking up context clues in the English instructions.

She remembers when she clicked "make mac and cheese," and watched her Sim stir up the familiar orange pasta dish.

"If I wanted to play, I had to figure out what the words are," she said.

Lima continued playing like this for three years, googling new words as they popped up. The game began to help her in English classes. She now lives in Orlando and speaks English fluently.

Games can also help players learn colloquialisms. Growing up in Canada, twin brothers Allen and Barton Lu spoke a mix of Mandarin and English. In their downtime, the boys would immerse themselves in The Sims, picking up English slang and concepts they hadn't encountered before. "It really just simulates what real life is, and that's not always something you can get through a children's or teen book," Allen Lu said.

The Sims taught the duo what "getting up on the wrong side of the bed" meant, and that some people eat fried peanut butter and banana sandwiches. It was also the first time they'd encountered the terms "social butterfly," "party animal," "mooch," "stir crazy" and "kleptomaniac."

"You get exposed to so many different tangible concepts that are actually useful to your life, unlike Duolingo," Allen Lu said.

Embracing new hobbies

When Nick Alcazar picked up The Sims, he created a Sim to be a digital model of himself. It looked like him, dressed like him, even had the same personality traits as him.

Then he had the Sim-Nick go all-in on learning to paint. He leveled up his painting skill in the game. He made his Sims-self practice regularly.

"It just got me thinking," Alcazar said, "'Well, if I can allocate that time to my Sim in the Sim World, why can't I do that now?' "

So the real-life Nick bought acrylic paints. He created paintings of landscapes and his dogs and found the time to reconnect to an artistic hobby.

"When I'm playing The Sims and I'm making my Sims do productive things, it makes me want to do those same productive things," he said. Soon after he started painting, his friends started requesting artwork.

Practicing to be a pet parent

Kurstin Kalisek and her partner knew they wanted to name their future cat Yogurt and that they wanted to rescue it from a shelter, but they still had several lingering cat-parent questions. Would they have enough time to give it? Should they get it a cat friend to play with?

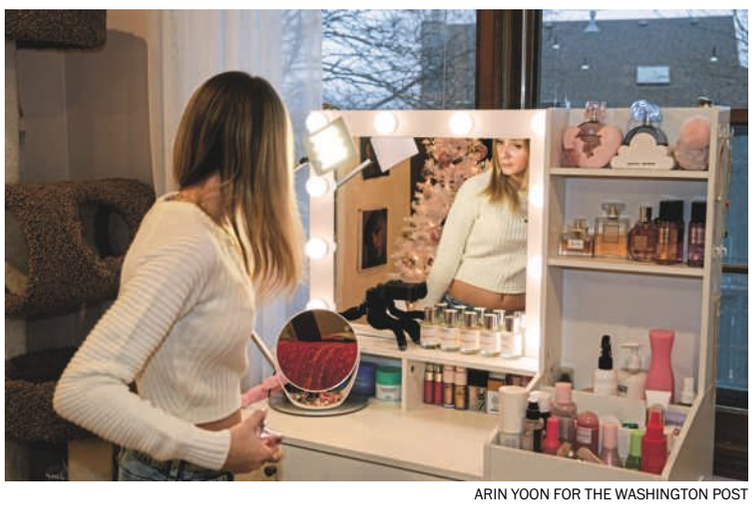
Kalisek decided to test it out — in the world of The Sims. She created a digital Yogurt, a long-hair white cat with big orange splotches.

Not long into playing, she found an issue — her human Sims family was having trouble keeping the cat Sim at its maximum happiness level. So she made it a dog friend. But their personalities did not mesh. So she got it another cat friend, and the two — Yogurt and Poptart — played happily together. Those happy Sims cats inspired Kalisek to adopt two cats together.

After realizing that bonded cats were the way to go, Kalisek and her partner started looking for pairs of cats at a shelter. A few months later, they found a long-hair white cat with orange splotches and its sibling, a smaller brown cat — just like their Sims counterparts. In real life, they named the adopted cats Yogurt and Mochi.

Some pieces of The Sims will never translate to the real world — in the game, you can get abducted by aliens, give birth to 100 babies and visit with a vampire. But, mostly, the game is designed to simulate being a person, and some have found it makes them an even better one in their offline worlds.

Kalisek hasn't checked on her Sims-cats since getting her real ones, but "I assume they're doing fine," she said.



ARIN YOON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Evelyn Unruh spritzes on perfume at home in Olathe, Kan., last year. Rather than one "signature scent," consumers want an array.

Consumers spend big for luxury perfumes

FRAGRANCE FROM **G1**

beauty industry analyst at Circana. "Everything that goes up comes down. … We haven't seen that yet with fragrance. It's incredible."

The beauty sector, which includes makeup, skin care and hair care, tends to be resilient regardless of broader economic conditions. We spend when we're feeling good and when we're feeling down, Jensen said. If the economy is in a slump, we buy a low-ticket luxury to boost our mood.

It's an emotional industry, she said. "But fragrance — it's like the power of scent is unquestionable. It's nostalgia."

Prestige fragrance sales have exceeding expectations since the start of the pandemic in 2020, Jensen said. After long stretches at home, their social and professional lives disrupted, Americans wanted to treat themselves. In some cases, that meant dropping more than $300 on a 2.4-ounce bottle of Maison Francis Kurkdjian Baccarat Rouge 540 or 3.4 ounces of Byredo Mojave Ghost perfume.

"What drove fragrance in the immediate post-pandemic period was super luxury," she said. "It was the $300 and the $400 fragrances that were doing phenomenal." That, in turn, powered revenue and unit growth, "which is incredible."

But consumers also were reaching for scents in the $100 to $200 range, allowing them to dip into luxury with "a reasonable spend," said Olivia Tong, an analyst at Raymond James Equity Research. "It may not be feasible to buy a purse, shoes or clothes but perhaps you can get the Tom Ford or Chanel fragrance."

Plus, people wanted to "smell like a rich person," said Dominica Baird, chair of the business of beauty and fragrance program at Savannah College of Art and Design. You feel like "you're in a club" when someone compliments your fragrance, she said.

Beauty conglomerate Coty said its seven top brands — Hugo Boss, Burberry, Calvin Klein, Chloé, Davidoff, Gucci and Marc Jacobs — accounted for nearly 90 percent of its fragrance sales. Net revenue in the category swelled nearly 60 percent year over year.

And consumers aren't settling for just one; they're going for an array of perfumes or body sprays. For Gen Z, it's an added layer of self-expression, Tong said.

"It completes the look," she said. "You may be feeling fresh one day, feeling spicy the next, and making sure you have the scent to go with that."

Estée Lauder chief executive Fabrizio Freda noted that younger shoppers have as many as eight fragrances in their rotations, "one for every occasion," he said at a conference in May. "That is a big change [for] the category."

What's more, prestige lines are attracting more first-time buyers: Coty reported 5 million new customers last year, a 6 percent increase year over year, CEO Sue Nabi said at a retail conference last month. Men added a nice boost to growth, too, she said.

And they're spending at a faster rate; prestige sales climbed 17 percent compared with women's 11 percent year over year, Jensen said.

"Men are becoming more sophisticated beauty consumers," Baird said. They're leveling up and reaching for brands such as Gucci, Jensen said, though drugstore staple Axe Body Spray is "still doing great."

Among shoppers ages 25 to 44, sales have soared 19 percent, according to Circana, though unit sales are notably stronger in households that have children. Gen Alpha — those born from 2010 to 2024 — is big on body spray, which tends to be a lower cost, less potent option, Jensen said.

Tweens are particularly enamored with Sol de Janeiro, a body spray and lotion brand with at least seven scents that has gone viral on TikTok. Some industry experts see it as a gateway for younger shoppers looking at influencers, older siblings and parents for what to buy next. And they're starting to gain expensive taste, with some of the hottest beauty products creeping closer to the prestige category.

At Ulta, which started carrying Sol de Janeiro at the beginning of the year, the brand is "right in that sweet spot for us," chief operating officer Kecia Steelman said at a conference in June. Fragrance was 10 percent of Ulta's net sales in the quarter ended May 30, up from 9 percent from the year-ago period. Sol de Janeiro also has gift sets, an attractive option for consumers looking for value and to layer scents, which Steelman noted is one of the top trends this year.

Fragrances from music artists are also popular with younger shoppers. Baird's students have told her that perfumes from Billie Eilish, Sabrina Carpenter and Beyoncé make them feel connected to the artists.

"There's something that feels a bit personal about a fragrance," Baird said, "especially if the celebrity seems genuine about it and it's not just a money grab."



JORGE GARÁIZ/AGENCIA EL UNIVERSAL/AP

Fragrance is the fastest-growing category in the prestige beauty sector, with sales climbing 13 percent in the first quarter, according to Circana. First-time buyers and men are driving much of those gains.



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MICHELLE SINGLETARY

Personal financial advice isn't universal



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

SINGLETARY FROM **G1**

'The math is totally in favor of buying a home'

I said: Don't listen to the collective "they."

They will tell you renting is a waste of money. It's not.

Comment: "Buy as soon as you can and rent rooms to friends," one reader wrote.

What happens when the friends suddenly move out? Or they get laid off — last hired, first fired. Like so much about personal finance, it's about the individual's financial standing.

Gen Z — those 12 to 27 — are disproportionately struggling with higher consumer prices, housing costs, car insurance, and large student loan balances, according to a Washington Post analysis of Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

So, no, the math does not always favor purchasing a home, especially for young adults who haven't had time to build a sufficient cash cushion to weather economic downturns or cover a major home-maintenance expense.

I've been at this for a long time. I work directly with a lot of people, which gives me an up-close view of how folks at all income levels and ages handle their money. Just because it works on paper doesn't mean it works in real life.

Another person wrote, siding with me: "There are so many unknowns early in a career — relocating for a job or graduate school, meeting a significant other [who] works in the other direction. Our financial adviser advised my 20-something son to wait until he knows he'll be in one place for more like 5-7 years or until he gets married."

'Totally disagree' with tackling college debt first

I said: Yes, young adults should invest so that they have a chance of their money beating inflation. But if they are leaving college with debt, tackle that first. They still have time to invest.

Comment: "Putting some money in a retirement account (yes, 'investing') as a young person — especially if there is a healthy employer match — is likely to be a very wise financial decision."

I agree that, in some cases, it makes sense to put in enough money to get an employer's match. However, for those coming out of school with significant debt that could take them decades to pay off, it's better to get rid of that liability early before other obligations end up eating into student-loan payments.

Here's what I witness — regularly.

Many graduates starting out don't focus on their student loans and put the debt on pause through forbearance.

However, even after they begin making good money, they keep putting off paying the debt. Then they have kids, buy homes and live like the debt isn't there, taking vacations and living above their means. Because the interest is being capitalized, the debt keeps growing.

Now in their 40s and 50s, they are panicking about paying the debt off before they retire.

By the way, thanks to the Securing a Strong Retirement Act (or Secure 2.0, enacted in 2022), employers can choose to make contributions to workers' retirement accounts based on their student loan payments. If this benefit is offered, workers can concentrate on paying off the debt without missing out on matching contributions.

'There is good debt and bad debt'

I said: Referring to debt with an adjective is unhelpful. It's just debt, and it all can be destructive if overused and too oppressive.

Comments: "Bad debt means your net result is negative, like buying a fancy pair of shoes on a credit card and not paying it off. Good debt means your net result is positive, like a degree that gets you a better job that way more than covers the cost of the debt, or a house that appreciates, provides a place to live, and is a better lifestyle."

There are many students who have debt and no degree. Or others paid a lot for a master's degree that didn't increase their income but stuck them with debt they won't pay off for decades. Remember the Great Recession and the housing crisis?

When giving advice, you have to factor in behavior. I speak against characterizing loans as good or bad in the hope that people who need to pause before taking on any debt will.

I write for the masses. If I said a mortgage is "good" debt, some folks who shouldn't buy a home will see homeownership only in the positive. They won't do the math to see that their mortgage won't leave room to save for retirement or build an emergency fund.

I agree with this comment: "I prefer the term 'necessary debt' rather than good or bad. What is necessary deserves careful consideration."

If nothing else, the debate about my advice helped one young adult.

"From my perspective, it's helpful to hear the wide-ranging perspectives folks have about these hot-button topics," a 28-year-old D.C. reader said in an email. "I have always thought of personal finance as very cut-and-dry as if there was only one right way to do things. But there is a laundry list of learnings of what's not the best idea. Finance isn't always so cut-and-dry."

If you have a personal finance question for Michelle, please call 1-855-ASK-POST (1-855-275-7678). Her award-winning column The Color of Money is syndicated by The Washington Post News Service and Syndicate and carried in dozens of newspapers.

TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

BY SHIRA OVIDE

One Million Checkboxes has a vibe like Wordle — except it does not improve your mind in any way.

It's a website with 1 million little boxes in a row. You click in a box to make a check mark, and now the box is checked for everyone who plays the game.

An odometer-like counter keeps track of how many boxes all game players have cumulatively checked. People love chaos, and they're unchecking boxes as fast as others check them to watch the counter go backward.

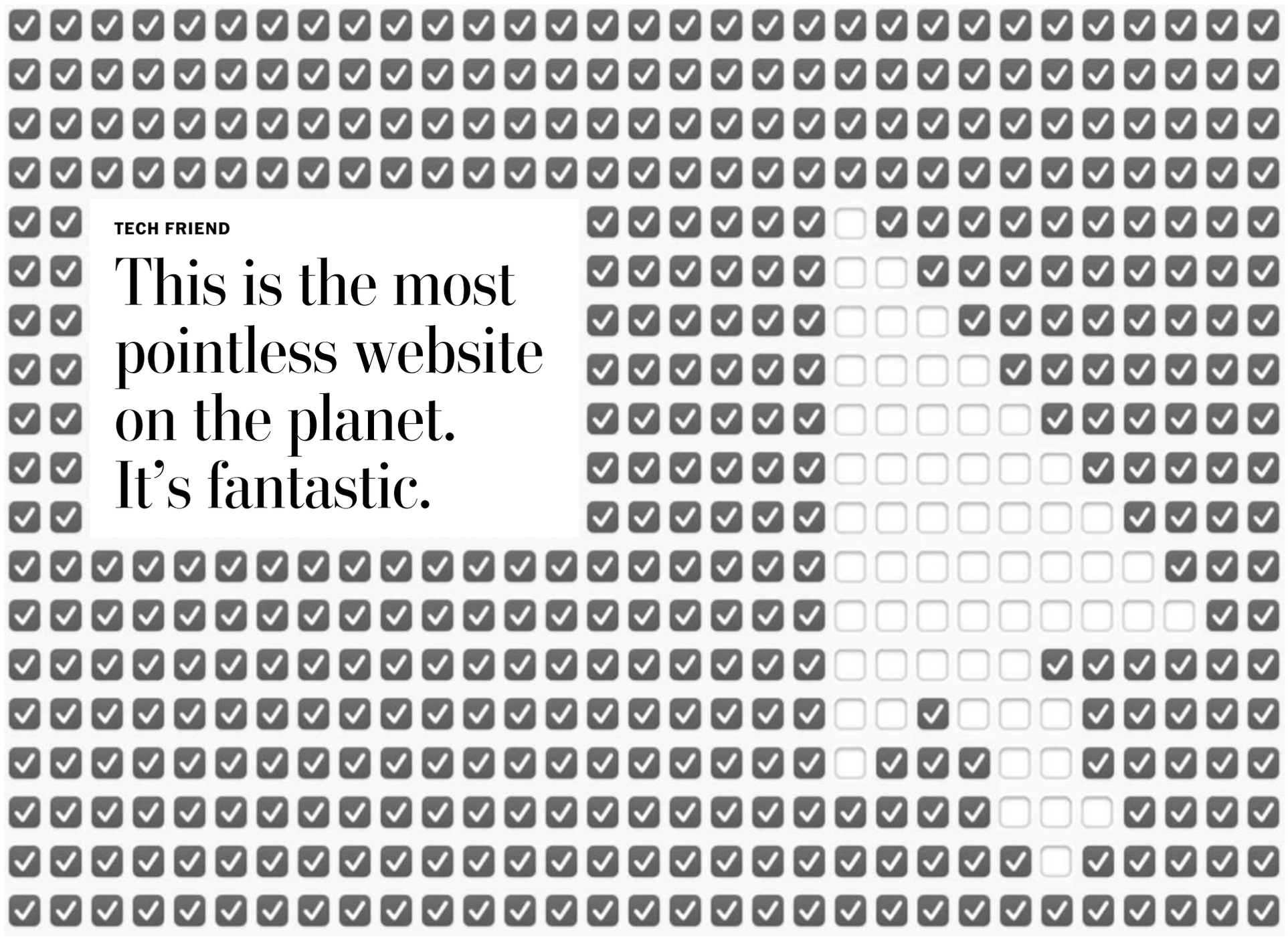
If the world is making you jittery, the uncomplicated task of clicking boxes is the balm you deserve. It's the same pleasure as popping bubble wrap.

The game — if it's even a game? — proves technology is great at feeding our need for pointless joy. And it might only be temporary in its current form, like a beautiful bloom.

One Million Checkboxes started last month after a brainstorm between online game creator Nolen Royalty and Neal Agarwal. Royalty spent two days coding the website and hoped a few hundred people would try it.

Instead, One Million Checkboxes spread on sites like X, Mastodon and technology message board Hacker News. Royalty says he barely slept for days as roughly half a million players (and one online attack) kept crashing the website.

I spoke to Royalty about the unexpected allure of One Million Checkboxes, how you can win (can you?!) and all the weird things game players have tried. By the time you read this, the site already reached 1 million checkboxes.



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION

I don't understand why I find One Million Checkboxes fun and soothing. Please explain.
Making a number go up is really fun!

This site gets at the same thing as the genre of "incremental" or "clicker" games where you just click to make a number go up. You have an uncomplicated goal and an uncomplicated way of accomplishing your goal.

You know how people talk about adding something to their to do list so that they can cross it off? It's like that.

Even you have called One Million Checkboxes "the dumbest website of all time." Why did you do this?
The internet should have more dumb little websites! The internet should be fun! What's it all for otherwise?

How many people have played One Million Checkboxes so far?
I think around 500,000 people. They've checked or unchecked boxes roughly 200 million times.

I didn't expect the site to be very popular. I was going to be happy if I got 500 people to use it. So I cut some corners to build it quickly.

What has gone wrong?
A whole lot! I slept for about seven hours total between launching on Wednesday and Friday night as I frantically spun up more servers and updated the code to support the crazy usage.

My friend Eliot helped me rewrite the website on Sunday night. Then there was a distributed denial of service attack and the game went offline temporarily.

What strategies are people using to check boxes?
The most checked box is box No. 1 by far, followed by the colored boxes that are visible when you first load the page.

Lots of people seem to scroll to a less busy area and try to fill every box on screen. Other people seem to uncheck any box they see someone else check.

And lots of people try to find a quiet space and draw something! I've gotten pictures of hearts, names, messages and other images that I'm sure you can guess.

Why is unchecking boxes a thing? All the unchecking is making it hard to reach 1 million checked boxes.
I've often said that what's missing from croquet is the ability to whack the ball of anyone else in the world currently playing croquet. My site fixes that.

How many boxes would someone need to check to be the top box checker?
The top box checkers have checked (and unchecked) tens of millions of boxes. I'm gonna guess that they're bots.

But folks have sent me screenshots with tens of thousands of boxes checked, which is pretty crazy! Those might be legit.

Wait, people are using bots like they're hoarding Taylor Swift tickets?
Yes, to fill in as many boxes as they can, to uncheck as many boxes as they can, to make interesting patterns and to animate things on the site.

Some people have told me this is ruining the experience for them and I'm sorry for that.

How much does it cost you to run One Million Checkboxes?
It's costing me something like $60 or $70 a day. This has been the most fun I've ever had, but the idea of spending $60 a day in perpetuity is not great.

How long will you keep this going? Is this like Wordle and you'll sell your game to the New York Times?
Hello, the New York Times: If you're reading this, I will sell you the site for one dollar per checkbox. *(The New York Times declined to comment.)*

I'm thinking about what's next. This version of One Million Checkboxes might be temporary.

ANALYSIS

Videos linger online after a shooting at a grocery store was live-streamed

BY CRISTIANO LIMA-STRONG

In May, a 20-year-old man walked into a grocery store in Fort Wayne, Ind., with a handgun and began live-streaming on Facebook from inside a bathroom. "I'm going to shoot 11 people," he said, looking into his phone's camera, before telling people to "record" the event.

The accused shooter, identified as Richard Klaff, then walked around the store hurling racial slurs and asking viewers whom he should shoot, before unleashing a burst of shots at a Black woman and other shoppers walking by. No one was injured; Klaff was arrested and charged with attempted murder.

More than a month later, dozens of videos of the attempted shooting remain on social media, racking up millions of views, according to a new report by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) and a review by the Tech Brief.

Their spread, researchers said, highlight enforcement gaps in how tech companies handle mass-violence events that lack a clear link to terrorism or an ideology.

ISD, a London-based think tank that researches online extremism, found over 40 videos of the shooting on X and Facebook in the two days after the attack, generating nearly 9 million views and plays. The vast majority of the views took place on Elon Musk's X, with fewer than 30,000 plays registered on Facebook videos during that timespan.

On July 2, a search by the Tech Brief for Klaff's name on X quickly and prominently surfaced more than two dozen videos of the shooting, several with millions of views. In both reviews, the videos that gained by far the most traction were shared by verified users on X. On Meta, at least a dozen videos were still up early July 2, though with far lower play counts.

Researchers said they did not find a significant number of raw videos of the shooting on other platforms such as TikTok, Google's YouTube or Meta's Instagram. Many of the videos on X, however, appeared to originate on Telegram, researchers said.

According to ISD's report, one likely reason the videos may not have been taken down as efficiently across platforms is because there was no "explicit terrorist or violent extremist group linkage to the attacker."

Meta, formerly named Facebook, and X, formerly named Twitter, were both founding members of the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism, or GIFCT, an NGO dedicated to preventing "terrorists and violent extremists from exploiting digital platforms," according to its website.

The group, created in response to the live-streamed Christchurch mosque shootings in 2019, helps tech companies share intelligence when terrorist incidents are linked to their platforms. Those systems may not have been triggered because of the nature of the Indiana attack, however.

While Klaff used racial slurs and told viewers the day of the shooting he was "going out with a bang" before allegedly unloading his gun on multiple Black shoppers, ISD wrote that his "social media footprint did not seem to indicate that he was linked to any extremist groups."

The videos did appear to violate the companies' policies, though, raising questions about their individual enforcement as well, researchers said.

X's rules prohibit any accounts sharing "perpetrator-generated media" related to acts of terrorism, violent extremism or mass violence, as well as those "glorifying" the perpetrator. X did not respond to a request for comment. The GIFCT did not respond to a request for comment.

Meta spokeswoman Erica Sackin said that the original live stream was removed less than an hour and a half after posting, and that the event and perpetrator have since been designated under the company's policies for dangerous organizations and individuals.

A Facebook page that researchers linked to the suspected shooter was still active as of early July 2, but it was taken down after The Post contacted Meta for comment. The company confirmed July 3 it had also removed at least a dozen videos identified in the ISD report.

While the shooting did not cause any fatalities, researchers said it reflected a worrying trend of shooters using social media to treat the attacks as a game.

ISD researcher Moustafa Ayad noted that during the live stream, the shooter asked viewers for input on whom he should fire at, at one point responding that he wouldn't kill an older man.

"While there is no ideological link here, that was an aspect of it that was relatively novel and shocking," Ayad said. The "gamification" of these attacks, he said, is "troubling to say the least."

When work done for a foreign government poses a personal moral quandary



Work Advice

KARLA L. MILLER

Reader: I'm employed at a company that does mostly federal contracting as well as work for foreign clients. I have participated in a few projects for these international clients, and the director and project leads for those clients are happy with my work and my particular skill set, which not many people have. My company is having trouble with declining federal budgets, so staying in this director's good graces might protect me if there are layoffs.

Last year we did work for a country that has since been widely criticized for human rights violations. This country's government has recently done things that are, to many people, unconscionable. I'm one of those people. I'm horrified by what this country's government is doing.

A member of this client's government is coming to the U.S. later this year, and everyone on the team is expected to meet with and possibly brief him on last year's project. I can't do this in good conscience. The idea of blithely briefing a member of this country's government as if everything is fine makes me sick to my stomach.

I don't know how to tell the project lead that I will not be participating. Should I email? Meet in person? What wording should I use? I don't know how the project lead would react, although I suspect he's more sympathetic to the country's government. I'm not worried about getting fired, but I don't want to burn this bridge. I like the work — I just can't keep doing work for this client. What should I say?

Karla: Assuming you have autonomy to accept or decline these requests, here's how I'd handle the debrief:

"I'm afraid I have a conflict and can't make the meeting. Here is a prepared summary of the work I performed last year." No need to elaborate on the nature of your conflict.

If you don't have that autonomy, try to find out more about your employer's policy on these kinds of conflicts. Do they expect employees to be able to separate personal objections from business goals, or do they want employees to be up front about potential conflicts to avoid compromising deliverables? If your employee handbook has nothing, ask for a private meeting with HR or a trusted manager to discuss your situation in hypothetical terms: "If I have a personal moral objection to working with a particular client, how would you recommend I handle it? Is there a protocol for recusing myself?"

If your conflict is due to religious beliefs, an employment lawyer could tell you whether you have legal protection. Otherwise, unfortunately, the protocol may involve your finding another employer.

For what it's worth, I don't see delivering a summary of work you have already performed as endorsing the client's latest actions. What's done is done.

The real question is what you will do if you're asked to support future contracts for this newly problematic client. Refuse? Quit? Accept the work and donate your earnings or off-the-clock time for an organization working to mitigate the harms of that government? Become a whistleblower? Take the job because it's work you are being paid to do?

At its heart, your question is a conundrum many face: The desire to do right vs. the need to be employed.

Not to veer into moral equivalence, but at some level, every human government — including the one you perform most of your work for — operates under a national charter stained with blood. I'm not saying: "All nations are compromised, so why bother with principles?" I'm pointing out that the representative you're being asked to meet with may be no less conflicted about their government's actions than you are about yours — and no more culpable for those actions.

And here is some more unsavory food for thought: There is no way of fully knowing how the work you do for clients is being used — the humans it's harming, the bad actors it's enriching, the brutal policies it's being used to justify.

For most of us, the impact of our work is so far removed from the buttons we punch that we have the luxury of not thinking about it. But we are all complicit in atrocities against other humans at some level, from the foods we eat to the clothes we buy and the technology we use. The best we can do as individuals is act with good intentions, be mindful about our impact, and do better once we've learned better.

Reader query: Are you a contractor who has had a crisis of conscience over working with particular clients? How did you resolve it?

karla.miller@washpost.com

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AN ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT TO THE WASHINGTON POST

How to maximize your social media recruiting

By Bob Helbig

Tapping into social media recruiting is essential to get the most out of your recruitment strategy and reach tech-savvy recent graduates. If your company is not maximizing platforms such as LinkedIn, YouTube, and Facebook, it is missing out on great places to build brand awareness and connect with larger audiences.

Be sure to use the right approach to each platform for job openings and branding strategy to boost recruitment efforts.

LinkedIn:
Most professionals have LinkedIn accounts for networking, celebrating career updates, sharing work-related photos, and learning new skills. It's the perfect place to connect with like-minded people (and a lot of them).

Some tips:

- Participate in LinkedIn groups
- Use LinkedIn Recruiter
- Communicate company culture within your profile
- Link your profile to the company careers page
- Make personalized connections
- Engage in thought leadership
- Send direct messages to top talent

YouTube and TikTok:
Video sharing platforms are great for showcasing your employer brand to a large audience. Posting creative videos about shared achievements, employee appreciation, and career development opportunities speaks volumes about company culture in an authentic and relatable way.

Facebook, Instagram and X:
These are more casual recruiting platforms. They are perfect for inbound recruiting, a more organic approach to employer branding and talent recruitment. Use tools within the platforms to promote company culture, boost targeted posts to specific demographics, and learn more about your candidates' interests.

An effective social media recruitment strategy attracts top talent and keeps them employed at your organization longer. Here are suggestions on how to find the right people for your culture and goals:

Set clear goals to track progress. Keep teams aligned.

Use the right platforms for your goals and hiring demographics.

Make the application process as easy as possible so interested candidates are more likely to submit an application.

Use consistent employer branding messaging across all social media platforms and employer branding tools.

Get current employees involved as brand advocates to build trust with candidates.

Track the data by using tools for monitoring things such as engagement and clicks. Key metrics include traffic to careers pages; engagement; and applications (finished and unfinished).



Bob Helbig is media partnerships director at Energage, an employee survey firm that is The Washington Post's survey partner for Top Workplaces. The production of this section did not involve the news or editorial staff of The Washington Post.

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A JOBS

Accountant: Examine FS, analyze, inspect books & acct. BA in Accounting, 5 years' exp. Send CV to Micheal and Son Inc. 5740 General Washington Dr. Alexandria VA 22312.

Accountant: EIG Management Company, LLC. Senior Accountant - Washington, D.C. Analyze quarterly expense gross-up in accordance with ASC 606: Revenue Recognition; maintain subledgers, compile monthly and quarterly Group Distributable Earnings packages with analysis, supporting schedules, and reconciliations. Req's Bachelor's degree or foreign equivalent degree in Accounting, Finance or related field followed by 5 years of progressively responsible general accounting experience. Hybrid role; part time telecommuting authorized. Please apply on-line at https://jobs.lever.co/eigpartners/274c5fc0-4e4d-46ab-b547-e3bb477cc59c

Accounting Associate wanted by CPA office in Annandale, VA. Must have associate's deg in acctg. Must speak, read & write Korean. Resume to CSK & COMPANY CPAS PLLC, 4208 Evergreen Ln Ste 234, Annandale, VA 22003

Accounting Compliance & Reporting Analyst, National Tax (Manager) (Multiple Positions) (1473836), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, Washington, DC
Help clients effectively manage global bookkeeping and finance compliance obligations. Domestic Travel required up to 20% to serve client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $121,222.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number – 1473836).

Accounting: Mapbox Inc: Accounts Payable Manager – Washington, DC: Manage the AP function, including processing accts payable transactions in a timely manner (incl: wires, checks, and ACH payments), responding to vendor inquiries, & vendor onboarding. Req's bachelor's or frgn equiv in Accounting, Busns or rltd fld + 4 yrs of acntng exp OR Master's or frgn equiv in Accounting, Busns or rltd fld & 2 yrs of acntng exp. Up to 100% telecommuting; may be performed from anywhere w/in the US. EOE. Apply directly at https://jobs.ashbyhq.com/mapbox/f3e4fa47-8bab-4fdb-b737-70b111abb215.

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A JOBS

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Cloud Nine Technologies Inc. seeks Sr. Programmer Analysts. Req: Master's or equiv. in Comp., Info, or Data Sci., Eng., Math, IT, Stats, or related & 5 yrs' in job offered or relev. indus. exp. Alternatively will accept a bach. or equiv. & 7 yrs. exp in above fields & occup. All must possess XML & be granted Final Suitability. Position is based out of Herndon, VA HQ & subj. to reloc. to unanticipated US worksites. Submit resume to HR@cloudninetech.com or HR Mgr, Cloud Nine Technologies Inc., 2553 Dulles View Dr., Ste 240, Herndon, VA 20171.

Rapid7 LLC – Arlington, VA – Detection & Response Analyst – Work within Rapid7's Managed Detection and Response (MDR) operations to deliver threat detection services using traditional threat intelligence-based detection and user behavior analytics. Telecommuting is permitted up to two (2) days/week. **To apply: Send resumes to careers@rapid7.com.** Req# 001.

Budget Analyst 40 hrs/ week at ProsToYou Tennis, LLC at Laytonsville, MD. Min. Requirements: Master's degree in business administration or related field or foreign equivalent and 1 year of experience in Data Analysis. 1 year of experience evaluating data and developing sales reports and financial projections. 1 year of experience evaluating performance metrics. 1 year of experience in MS Excel. 6 months of experience in SQL. Mail resume to Marco Impeduglia at 21008 Layton Ridge Drive, Laytonsville, MD 20882.

New Chapter Realty LLC in Woodbridge VA is looking for Business Analyst to collect and analyze data gathered on commercial, industrial, and residential properties, analyze information on property values, taxes, zoning, population, develop records management programs. 24 mo. Exp. Required. Min. BS degree in Business, Management, Economics, all rel. F/T. Email CV to dilyara_d@yahoo.com.

Energy Analyst: ICF Incorporated, LLC: Energy Analyst (multiple positions) – Reston, VA. Implement energy efficiency programs for public utilities (electric and gas Req's Bachelor's or foreign equivalent degree in Economics, Environmental Economics, Environmental Sustainability, Quantitative Mathematics or related field and 3 years in any position providing data management experience. In the alternative employer will accept a Master's degree and 1 year of experience. Up to 100% remote; may be performed from anywhere in the U.S. TO APPLY: Please apply on-line at https://careers.icf.com (Requisition ID: R2402179)

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A JOBS

Architecture: Skidmore, Owings & Merrill LLP has openings in Washington, DC for Senior Designers to actively lead an architectural project or distinct portions of architectural projects with periodic supervision by Project Leadership. Master's in Architecture, Architectural Design, or related field & 2 years of experience. Salary range: $90,000 to $110,000. Email resume, cover letter, and portfolio to the attention of HR Coordinator at: recruiting@som.com; subject line: DC-SD-0624. EOE

Architect
Responsible for developing detailed specifications, drawings and architectural design plans for buildings and structures in conformity with project requirements for clients in the industrial, transit, transportation, aviation, education, and commercial sectors. Work with project management to determine design approach and criteria to be followed for assigned architectural projects; conduct investigations, studies, and architectural analysis; develop design calculations for details, plans and specifications; prepare quantity calculations and developing cost estimates; perform quality control review of construction documents; apply sustainable design principles; ensure conformance with standards, established architectural practices, applicable codes COMAR, IBC, IECC, IEBC, NFPA, lgCC, and technical adequacy of design and construction; review shop drawings and Requests for Information (RFIs) during construction; conduct site visits and monitor work of junior architectural staff. Duties include extensive utilization of specialized computer software applications including AutoCAD, Revit and MicroStation as design tools and to solve complex architectural problems. Position requires approximately 50% of travel time to project sites within District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia area.

Requires: Bachelor's degree in architecture, followed by minimum five years of progressive experience in the position offered, or five years of progressive experience as an architect or architectural associate for industrial, aviation, education, commercial and LEED certification projects, including: preparing design and construction drawings using AutoCAD and Revit; developing project specifications and identifying suitable products/building materials; participating in building code analysis and ensure conformity with applicable codes COMAR, IBC, IECC, IEBC, NFPA, lgCC; developing construction details, building sections and elevations; reviewing document submittals; conducting site visits; supervising architectural drafters; and completing architectural design documents. Architect license for State of Maryland and LEED Accredited Professional Certification are required.

Full benefits package. Position eligible for STV Employee Referral Award Program. Apply via e-mail, with resume and salary requirements to: Judith.Mills-Brown@stvinc.com.
All inquiries must include **job code AMD.0823** to be considered. STV Inc., 700 Red Brook Blvd., Owings Mills, Maryland 21117. Applicants must be authorized to accept permanent employment in the U.S. with any employer.

A JOBS

Opening for a full-time EMS System Architect in Reston, VA by Ellucian Company, LLC Job duties include but not limited to oversee operations and strategy of designated architect team. Provide technical leadership, technical architect expertise, and adoption leadership experience; continuous service improvement activities Take ownership to ensure successful completion of work for team; Lead and enable best practices for DevOps and operations within the architect teams; Educate and coach Ellucian employees. Requires a Bachelor's or its foreign equivalent in Computer Science, Computer Engineering or in related IT discipline. Higher degree accepted. Plus 6 years experience in job or in related IT occupation with experience in administration of Ellucian Banner administration and with Oracle RDBMS administration. Must have 4 years experience: with Apache/Tomcat administration, with fundamentals of web application and relational database architectures, with agile and other development processes and methodologies, with ServiceNow and Clarity, with Linux (RHEL/CentOS) and Windows system administration, with Shell, Python or other programming language, in various services and capabilities of AWS/Azure/GCP, in CI/CD processes and tools (Jenkins, Bamboo), with Configuration Management tools (Ansible, HashiCorp Packer), with Docker, Kubernetes, Amazon ECS, in monitoring cloud and on-premise infrastructure and applications, with Amazon Web Services (AWS) such as IAM, EC2, EBS, ELB, RDS, S3, Route 53, Gateways, VPCs, CloudWatch, Lambda scripts, highly desirable, with database technologies such as MySQL, MS SQL, PostgreSQL, Oracle; & 3 years experience with applications such as DataDog, SolarWinds, etc. ** Home Benefits available - can work from anywhere from within the United States** Email resumes to: Dawn.rowe@ellucian.com.

Archt'l draftr. Survey, model, design buildings. Req. Bach of arch pls 2 yrs related exp. Skills req'd: portfolio showing knowledge of adobe creative suites, sketchup, autocad and revit. Mail res. & salary req't to employer: Samaha Associates, Attn: HR. 10521 Rosehaven St. Ste 200 Fairfax VA 22030

Attorney,
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(Washington, D.C.) Represent corps., financial inst., execs. in cross-border & dom. white collar gov't'al & internal investig., advising internationally-& dom.-based clients. Interview witnesses, dev. evidential records & case strategies. Oversee doc. review & prod. processes. Prepare investig. repts, talking pts, presentations, corresp. w/ regulators. Represent clients at interviews, depos, at trial. Negotiate & prepare settlement agreements, assoc. docs. $260,000 per year. Req'mts: JD or foreign equiv., DC Bar, 3 yrs of exp. in position or 3 yrs of alt occup. exp. performing complex international corporate regulatory defense advisory legal duties. In lieu of a JD or foreign equiv., an LLM or foreign equiv. is acceptable. Email resume/ref's to George.Chipev@lw.com, referencing position AWCI01. Latham & Watkins LLP.

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B JOBS

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Business Intelligence and Analytics Manager
Washington, DC
$149,600-$171,400

Responsible for the planning, design and implementation of business intelligence and analytics reporting across the organization. Work closely with stakeholders to ensure the timely and accurate flow of critical information to serve fundraising, programs, supporter engagement, finance, human resources and administration teams.

Must have a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration or a related field. Must have four (4) years of experience as a Business Intelligence Analyst, Business Intelligence Consultant or Decision Support Analyst. Must have four (4) years of experience working with and analyzing multiple types of data from a variety of sources to build management reports and support organizational decision making. Must have four (4) years of analysis and business intelligence experience including understanding of relational and predictive modeling concepts, tools, and data management best practices. Must also have four (4) years of experience working with large databases, reporting, and visualization tools (Tableau, Looker, PowerBI, etc.). Remote work allowed 75% of the time.

Qualified candidates should send their resumes to gpusa-resumes@greenpeace.org, and reference job code BIAM1403.

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B JOBS

Business Development Specialist in Herndon, VA. Seek & provide info to help the company determine its position in marketplace; collect & analyze data on customer demographics, preferences & needs; gather data on competitors & analyze their prices & sales. Bachelor's Deg (or foreign equiv) in Marketing, Business Admin, Public Admin or a closely rel. field + 6 months of exp in job offered or as Sales Representative req'd. Mail resume to Elegant Kitchen and Bath LLC, Attn: HR, 2465 Centreville Rd, Ste J21 Herndon, VA 20171.

C JOBS

Huxley Hospitality seeks carpenter/maintenance worker based in Kissimmee, FL. High school degree & 48 mos experience in construction/carpentry & 6 mos training in carpentry, painting, electrical, and gen'l construction required. 9am-5pm M-F. Job duties include: inspection, repair, floors/stairs, manage construction activities, meet deadlines, build furniture, framing, electrical. Mail resumes to Attn: Zaid Said, 10101 Harewood Ct Great Falls VA 22066. EOE.

Chef at restaurant Saravana Palace LLC d/b/a Saravana Palace in Fairfax, VA. Prepare South Asian food. Supervise or coordinate activities of cooks. Reqs 24 mos exp as chef & skills prep South Asian cuisine. Send resume: rjsshahi@gmail.com

[redacted]
Construction Engineer (Washington, DC) BSc Degree in Construction/Civil Engineering. 24 months construction experience required. Proficiency in AutoCAD, Autodesk Civil 3D, Nitropro, GSLOPE, KeyWall. Mail Resumes to National Service Contractors INC, 2007 Martin Luther King Jr Ave Se, Washington, DC 20020 United States.

Specialty Head Cook, Washington, D.C. Season, prep, and cook Turkish recipes. Prep handle and cut halal meats. Supervise, and train cooks and kitchen staff. Maintain stocks, inventory, records, and accounts. High school diploma and 36 months exp req. Mon-Fri. 9AM-5PM. Comp wages. Mail resume w/3 refs to MEZE INC 2437 18TH ST NW WASHINGTON DC 20009. NO PHONE CALLS.

Cook at Pelicana Virginia Inc. d.b.a. Pelicana Chicken Annandale, VA. Prepare food and meals for customers at a restaurant. HS Diploma or foreign equiv.Send resume: jeongjoonpmoon@gmail.com

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C JOBS

Corporate Accountant (R0004338)

Prep mnthly journal entries, accnt recnciliatns, schdles for 10K,10Q. Mntn lrge fixed asset CIP schdle by prjct to capture mnthly additns & timely trnsfrs out of CIP for assets placed into srvce. Mntn PP&E rollfrwrd schdle, paid capital, outstndng capital & capital cash flow. Prvde SOX cntrl procedure walkthru & dcmntatn. Prep mnthly & qrtrly financial stmnt analysis & PBC rqst for audit firm. REQ: Mstr's degree in Finance, Accounting or closely rltd fld + 2 yrs' exp in Sarbanes-Oxley OR Bchlr's degree in Finance, Accounting or closely rltd fld + 5 yrs' exp in Sarbanes-Oxley. Exp must incld 2 yrs in each of the foll: Data modeling, mathmaticl calculatn & formulas; Hlookup, Vlookup & pivot/pivot slicer tables; Accounting recnciliatn; Credit card recnciliatn; Tableau; Advanced Excel; financial reporting & analysis; Salesforce; Alteryx & Microsoft Dynamics. Hughes Network Systems, 100 Lakeforest Blvd, Gaithersburg, MD 20877.
To apply go to https://echostar.wd5.myworkdayjobs.com/echostar. Enter job number R0004338 into search job field & follow instructions to apply.

D JOBS

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Please send resumes to cpijobs@computerpackages.com

E JOBS

Economist: Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System seeks f/t Economists (multiple openings) in Washington, DC to conduct cutting edge, original, high-quality, scholarly research on a broad range of economics-related topics, including behavioral economics; econometrics and data science. Req's PhD (or frgn equiv) in econ, fin, or rel discip; or be a PhD candidate (or frgn equiv) preparing to defend dissertation in econ, fin, or rel discip. Position is eligible for part-time telecommuting. Candidates must submit CV, recent research paper or dissertation & 3 letters of reference by email to: BOGecon1@frb.gov. EOE.

ENGINEERING
Micron Technology, Inc. has an opening for **Equipment Engineer - Thin Films** in Manassas, VA. Job duties include: Ensure meeting production and quality requirements. Execute direction to change, sustain or cancel projects as required to meet area/Fab objectives. Communicate with the Equipment Lead daily about priorities, issues and time management.

To apply, visit Micron.com/Careers. Search by requisition no. JR57188.

E JOBS

Visa Technology & Operations LLC, a Visa Inc. company, currently has an opening for Data Engineer - Sr. Consultant Level (REF71339B) (multiple openings) in Ashburn, VA. Job duties include: Join several large data sets, correlate security information with internal data repositories, automate manual security processes, and provide analytical insights to senior management. Responsible for pulling and integrating large data sets, using internal tools and software. The estimated salary range for a new hire into this position is $149,594.00 USD to $232,700.00 USD per year; Staff SW Engineer (multiple openings) (REF70534S) in Ashburn, VA Job duties include: Responsible for the architecture, design, development, and implementation of software applications. Evaluate and introduce technology tools and processes that enable Visa to develop products and solutions, to embrace business opportunities and/or improve operational efficiency. The estimated salary range for a new hire into this position is $119,100.00 USD to $190,400.00 USD per year. Positions report to the Ashburn, VA office and may allow for partial telecommuting. Salary may vary depending on job-related factors which may include knowledge, skills, experience, and location. In addition, this position may be eligible for bonus and equity. Visa has a comprehensive benefits package for which this position may be eligible that includes Medical, Dental, Vision, 401 (k), FSA/HSA, Life Insurance, Paid Time Off, and Wellness Program. Contact: Qualified applicants should apply online at https://usa.visa.com/careers.html by searching job #.

Engineering Protection & Control Engineer: Req. Bach in EE + 4 yr exp. Use NEC, IEEE, AutoCAD, & power calculation skills for 12kV – 500kV substation protection and control design. F/T. Leidos Engineering LLC. Reston, VA. May telecommute w/in US. $132500-$150000/yr. Benefits: https://www.leidos.com/careers/pay-benefits. CV to ryan.p.hermann@leidos.com & ref. #6737. Principals only. No calls/visa sponsorship.

ENGINEERING
Micron Technology, Inc. has an opening for **Equipment Engineer - Thin Films** in Manassas, VA. Job duties include: Ensure meeting production and quality requirements. Execute direction to change, sustain or cancel projects as required to meet area/Fab objectives. Communicate with the Equipment Lead daily about priorities, issues and time management.

To apply, visit Micron.com/Careers. Search by requisition no. JR56810.

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E JOBS

European Business Development Manager at Capital Edge. Dvlp strategies to acquire signif mkt share of West Eur local govt entities tht need assistnce doing bus in U.S. Dvlp pricng strats w/ goal of maximizng firm's profits & share of mkt. Mng needs & srvices for West Eur local govt clients. Ensure client satisfaction. Oversee dvlpmnt of servs provided. Monitor trends tht indicate need for new servs. Advise West Eur clients on fed issues of interest & impact. Prep clients for mtings w/ US officials & orgs incl written backgrnd & talking points. Attend mtgs w/ clients. Travel w/in US & West Eur to attend local gvmt confrnces & other mtngs attended by local gvmt officials frm West Eur countries. HQ in Wash, DC. Some remote work. Reqs: Bach in major &/or fields of study of Marktng, Lang, Bus Mgmt, Accting, or Lib Arts + 60 mnths exp as Bus Mngr incl exprnce in dealing w/ West Eur gvrmntl agencies & admins, & knwldge of West Eur Bus Prctices incl contracts, fin & accnting, banking, org mngmt, & sales analytics. Salary: $208,520/yr. Appl by email to R. Garboushian, Managing Member at: ralphg@capitaledge.com. EOE

Education

Preschool Teacher: Create & maintain environment among preschool-aged children. Plan for individual differences between children. Plan developmentally activities & projects fine & gross motor, cognitive, social-emotional & language. Monitor the progress of individual children. Record observations of each child. Be alert to children's needs. Communicate with families. **Min. Rqmts:** High School/GED. 24 months exp. in the job offered or as assistant teacher. Knwl of or exp. in first aid. Knwl of or exp. in providing safety for kids. Knwl of or exp. in monitoring & evaluating child development. Resumes to job loc: Rock Spring Children's Center, Inc, 6555 Rock Spring Dr, Ste 150, Bethesda, MD 20817. ATTN: C. Meyer

F JOBS

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
Director of Workplace Relations
https://www.cadc.uscourts.gov/internet/home.nsf/Content/Vacancy

Finance Senior Manager for The Boston Consulting Group, Inc. in Washington, DC, to serve as a business advisor by leading a team to provide financial and accounting through partnership, analysis, and reporting to assist senior stakeholders in managing business economics, finance operations, and strategic business planning topics. Req. Bachelor's deg. or foreign equiv. in Finance, Accounting, Business Administration or related field (willing to accept foreign education equivalent) & 6 yrs. of exp. as an Analyst, or related occupation, responsible for accounting, forecasting, budget planning, reporting and/or controlling which must include at least 2 yrs. of experience managing financial or accounting teams or, alternatively, a Master's deg. or foreign equiv. in aforementioned fields & 4 yrs. of exp. as stated, including at least 2 yrs. of experience managing financial or accounting teams. Partial telecommute benefit available. Mult. positions available. Salary range: $148,000 - $163,000/year. Resume to GlobalBoston@bcg.com. Reference Position Number: 31-2024.

F JOBS

Financial Planning & Analysis (FP&A) Manager
Bechtel Global Corp has an opening in Reston, VA for Financial Planning & Analysis (FP&A) Manager: Leads prep of corp budgets & operating plans. Position reqs a Master's degree or foreign degree equiv in Civ Eng, Biz Admin or a related field, and 5 yrs of work exp in any occupation in which the req'd exp was gained. CFA license req'd. Telecommuting permissible. When not telecommuting, must report into worksite. Various unanticipated locations. Relocation possible. To apply, email resume to bechtelusjobs@bechtel.com & ref job #6264034.

Financial Quantitative Analyst- International Division (R0004339)

Prvde finance spprt to Intrntnl Dvsn to anlyze & rprt grp financl rslts incld anlysis of prjct rvnues & costs, dprtmnt expnses, captl expenses & balance sht accnts. Wrk clsly w/ Hughes Accntng tm to ensure accntng policies & procdres are implmntd & mntnd prprly. Assist Intrntnl Finance tm & mngmnt tms w/ mnthly anlysis of financl rslts, updates to mnthly frcsts & annual bdgt process. Wrk clsly w/ intrntnl busness grp & mngmnt to prep financl anlyses to undrstnd busness prfrmnce. Imprve rprting & frcstng processes & idntfy areas & processes for automatn. REQ: Mstr's degree in Quantitative Finance, Finance, Accounting or clsly rltd quantitative fld + 2 yrs' exp in corporate accounting or finance group setting. Exp must also incld 2 yrs in each of the foll: financial analysis; variance analysis & reporting; financial forecast including p&L, cash flows & Balance Sheet & advanced Excel skills. Hughes Network Systems, 11717 Exploration Ln, Germantown, MD 20876. To apply go to https://echostar.wd5.myworkdayjobs.com/echostar. Enter job number R0004339 into search job field & follow instructions to apply.

H JOBS

HEAD CHEF
2+ yrs working in a Vietnamese restaurant. Experienced in authentic VN dishes Resume to PHO120 at 13965 Metrotech dr. Chantilly VA 20151 703-502-4746 MTHuynh. Salary $65k-70k fulltime

Healthcare - General

Bioinformatics Analyst I - Children's National Medical Center - Washington, DC: prvde cmprhnsve bioinform. spprt for genetics prjcts & offr exprtse in various aspcts of the fld. Reqs: Mast. deg. in Bioinform, Biotech, Comp Sci, Life Scncs. Altrntvly, emplyr will accpt Bach in Bioinfo, Biotech, Comp Sci, Life Scncs + 2yrs exp in bioinform. occ. Send resume/CV to aphuong@childrensnational.org & ref code BAND.

Pediatric Radiologist -Children's National Medical Center-Washington, DC: Rvw, eval, and intrprt medcl imags, incl. x-rays, comp. tmgrphy (CT) scans, ultrasounds, mgntc resonance imag'g (MRI), & molecular imag'g. Reqs: MD or frgn equiv + must hve compltd radiolgy resdncy prgrm; 1y pedtrc radiolgy fllwshp; elgble for or hve board cert frm American Board of Radiology; Qualified to be grnted "authorized user" status to be licensd to prscrbe & suprvse lw dose & high dose radiopharmaceuticals usd for medcl diagnosis & thrpies; elgble for or hve vald DC medcl license. Send resume/CV to: aphuong@childrensnational.org & ref code PRHA.

I JOBS

INSURANCE
Busy State Farm office in NOVA looking for L&H & P&C licensed sales/service rep with experience. Excellent comp with starting base pay up to 70K plus commission, bonus & paid vacation. Call 703-987-8024 leave message.

Oakridge Auction Gallery Inc seeks International PR Specialist (Ashburn, VA) to conduct intl. cult. & his. rsrch, prep glob mktg PR, build relatsh. w/ intl. media, anal. customer data, etc. Req. MA in Int'l. Studies or Int'l. Aff. w/ 6 mo exp. at same/related role, e.g. RA for entities w/cross-border nature. Exp. incl. cult. & his. rsrch abt intl topics, wrt PR, planning events and collab. w/ intl. inst. $88,338/yr. Mail res: Oakridge Auction Gallery Inc, 44675 Cape Ct, #171, Ashburn VA, 20147 or info@oakridgeauctiongallery.com

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Finance: EIG Management Company, LLC: Investment Associate – Washington, D.C. Conduct financial analysis on investments in energy sector, prep investment recs, assist in closing transactions & contribute to management of portfolio investments. Req's Bachelor's degree in business, Finance, Economics or Engineering and 1 year of analytical experience in private equity, leveraged finance, project finance and/or investment banking. Part time telecommuting authorized. Please apply online at https://jobs.lever.co/eigpartners/bc675dcd-d0de-4034-8c6e-69a37217383d.

Columbia Capital, L.P. seeks Investm Associate in Alexandria, VA to conduct investm due diligence & portfolio mgmt activities incl finan anlys, performance mntr'g, rpt'g results, & rltd tasks. Reqs Bach in Bus Admin, Econ, or rltd fld & 1 yr of exp wrk'g in invest bank'g M&A advisory svcs or institutional invest'g in the tech or telecom industry, w/exp in finan anlys & rpt'g, construction of detailed co forecast mdels, & comparable co anlys. Email CV to Brian Ohlhausen, Columbia Capital, L.P. at: associatejob@colcap.com with subject line: Investment Associate.

M JOBS

Manager Development and PR wanted by a healthcare organization in Beltsville, MD. Lead the PR function, incl PR (internal & external) & fundraising strategies; apply for grants; dvlp multimedia mktg materials; interview guests; supv 2 Communication Specialists/Assistants. Reqs a bachelor's deg in Public Relations (foreign equiv deg accepted) + 2 yrs of exp in Public Relations. Alternatively, 4 yrs of PR work exp, 2 of which accepted in lieu of a BS deg. Out of 4 yrs, 1 yr exp. managing large events & campaigns, managing multimedia platforms, fundraising, & donor relations. Demonstrated ability in oral & written communication (such as press releases w/ attention grabbing messages).
Mail resume to Frontline Community Services, HR, Attn. Mr. Shrady Jr., job # FCS20686416, 6900 Virginia Manor Rd, Beltsville, MD 20705.

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M JOBS

Manufacturing Quality Engineer: Develop, maintain & implement Blink's EV charging production, quality standards & documentation protocols including the ISO certification process. Investigate, analyze current QA guidelines to improve upon, develop & implement manufacturing guidelines of EV charging stations, accessory equipment. Conduct EHS (Env Health & Safety) & QMS (Quality Mgmt System) internal & external audits to support & improve internal manufacturing performance. Work with Dir of Ops to establish quality metrics for EV stations & accessory manufacturing procedures. Monitor production cycle & perform quality tests to identify potential malfunctions. Inspect product materials & electrical systems for defects & durability. Identify cause of technical issues & recommend fixes & improvements. Prepare reports on malfunction incidents, corrective actions taken. Generate RMA (Return Merchandise Auth.) trend analysis & follow up with preventive action. Apply common manufacturing & engineering principles such as Kaizen, 8D and 5-Whys to resolve problems & coordinate with external QA auditors, technicians, engineers, new product development teams to comply with legal standards & improve Blink's EV products. Minimum requirements: bachelor's degree in engineering or related discipline plus 2 years of relevant experience in the job offered or similar role. Must have 1 year of ISO 9001:2015, Microsoft Office Suite experience.
To apply: Send resume & cover ltr to: HR, or email: HR@blinkcharging.com. Job in Bowie, Maryland.
No phone calls. EOE.

N JOBS

Nail Technician
Clean and sanitize tools and work environment, apply undercoat and clear or colored polish onto nails with brush, maintain supply inventories and records of client services, shape and smooth ends of nails, using scissors, files, or emery boards, prepare nail cuticles with water and oil, using cuticle knives to push back cuticles and scissors to trim cuticles, prepare customers' nails in soapy water, using swabs, using liquid remover and swabs, remove dead skin, and massage hands, treat nails to repair or improve strength, promote and sell nail care products, and decorate clients' nails by piercing or attaching ornaments or designs, and among others.
Mail résumé to Melinda McClellan, My River Nails and Spa LLC., 776A Walker Rd, Great Falls, VA, 22066

O JOBS

Operations Analyst (Job ID# OA0604) sought by Himalaya Trading Inc. in Beltsville, MD. SOC: 15-2031.00 Operations Research Analysts. Reqmt: Master's deg in Bus. Analytics, Data Analytics, or rltd field; Knowl of using Tableau & R. Mail CV w/ Job# to 11900 Baltimore Ave, Ste C, Beltsville, MD 20705.

Airington Law PC has a pos for Operations Supervisor in Glen Allen, VA to research compile & prepare reports develop procedures & policies, prepare & monitor schedules assignments & performance of admin staff. MIN REQ: HS diploma & 24 mo of exp in the job offered or related occupation. Email resume to recruitment@airingtonlaw.com

P JOBS

Prep Cook - food prep duties; no exp req'd; full-time; KBHG, Inc. Alexandria, VA; kbhginc2018@gmail.com

P JOBS

Product Engineering Manager: Formulate roadmap for Blink's global product range for international & domestic markets. Define product strategies for various markets through conceptualization, R&D to market release. Manage complete product lifecycle for Blink's EV charging products across hardware & firmware verticals including gathering functional & engineering requirements, writing product specifications, evaluating hardware / software options, & building proof of concept units. Manage product engineering teams in the US & India & coordinate cross functional product development activities. Collaborate with industry partners & regulatory bodies towards EV charger interoperability, EV charging standards, as well as safety & infrastructure standards. Min. reqt's: bachelor's degree in engineering or equivalent degree plus 2 years of relevant experience in the job offered or similar role. Must have 2 years of experience in overseeing all elements of the product development lifecycle, managing cross-functional teams, & hardwire and firmware development.
To apply: Send resume & cover ltr to: HR, or email: hr@blinkcharging.com. Job in Bowie, Maryland.
No phone calls. EOE.

Program Manager III
AMAZON.COM SERVICES LLC, an Amazon.com company - Arlington, VA:

Program Manager III: Lead a cross-functional team that consist of Research Science, tech, product, operation, & finance teams to manage existing forecasting programs, explore & launch new program initiatives. Partial telecommuting permitted; employees will be required to report to office multiple days per week. Salary Range $115,600/yr - $160,000/yr. (AMZ8197483).

Multiple job openings. Apply online: www.amazon.jobs – search by AMZ job #(s). EOE.

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P JOBS

Project Architect I for Perkins Eastman DC PLLC to work at our Washington, DC loc. May telecommute up to two days per week. Research, plan, design and administer building projects using knowledge of design, construction procedures, zoning and building codes, and building materials. Determine functional and spatial requirements for new structure or renovation, and prepare information regarding design, specifications, materials, color, equipment, cost estimates, and construction time. A complete list of duties can be found on the employer's website (https:// perkinseastmandc.com/careers). Little domestic travel may be involved. Salary is $109,366 annually. Must have Bachelor's of Architecture and 5 years relevant architectural design experience. Also requires skills (5 years experience) in: construction administration, including preparing submittals, responding to RFI, ASI review and response, and consultant coordination; making presentations to stakeholders, including primary and secondary school clients and the school community; compiling and filing submissions for approval by District of Columbia agencies; primary and secondary educational facility programming, and educational specification verification; working on renovations of existing school buildings; working on primary and secondary educational facility projects designed for net-zero energy, and built to ILFI WELL Building standards; computer-assisted design software, including Revit; Newforma; Bluebeam; data management software, including Word and Excel. All applicants must have a professional architecture license. Apply at perkinseastman-dc.com/careers.

Project Leader/Principal
(The Boston Consulting Group, Inc. - Washington, D.C.): Manage the design and development of long-term business strategies, including managing case team responsibilities; oversee business development, client relationships, project planning, and the preparation of outputs. Requires Master's degree (or higher) in business administration, management science, or a quantitative field related to a BCG client industry and 3 years exp. as a management consultant, business analyst, or quantitative analyst which must include at least 1 year in management strategy. Will alternatively accept a Bachelor's degree in business administration, management science, or a quantitative field related to a BCG client industry and 5 years exp. as a management consultant, business analyst, or quantitative analyst which must include at least 1 year in management strategy. Partial telecommute benefit available. Domestic/international travel required based on company/client need. Salary: $225,400 - $268,400. Submit resume to BCGPLP@bcg.com. Reference Position Number: PLWAS-F24. Mult. pos. avail.

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P JOBS

Proposal Manager w/ Red Hat, Inc. in McLean, VA. Telecommuting permitted: work may be performed w/in normal commuting distance from the Red Hat, Inc. office in McLean, VA. Mng inbound RFx requests via Salesforce.com ticketing &/or email & work w/ requesting party to answer qualifying questions as well as obtain any missing data in the request. Position reqs Bach de (U.S. or foreign equiv) in Econ or rel field & 2 yrs of exp in the job offered or rel role. Must have 2 yrs of exp w/: project mgmt across cross-functional teams (such as Solutions Architects, Inside Sales, Sales, Tech & Compliance teams, & Legal) to set timeframes, assignments, & time estimates of qualified RFx responses; mng multi-element proposals that req collection & assimilation of multi cross-functional stakeholders' responses & compiling them into a final complete proposal; utilizing Salesforce.com, or comparable CRM & RFx response mgmt tools; &Google Suite of tools, incl Mail, Drive, Sheets, Docs, Slides & Forms. Job ID: R-039867 Qualified Applicants: Apply online at www.redhat.com/about/work.
Sal: $74,464 - $117,620/yr. Actual offer will be based on your qualifications.

R JOBS

RAN SME Tier 2 Support (Multiple Openings) sought by Global Technology Associates, LLC in Reston, VA. Freq travel required to unantic loc throu US. BS Electrical Engr or Electronic Engr + 2 yrs exp + special skills. To apply send resumes to Lorena Cerruto at lorena.cerruto@gtatelecom.com or at 1890 Preston White Dr., Ste. 150, Reston, VA 20191.

S JOBS

Sewer, Hand - Sew, join, reinforce, or finish garments using needles, thread and other materials and tools; High School/Equivalent req.; 40 hr/wk in Vienna, VA. Mail resume to Park Street Valet and Tailoring Inc., 425 Maple Avenue East, Vienna, VA 22180

Social Service Coordinator (Washington, DC) Assist in coord. for individuals w/ intellect disabilities: Create Service plans. Collaborate w/ DDS Service Coordinator Prep & mng ISP docs. Coord logistics for ISP meetings. Maint. legal & reg docs. Assis DSPs in training & dvlpmnt. Submit reports. Recruit & evaluate stuff. Plan activities. Monitor clients' finances. Organize sessions. Develop schedules for DSP. Assess client's needs for employment $52,125/yr. Reqs: BA in SW/HS/rltd w/ knldge of communication studies/ PR / frgn equiv +1 yr expr assist w/ devplmnt disabilities ACRE Cert. Send CV to Melhor Life, 810 7th Street NE, Washington, DC 20002.

Software Developers –Multiple opening - Ashburn, VA

GRP Solution Inc needs professionals:

Works on SAP S/4 HANA, Change & Service Ticket Management, SLA Monitor, Web/UI & SAP Testing.

Req. - Masters + 1-yr. Exp. Comp. salary, Relocate to unanticipated site. No National/International travel. Please mail resume to Ref: President, 20130 Lakeview Center Plaza, Ste 400, Ashburn, VA-20147.

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S JOBS

[redacted]

Sr. Associate - Climate
CLASP has opening for Sr. Associate - Climate in Washington DC. Plan & lead tasks in support of program implementation, research, analysis, report & memo writing, & delivering presentations. May telecommute within DC. $84739/yr. Email resume to clasp-hr-admin@clasp.ngo. Ref. #10

Stock Clerk – Receive, store, and issue merchandise; High School/Equivalent req.; 40 hr/wk in District Heights, MD; Mail resume to All Plus, Inc. t/a All Plus, 5674 Silver Hill Rd., District Heights, MD 20747

Supervisory Consultant, Int'l Trade needed for UNO Int'l Trade Inc in Bethesda, MD. Conduct economic analysis of sales & cost info as it pertains to int'l trade disputes, among other duties. Req: Bach degree in Economics, Finance, or Business Admin, or its foreign degree equiv. 5 yrs exp in the position, or as Consultant in the Int'l Trade field. Ability to travel 2-3 times/yr for on-site audits in Mexico, S. America & Asia, among other locations. Exp. must incl: Int'l trade consulting activities w/ specialization in trade remedy matters; Preparing for & participating in audits concerning trade remedy matters; Managing client engagements.
Mail resume to UNO Int'l Trade - 3 Bethesda Metro, #440, Bethesda, MD 20814.

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V JOBS

Vice President of Operations Collaborate with executive leadership to establish, implement & communicate strategic direction of Blink, a major player in the EV charging products industry. Establish quantitative & qualitative metrics, guidelines, & standards; Lead, manage, & improve Blink's operational process, procedures & equipment & provide analysis to support these changes. Develop process flows, methods, & activities to ensure maximum efficiencies in Blink's global manufacturing process; Select vendors & lead the purchase process of raw production materials, Develop & maintain production control system that supports financial planning & cost analysis; Assist users in understanding & establishing baseline performance & work standards. Develop cost comparisons of alternate processes, parts, tooling, equipment, or systems within production operations. Lead, manage, discipline, train & develop production, manufacturing, supply chain, customer service & field services teams. Create, lead, & manage functional divisions & departments to include Procurement & Quality Assurance. Be subject matter expert on entire production & manufacturing process, identify & recommend new processes, technologies, & systems to improve operations. Minimum requirements: bachelor's degree in business, engineering, finance or related field plus 3 years of manufacturing or related industry experience. Position requires limited domestic and international travel required to various company locations.
To apply: Send resume & cover ltr to: HR, or email: HR@blinkcharging.com.Job in Bowie, Maryland.
No phone calls. EOE.

Tech Jobs

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Quality Assurance Analyst in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to perform installations & run quality assurance programs to test, identify, reproduce, & report defects in s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp writing functional & system integration test cases. Up to 60% telework permitted. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1353.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT or a rel field & 6 yrs of exp in any job title involving analyzing, designing, developing, testing, implementing, monitoring & upgrading specialized s/w apps. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment.
Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1303.

Tech Jobs

ONTIME EXPRESS, LLC (Manassas, VA) seeks Computer Systems Analyst to: consult w/CEO on IT systems role in orgnztn., research diffrnt. tech. for orgnztn. efficncy., analyze costs/benefits of IT systems & upgrades, recommend IT installtns. to managers, add funcnlty. to existing comp. systms., design/configure new hardware & software systms., oversee installtn. & custmztn., test systms. & ensure funcnlty., write instruct. manuals & train users. Req.: HS diploma & 2 years as IT specialist. Salary: $80,000/yr. Mail CV to 10432 Balls Ford Rd., Ste 338, Manassas, VA 20109.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, devel, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp developing UI layout & forms for widgets using Angular JS, JavaScript, HTML5, & CSS3. Up to 80% telework permitted. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment.
Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1335.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Engineer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to design, devel, document, test & debug apps s/w & systems that contain logical & math solutions. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp designing user interfaces using HTML, CSS, or Javascript. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1332.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, devel, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp with Java, JSP, Servlets, HTML, jQuery, Junit Test Cases, JSON, & JavaScript. 60% telework permitted. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment.
Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1289.

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Tech Jobs

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT, or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving experience working with Z/OS Mainframe. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1357.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Programmer/Analyst in Fairfax, VA to build & code apps &/or modules using languages such as C++, Visual Basic, ABAP, JAVA, XTML, Objective C, HTML 5, & .NET. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Info Systems, Digital S/W Devel, Engg, IT or a rel field & 4 yrs in any job title involv apps devel working with Java or Spring Boot. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment.
Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1449.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp with J2EE. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1323.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Engineer in Fairfax, VA to design, develop, document, test & debug applications software & systems that contain logical and mathematical solutions. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving analyzing business problems & assessing IT solution & architecture using ThoughtSpot, Microsoft Visio, Tableau & Lucid chart. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1306.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systs &/or apps software. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT, Physics, or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving experience with Java, J2EE, & jQuery. Full time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment.
Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1345.

Tech Jobs

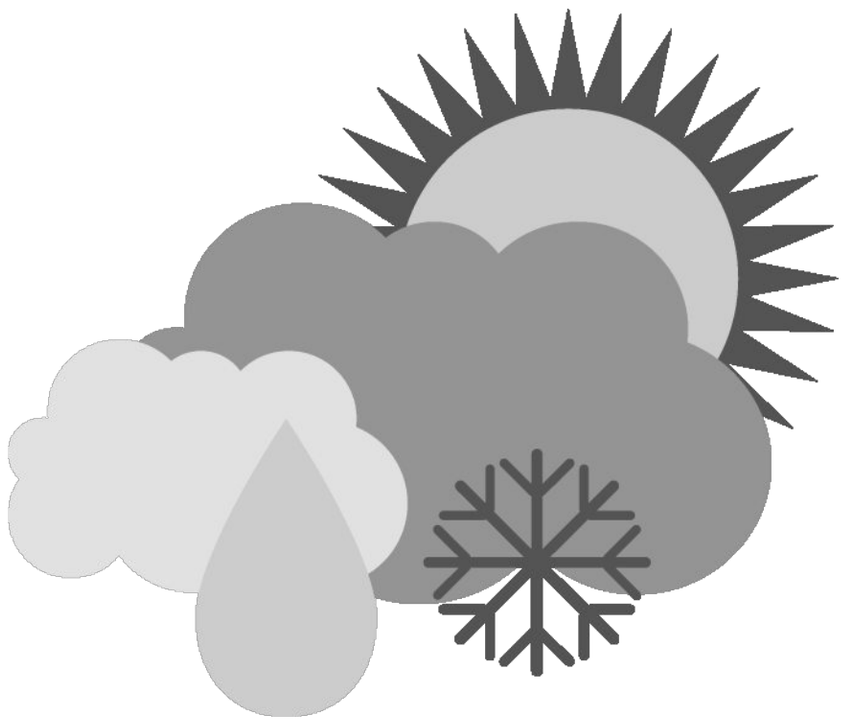
Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Database Administrator in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to plan computerized databases, including base definition, structure, documentation, long-range requirements, operational guidelines, & protection. Job req Bach deg (3-year foreign deg accepted) in Comp Sci, Engg, IT or a rel field & 3 yrs in any job title involving Oracle database administration experience. Up to 20% telework permitted. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1358.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA to research, design, devel, &/or modify enterprise-wide systs &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT, or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp with Struts, Spring, Spring Boot, Hibernate, Web Service (SOAP & REST based), Amazon Web services & JPA. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1558.

Computer/IT: McFadyen Consulting Group, Inc: Technical Architect (multiple positions)–Vienna, VA. Architect and propose Magento solutions as per client requirements. Req's Bachelor's degree in Computer Science, Information Technology or related technical field followed by 5 years with UI development and integration for the web and mobile applications that scale to high-volume production quality. Hybrid, part time telecommuting authorized.
Send resume to mkelley@mcfadyen.com and reference MCG102. No calls.

Computer/IT: Mapbox, Inc: Senior Software Engineer – Washington, DC. Lead the design & dvlpmnt of s/ware systems & features. Req's bachelor's or frgn equiv in Comp Sci, Comp Engg or rltd tech fld + 5 yrs progressively responsible s/ware dvlpmnt exp OR master's or frgn equiv in Comp Sci, Comp Engg or rltd tech fld + 3 yrs of s/ware dvlpmnt exp. Eligible for 100% remote work; job may be performed anywhere in the US. EOE. Apply directly at https://jobs.ashbyhq.com/mapbox/cee9092a-3500-494e-8e88-00d4b1f7993a.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, devel, &/or modify enterprise-wide systs &/or apps software. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT, or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving experience designing, developing, & executing business applications. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1313.



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Tech Jobs

Computer/IT: Mapbox, Inc: Senior Software Engineer – Washington DC. Contribute to, maintain, and improve software relating to EV routing. Req's bachelor's or frgn equiv in Comp Sci or rltd fld & 3 yrs of s/ware engg exp. 100% remote; job may be performed anywhere w/in US. 5% Domestic & International Travel. EOE. Apply directly at https://jobs.ashbyhq.com/mapbox/b104f361-411f-4f07-9a9e-274135e87fb3.

Computer/IT: CGI Federal Inc. seek Software Developer in Fairfax, VA to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg or equiv in Comp Sci, Comp Engg, IT or a rel field & 18 mo in any job title involving exp working on Java/J2EE, Core Java, Spring Boot, Spring Cloud, Spring Batch, Spring REST, Spring IOC, Hibernate, Python, Jython, Liquibase, Oracle, HTML5, CSS3, XML, GIT, Jenkins, Udeploy, & CI/CD. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1430.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, develop &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving IT reporting exp, including analyzing, designing & creating COBOL programs, JCL jobs, & PROCs. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1312.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Business Systems Analyst in Fairfax, VA to act as a liaison between the biz function & info systems, providing tech/functional expertise in identifying, eval, & devel basic systems. Job req Bach deg in Comp sci, Engg, IT, Accounting, Biz or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp following guidelines of the Agile Process to strategize the implementation in different sprints of the S/W Devel Life Cycle. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1557.

Consulting, Specialist Master
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Specialist Master in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage information technology projects, including data cleansing and conversions, interface design/development, and systems development life cycle for the development of Cloud-based technologies. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C81902 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Senior Consultant
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Senior Consultant in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to drive software testing and implementation services to help companies unlock the value of big technology investments, ranging from requirements to architecture, design to development, testing to deployment, and beyond as discrete services and comprehensive solutions in the insurance, financial services, healthcare, state and local government, telecom, and retail industries. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C104461 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Senior Consultant
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Senior Consultant in McLean, VA and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to drive software advisory and implementation services to help companies unlock the value of technology investments as discrete services or comprehensive solutions as well as perform assessments of existing information systems and identify gaps between business requirements and current system capabilities. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C42852 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Project Delivery Lead
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Project Delivery Lead in Rosslyn, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to oversee the creation of innovative and transformative Cloud-based information technology project solutions that address clients' next generational needs; create effective IT visions, strategies and roadmaps, in direct alignment and support of business and technology objectives. 80% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C131271 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Manager
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Manager in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage information technology projects including development and implementation ranging from requirements to architecture, design to development, testing to deployment, and beyond as discrete services or comprehensive solutions. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C105521 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Specialist Senior
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Specialist Senior in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to drive software development and implementation services to help companies unlock the value of big technology investments, ranging from requirements to architecture, design to development, testing to deployment, and beyond as discrete services or comprehensive solutions. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C116561 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Manager
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Manager in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage information technology solutions for clients that address their next generational needs. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C97521 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

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Consulting, Manager
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Manager in Arlington, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage Oracle software advisory and implementation services to help companies unlock the value of technology investments as discrete services or comprehensive solutions. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C56361 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Data Analyst
Inovalon, Inc. seeks **Data Analyst** in Bowie, MD (& other US locations), to generate bus. logic, custom queries & reports from SW apps using Microsoft T-SQL per defined tech specs. Master's in CS, Info Sys, Eng., or rltd field, or fgn equ., plus 1 yr of exp. in job off. or any Assoc., Data Analyst, or rltd job titl. Compensation for role between $102,274-$112,274/year. Telecomm. Perm.
For complete requirements, submit resume to: https://www.inovalon.com/careers/job/?gh_jid=6044034003

Data Engineer III sought by LexisNexis Risk Data Management LLC in Washington, DC to own specific set or group of data transfers in various capacities including collection setup, data transfer setup, contributor/customer setup, etc. Minimum of Master's degree or foreign equivalent in Computer Science, Electrical and Computer Engineering, Management Information Systems, or rltd + 2 yrs exp in job offered or rltd occupations required.
Employee reports to LexisNexis Risk Data Management LLC office in Washington, DC but may telecommute from any location within US. ($110,000 to $114,700/year) Interested candidates should apply via following link: https://relx.wd3.myworkdayjobs.com/relx/job/Washington-DC/Data-Engineer-III_R79885

Devops Engineer: Req Mstr or equiv in CS/IT/Engg (any field) + 1 yr exp or Bach +5 yrs post-bach prog exp as DevOps or S/W Engg. Job Loc'n: Herndon, VA & various unanticipated wrksite in US. Re- loc'n possible. Resume: HR, Karsun Solutions LLC at 12825 Worldgate Drive, Suite 500, Herndon, VA 20170 or email at: prithvishri.varadaraju@karsun-llc.com

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Eng 3, Bknd Eng – Comcast Cable Comm, LLC, Washington, DC. Write & edit auto test code tht allows for reptbl, relibl test sltns to test the wide fnctnlty of prdcts & sw & app, in accrd w specs & tech reqs; Reqs: Bach or frgn equiv in CS, Eng or rltd; 2 yrs exp write test code for sw & apps. Apply to: Job_Candidates@comcast.com Ref Job ID# 2593

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S0115-2x6

ENGINEERING
Inovalon, Inc. seeks **Senior Software Engineer** in Bowie, MD (& other US loc.), to dev & main. solns for Terabyte scale DA. Bachelor's in CS, Info Sci., Info Tech, or rltd field, plus 5 yrs of exp. in job off. or any SW Eng., Program., Anlyst, or rltd titl. Telecomm. Avail. $165,173 - $185,173/year. For complete requirements, submit resume to: https://www.inovalon.com/careers/job/?gh_jid=6043360003.

Info Systems Lead: Req. Master's + 2 yrs or Bach + 5 yrs exp. Use AWS, VMware, Red Hat Linux OS, GitHub, & CodeCommit to maintain multi-user cloud systems. F/T. Leidos Inc. Reston, VA. $135013-$170100/yr. Benefits: https://www.leidos.com/careers/pay-benefits.
May telecommute w/in the U.S. CV to sreenivasulu.kunuru@leidos.com & ref. #6727. Principals only. No calls/visa sponsorship.

Interon IT Solution LLC has multiple openings in Chantilly, VA, **Computer Programmer ($124,363/yr.):** Write, Collabrte, Implmnt, Crct, Dbug, Create & Updt code libraries. **Programmer Analyst ($124,363/yr):** Create, Write, Prfrm, Assist & Prpre rprts on analyses, findings, & prjct progress. **Software Developer ($139,589/yr):** Anlyz, Rview, Dsgn, Pln, Implmnt, Assist, Wrk & Trck all coding chnges using hlp desk. Sr. **Software Developer ($165,173/yr):** Dvlp, Rsolves, Condct, Dsgn, Anlyz, Lead, Prvide & Serve as a task leader.
All positions req trvl/reloca to var unanticiptd client loc throughout U.S w/expenses paid by emplyr. Mail res & position to, CEO, Interon IT Solution LLC, 4211 Pleasant Valley Rd, Ste #200, Chantilly, VA, 20151 or email hr@interonitsolutions.com

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Greenpeace, Inc.
IT Solutions Manager
Washington, D.C.
$212,950-$216,000

Responsible for managing the design, development, testing and implementation of project workstreams that support the Organization's overall technology program. Responsible for managing and planning of client equipment and software budget. Lead the Solutions Specialists team and manage the Senior Cyber Security and System Architect to a variety of challenging, high priority objectives.

Must have a Bachelor's degree in Computer Science, Information Systems, or a related field. Must have five (5) years of experience as an IT Solutions Specialist or a related field. Must have five (5) years or experience with the following programming languages and operating systems: Windows 10 & 11, and all versions of MacOS. Must have five (5) years of experience in implementing, configuring, and testing IT solutions. Must have five (5) years of experience in managing remote hardware admin tools, firmware, and software distribution. Must also have five (5) years of experience in a technical support team, supporting MacOS, Microsoft Windows and/or ChromeOS computers. Remote work allowed 50% of the time.

Qualified candidates should send their resume to: gpusa-resumes@greenpeace.org, and reference job code ISM1403.

IT Advisor, Technology Consulting, Technology Strategy & Transformation, (Technology Strategy & Operations) (Manager) (Multiple Positions) (1519068), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, Tysons (McLean), VA
Collaborate in the creation of technology-enabled business models of the future with our clients. Requires travel up to 60%, of which 50% may be international, to serve client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $212,960.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number – 1519068).

IT-Lanham, MD: 2U, Inc. seeks Salesforce Engineer II to collaborate directly w/Salesforce admins, integration developers, product managers, bus. analysts & internal users to build productized Salesforce applications; develop & create code-driven automation and User Experience (UX). Req Master's degr. in Electrical Enginring or Comp Science or Engineering & 2 yrs exp. Resume & Cov Letter to: Makenzie Garcia @ MGarcia@2u.com.

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washingtonpost.com
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IT Professionals (Chantilly, VA)
Software Engineers, Business Analysts, Business Systems Analysts, Computer Programmers, Software Quality Assurance Engineers, Data Developers, Sr. Business Analysts. Multiple Positions. Various worksites. May travel to unanticipated client sites nationally. Mail resume to Applet Systems LLC, Attn: HRGC, 4229 Lafayette Center Drive, Ste 1750, Chantilly, VA 20151.

IT Professionals:
Ent. Lvl to Sen. Lvl QA Analysts, Sftwr Dvlprs & Sftwr Engnrs are needed for our Sterling, VA Office. May req. traveling. Pls send resume, Cvr Ltr., & Sal. Req. to Ingenious Heads LLC, 21135 Whitfield Pl., Ste. 207, Sterling, VA 20165.

IT Professionals (Tysons, VA)
Business Analysts, Business Systems Analysts, Software Engineers. Multiple Positions. Various worksites. May travel to unanticipated client sites nationally. Mail resume to CloudWave Inc., Attn: HRGC, 1775 Tysons Blvd, Flr 5th, Tysons, VA 22102.

IT Professionals:
Ent. Lvl to Sen. Lvl (Multiple Positions) Salesforce Dvlprs, QA Anlysts, Data Engnrs, are needed for our Chantilly, VA Office. Must be willing to travel to set up systems to various clients at unanticipated locs across the nation. Pls send resume, Cvr Ltr., & Sal. Req. to Raks Group LLC at 4451 Brookfield Corporate Dr., Ste 103, Chantilly, VA 20151.

IT Professionals
(Sterling, VA): Business Analysts, Software Developers, Network Engineers. Multiple Positions. Various worksites. May travel to unanticipated client sites nationally. Mail resume to Comprobase Inc, Attn: HRGC, 21351 Genty Dr, Suite 245, Sterling, VA 20166.

IT Professionals:
Ent. Lvl to Sr. Lvl. QA Anlysts, SW Devs., & SW Engnrs. are needed for our Ashburn, VA office. May require travel. Pls send resume, Cvr Ltr., & Sal. Req. to ITiyam LLC at 44790 Maynard Sq., Ste. 230, Ashburn, VA 20147.

Lead Developer in Test
Financial Industry Regulatory Authority, Inc. (Rockville, MD) seeks Lead Developer in Test. Bach in Comp. Sci, Eng, or STEM or rltd field or foreign equiv. + 7 yrs exp in software development and/or test automation. Alt: Master's in Comp. Sci, Eng, or STEM or rltd field or foreign equiv. + 5 yrs exp in software development and/or test automation. Can work remotely. For work performed in CA, Washington, DC, MD, CO, HI, New York, NY, and WA, the chart below outlines the proposed salary range for corresponding location. In addition to location, actual compensation is based on various factors, incl but not limited to, candidate's skill set, level of exp, edu, & internal peer compensation comparisons.
CA: Min $135,054, Max $235,500; Washington, DC/Maryland: Min $135,054, Max $225,700; CO/HI: Min $135,054, Max $196,200; NY, NY: Min $135,054, Max $235,500; WA: Min $135,054, Max $225,700.
To apply, submit resume to: www.finra.org/careers; Position #R-008157

Lead Software Engineer
Cvent, Inc. seeks Lead Software Engineer in McLean, VA. Telecommuting is permitted. Apply at https://www.jobpostingtoday.com/Ref#82229.

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Market Research BI Analyst (Latam regions) (R0004340)

Prvde anlytcl & ad-hoc sprt to custmr exp for Latam rgns (Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Ecuador) to reduce churn rate. Create vislztns using SQL & Tableau to undrstnd custmr pymnt bhvrs & prpse tctcs to imprve ARPU (custmr revenue). Prfrm price elstcty anlysis thru A/B tstng tchnqs to eval rspnsvnss of consmr dmnd to chngs in prdct pricing. Prvde rprtng tools for fld ops to undrstnd custmr satsfctn surveys & track main KPIs. REQ: Mstr's degree in Data Analytics, Data Sci or clsly rltd quantitative fld + 6 mnths' exp in SQL/PL SQL OR Bchlr's degree in Data Analytics, Data Sci or clsly rltd quantitative fld + 5 yrs' exp in SQL/PL SQL. Exp must incld 6 mnths in each of the foll: Tableau; Python (Jupyter Notebooks, Spyder); Python libraries: Pandas, Matplotlib, GeoPands, Shapely; EXCEL VBA; QGIS (Geographic Information System); Power BI; machine learning techniques (incld exploration data analysis, sampling, decision trees, clustering, random forest, logistic regression; & SAS language (Base/Macro). Hughes Network Systems, 11717 Exploration Ln, Germantown, MD 20876. To apply go to https://echostar.wd5.myworkdayjobs.com/echostar. Enter job number R0004340 into search job field & follow instructions to apply.

Packaged Application Development Manager
(Accenture LLP; Arlington, VA): Manage project execution to ensure adherence to budget, schedule, and scope. Must have willingness and ability to travel domestically approximately 80% of the time to meet client needs. Multiple Positions Available. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply, go to: www.accenture.com/us-en/careers (Job# R00223369).
Equal Opportunity Employer–Minorities/Women/Vets/Disabled.

Principal Software Engineer
Inovalon, Inc. seeks a **Principal Software Engineer** in Bowie, MD (& other US locations), to develop & maintain solutions for Terabyte scale data analytics. Master's in Computer Science, Information Technology, Computer Applications, or related field, plus at least 3 years of experience in any Programmer Analyst, Software Developer, or related job titles.Telecommuting Available. Compensation for role between $139,589 - $170,000/year. For complete requirements, submit resume to: https://www.inovalon.com/careers/job/?gh_jid=6019694003

Principal Software Engineers Inovalon, Inc. seeks Principal Software Engineers for Multiple Openings in Bowie, MD (& other US locations), to develop & maintain solutions for Terabyte scale data analytics. Master's in Computer Science, Information Technology, Computer Information Systems, or related field, plus at least 3 yrs of experience in job offered or in an IT-related role. Telecommuting Permitted. Compensation for role between $139,589-$143,769/yr.
For complete requirements, submit resume to: https://www.inovalon.com/careers/job/?gh_jid=6021696003

Principal Software Engineer-Cvent, Inc. seeks Principal Software Engineer in McLean, VA. Telecommuting is permitted. Apply at https://www.jobpostingtoday.com/Ref# 35740.

Professional Programmer Analyst
Computer Sciences Corporation hiring for Professional Programmer Analyst in Ashburn, VA (Ref. #7542220). Cds, tsts, dbgs, implmnts, and dcmnts prgrms. Assst in the mdfctn of cmpny prdcts and/or cstmr/intrnl systms to meet the needs of the clnt and/or endusr. Gthrs info from the systm, anlzs prgrm and tme rqrmnts, and prprs dcmnttn to chnge exstng prgrms. Pstn rqrs a Bchlr's dgr or a frgn eqvlnt in Cmptr Scnc, Mthmtcs, or related field, and 3 yrs of wrk exprnc in job offrd, as an Prfssnl Prgrmmr Anlyst, or rltd occptn. Will work at unanticipated client sites throughout the U.S. Telecommuting is permissible. Annual Salary Offer: $114,026 per year. Full-time hires are eligible to participate in the DXC benefit program. DXC offers a comprehensive, flexible, and competitive benefits program which includes, but is not limited to, health, dental, and vision insurance coverage; employee wellness; life and disability insurance; a retirement savings plan, paid holidays, paid time off; and much more.
To apply, email resume to globallmobility@dxc.com resume must include Ref. #7542220, full name, email, address & mailing address. No phone calls. Must be legally authorized to work in the U.S without sponsorship. EOE

Pycube Inc, has multiple openings in Sterling, VA, Business Analyst ($100,069.00/yr) Wrk, Rview, Prfrm, Asist, Prvide & Prep or cntribute to briefings of appl owners.. Software Developer ($165,173.00/yr): Dvlp, Rslves, Cndct, Rsearch, Troublshoot & Prvide prjct effort estimations. Software Engineer ($139,589.00/yr): Dsgn, Anlyz, Troublshoot, Dvlp & dirct sftwre systm testing. Sr. Business Analyst ($117,749.00/yr): Anlyz, Imprve, Wrk, Creat, Oversee & Use a variety of data anlysis. Sr. Software Developer ($139,589.00/yr): Anlyz, Rview, Cnslt, Lead, Pln, Documnt & Mentor jnr dvlprs. Sr. Software Engineer ($165,173.00/yr): Dsgn, Dvlp, Lead, Maint, Articulte, Wrk, Prticipte & Rslve custmer systm issues. All positions req trvl/reloc to var unanticiptd client locs throughout U.S w/expenses paid by emplyr. Mail res & position to CEO, Pycube Inc, 21525 Ridgetop Circle, Stel #110, Sterling, VA 20166 or email HR@PYCUBE.COM

Security Delivery Associate Manager
(Accenture LLP; Arlington, VA): Provide Tier 2 and 3 (severity 1, 2, 3, 4) level troubleshooting and resolution of device-specific issues which are affecting the clients log ingestion stream. Must have willingness and ability to travel domestically approximately 5% of the time to meet client needs. Multiple Positions Available. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply, go to: www.accenture.com/us-en/careers (Job# R00222730).
Equal Opportunity Employer–Minorities/Women/Vets/Disabled.

Security & Infrastructure Lead (Reston, VA): Be involved in designing, implementing, & maintaining systems built on the Microsoft Azure platform; monitoring & managing Azure components' utilization & cost; rev business needs, architect & iterate through infrastructure revisions; designing & managing the overall security posture, incl identity management; as well as implementing & upkeep SOC2 reqs. Req's Bachelor's degree (or foreign equi. degree) in Computer Science, Information Technology, or related w/ 5 yrs. of progressive exp in IT & knowl of at least 7 of the following skills: Azure AD, VPN, Azure Security Center, VMware, Azure Cloud Infrastructure, Salesforce Cloud Platform, UNIX, LINUX, Citrix Firewall, MS Exchange & Windows. Apply HR, IOTAP, INC. 11710 Plaza America Drive, Suite 2000, Reston, VA 20190.

Senior Software Engineer @ Mastercard International Incorporated (Arlington, VA) F/T: Prvde reusble sltions for all dvlpmnt teams in domains like authntctn, caching, srving static assts, logging, error handlng, build tooling, unit & intgrtn tstng, & schdlng asynchronous wrk. Build rvolutnary prdcts that advnce how bsnsses all over the wrld seize the most value frm their data. Pstn rqres a Mstr's dgree or frgn eqvlnt in Infrmtn Systms, Infrmtn Tchnlgy, Cmptr Scnce or Engnrng or rltd & 2 yrs of exprnce in job offrd or as a Sftwre Engnr, Snior Asscte or rltd. Altrntvly, emplyr will accpt a Bchlr's dgree & 5 years of prgrssvly rspnsbl exprnce. Qlfyng exprnce must include at lst 1 yr with ech of the fllwng: Experience in the .NET ecosystem (e.g. C# coding); Experience working with databases (e.g. SQL coding); Feature development; Testing; Debugging. Rate of pay: $168,100.00 - $212,000.00 / year. Emplyr will accpt any suitble combo of eductn, training, or exprnce. Telecommuting and/or working from home may be permissible pursuant to company policies. Send resume to Aaron Cosojay, Aaron.Cosojay@mastercard.com, Mastercard, 434 W Ascension Way, SLC, UT 84123. Ref MC85-2024.

Senior Software Engineers Inovalon, Inc. seeks **Senior Software Engineers (mult. positions avail.)** in Bowie, MD (& other US locations), to dev & maintain solutions for Terabyte scale data analytics. Master's in CS, Info Science, Info Tech, Comp Info Sys, Info Systems or rltd, plus at least 3 yrs of exp. in job off. or any Soft Eng., Dev., Programmer, Analyst, or rltd titles. Compensation for role between $139,589-$149,589/year.
Telecomm. Avail. For complete requirements, submit resume to: https://www.inovalon.com/careers/job/?gh_jid=6043801003

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Senior Technical Program Manager @ Mastercard International Incorporated (Arlington, VA) F/T. Pln & mnge tchnlgy prjcts rangng frm mdrnztn effrts to prfrmnce imprvmnts, idntty, & authntctn, UX ovrhauls, & more in a cordntd way frm incptn thrgh sccssfl dlvry. Pln, intiate, & mnage IT prjcts. Pstn rqrs a Mstr's dgree or frgn eqvlnt in Comp Engg, Comp Sci, Elctrcl Engg, Engg, IT or rltd & 2 yrs of exprnce in job offrd or as a Prgrmmr Anlyst, Systm Tst Engnr, IT Prjct Mngr, Qlty Assrnce Engnr or rltd. Altrntvly, emplyr will accpt a Bchlr's dgree & 5 yrs of prgrssvly rspnsbl exp. Qlfyng exp must incldе 1 yr w/ each of the fllwng: Project Management processes, strategies, and methods; Service-oriented architecture, shared library and application framework development, and related concepts; Agile delivery methodologies (scrum/ Kanban/ other); CI/CD; Cloud technologies; Microservice design; Library development. Rate of pay: $155,501 - $181,000 / yr. Emplyr will accpt any suitble combo of edu, training, or exp. Telecommuting and/or working from home may be permissible pursuant to company policies.
Snd resume to Ashlee Nageli, Ashlee.Nageli@mastercard.com, 434 W Ascension Way, SLC, UT 84123. Reference MC86-2024.

Software Analysts-ASRC Federal Highland Technology seeks Software Analysts in Beltsville, MD to create and Present Business Requirements Definition (BRD) documentation. Telecommuting Permitted.
Apply @ www.jobpostingtoday.com Ref#13475

Software Developers: Prometheus Computing of Bethesda, MD seeks qualified Senior Software Developers to work full time in Gaithersburg, MD. Email resumes to: jobs@prometheuscomputing.com

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SOFTWARE DEVELOPERS
Ashburn, VA & various unanticipated locations throughout the U.S.: Invlv in all phases of SDLC. Dsgn, dvlp, test, & dply sw apps. Dsgn & dvlp mcrosvcs & APIs. Dply apps to cloud & web servers. Prep & excte test cases. Prfm code revw & debug. Skills req'd: Java, HTML, CSS, Angular, Spring Boot, APIs, Microservices, AWS, JUnit, & Mockito. Master's in Sci, Tech, or Engg (any) w/1 yr exp in job offrd or rltd occup req'd. Mail resume: HR, IT Minds, LLC., 44075 Pipeline Plaza, Ste 305, Ashburn, VA 20147.

Software Developer
Develop & maintain mobile/web apps. Work in a fast-paced, agile environment. Create tech designs, code, & unit tests. Provide tech estimates, articulating risks & assumptions. Contribute to app & database performance tuning & defect resolution. Perform code reviews. Explore new technologies & techniques. Lead POC solutions & services, validating their feasibility. Serves as subject matter expert. Provides tech knowledge & analysis of applications & operational environments, high-level functional systems analysis, design, integration, documentation, & implementation advice on problems. **Min. Rqmts:** Master's degree in computer science, information technology, information management or a related discipline. Knwl. of or exp. in C#, Microsoft, MVC design and API. Knwl. of or exp. in MySQL, WordPress, Angular, JavaScript, HTML, CSS, and Bootstrap. Knwl. of or exp. in JSON, XML, PHP, jQuery, AJAX and JavaScript. Resumes to job loc: United Solutions, LLC, 909 Rose Ave Ste 1100, North Bethesda, MD 20852. ATTN: S. Steenberge

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SOFTWARE ENGINEERS: Fairfax, VA & various unanticipated locations throughout the U.S. Dsgn, impl, doc, & Perf rqmt anlys. Dsgn & dvlp CI/CD pipeline to prodtnz code from dplymnt. Dvlp & mntn cmplx micro srvc archt apps. Dvlp test cases to achieve Integ & end to end test cases. Dvlp data modls for var use cases. Dsgn soltn-bsd mesagng pltfrms to enable producer/consumer patrns as per rqmt. Skills Req'd: Java, SpringBoot, Angular, Azure, Junit, NodeJS, Jenkins, Docker, ReactJS, OpenShift, AWS, Cucumber, & Kubernetes. Master's in Sci, Tech, or Engg (any) w/1 yr exp in job offrd or rltd occup is req'd. Mail Resume: HR, Vizens Corp, 11350 Random Hills Rd, Ste 800, Fairfax, VA 22030

Software Engineer
Qualtrics, LLC seeks Software Engineer in Reston, VA to develop scalable, fast, robust, and simple web-based software solutions to solve complex business problems.
Apply at www.jobpostingtoday.com ref #12463

Software Engineer 2
Asurion, LLC seeks a Software Engineer 2 in Sterling, VA to develop effective, maintainable code. Telecommuting permitted. Applicants may apply at jobpostingtoday.com/Ref # 59374

Software Engineer
Qualtrics, LLC seeks Software Engineer in Reston, VA to develop scalable, fast, robust, and simple web-based software solutions to solve complex business problems. Apply at www.jobpostingtoday.com ref #52997.

Software Engineer II
Qualtrics, LLC seeks Software Engineer II in Reston, VA to develop scalable, fast, robust, and simple web-based software solutions to solve complex business problems. Apply at www.jobpostingtoday.com ref #31135.

Software Engineer 4
Asurion, LLC seeks Software Engineer 4 in Sterling, VA. Develops effective, maintainable code in a timely fashion. Telecommuting permitted. Apply @ https://www.jobpostingtoday.com/Ref #38865.

Software Engineer (Wi-Fi/Embedded Applications) (R0004337)

Anlyze, dsgn, dvlp, tst, dcmnt & implmnt hgh prfrmnce, rl-time Wi-Fi/embd apps incr-pratng tchncl elmnts from lw lvl drvr dvlpmnt to user intrfcs. Rvw systm rqrmnts & dsgn. Wrk w/ tchncl lds across tms & dscplns to dvlp hgh avlblty sclble Satellite-Wi-Fi comm systms. Implmnt sftwre apps passing thru all stgs of dvlpmnt. Anlyze & rslve sftwre issues. Fix Wi-Fi issues from App lvl to Frmwre lvl. REQ: Mstr's degree in Comp Sci, Comp Ntwrks, Comp Engrg or closely rltd fld + 6 mnths' exp in embd sftwre apps or Bchlr's degree in Comp Sci, Comp Ntwrks, Comp Engrg or closely rltd fld + 5 yrs' exp in embd sftwre apps. Exp must incld 6 mnths in each of the foll: GDB; ntwrk device drvrs; Wi-Fi commnctn protocols; Wi-Fi stack & device drvr; Linux ntwrk device drvr; Rl-time Operating Systm; light weight IP & Kernel prgrmmng; IoT & IP prgrmmng on QEMU hrdwre virtualizatn envrnmnt. Hughes Network Systems, 100 Lakeforest Blvd, Gaithersburg, MD 20877. To apply go to https://echostar.wd5.myworkdayjobs.com/echostar. Enter job number R0004337 into search job field & follow instructions to apply.

ST Engineering iDirect, Inc., seeks a Sr Engineer I Customer Success (Herndon, VA) to sprt Satellite IP ntwrk ops for our Velocity cstmrs. Req's Bach's dgr in Comp Sci, Data Comm, EE, Telecoms Engg, or rltd fld & 2 yrs of Satellite Telecom or data-comm exp. Exp must invlve the fllwng: techncl knwldg & trbleshtng skills w/ mltpl technlgs incl. telecomm, Satellite, IT, VMWare, Web, Web Servce, Kubernetes, & Kafka; Satellite IP netwrk; RF technlgy; IP netwrkng, routng, protocols & equip incl. TCP/IP, BGP, UDP, Cisco router, switch, TCP Dump, ipconfig, netstat, traceroute, & speedtest; Common databse; collbrtng & workng in cross-functnl teams; Netwrk traffic generting tools incl. Spirent & iPerf; RF test equip incl. Spectrum Analyzer; Satcom Radio Frequency systms; & IP Multicast protocol for Video/Audio transmssn over IP. Up to 10% domstc & 10% intl trvl reqd. Telecmmtng prmttd up to 3 days/wk. Please apply to Job Code 2024-2584 at https://careers-idirect.icims.com.

Tech Architecture Manager
(Accenture LLP; Arlington, VA): Design, implement, and/or support world-class information technology architecture for Accenture or our clients, spanning simple IT projects to large-scale, enterprise-level change programs. Must have willingness and ability to travel domestically approximately 80% of the time to meet client needs. Multiple Positions Available. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply, go to: www.accenture.com/us-en/careers (Job# R00222457).
Equal Opportunity Employer–Minorities/Women/Vets/Disabled.

Technical Team Lead
Skience LLC (Herndon, VA) seeks Technical Team Lead. Req. BS in CS, Info. Sys., or rel or foreign equiv. + 5 yrs exp. developing tech solutions in the Salesforce ecosystem. Req. exp w/ SF development skills including Lightning Web Components/Aura, Workflows/Process Builders, Apex/Triggers/Batch; and other related exp. Must have strong comm skills. Telework is available.
To apply send resumes to michele.sipes@skience.com Ref job code: TTL07.2024

Technical Product Management Specialist, The Boeing Company, Arlington, VA
Plan, initiate, and manage information technology (IT) projects. Conduct research to determine customer needs and to create strategies for the development of products. 100% telecommuting permitted; candidate may reside anywhere in the U.S. To apply, visit jobs.boeing.com and search Job ID # 00000431449.

TECHNOLOGY
Peraton Enterprise Solutions LLC accepting resumes for position of Subject Matter Expert Technl Specist in Chantilly, VA (Ref. # 6618142). Provide Subject Matter Expertise for following srvcs supported by team in multitenancy environ: Active Directory (AD), System Center Configuration Manager (SCCM), Virtualized Machines in Hyper-V & VMware running Windows OS (Incls Virtual Desktops & Servers). Telecommuting is permitted. Will work at unanticipated end client sites throughout the U.S. Sal Range: $148,379.10/yr - $179,000.00/yr. This represents typical sal range for this position based on exp & other factors. EOE/D/V. E-Mail resume to Peraton Enterprise Solutions LLC, recruit_hr@peraton.com. Resume must incl Ref. #, full name, email address & mailing address. No phone calls. Must be legally authorized to work in U.S. w/o sponsorship. EOE.

TECHNOLOGY
Peraton Enterprise Solutions LLC accepting resumes for position of Expert Technl Specialist in Chantilly, VA (Ref. # 6618141). Design, maintain, & enhance Microsoft Intune, Microsoft Endpoint Configuration Manager (SCCM) infra mgmt, Co-Mgmt, Cloud Mgmt Gateway. Telecommuting is permissible. Will work at various unanticipated end clients throughout the U.S. Sal Range: $171,631.37/yr - $179,000.00/yr. This represents the typical salary range for this position based on exp & other factors. EOE/D/V. E-Mail resume to Peraton Enterprise Solutions LLC, recruit_hr@peraton.com. Resume must incl Ref. #, full name, email address & mailing address. No phone calls. Must be legally authorized to work in U.S. w/o sponsorship. EOE.

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The Washington Post Jobs

FEATURED EMPLOYERS SPOTLIGHT

WHO ARE FEATURED EMPLOYERS?

JOBSEEKERS: Washington Post Featured Employers are D.C.'s largest and most prominent organizations. They include employers across a range of industries, like IT, accounting, healthcare, and government, and are hiring candidates today! Whether you're applying to your first job, transitioning to a new career or looking for a promotion, our Featured Employers have the jobs you want.

This weekly FE spotlight showcases just a small sample of our Featured Employers, enabling you to learn more about each company and some of the thousands of jobs they are currently hiring for. Stay in the game and check out the FE Spotlight each Sunday to discover new D.C. area companies and other great jobs. Washington Post Jobs is D.C.'s #1 Source for Jobs.

HOW TO APPLY: To view a complete list of Featured Employers' job listings, visit www.washingtonpost.com/jobs. There you'll be able to learn even more about each company and apply to jobs. For maximum exposure to potential employers, register on line, create a job seeker profile and upload your resume. Visit washingtonpost.com/resume to create an account and submit your resume.

EMPLOYERS: Searching for talent? Join some of D.C.'s top companies on the area's #1 job board. Washington Post Jobs has over 1.5 million registered online jobseekers across a variety of industries, occupations and career levels. Whether you're in the government, technology, accounting or healthcare industries, Washington Post Jobs has the jobseekers you're looking for.

Washington Post Jobs' Featured Employer packages offer you a valuable and unique way to source qualified candidates. Featured Employers also enjoy value-added exposure across The Washington Post and washingtonpost.com. Become an FE today and leverage the power of Washington Post media. To learn more, contact your Jobs account representative and call 202-334-4101.

Featured Employers of The Week

Adventist HealthCare

Employer Industry: Healthcare/Location: Gaithersburg/Openings: 443—*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 Cares, Home Care Services, Employer Health Programs and Physician Networks. We are nationally recognized and honored especially for our Cardiac, OB, Cancer, Stroke, Orthopedic, Rehabilitation and Mental Health services. Our mission is to extend God's care through the ministry of…*

Registered Nurse (RN), Every Weekend Night Shift, Operating Room–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an Operating Room (OR) Registered Nurse (RN) who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As an Operating Room Registered Nurse, you will: Report directly to the…

Medical Interpreter - Spanish, Day Shift, Rehabilitation–*Silver Spring*
Adventist HealthCare Rehabilitation seeks to hire an experienced Medical Interpreter for our Rehabilitation Department who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Medical Interpreter, you will: Provide…

Physical Therapist (PT), PT Weekend Shift, Inpatient Rehabilitation–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare Rehabilitation seeks to hire an experienced Physical Therapist (PT) for our Inpatient Rehabilitation Department who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As a Physical Therapist (PT) you…

Cardiac Cath Lab Registered Nurse (RN), Day Shift, Cardiac Cath Lab–*Silver Spring*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Registered Nurse for our Cath Lab who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Cath Lab Registered Nurse, you will: Effectively uses the Nursing…

ED Tech (CNA), Day Shift, Emergency Department–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Emergency Department Technician for our Emergency Department who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As an Emergency Department Technician, you will: Role-models positive…

Emergency Department Technician (CNA), Day Shift, Emergency Department–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Emergency Department Technician for our Emergency Department who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As an Emergency Department Technician, you…

George Mason University

Employer Industry: Education/Location: Fairfax/Openings: 213—*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.*

Online Learning Specialist–*Fairfax*
Department: Library. Classification: Library Specialist 3. Job Category: Classified Staff. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible; up to 2 days telework and 3 days in office. Pay Band: 05. Salary: Salary no less than $53,000, commensurate with education and experience…

Administrative Assistant to the CHO & Office Specialist–*Fairfax*
Department: University Life - Housing and Residence Life. Classification: Admin Office Specialist 3. Job Category: Classified Staff. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Pay Band: 03. Salary: Salary commensurate with…

Term Instructor–*Fairfax*
Department: Costello College of Business. Classification: 9-month Instructional Faculty. Job Category: Instructional Faculty. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: On Site Required. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background Check: Yes…

Executive Scheduler - Office of the Provost–*Fairfax*
Department: Office of the Provost. Classification: GMU Worker. Job Category: Part-Time / Hourly Wage. Job Type: Part-Time. Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: On Site Required. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background Check: Yes. About the Position: As a…

Resources & Research Support Specialist–*Fairfax*
Department: Library. Classification: Library Specialist 2. Job Category: Classified Staff. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Manassas, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible; up to 2 days telework. Pay Band: 04. Salary: Salary no less than $43,000 commensurate with…

Communications Website Manager–*Fairfax*
Department: Advancement and Alumni Relations. Classification: GMU Worker. Job Category: Part-Time / Hourly Wage. Job Type: Part-Time. Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background Check: Yes. About the Department: The University…

Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority

Employer Industry: Delivery and Transportation/Location: Washington D.C. / Openings: 29—*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 compact to plan, develop, build, finance and operate a balanced regional transportation system in the National Capital area. Construction of the Metrorail system began in 1969. Four area…*

Automatic Train Control Technician–
The selection for Maintenance and Construction is made on the basis of fitness and ability with preference given to: Maintenance and Construction…

Communications Equipment Technician–*Washington D.C.*
The selection for Maintenance and Construction is made on the basis of fitness and ability with preference given to: Maintenance and Construction…

Project Manager (Non-Technical)–*Washington D.C.*
WMATA is looking for a skilled professional to assist with and oversee project management related tasks and duties as well as other day to day efforts to join our team and drive recruitment-related projects and tasks. In this role, the ideal candidate will…

Technical Program Manager, Power Sys. Rel.–*Washington D.C.*
The Washington Metropolitan Transit Authority (WMATA) Office of Power Engineering is looking for a Technical Program Manager for Power System Reliability. This is a professional and technical electrical engineering supervisory position, where the successful candidate will be responsible for leading and…

MICC Operations Manager, Bus–
Education: High school diploma or GED Experience A minimum of seven (7) years of experience in a control center or similar transit operational environment, to include at least four (4) years in a supervisory/management capacity Certification/Licensure Valid driver's license Preferred…

Mechanic Helper-Power High Voltage–
The selection for Maintenance and Construction is made on the basis of fitness and ability with preference given to: Maintenance and Construction…

Visit washingtonpost.com/jobs to view complete details and to apply to these and thousands of other listings.

Capital One

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…*

Senior Manager, Generative AI Product Engineering - People Leader - (Remote Eligible)–*McLean*
Our mission at Capital One is to create trustworthy, reliable and human-in-the-loop AI systems, changing banking for good. For years, Capital One has been leading…

Full Time Branch Ambassador - New Jersey Market–*Nutley, NJ*
The Reimagined Branch Experience: Welcome to a new idea in banking. Here at Capital One, we're redefining how people bank. You see, we believe banking should fit our customers' everyday lives…

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 Cares, Home Care Services, Employer Health Programs and Physician…*

Registered Nurse (RN), Every Weekend Night Shift, Operating Room–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an Operating Room (OR) Registered Nurse (RN) who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As an Operating Room Registered

Medical Interpreter - Spanish, Day Shift, Rehabilitation–*Silver Spring*
Adventist HealthCare Rehabilitation seeks to hire an experienced Medical Interpreter for our Rehabilitation Department who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a…

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.*

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Administrative Assistant to the CHO & Office Specialist–*Fairfax*
Department: University Life - Housing and Residence Life. Classification: Admin Office Specialist 3. Job Category: Classified Staff. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Pay Band: 03…

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…*

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The selection for Maintenance and Construction is made on the basis of fitness and ability with preference given to: Maintenance and Construction…

Communications Equipment Technician–*Washington D.C.*
The selection for Maintenance and Construction is made on the basis of fitness and ability with preference given to: Maintenance and Construction…

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…*

Senior Business Systems Analyst–*Fairfax*
At Dewberry, we seek to develop our FP&A arm through data-driven insights and innovative solutions. We are actively seeking an enthusiastic and detail-oriented Financial Analyst to join our FSG team. This entry-level position is perfect for recent graduates eager to apply…

Scientific Programmer–*Fairfax*
Dewberry is currently seeking a Scientific Programmer to join our Resilience Solutions Group in our Fairfax, VA office (note: alternate offices and remote locations may be considered on a case-by-case basis). The role will support federal, state, and local government clients to help…

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 Assistant - Education Research–*Rockville*
Westat is an employee-owned corporation providing research services to agencies of the U.S. Government, as well as businesses, foundations, and state and local governments. Westat's research, technical, and administrative staff of more…

Senior Research Associate - Innovative Health Care–*Rockville*
Westat is an employee-owned corporation providing research services to agencies of the U.S. Government, as well as businesses, foundations, and state and local governments. Westat's research, technical, and administrative staff of more…

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…*

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 ASHA members; and serve as…

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 the…

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…*

Engineer III–*Fairfax*
As a BAS/EMCS technical expert takes the lead to determine system requirements for new installations and retrofits. Takes complete project management responsibility and ownership of BAS/EMCS and HVAC capital projects during construction. Serves as department expert for BAS/EMCS systems to…

Construction/Maintenance Project Manager II–*Fairfax*
The incumbent will provide senior project management leadership and is responsible for the overall development and management of large scale and/or multiple concurrent complex capital and non-capital projects for and in occupied spaces or development and management…

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.*

Exterior Electrician ($7,500 Sign-on-Bonus)–*Washington D.C.*
Compensation Grade: T19. Salary Range: $33.16-$43.10. Opening Date: June 28, 2024. As an Exterior Electrician you will maintain and repair medium voltage (4160V to 34.5KV) electrical equipment for Ronald…

Heavy Equipment Repairer–*Washington D.C.*
Compensation Grade: T16. Salary Range: $27.07-$35.19. Opening Date: June 28, 2024. As a Heavy Equipment Repairer, you will perform a wide range of shop duties, as well as assist mechanics with preventive…

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…*

Laboratory Field Technician I - Temporary–*Herndon*
Under close supervision of the Laboratory Supervisor(s), performs routine field sampling and analysis of water from various sources to assure that drinking water meets regulatory requirements. Performs general laboratory maintenance…

System Control Engineer I/II/III–*Herndon*
Under close supervision of the Supervisor Systems Control, performs engineering work associated with the maintenance of computerized process control, data acquisition and data transmission for water plant production and distribution systems. Responsibilities…

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…*

Mathematics Teacher (Middle School) - General Pool (2024-25 SY)–*Alexandria*
The Teacher facilitates student success in academic and interpersonal skills through implementing district approved curriculum; documenting teaching and student progress/activities/outcomes; addressing specific educational needs of…

High School Math Teacher - General Pool (2024-25 SY)–*Alexandria*
The Teacher facilitates student success in academic and interpersonal skills through implementing district approved curriculum; documenting teaching and student progress/activities/outcomes; addressing specific educational needs of students' providing a safe…

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…*

Accounting Technician (Accounting, Junior Analyst)–*Washington D.C.*
Clearance Required: Public Trust. Education Required: BA/BS. US Citizenship: Required. The MIL Corporation is seeking a detail-oriented and organized individual to join our team supporting a Federal client as an Accounting Technician…

Junior Accountant (Accounting, Analyst)–*Washington D.C.*
Clearance Required: Public Trust. Education Required: BA/BS. US Citizenship: Required. The MIL Corporation is seeking a motivated and detail-oriented Junior Accountant (Accounting, Analyst) to join our team supporting a Federal client. The Junior…

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.*

Communications Director–*Washington D.C.*
The Communications Director coordinates and integrates the work of business units across the organization to develop multichannel communications strategies designed to drive engagement and membership and shape the organization's image in the marketplace.

Procurement Operations Analyst–*Washington D.C.*
The Procurement Operations Analyst supports the purchase card program to facilitate the purchase of small dollar procurement actions. Produces procurement data reports, identifies trends, and provides recommendations to management. Administers procurement system…

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…*

Senior Therapist–*Alexandria*
The City of Alexandria is located in northern Virginia and is bordered by the District of Columbia (Potomac River), Arlington and Fairfax counties. With a population of approximately 150,000 and a land area of 15.75 square miles, Alexandria is the seventh largest city in the Commonwealth of…

Senior Therapist - Forensic Discharge Planner, Jail Services Team–*Alexandria*
The City of Alexandria is located in northern Virginia and is bordered by the District of Columbia (Potomac River), Arlington and Fairfax counties. With a population of approximately 150,000 and a land area of 15.75 square miles, Alexandria is…

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…*

Senior Software Developer–*Gaithersburg*
Are you ready to enhance your skills and build your career in a rapidly evolving business climate? Are you looking for a career where professional development is embedded in your employer's core culture? If so, Chenega Military, Intelligence & Operations…

Space Planner–*Washington D.C.*
Are you ready to enhance your skills and build your career in a rapidly evolving business climate? Are you looking for a career where professional development is embedded in your employer's core culture? If so, Chenega Military, Intelligence & Operations…

PEG LLC

Consulting–*PEG, LLC is in its twenty-sixth year being a diverse energy efficiency, engineering, environmental and management consulting firm operating principally in the Eastern and Central United States. As a leader in Home Energy Ratings, a winner of multiple Energy Star Awards, and a standout in the construction industry, PEG has provided Home Energy Ratings for over 170,000 homes. We strive to continually improve building energy efficiency and therefore, the quality of homes and life in the communities that we service. Please visit our website at www.pegenv.com to learn more about PEG!*

Building Energy Performance Programs Analyst–*Fairfax*
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Junior Residential Mechanical Designer–*Fairfax*
PEG, LLC is in its twenty-sixth year being a diverse energy efficiency, engineering, environmental and management consulting firm operating principally in the Eastern and Central United States. As a leader in Home Energy Ratings, a winner of…

Ensco, Inc

iDefense / Aerospace, Technology and Software Function–*ENSCO, Inc. represent a $165 million international technology enterprise with over 750 employees headquartered in the Washington, D.C., area. Since 1969, ENSCO has provided innovative engineering, science, and technology solutions to government and private sectors worldwide, specializing in aerospace, national security, and surface transportation. Their projects operate in mission-critical environments where safety, security, reliability, and resilience are paramount.*

Senior Technician
We are currently seeking a Senior Technician for our ATIP maintenance group which supports a variety of railroad transportation activities to maintain and ensure safe rail systems for the Federal Railroad Administration and railroad companies.

Consultant SME
Provides analytical and program support. Contributes to engagement work plan development and often leads assigned engagement tasks to completion. Applies business modeling, process modeling, and business design techniques; formulate diagnoses through financial or statistical modeling, assesses…

Rigil Corporation

Consulting–*Rigil is an award-winning strategy, technology, and products company committed to making life better for every individual and community they support. Founded in 2005 as a woman-owned business, Rigil had one premise: There is always a better way. A better way to serve customers, deliver solutions, and foster a balanced working community.*

Civil Engineer for Western Service Area Districts
The contractor will provide engineering support to the districts to support locally implemented projects (those projects being implemented by the Systems Service Center (SSC) without ES involvement). This type of support will involve creating and reviewing simple engineering…

SWAC Executive Administrator
An A&AS contractor is a knowledgeable and trusted advisor to the Government. As a SWAC Executive Administrator, you will take direction directly from the SWAC leadership, serve as a strategic advisor to optimize the day-to-day operation of the SWAC offices in the NCR and…

Service Coordination

Consulting, Nonprofit–*Service Coordination, Inc. (SCI), is a non-profit organization and a leading provider of quality case management and advocacy for people with disabilities, mental health diagnoses, medically complex needs, older adults, and others across Maryland. Over the past 40 years, we've remained a leader in our field, impacting thousands of lives by focusing on people, their individual needs and goals, and delivering transformative services. Our driving force is a dedication to our mission, culture, and core values, with an unwavering belief in putting…*

Compliance Specialist
Under the supervision of the Compliance Manager, the Compliance Specialist works to ensure that the organizations policies, procedures, and processes meet legal, ethical, and regulatory compliance specifications to support Team Members in providing high quality, effective, and efficient person…

Head of Design
The Head of Design manages all aspects of Service Coordination Inc.'s (SCI) creative output, bringing designs to life. Reporting to the Vice President of Marketing and Communications, this role will inspire and guide creative work that breaks through the clutter, reinforces SCI core values, and engages key audiences…

Sheehy Auto Stores

Automotive–*In 1966, Sheehy Ford began as a small, suburban, family-owned car dealership just off the Washington, D.C. Beltway. Today, Sheehy Auto Stores is one of the Top 30 Dealer groups in the country. The company has grown to more than $2 billion in sales and has expanded to include import and domestic franchises with 27 dealerships throughout the Washington, D.C., Richmond, Virginia, Baltimore, Annapolis, and Hagerstown, Maryland areas. We are proud to represent these brands: Ford, GMC, Honda, Hyundai, Infiniti, Lexus, Lincoln, Mazda, Nissan, Subaru, Toyota…*

Automotive Service Technician
Sheehy Auto Stores is seeking skilled Service Technicians to join our team. Skilled technicians are in high demand. So, to keep a good service tech, you have to treat them right. Here, you'll work alongside some of the best in the business.

Automotive Body Shop Estimator
Sheehy Auto Stores is seeking a Body Shop Estimator to join our team. The ideal candidate will be a bright, motivated, and energetic professional. Our dealership works as a team and strives to be the best for our customers. If you feel your skills would be a valuable asset to our customers, we…

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REAL ESTATE GUIDE

G10

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EZ

SUNDAY, JULY 14, 2024

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All advertisements for the sale or rental of dwelling units published in The Washington Post are subject to the Federal Fair Housing Act, which makes it illegal to advertise 'any preference, limitation, or discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, handicap, familial status or national origin, or intention to make any such preference, limitation, or discrimination.' State law forbids discrimination based on factors in addition to those protected under federal law.

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SW-2BR apt. Just renov, wall-to-wall crpt. Special: $1800 per mo. Central AC/heat. Call **202-207-5569**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Roommates

NW PETWORTH - Large furn room in quiet home, close to shopping, on busline. $895. **301-529-5430**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Roommates

SW - Just renov, wall-to-wall crpt. Special: $200 & up per wk. Central AC/heat. Call 202-207-5569

MARYLAND

Roommates

LANHAM - 1BR bsmt $975. 1 lg BR $670. House to share. All util inc. N/S. M Pref. **240-423-7923**

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815 Legal Notices

All medical records retained by Laura Primakoff, Ph.D will be destroyed after September 3, 2024. Clients can obtain their records or have them transferred by contacting Dr.Primakoff at drprimakoff@gmail.com, calling 301-299-6888, or coming to Davis Library, 6400 Democracy Blvd., Bethesda on September 3 between 10am and 12noon.

830 Special Notices

Public Notice
All medical records retained by Dana O'Brien, PhD, LLC will be destroyed after September 5, 2024. Clients can obtain their records or have them transferred by contacting Dr. O'Brien at dr.danaobrien@gmail.com, calling 3014934320, or coming to 11119 Rockville Pike, #200, Rockville, MD on Sept. 5 between 9:00 and11:00 AM.

825 Bids & Proposals

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOUSING AUTHORITY

REQUEST FOR PROPOSAL (RFP)
SOLICITATION NO.: 40-2024

Healthcare Pilot Program for On-Site Primary Healthcare for DCHA Properties

The District of Columbia Housing Authority (DCHA) invites interested licensed organizations who will provide and implement a pilot program to include on-site primary care and nursing services to DCHA Properties.

SOLICITATION DOCUMENTS will be available beginning **Monday, July 15, 2024, on DCHA's website** at www.dchousing.org under "Business" and "Solicitations".

SEALED BID RESPONSES ARE DUE ON OR BEFORE Wednesday, July 31, 2024, at 11:00 AM.

Email LaShawn Mizzell-McLeod, Contract Specialist at LMMCLEOD@dchousing.org with copy to business@dchousing.org for additional information.

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Country Property & Estates

White Post, VA $810,000



OPEN SUN 1-4
1190 Gun Barrel Road
White Post, VA MLS#:VACL2002858
Historic White Post view this rare offering of a solid brick ranch on 8.4 wooded & open acres with mountainous views. This custom home has 3-4 bedrooms, 2.5 baths, L.R, F.R., finished lower level and more! Outdoor paradise with a deck, patio and covered porch. Enjoy 2 level oak board shop w/ 4,000 sq ft. $810,000 – with an adjoining 8.2 acre lot.
Lisette Turner 540.247.4585
www.lisetteturnersellshomes.com

225 Collectibles

BUYING: Baseball Cards and collections + all sports cards. Call **202-322-7241**

610 Dogs for Sale

FRENCHTON: Reduced $700-900, M/F, health guar. French Bulldog $2000-3000. 301-252-9213 www.windsoroakfarm.com Windsor Oak Puppies Facebook-videos

GERMAN SHEPHERDS 2 adult males for adoption. Call **703-953-8404**



GOLDEN RETRIEVER PUPPIES FOR SALE - AKC, first shots, dewormed, ready for their forever home. Parents on site, and health guaranteed. $850. **540-810-0093**

610 Dogs for Sale

MALTESE PUPS - Pure bred, white, 2 females, 1 male, 8 weeks old, Ready now, Registered. Asking $1000 . 571-398-9366

MINI AMERICAN SHEPHERD (AUSSIE)- AKC, parents tested and cleared, vet checked, M/F available. Purcellville, VA. $2,000. Call Jane 540-454-2680

MINIATURE SCHNAUZERS - ACA Reg, up to date on shots and deworming. Vet checked. Ready to go. $800 each. Call 301-616-8085

MINI BORDER COLLIES: Border x Papillon. $2000. 540-229-1191 suburbanbordercollies.blogspot.com

ROTTWEILER PUPPIES - AKC Reg, 10 weeks old, UTD worming & vaccinations, champion bloodlines, health tested parents, family raised. Charlottesville, VA. **Call 434-882-4635**

SHIH-CHON: "Teddy Bears". Reduced $850-1050 Maryland. SHIH-TZU: $950. M/F. Health guar. 301-252-9213 www.windsoroakfarm.com Windsor Oak Puppies Facebook-videos

610 Dogs for Sale

SHIH TZU PUPPIES — Pure bred, Shots, dewormed, fam raised, 1 male B&W, AKC parents on site. $750. Bluemont, VA. **571-271-4603**

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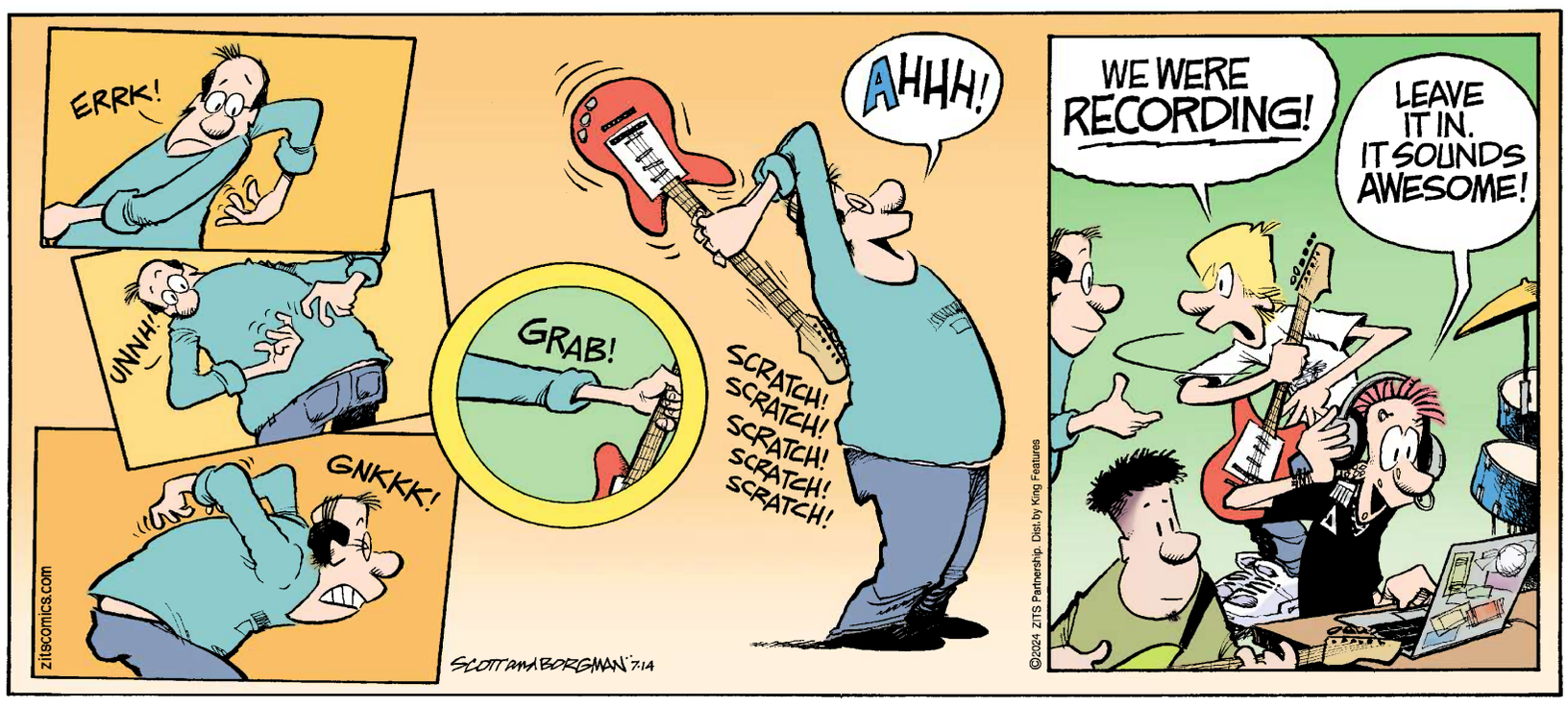
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ZITS

By Jerry Scott & Jim Borgman



BABY BLUES

By Rick Kirkman & Jerry Scott













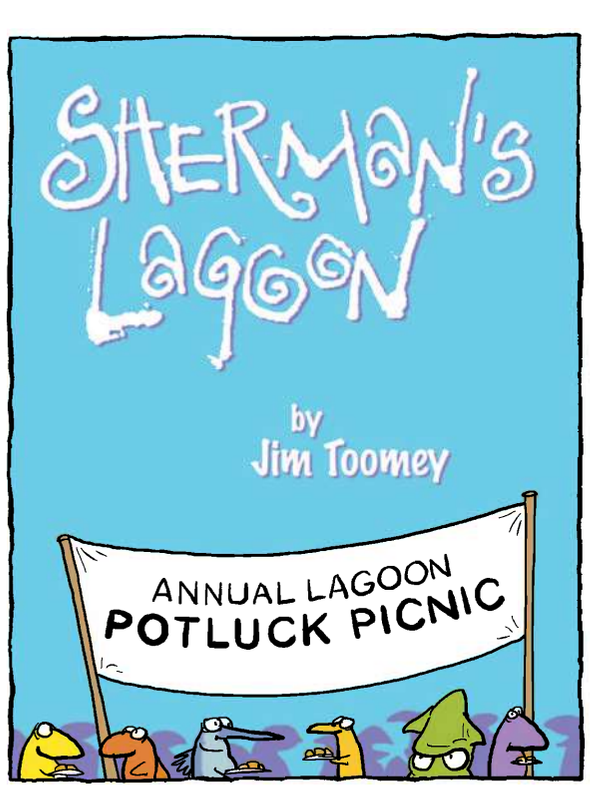


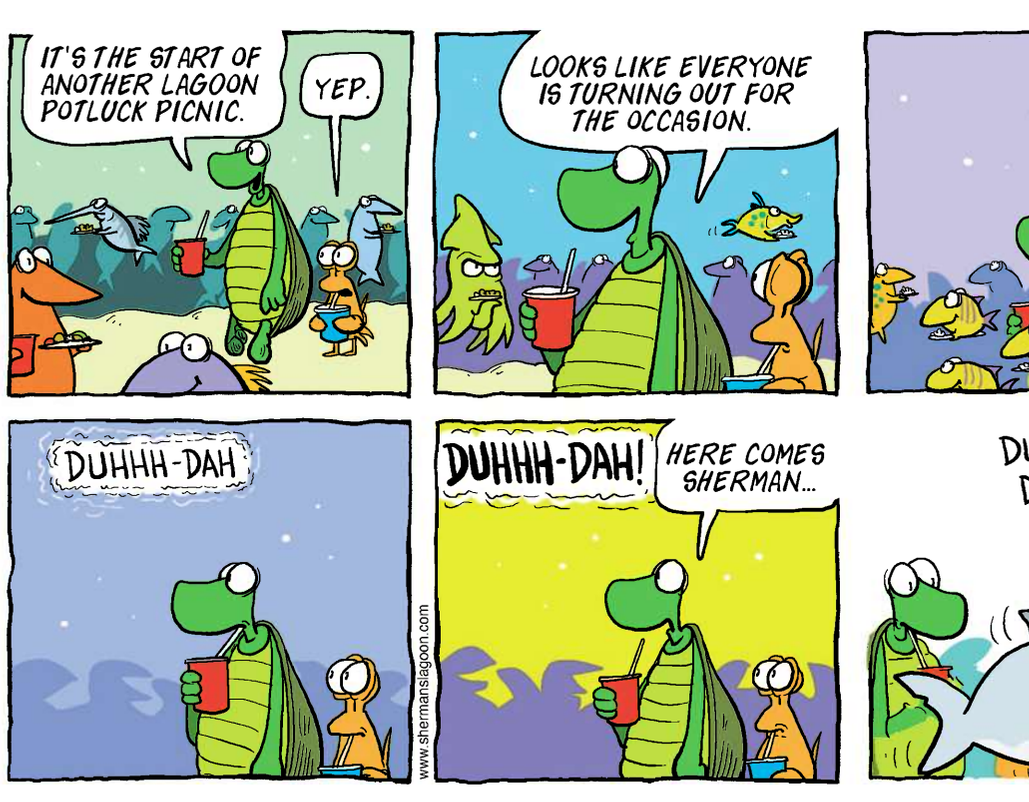






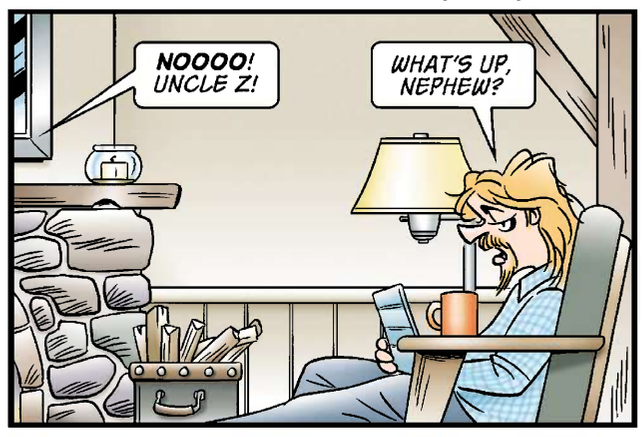


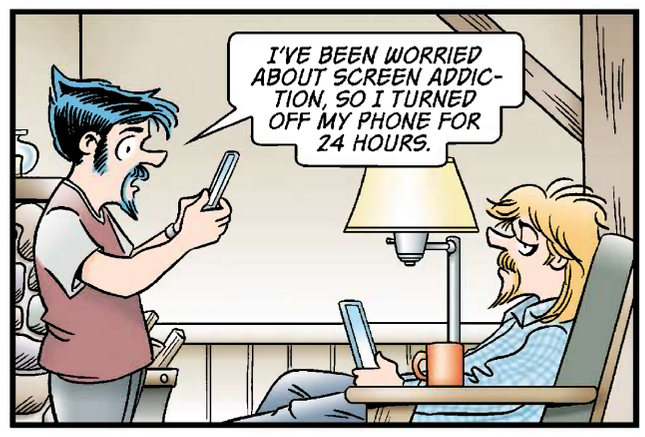




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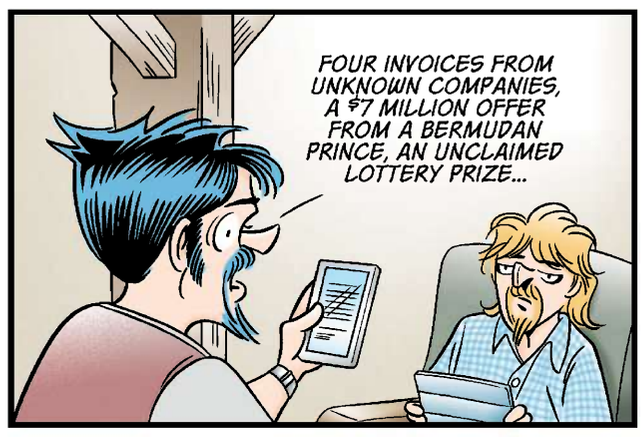
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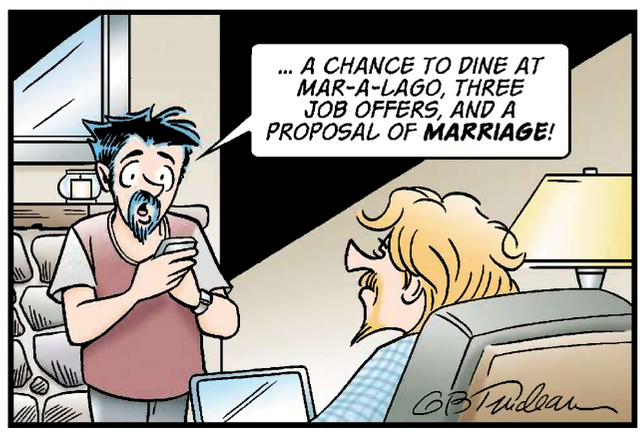




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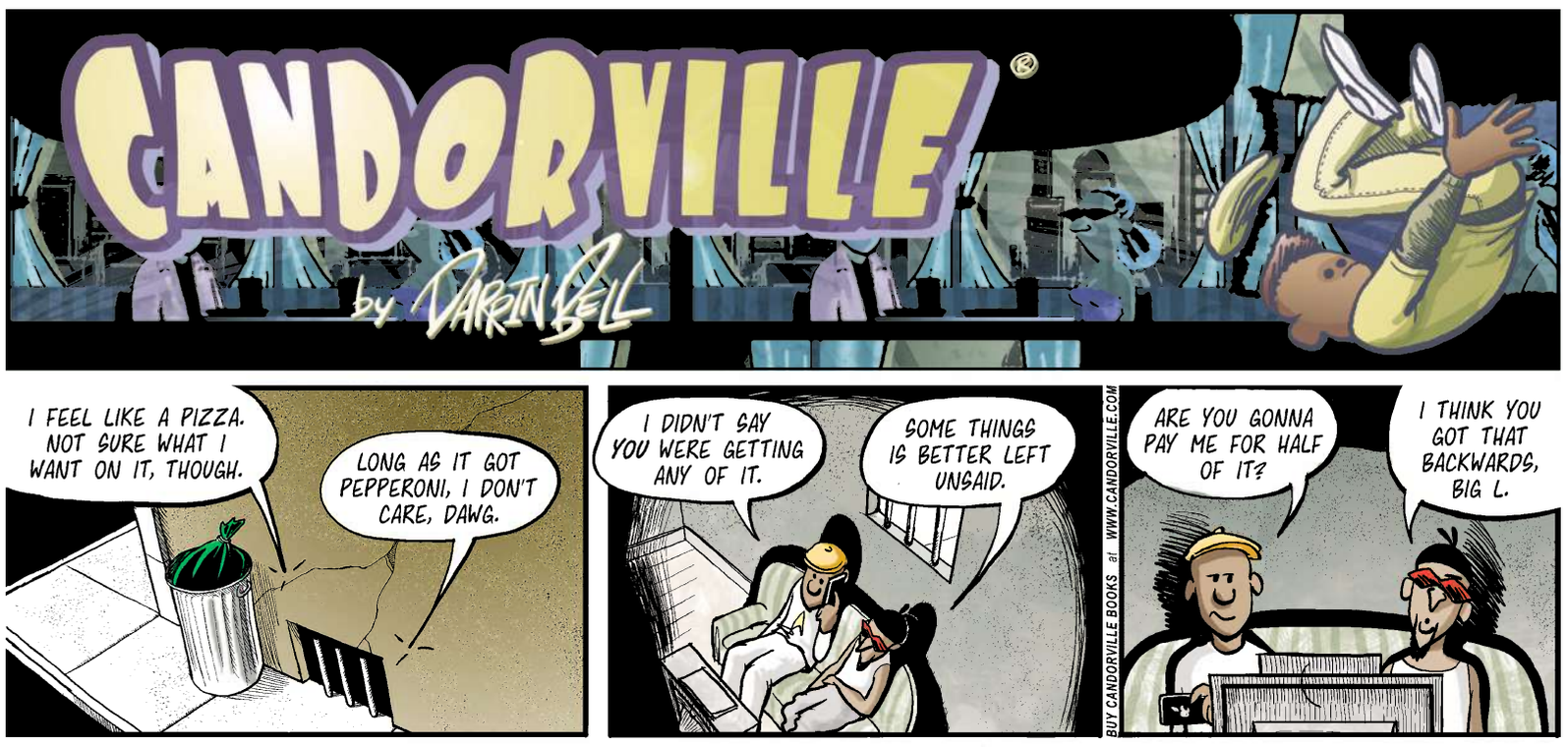
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by Darrin Bell



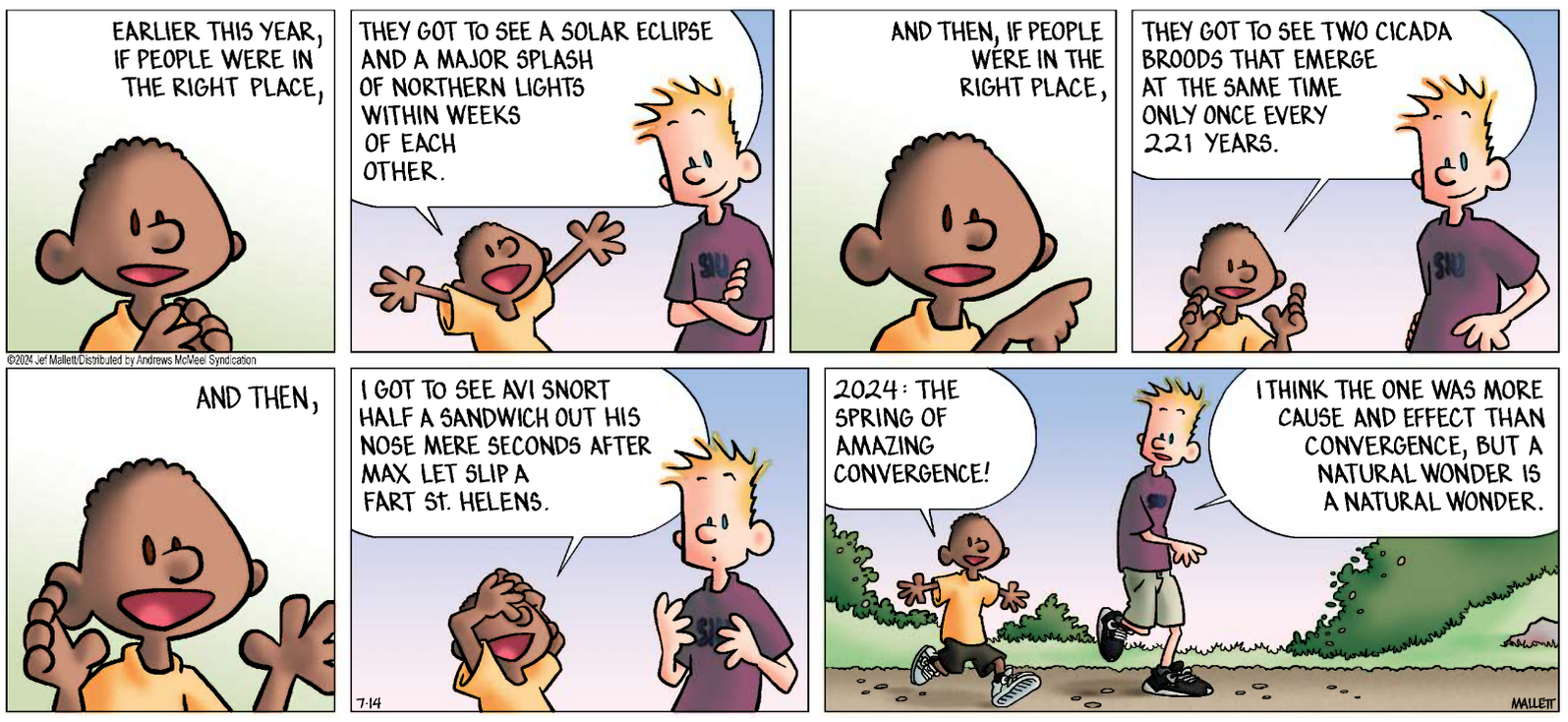
THE ARGYLE SWEATER

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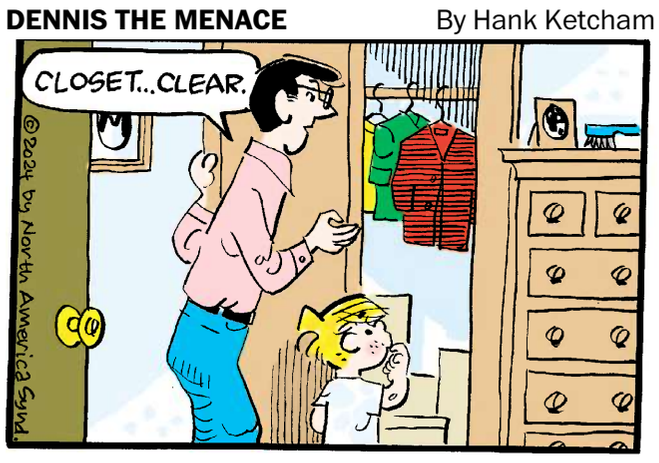
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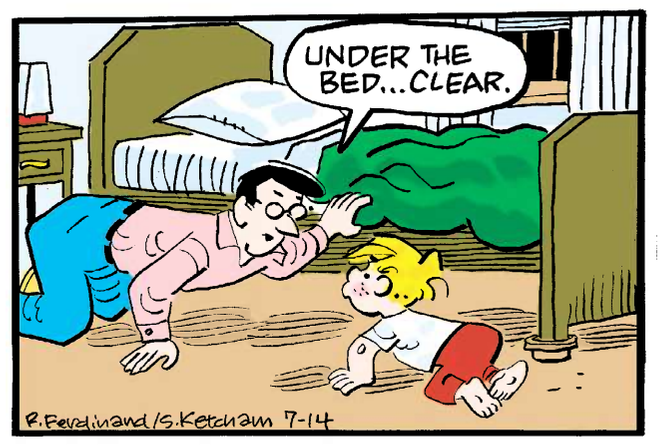
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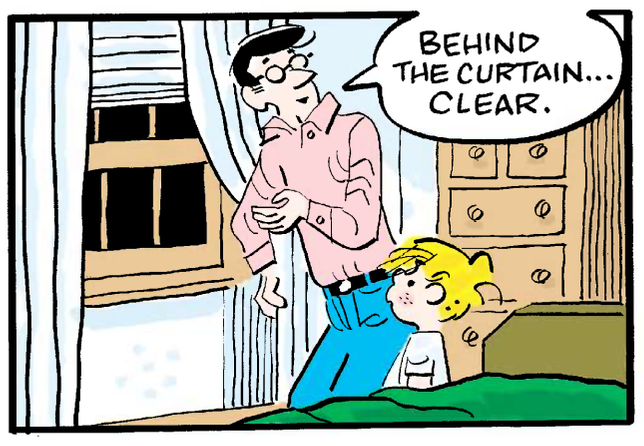


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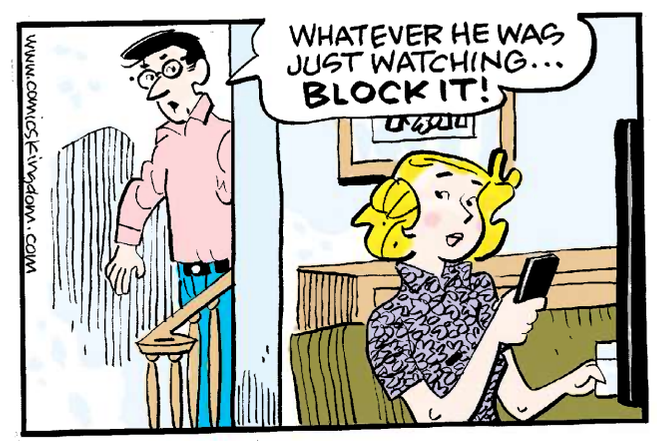
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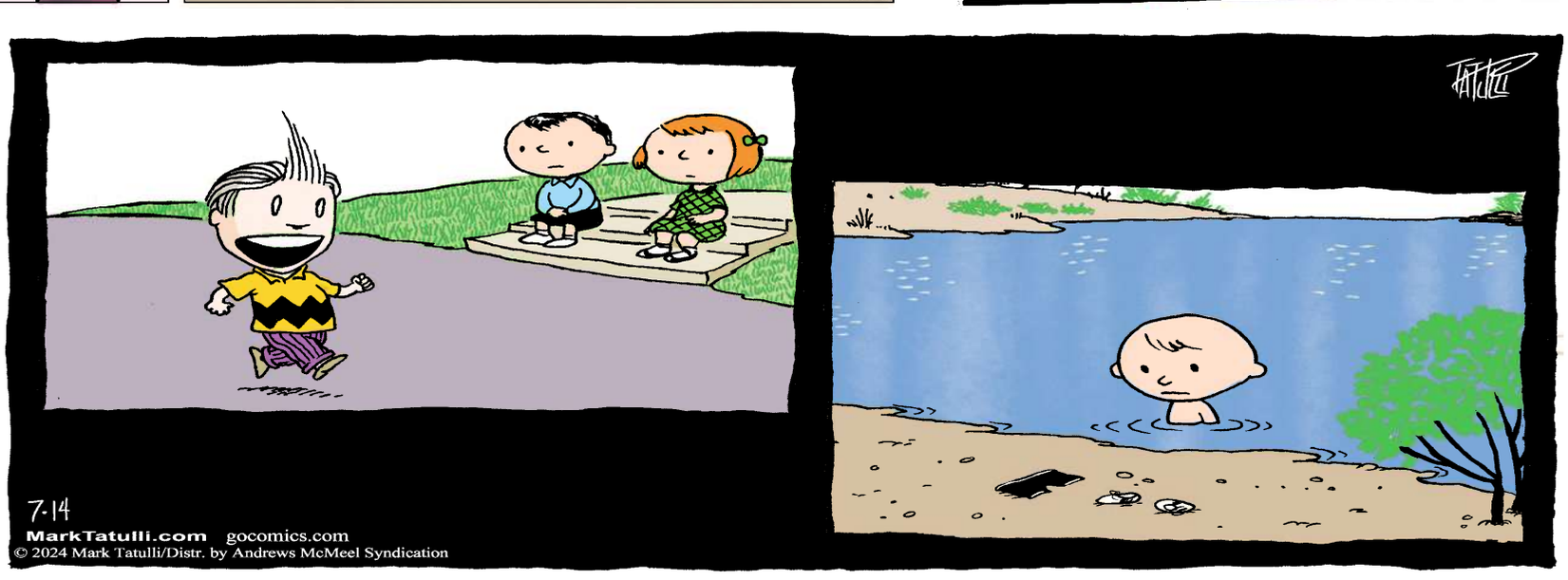


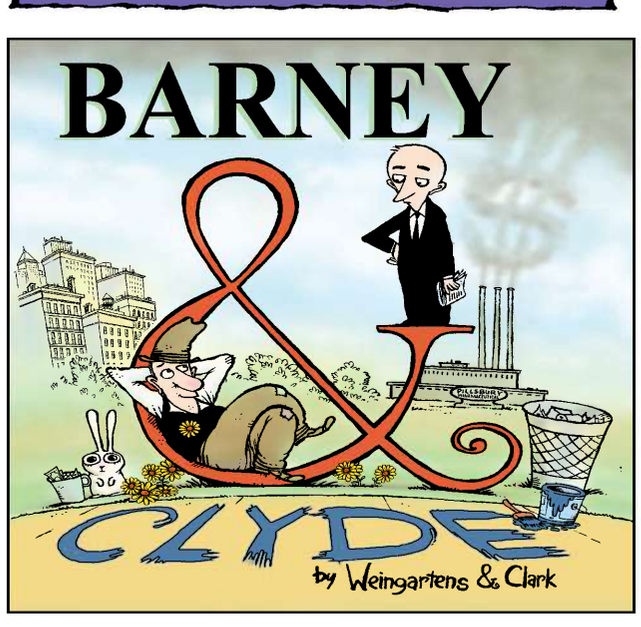


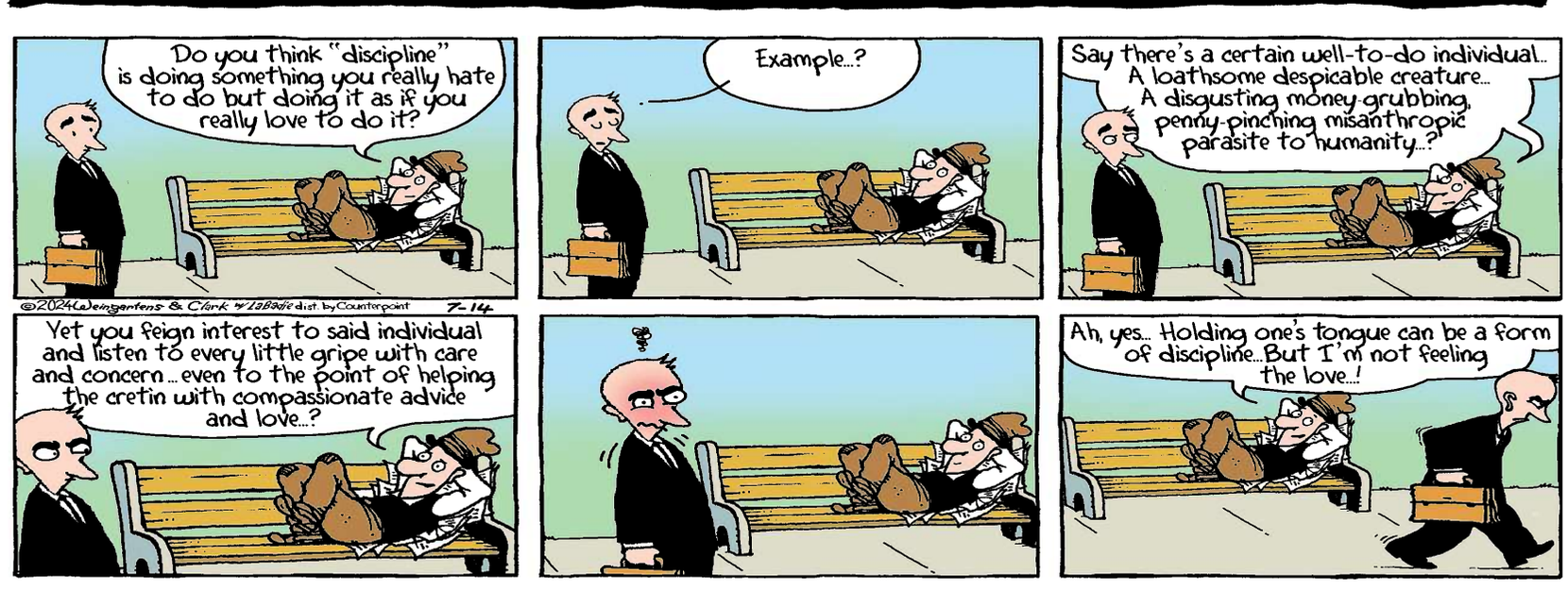












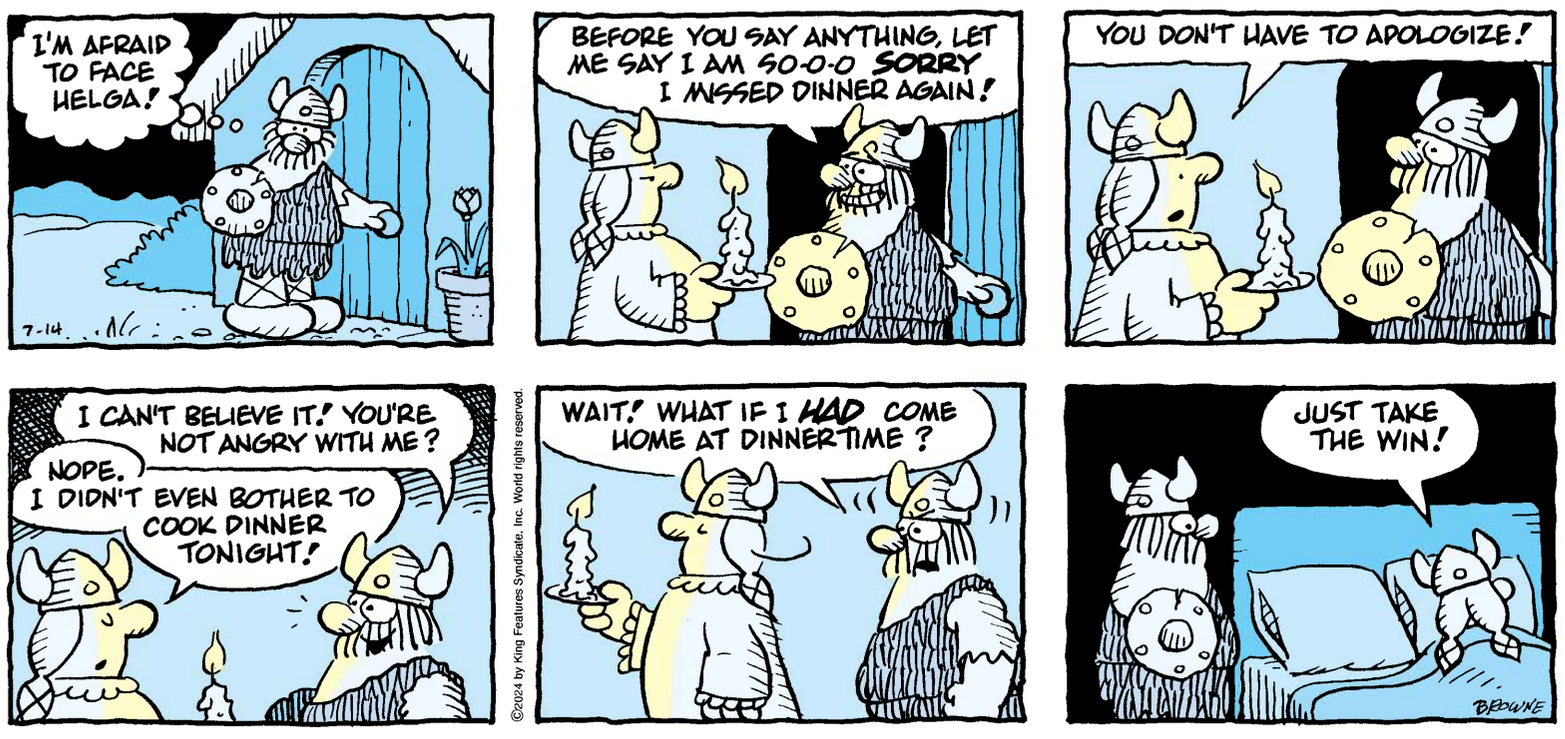
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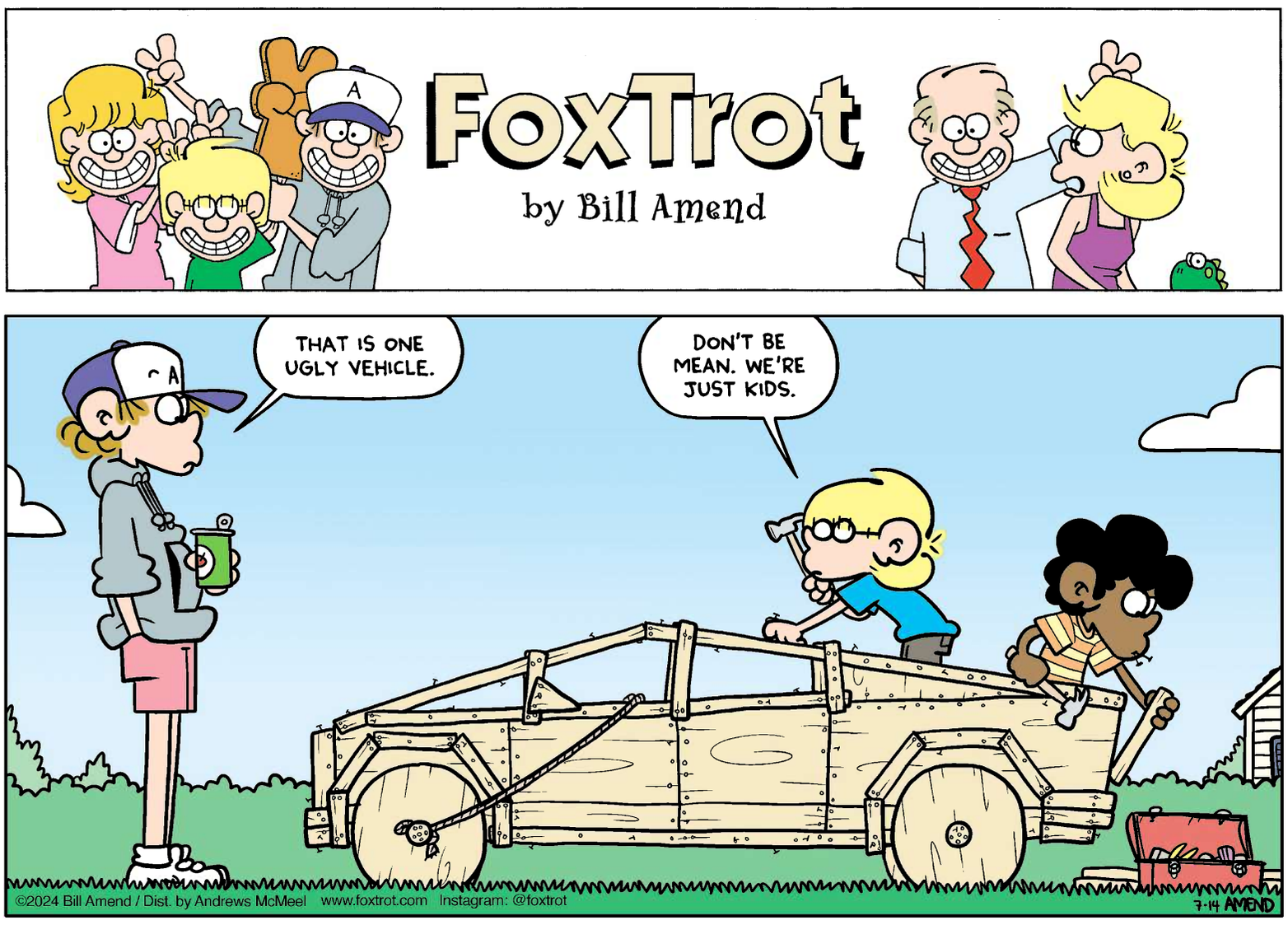
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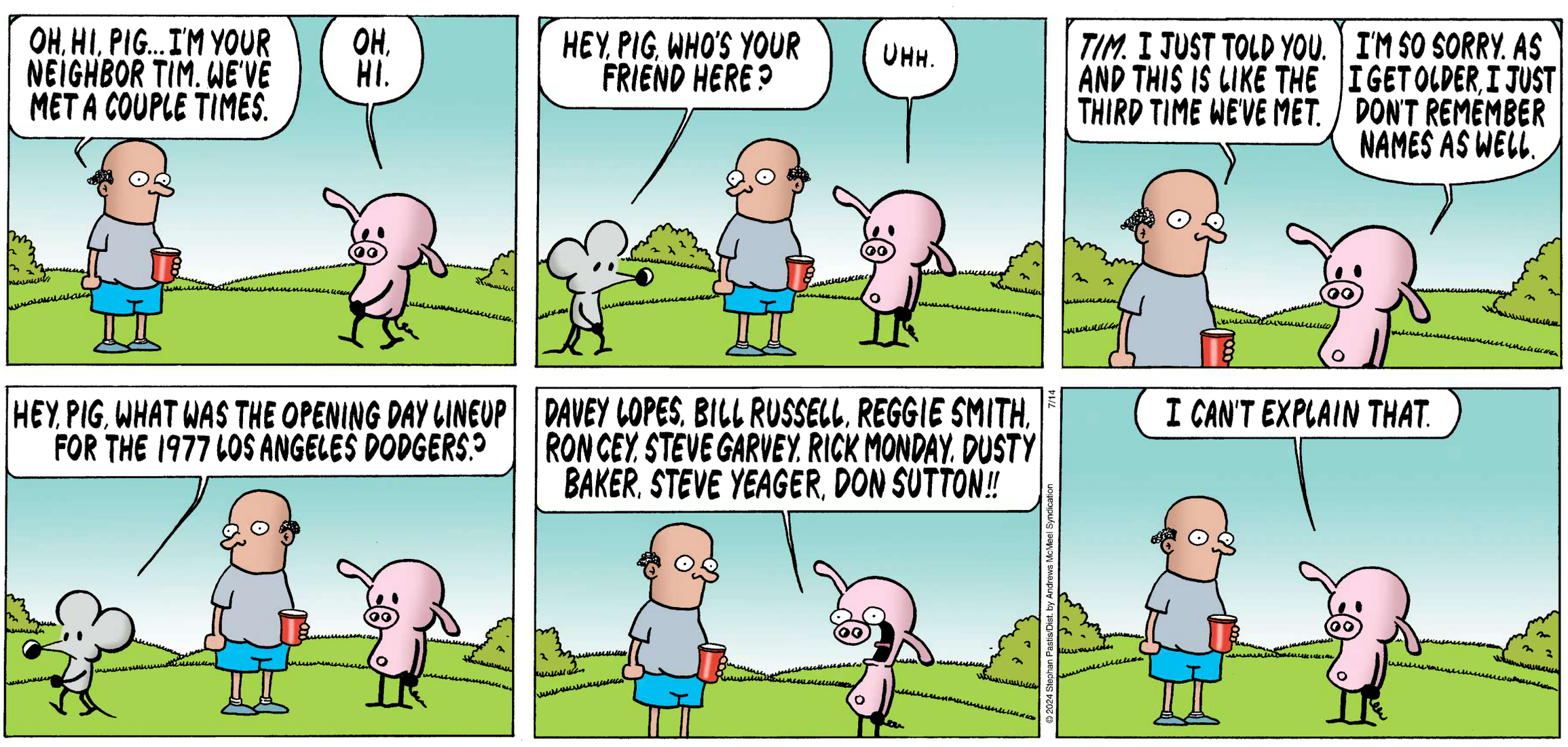
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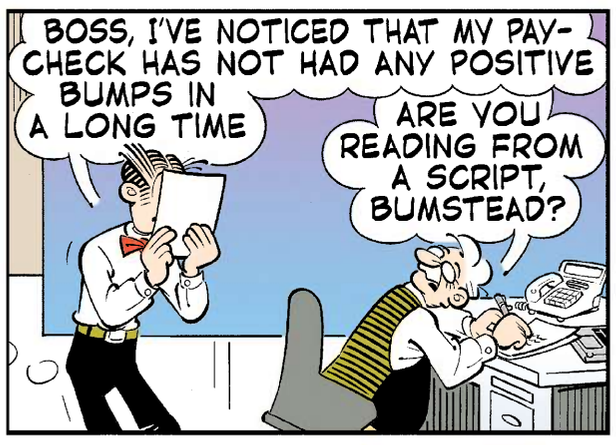
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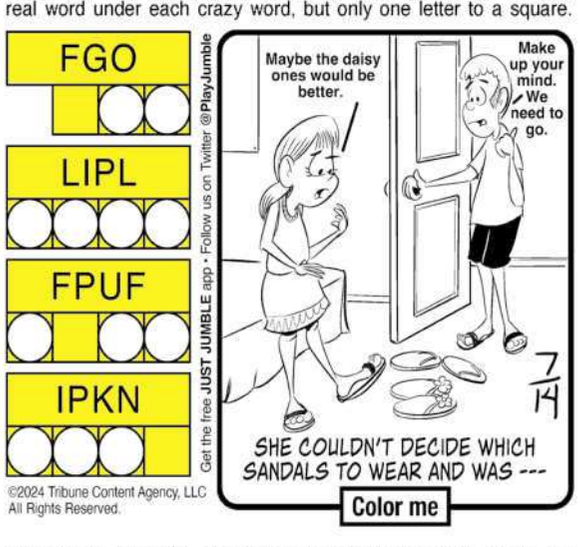


JUMBLE FOR KIDS

THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME!®

By David L. Hoyt and Jeff Knurek

The letters of these crazy words are all mixed up. To play the game, put them back into the right order so that they make real words you can find in your dictionary. Write the letters of each real word under each crazy word, but only one letter to a square.



Now you're ready to solve today's Jumble For Kids. Study the picture for a hint. Play around with the letters in the circles. You'll find you can put them in order so that they make your funny answer.

____ - _____

ANSWER (HOLD UP TO MIRROR)

Jumbles: log pill bell fink
Answer: Flip-flopping

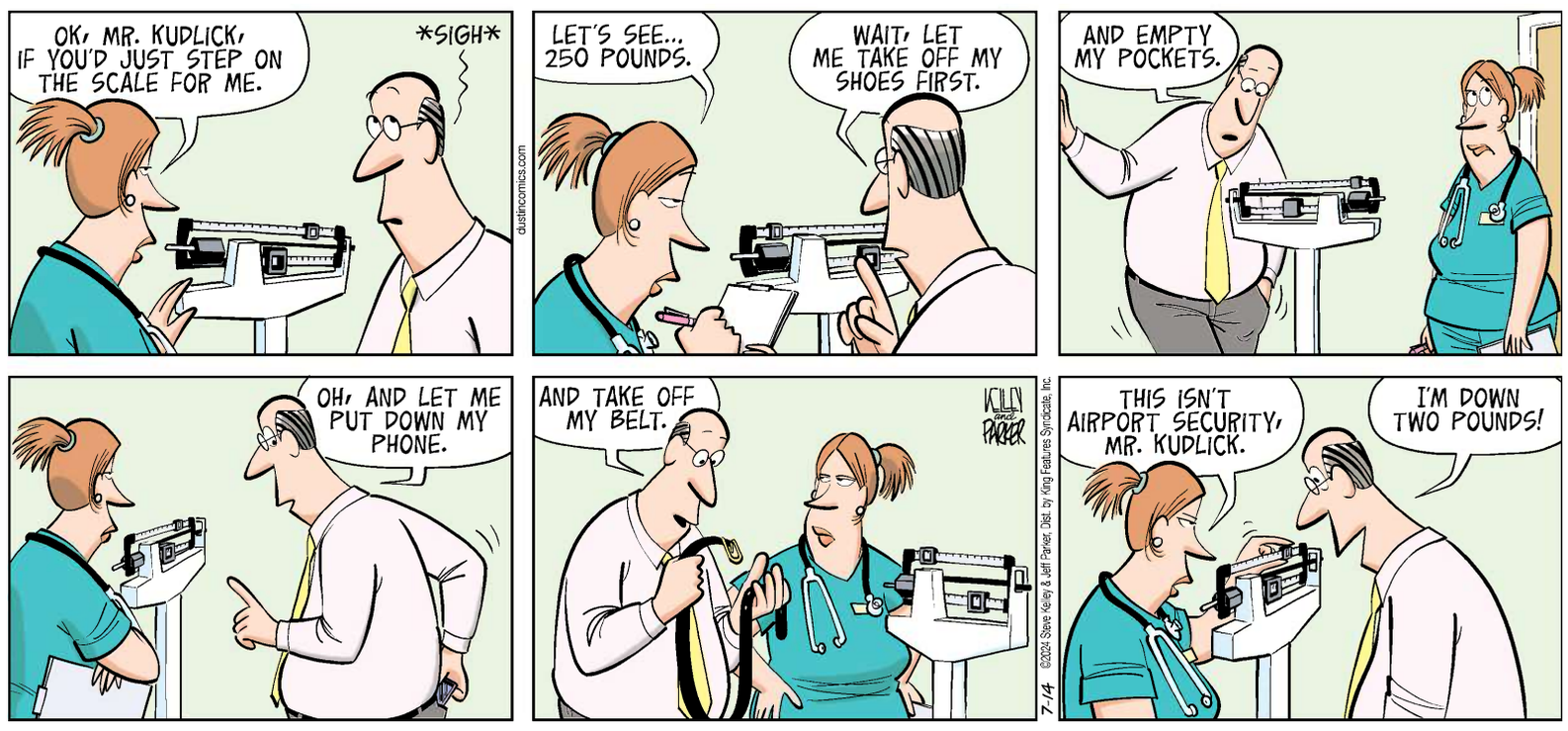
WUMO

By Mikael Wulff & Anders Morgenthaler



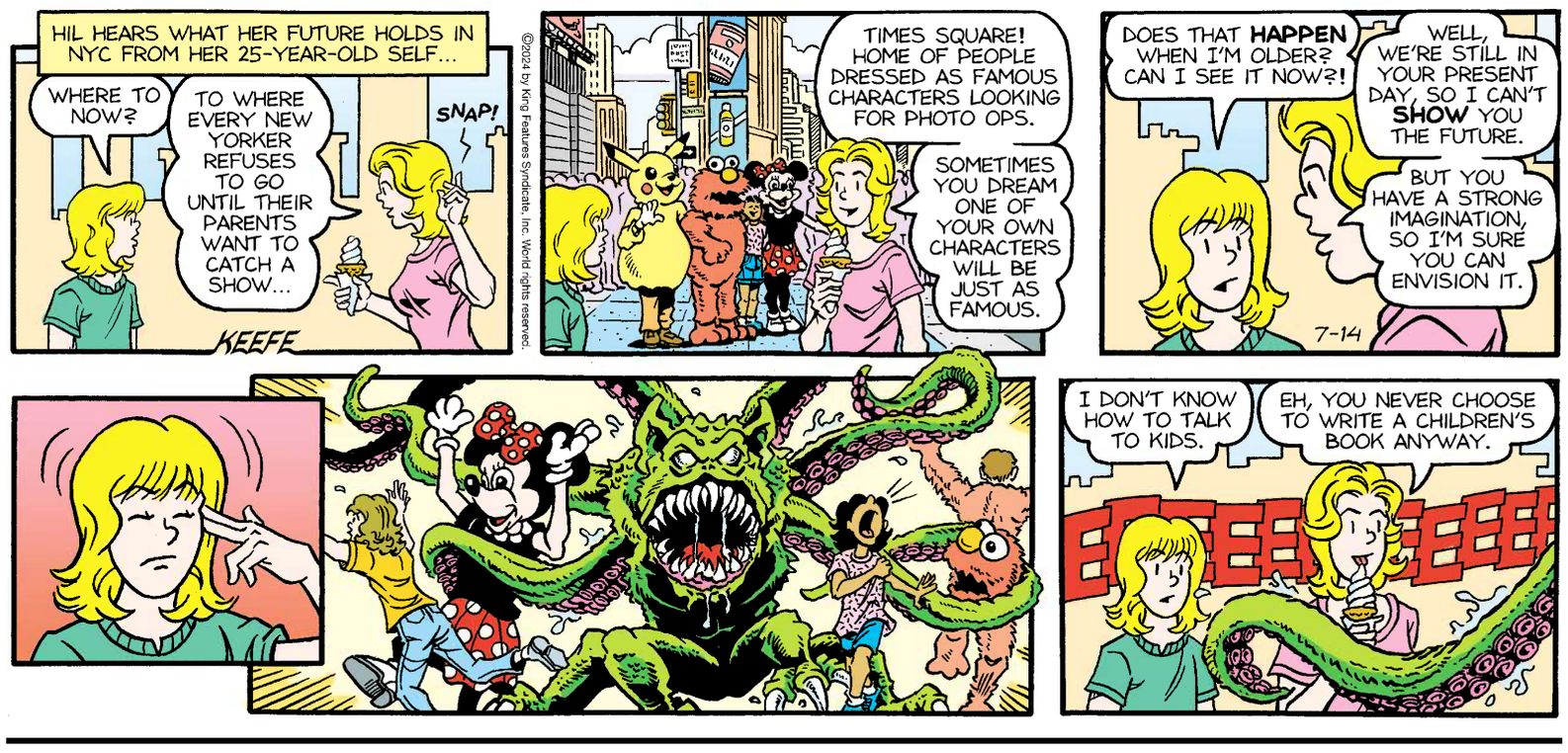
DUSTIN

By Steve Kelley & Jeff Parker



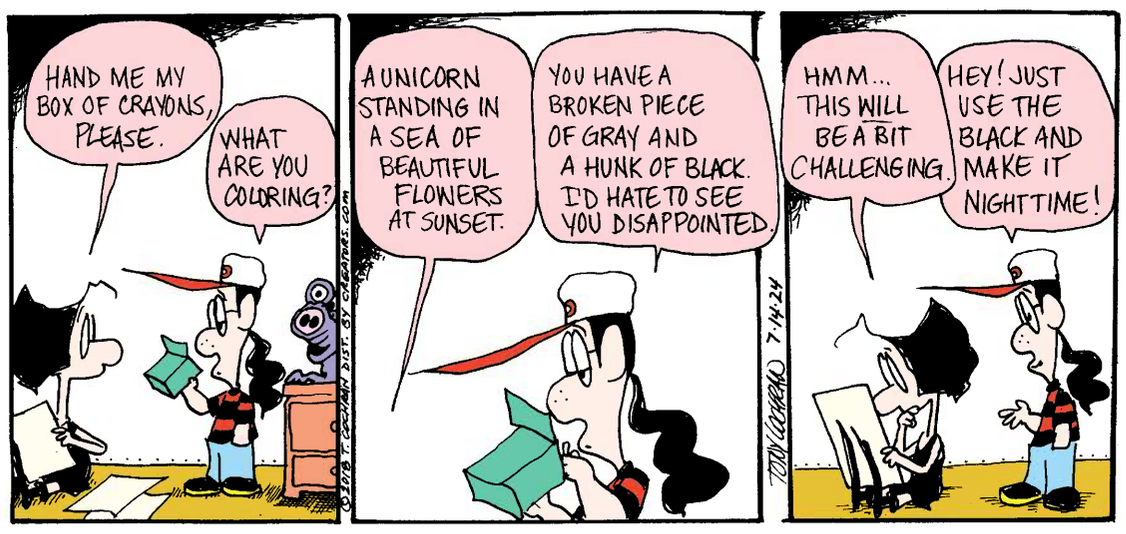
SALLY FORTH

By Francesco Marciuliano & Jim Keefe


HIL HEARS WHAT HER FUTURE HOLDS IN NYC FROM HER 25-YEAR-OLD SELF...
WHERE TO NOW?
TO WHERE EVERY NEW YORKER REFUSES TO GO UNTIL THEIR PARENTS WANT TO CATCH A SHOW...
SNAP!
KEEFE
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TIMES SQUARE! HOME OF PEOPLE DRESSED AS FAMOUS CHARACTERS LOOKING FOR PHOTO OPS.
SOMETIMES YOU DREAM ONE OF YOUR OWN CHARACTERS WILL BE JUST AS FAMOUS.
DOES THAT HAPPEN WHEN I'M OLDER? CAN I SEE IT NOW?!
WELL, WE'RE STILL IN YOUR PRESENT DAY, SO I CAN'T SHOW YOU THE FUTURE.
BUT YOU HAVE A STRONG IMAGINATION, SO I'M SURE YOU CAN ENVISION IT.
7-14
I DON'T KNOW HOW TO TALK TO KIDS.
EH, YOU NEVER CHOOSE TO WRITE A CHILDREN'S BOOK ANYWAY.
EEEE

Agnes

by TONY COCHRAN



Rhymes with Orange

by HILARY B. PRICE





The Family Circus

By Bil Keane



Speed Bump

by Dave Coverly

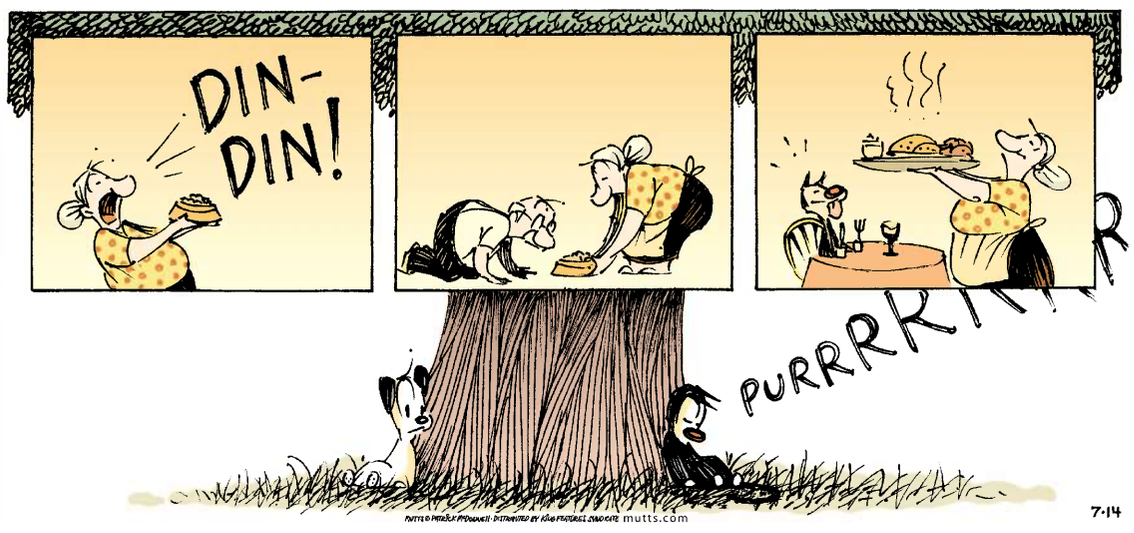




des Mutts

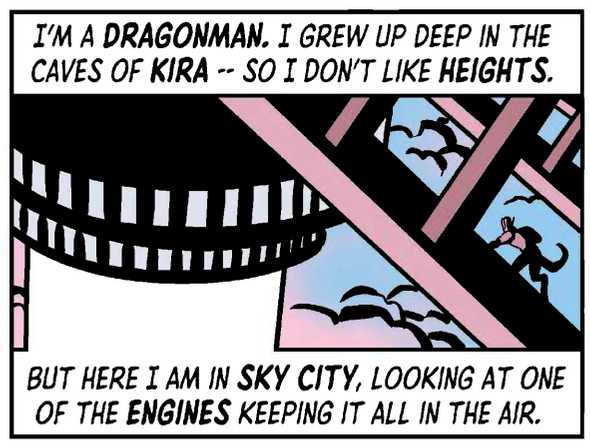
par Mc Donnell



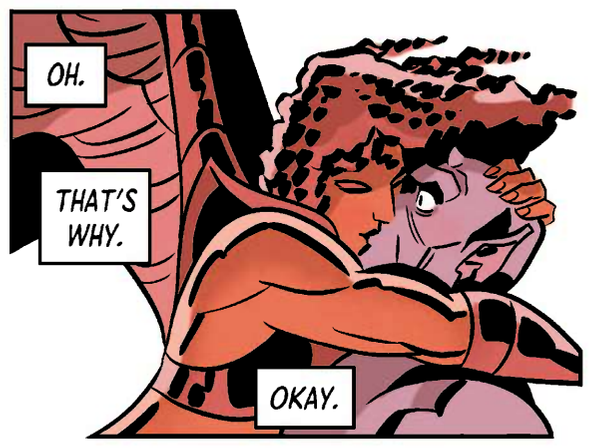


FLASH GORDON

By Dan Schkade









...BUT THEN I HEAR ABOUT THIS **CLIMATE WEAPON** VULTAN'S MAKING **ZARKOV** BUILD.



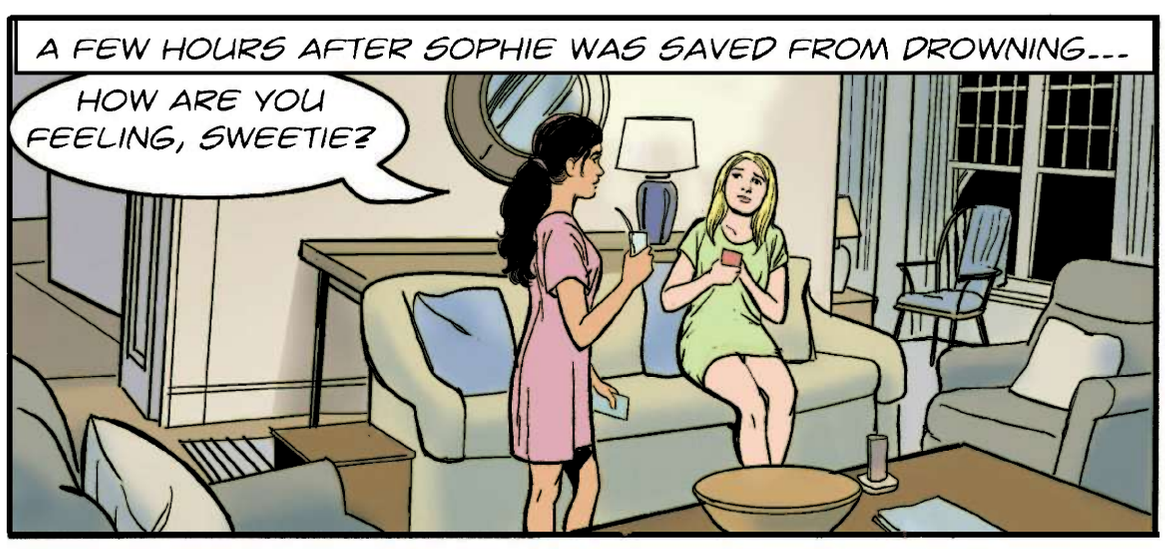
TURNS OUT THAT'S THE FIRST PART OF THE PLAN -- ZARKOV TWEAKS THE **MACHINE**...

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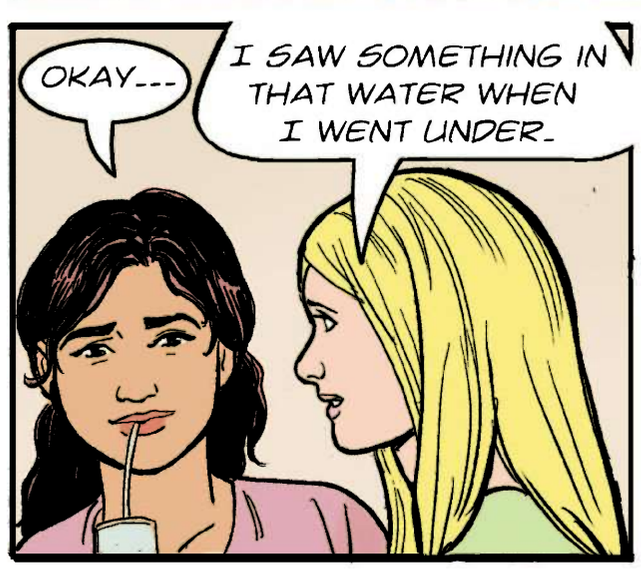


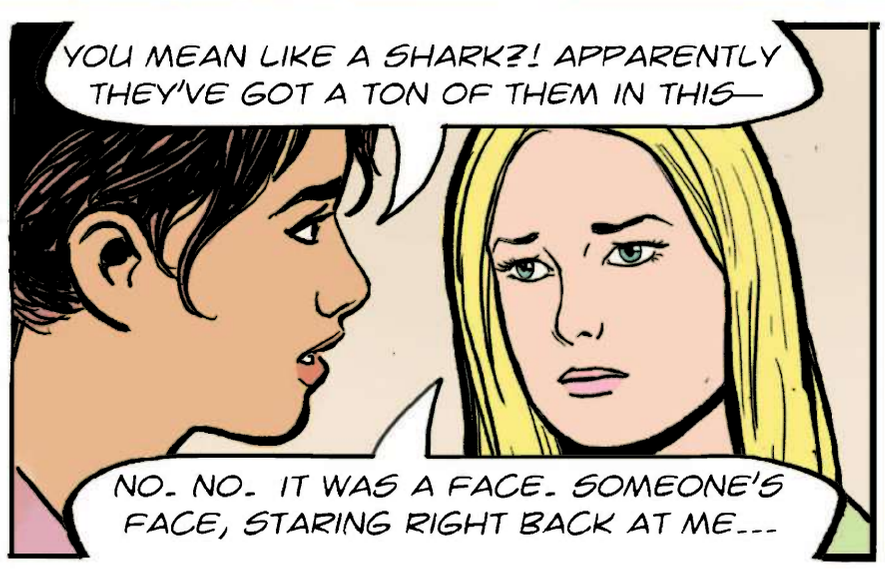
JUDGE PARKER

By Francesco Marciuliano & Mike Manley











Prince Valiant

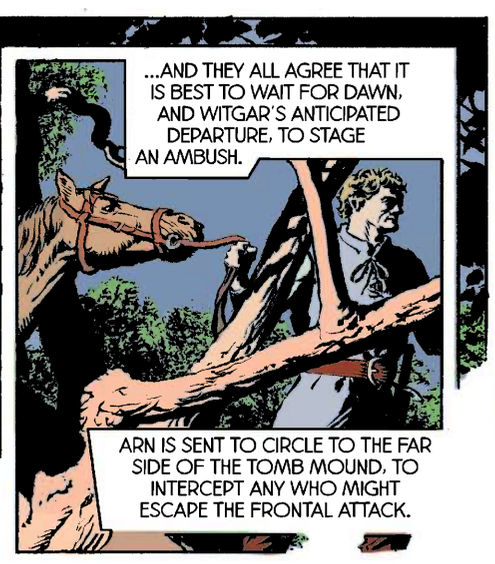
HAL FOSTER'S



BY SCHULTZ AND YEATES

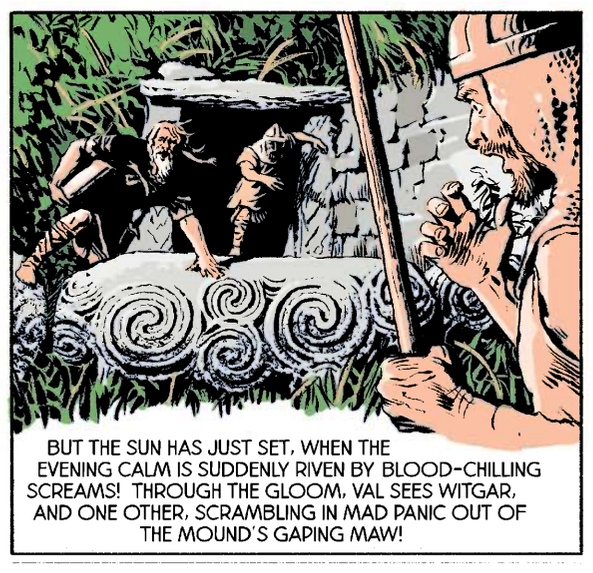


VAL AND HIS COMPANIONS HAVE TRAILED WITGAR TO THE PREHISTORIC TOMB *SÍ AN BHRÚ*. WITGAR, CARRYING THE BLACK STONE, WITH TWO COHORTS, HAS ALREADY DISAPPEARED INSIDE THE DREAD PLACE, AND NONE IN VAL'S PARTY HAS ANY DESIRE TO FOLLOW. IT IS NIGH ON DUSK...

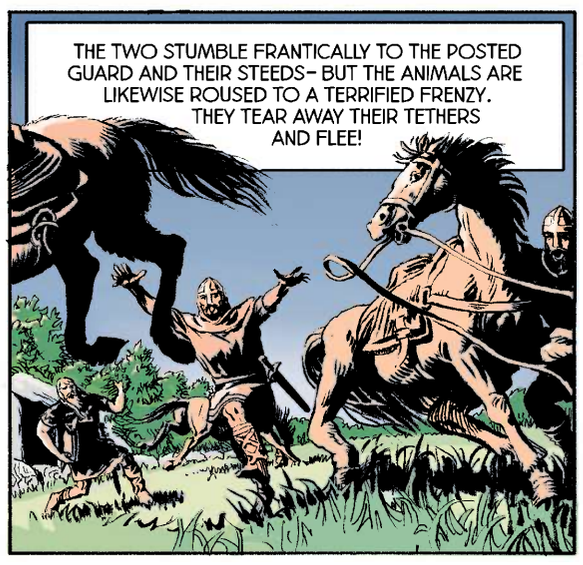


...AND THEY ALL AGREE THAT IT IS BEST TO WAIT FOR DAWN, AND WITGAR'S ANTICIPATED DEPARTURE, TO STAGE AN AMBUSH.

ARN IS SENT TO CIRCLE TO THE FAR SIDE OF THE TOMB MOUND, TO INTERCEPT ANY WHO MIGHT ESCAPE THE FRONTAL ATTACK.



BUT THE SUN HAS JUST SET, WHEN THE EVENING CALM IS SUDDENLY RIVEN BY BLOOD-CHILLING SCREAMS! THROUGH THE GLOOM, VAL SEES WITGAR, AND ONE OTHER, SCRAMBLING IN MAD PANIC OUT OF THE MOUND'S GAPING MAW!



THE TWO STUMBLE FRANTICALLY TO THE POSTED GUARD AND THEIR STEEDS– BUT THE ANIMALS ARE LIKEWISE ROUSED TO A TERRIFIED FRENZY. THEY TEAR AWAY THEIR TETHERS AND FLEE!

VAL CANNOT BELIEVE HIS MISFORTUNE–ALL IS CHAOS, AND THE BLACK STONE IS SLIPPING THROUGH HIS HANDS AGAIN! *"AFTER THEM!"* HE CRIES, AS HE LEAPS FOR HIS HORSE.



HE AND HIS COMPANY BEGIN TO CHARGE TOWARD WITGAR AND HIS MEN, WHO NOW FLEE, ON FOOT; BUT THEN, THE STRANGEST THING–AS THEY DRAW NEARER *SÍ AN BHRÚ*, VAL'S COMPANY'S STEEDS BEGIN TO BALK AND HESITATE!

NEXT: Arn's Prize

4562 YEATES 7/14/24

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KidTown

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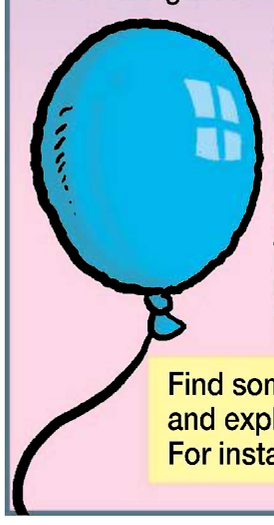
7/14

GASSY!

When you hear the word "krypton," you may think of a comic book superhero whose powers are weakened by exposure to Kryptonite, a fragment of rock from his home planet of Krypton.

The truth is that, although there is no planet Krypton in real life, there is a gas called krypton ... and you may be exposed to it every single day!

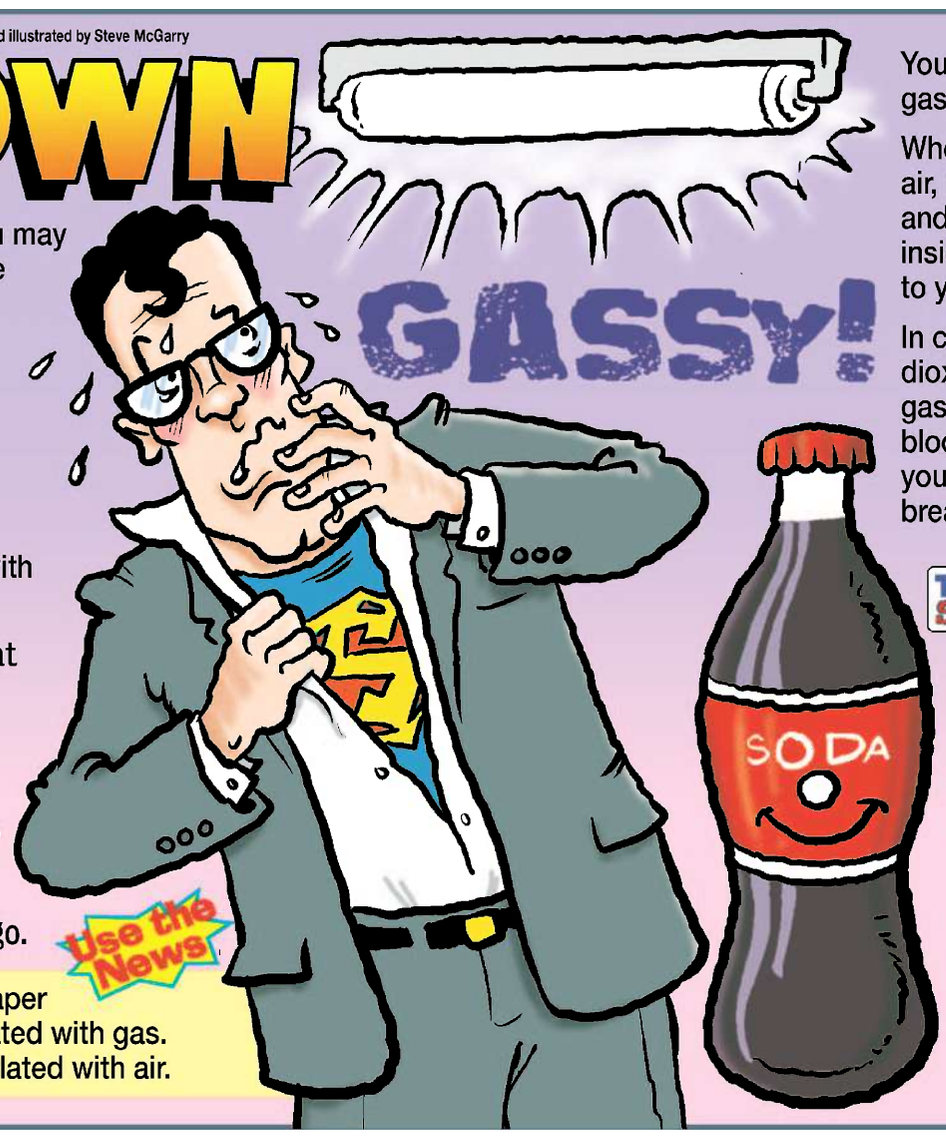
That's because krypton is often used with other rare gases in fluorescent lamps!



Krypton is a gas that is heavier than air. Other gases, such as helium, are lighter than air. That's why balloons filled with helium rise up into the sky when you let them go.

Use the News

Find something in today's paper and explain why it is associated with gas. For instance, car tires are inflated with air.



You encounter lots of different gases every day of your life.

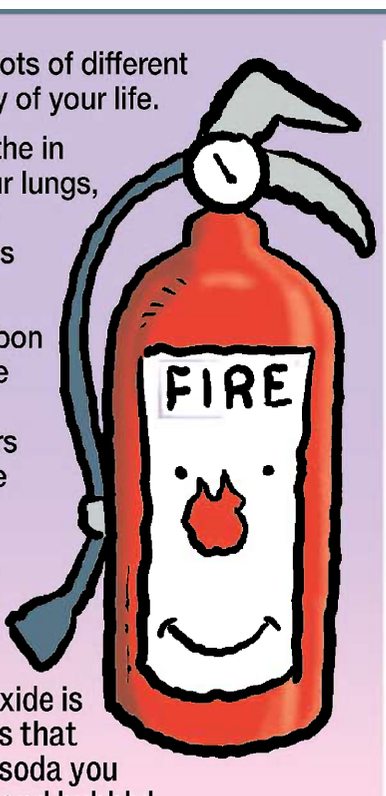
When you breathe in air, it enters your lungs, and the oxygen inside air passes to your blood.

In contrast, carbon dioxide, a waste gas, exits your blood and enters your lungs to be breathed out.

TRUE but STRANGE

Carbon dioxide is also the gas that makes the soda you drink fizzy and bubbly!

Other common gases include freon, which is used in air conditioners ... some heaters and portable grills run on propane ... nitrous oxide is used in cans of whipped cream ... and nitrogen is used in fire extinguishers.



Change GAS into AIR by changing one letter in each row where indicated. We've given you a clue to each word:

G A S

Small opening: ☐ ☐ ☐

Headwear: ☐ ☐ ☐

Automobile: ☐ ☐ ☐

Distant: ☐ ☐ ☐

Type of tree: ☐ ☐ ☐

A I R

Answers: GAP, CAP, CAR, FAR, FIR

Slylock Fox

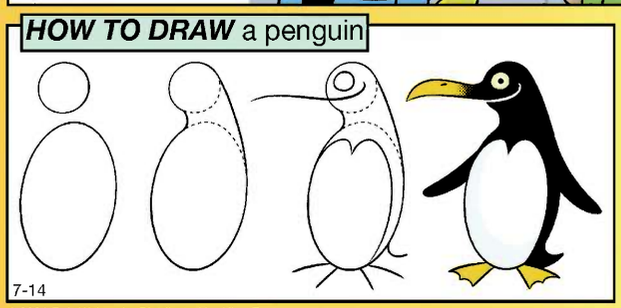


Count Weirdly is in New York City on a July evening to demonstrate his new Molecular Transporter. He claims his astronomer friend, emerging from the machine, was peering at stars through a telescope just 3 seconds ago in Perth, Australia. Slylock Fox thinks it's a Weirdly hoax. Why?

Solution -- It's 10:00 PM in New York, and Perth is 12 hours ahead, making it daytime there—unlikely for stargazing.



HOW TO DRAW a penguin



7-14

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YOUR DRAWING

Today's terrific artist is Mugdha, age 12



Submit your drawing to **www.slylockfox.com**

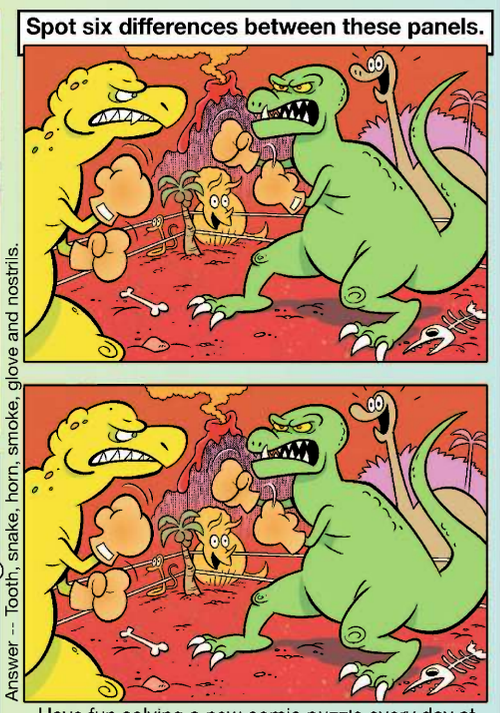
What is NASA's best estimate of the number of stars in our Milky Way galaxy?

a) 10 million
b) 500 million
c) 25 billion
d) 100 billion
e) 8 trillion



Answer -- d)

Spot six differences between these panels.

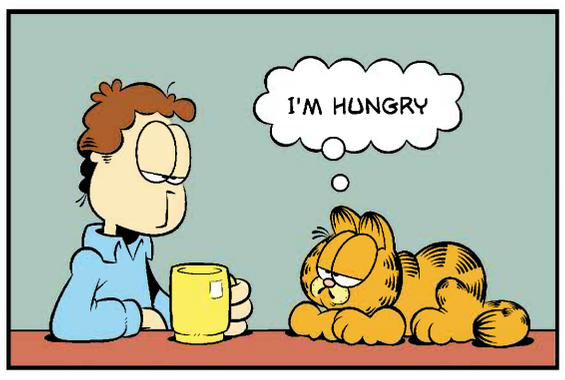


Answer -- Tooth, snake, horn, smoke, glove and nostrils.

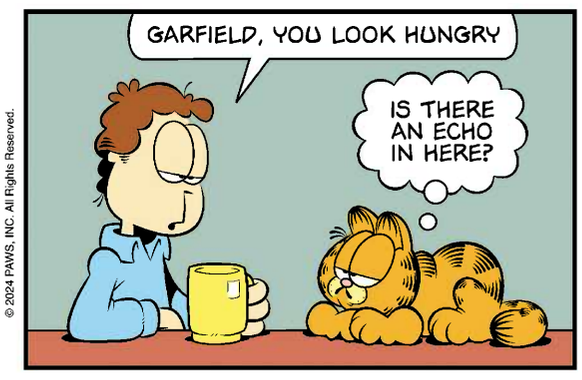
Have fun solving a new comic puzzle every day at www.slylockfox.com

garfield



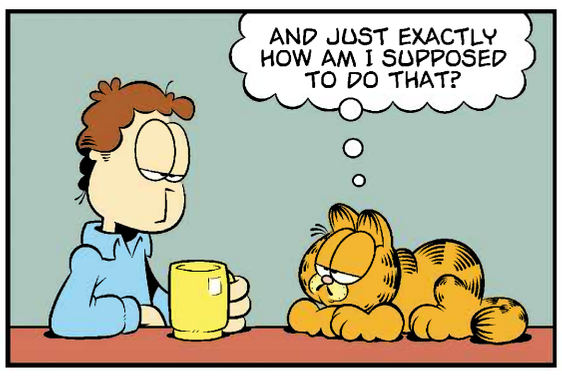


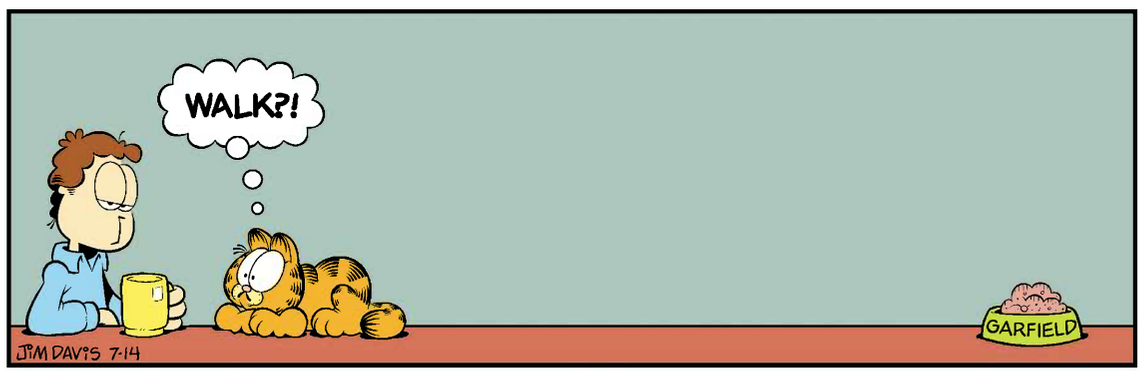
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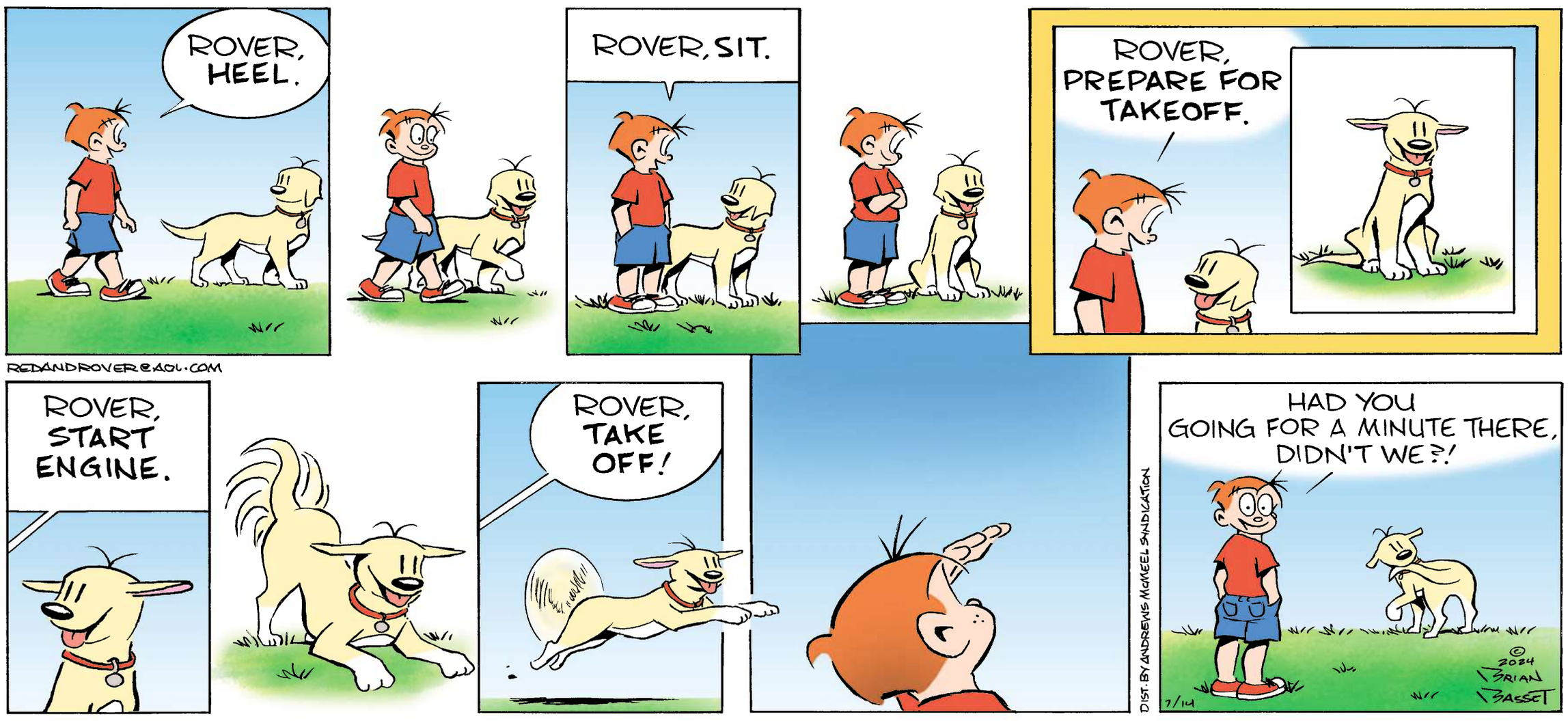


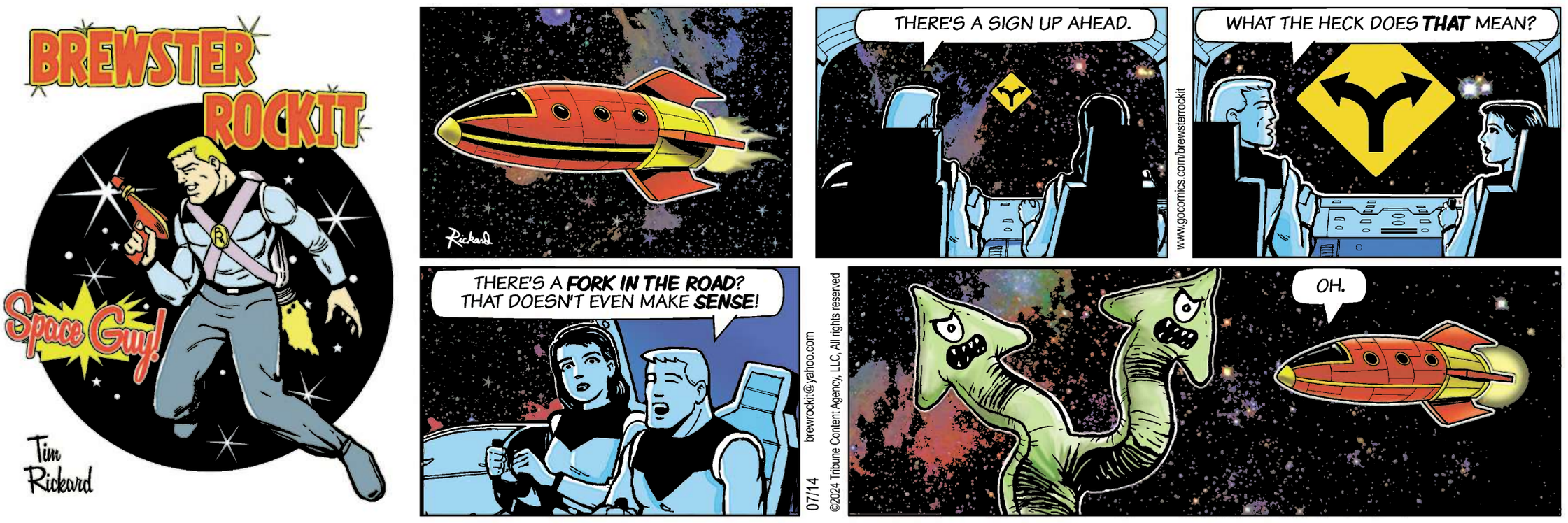


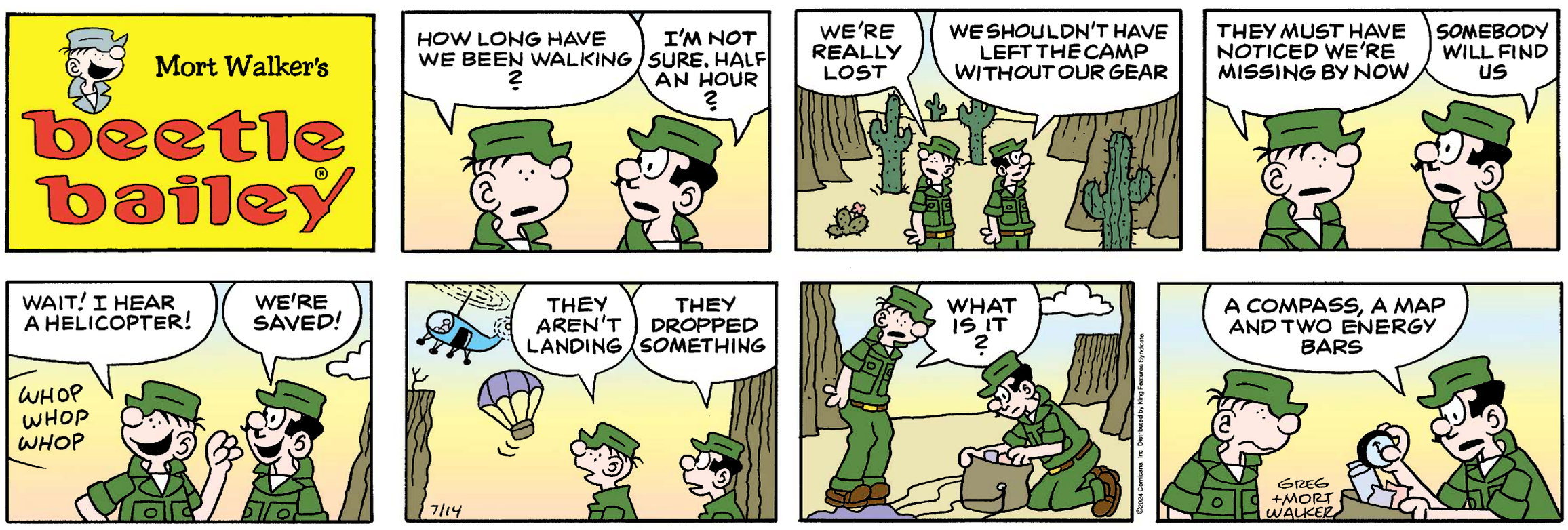
JIM DAVIS 7-14

RED AND ROVER

By Brian Basset

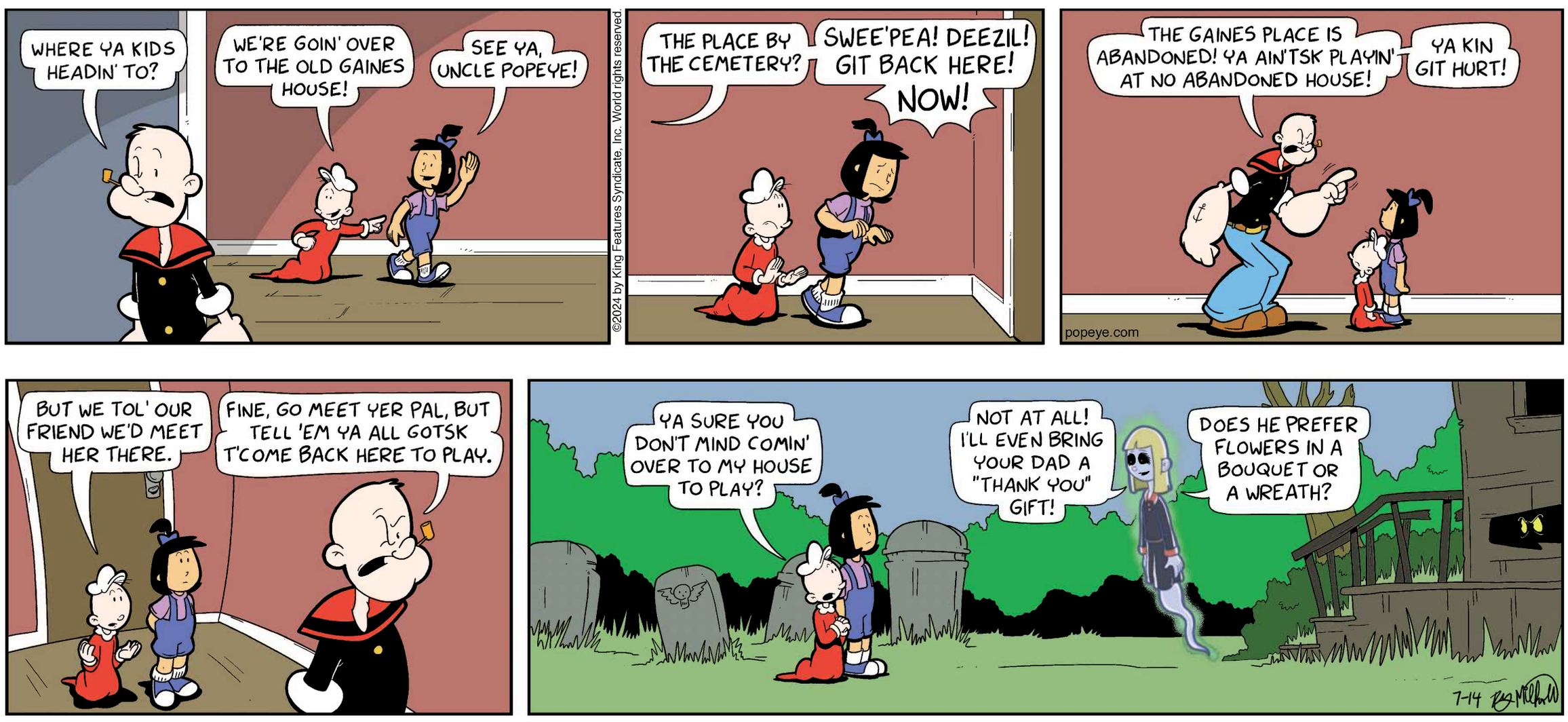






POPEYE

By Randy Milholland



SAMURAI SUDOKU

(c) www.djape.net

	2		8		4		5	
1				2				9
5		9				4		2
		5	3		9	7		
9				4				5
		2	5		7	9		
3		4						
2				6				
	5		9		3			

	4		5		9		7	
7				2				9
9		8				4		5
		4	6		5	7		
1				3				2
		9	2		7	3		
						8		7
				4				3
							2	

						8	2	
						9		
						2	3	

						4	9	
								4
						1	5	

	7		1		9			
8				3				
1		5						
		7	8		2	4		
2				4				7
		6	5		1	2		
5		3				9		2
7				1				4
	8		2		4		7	

						6		5
							8	
		5	1		2	3		
		4						1
		3	4		8	5		
		4				9		2
		9				2		5
	3		9		7		1	

Level of Difficulty: 3 (on a scale of 0-5)

How to Play

The rules of Samurai Sudoku are the same as in the popular Sudoku puzzles that appear in the daily comics section.

As with standard Sudoku, the Samurai version requires no math, just logic, reasoning ... and an iron will. The goal is to fill in each column, row and 3X3 box with the digits 1 through 9 without repeating any. The twist in Samurai Sudoku is that the digits that appear in the overlapping boxes must work for both puzzles.

A piece of advice to get you started: Don't focus completely on one grid at a time. Keep the whole puzzle in mind as you go, because filling in a number in one grid could give you clues to another. What's important to understand is this: Each Samurai puzzle is ONE puzzle, not five separate Sudoku puzzles that just overlap each other. Occasionally people claim that, for example, the "bottom right" 9X9 puzzle had more than one solution. Well, yes it may, but the entire puzzle can be solved in only one way. Never resort to guessing! For more tips, go to http://www.djape.net/sudoku/wp/?p=144.

Last Sunday's Solution

2	3	6	8	9	1	7	5	4
1	7	9	3	4	5	8	6	2
4	5	8	6	2	7	9	1	3
8	9	3	7	1	6	2	4	5
5	2	7	4	3	9	1	8	6
6	1	4	2	5	8	3	9	7
3	4	1	9	6	2	5	7	8
9	8	2	5	7	4	6	3	1
7	6	5	1	8	3	4	2	9

2	7	4	6	5	3	8	1	9
6	1	5	7	8	9	3	4	2
8	9	3	1	2	4	5	6	7
3	4	6	9	7	2	1	5	8
7	5	2	8	1	6	4	9	3
9	8	1	3	4	5	2	7	6
4	6	9	2	3	1	7	8	5
5	2	7	4	9	8	6	3	1
5	6	7	1	3	8	9	2	4

						7	6	5
						8	1	3
						9	4	2

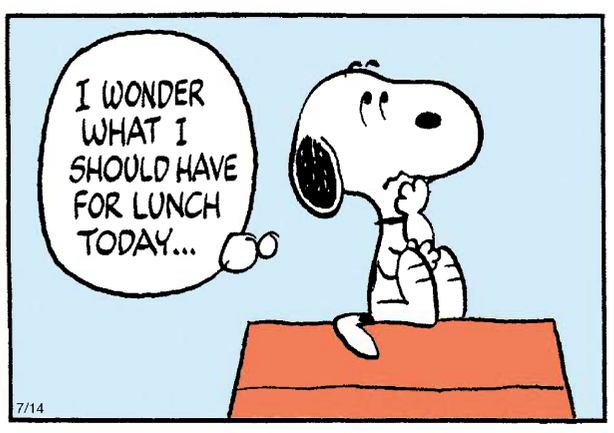
						8	7	5
						9	2	1
						2	5	6

1	5	4	2	6	9	3	8	7
2	6	8	5	3	7	1	9	4
3	7	9	1	4	8	2	5	6
5	4	2	7	1	3	9	6	8
8	9	3	6	5	2	4	7	1
6	1	7	8	9	4	5	2	3
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9	8	6	4	2	1	7	3	5

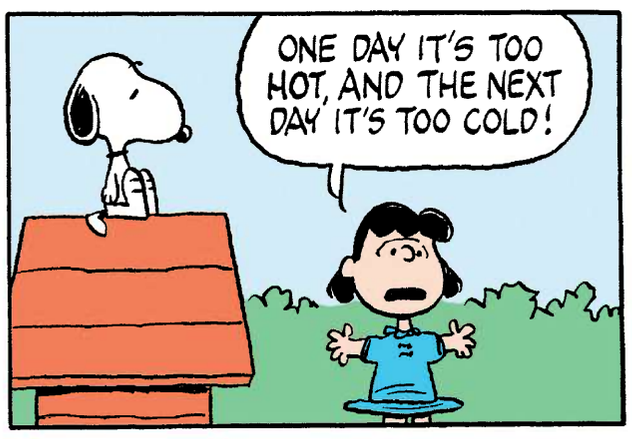
1	5	4	1	7	5	4	2	9	6	4	5	3	1	7	8
2	9	6	6	8	4	3	9	1	2	8	7	5	6	2	1	3	4	9
3	4	1	7	9	2	6	5	4	9	3	4	1	7	8	9	2	5	6
1	5	8	2	4	7	9	6	3	1	5	8	2	4	7	9	6	3	
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5	6	2	3	7	4	8	9	1	5	6	2	3	7	4	8	9	1	
7	8	4	9	1	2	6	3	5	7	8	4	9	1	2	6	5	4	
9	1	3	5	6	8	7	2	4	9	1	3	5	6	8	7	2	4	

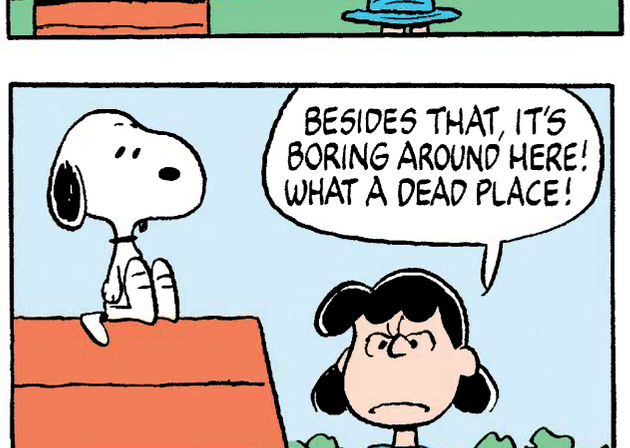
CLASSIC PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz







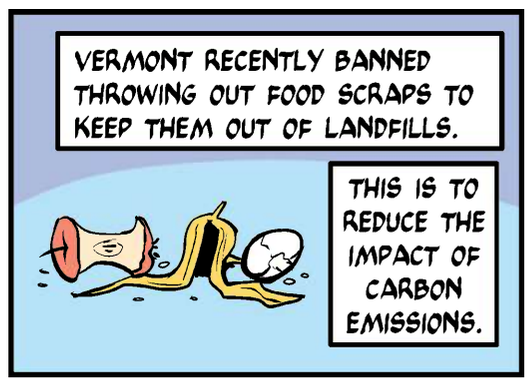


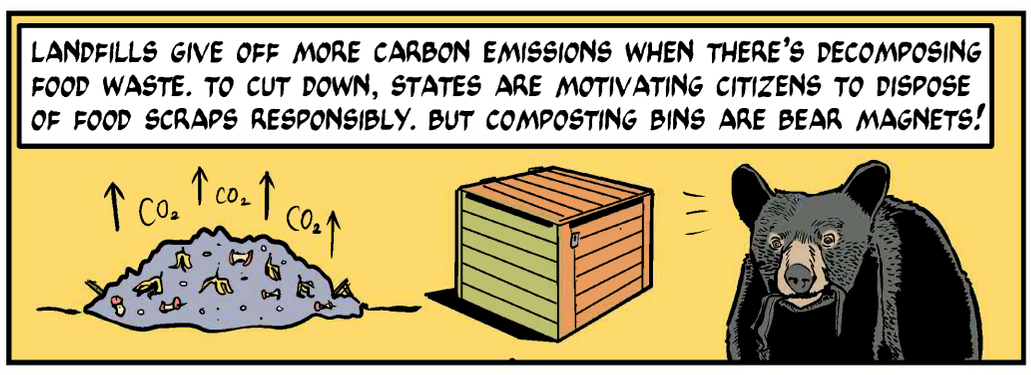


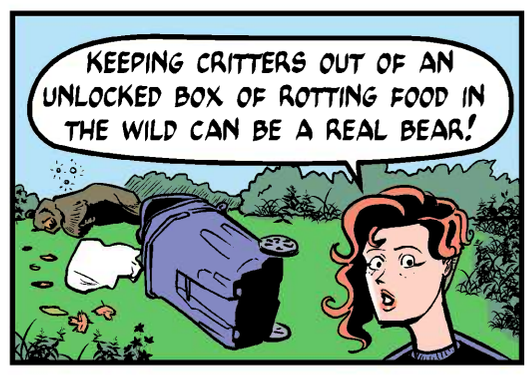














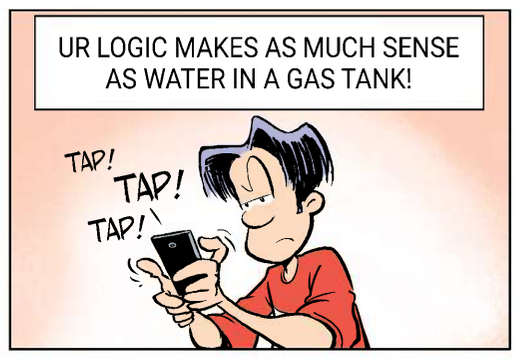
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BALDO

By Cantú & Castellanos

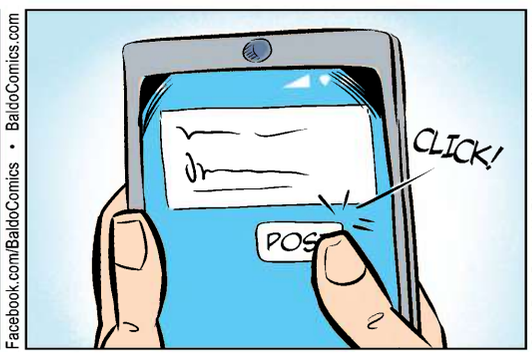








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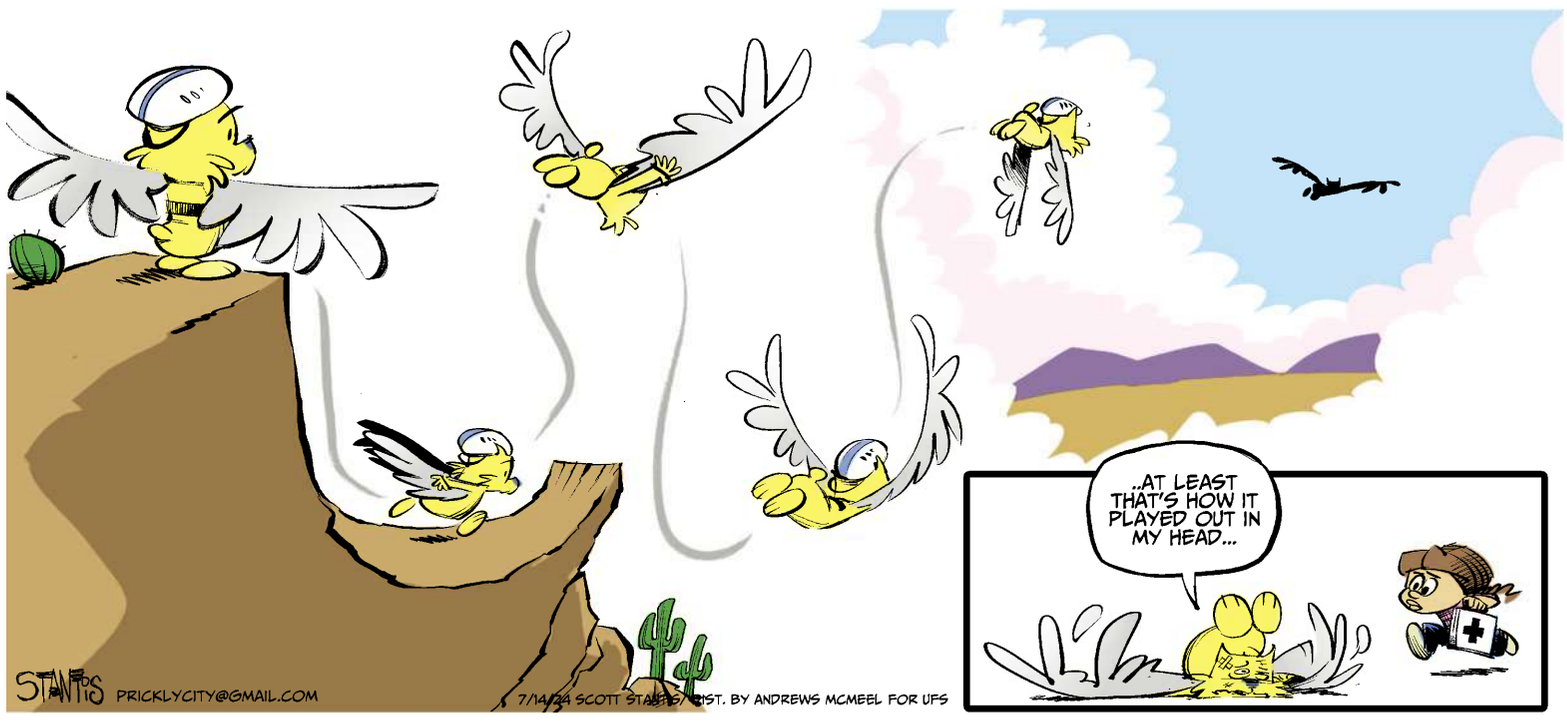


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PRICKLY CITY

By Scott Stantis



REWARDING SUCCESS | CELEBRATING A MILESTONE
79th ANNIVERSARY
1945 – 2024
LONG® FENCE



WOOD FENCE

CHAIN LINK FENCE

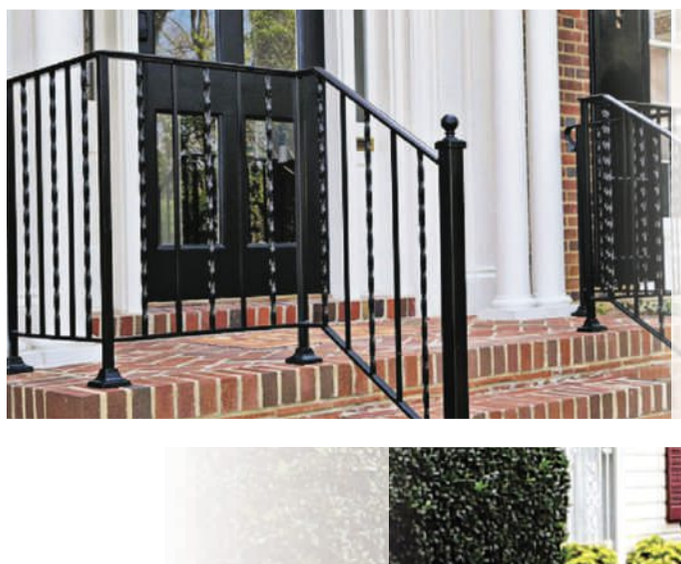




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Since 1945, Long Fence continues to be a family-run business with five generations committed to serving the local community. From residential homeowners to commercial clients, we are dedicated to providing professional courtesy and expertise. Since our founding 79 years ago, Long Fence remains devoted to providing the highest standard of superior products and performance in the industry.

EXCELLENCE SINCE 1945

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REWARDING SUCCESS | CELEBRATING A MILESTONE

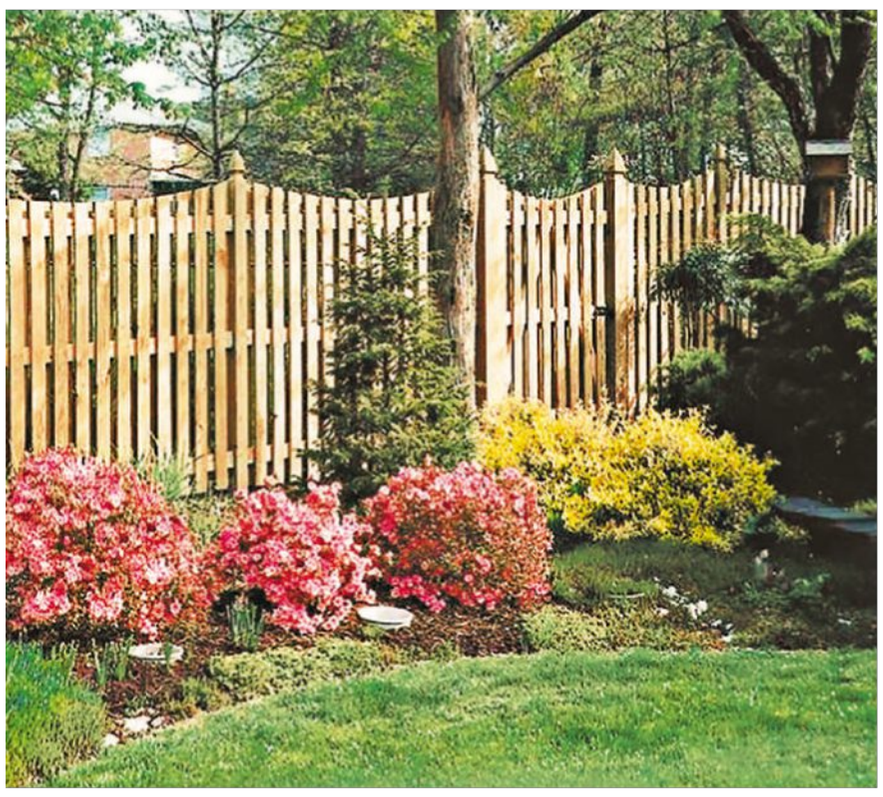
79th ANNIVERSARY

1945 – 2024

LONG® FENCE



BUILD WITH A NAME YOU CAN TRUST





Everything we build makes a difference.®

When you see the Long® Fence sign, you see the mark of dependable quality and service. From our start in 1945 to present day, we've helped thousands of residential and commercial property owners improve the security, use and beauty of their property.

The Long® Fence brand is known throughout the industry for quality and service. Our employees are committed to excellence in the design, construction and warranty of your project. Our sign is your guarantee.

THE LONG FENCE PLEDGE

To approach all jobs with prompt, professional courtesy
To accept all jobs with dedication to quality service and attention to detail
To accomplish all jobs by offering the best value for investment

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25% OFF* DECKS & PAVERS!

Take advantage of our specials on all Decks and Hardscaping products!

Example: A purchase of $5975 on Long® Pavers saves $1494

25% OFF* ALL FENCING!

There are many days of enjoyable temperatures ahead! Great savings going on now!

Example: A purchase of $4975 on Long® Fence saves $1244

NO PAYMENTS / NO INTEREST for 6 Months

For qualified Buyers, Financing options subject to change without notice, Interest will be charged to your account from the purchase date if balance is not paid in full within the promotional period. Other terms and conditions apply.

*Excludes repairs. Not valid on previous orders or in combination with other offers, orders or discounts. Some exclusions apply. Residential installed sales only. Exp. 7/28/24

**Buyers must qualify. Financing options may vary and are subject to change without notice. Financing provided by licensed lenders.