

Witnesses warned police of shooter

People alerted officer at least 86 seconds before gunfire, video shows

This article is by Jon Swaine, Abbie Cheeseman, Jonathan Baran, Isaac Stanley-Becker and Shawn Boburg

Almost immediately after the assassination attempt on former president Donald Trump at his campaign rally in western Pennsylvania on Saturday, some in the crowd told reporters that they had tried to alert law enforcement that a suspicious man was on a nearby roof. Now, a newly surfaced video backs up those accounts of warnings, showing a chaotic scene in which bystanders started calling out to police nearly a minute and a half before the shots rang out.

The footage, posted to social media late Sunday, shows several witnesses yelling and directing at least one police officer toward the roof of a neighboring business. Authorities say that 20-year-old Thomas Matthew Crooks shot at Trump and attendees from the roof before he was killed by law enforcement.

In the new video, one man shouts “Officer! Officer!” as others point toward the building. “He’s on the roof!” a woman says. The video also shows a police officer in a black uniform looking up toward the top of the building.

Growing evidence that law enforcement were made aware of Crooks before he opened fire has put the Secret Service under pressure to explain what analysts have described as a major security failure.

SEE WARNING ON A13

Rifle used by rally gunman was bought in 2013

FBI continues to search cellphone data, other evidence for motive

This article is by Tim Craig, Jasmine Hilton, Devlin Barrett, Emily Davies and Holly Bailey

BETHEL PARK, PA. — Federal investigators have determined that the rifle used in an assassination attempt on former president Donald Trump on Saturday was legally purchased by the gunman’s father in 2013, according to a person familiar with the investigation.

The 20-year-old gunman, Thomas Matthew Crooks, bought 50 rounds of ammunition at a gun store the morning of the shooting, according to this person, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to share information that has not been publicly released.

The FBI said Monday that agents have accessed the data on the cellphone belonging to Crooks, and technical experts “continue to analyze his electronic devices,” the agency said in a statement.

Officials are trying to determine why Crooks opened fire at the rally for Trump in Butler, Pa., leaving the former president wounded, one rallygoer dead and two others critically injured. Even

SEE GUNMAN ON A12

Retropolis: U.S. history is rife with violence toward politicians. B1

Judge tosses Trump classified documents case

BY DEVLIN BARRETT AND PERRY STEIN

A judge on Monday dismissed the federal indictment against former president Donald Trump on charges of mishandling classified documents — his second seismic legal victory in less than a month, after a historic Supreme Court decision on immunity.

U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon’s 93-page ruling that special counsel Jack Smith was im-

Defense succeeds with long-shot motion about legality of special counsel

properly appointed is a triumph for Trump, even if it is eventually reversed. Smith’s office vowed to appeal the ruling, saying the judge’s legal reasoning was at odds with past decisions on the issue.

It came less than 48 hours after Trump survived an assassination attempt in Butler, Pa., and as Trump was preparing to be formally nominated as the Republican presidential candidate at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee.

Defense attorneys often file every possible motion to dismiss indictments, but it is rare for them to succeed and result in entire cases being tossed. In the Florida case, Trump’s lawyers at-

tempted long-shot argument after long-shot argument before this gambit succeeded far beyond expectations.

By dismissing the entire indictment, Cannon’s decision also means that the charges are dropped for Trump’s two co-defendants, Waltine “Walt” Nauta and Carlos De Oliveira. The Justice Department’s appeal of the issue might eventually reach the Supreme Court.

“The dismissal of the case devi-

ates from the uniform conclusion of all previous courts to have considered the issue that the Attorney General is statutorily authorized to appoint a Special Counsel,” said Peter Carr, a spokesman for Smith. “The Justice Department has authorized the Special Counsel to appeal the court’s order.”

SEE DOCUMENTS ON A4

New scrutiny: Dismissal puts judge in Fla. back in spotlight. A4

ELECTION 2024

RNC opens with Vance on ticket



JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Donald Trump, with his ear bandaged after an assassination attempt, and Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), who was introduced Monday as the party’s vice-presidential nominee, stand with House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) on Monday at the Republican National Convention.

VP nomination marks a shift in narrative from elegies to odes

BY AMY B WANG AND MERYL KORNFELD

When Donald Trump ran for president in 2016, one of his steadfast critics within the Republican Party was J.D. Vance — then a young military veteran, Yale Law School graduate and Silicon Valley venture capitalist who in June of that year published “Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis,” about his upbringing in Appalachia and the Rust Belt.

“I can’t stomach Trump,” Vance told NPR that August. “I’m a ‘Never Trump’ guy. I never liked him,” Vance told Charlie Rose in October 2016, weeks before Trump was elected president.

In eight years, everything would change. The best-selling “Hillbilly Elegy” — which depicted Vance’s childhood in a steel mill community in Ohio in a family beset by drug addiction and poverty — became compulsory reading for many seeking to

SEE VANCE ON A7

Trump, after a string of wins, basks in his moment

BY ASHLEY PARKER AND JOSH DAWSEY

MILWAUKEE — A somber Donald Trump — his right ear covered by a small white bandage — strode into the Republican National Convention on Monday evening, lightly pumping his right fist and gently waving the same hand.

The crowd was primed for the former president. They cheered as the announcer introduced Lee Greenwood, who sings Trump’s walk-on music, “God Bless the

USA,” and some stood on chairs as they craned to capture video of Trump as he entered Milwaukee’s Fiserv Forum.

But Trump himself was uncharacteristically subdued and visibly emotional, acknowledging the crowd with waves and fist pumps and occasional thumbs up as he repeatedly mouthed “Thank you” and slowly climbed the stairs to the suite where his family and several friends stood waiting.

There, he first shook hands

SEE TRUMP ON A6

TRUMP APPEARS TO CHANTS OF ‘FIGHT!’

Biden’s record, policies critiqued on Day 1

BY DAN BALZ AND HANNAH KNOWLES

MILWAUKEE — The Republican National Convention opened Monday in the shadow of an assassination attempt against Donald Trump and amid growing hopes among united delegates and others in a remade GOP that the November election will restore the former president to the White House.

Monday had begun with one major unanswered question, which was the name of Trump’s running mate. But early in the afternoon, Trump ended the suspense, posting on Truth Social that he had selected first-term Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), a one-time Trump critic who has emerged as one of the most outspoken voices on behalf of the former president’s populist, “America First” agenda.

Trump appeared in the convention hall in the final hour of the evening, his right ear bandaged, to an enormous ovation from the delegates, who chanted “Fight! Fight! Fight!” and “We love Trump!”

Joining members of his family in their box in the Fiserv Forum, Trump stood next to his newly nominated running mate, whose selection after weeks of intense speculation created the biggest news of the day.

Monday’s prime-time programming began a planned critique on the record and policies of President Biden’s administration, with an opening night focus on the

SEE CONVENTION ON A6

In his words: The party’s platform echoes Trump’s rhetoric. A10

Shift in stance: GOP approves revised abortion platform. A11

Lara Trump: Daughter-in-law takes on an outside role in campaign. C1

This butterfly went extinct decades ago. Scientists hope to replace it.

BY DINO GRANDONI

Durrell Kapan propped himself on his elbows to inspect a shrubby plant. He peered through a monocular in search of a sign that a pioneering experiment to restore something missing from these coastal dunes in San Francisco was working.

The caterpillars he was trying to find are so small, he said, it’s like they’re “living in a different world.”

More than eight decades ago, a mesmerizing butterfly with irides-

A species related to the Xerces blue butterfly has been released to become its surrogate

cent cobalt wings and stunning spots called the Xerces blue vanished from San Francisco. When it disappeared, the Xerces became perhaps the most famous insect to go extinct.

So this spring, the California Academy of Sciences, where Ka-

pan is a senior research fellow, and its partners released dozens of butterflies from a closely related species in the Presidio, a park along the water at the north tip of San Francisco.

Kapan was looking for any offspring of those released butterflies, surrogates he and his colleagues hope will fill an empty spot in this ecosystem.

“This is a very powerful idea,” Kapan said: “the idea of a surrogate species for an extinct species.”

Amid a biodiversity crisis in

SEE BUTTERFLY ON A24



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Keeping their cool

Ángel Gabriel Alfaror and Javinson Gabriel play in a splash pad as officials urge residents to protect themselves from the heat. Story, B1

IN THE NEWS

Desire for ‘fresh voices’ Democrats inside the effort to reelect President Biden are concerned that he is not getting the full range of data about his political standing. A3

Funding families A D.C. school will pay some of its families during the next school year, part of a program to help reduce truancy. B1

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President Biden made a bold deal with Venezuela’s strongman. Its test comes soon. A17

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A proposed rule that would protect workers from excessive heat on the job is facing stiff resistance from employers. A20

STYLE Former DCist staffers are launching the 51st, a site that will deliver local news relevant to D.C.-area residents. C1
HEALTH A medical mystery about piercing headaches, and what it’s like to have measles. E1

SPORTS CJ Abrams of the Nationals grew up watching the All-Star Game with his father. Now he’s playing in it. D1
As the U.S. women’s national soccer team’s youth movement arrives, so does 23-year-old midfielder Croix Bethune. D1

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CORRECTIONS

• A July 12 Metro article about an office-to-housing conversion in D.C. incorrectly reported that it is the first in the city. It is the first major conversion in downtown D.C. since the pandemic began.

• A July 15 A-section article about liberal conspiracy theories incorrectly identified Karl Folk as a researcher at Augsburg University. Folk is a student at Augsburg, but his research is independent of his studies.

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Biden to unveil plan to cap rents amid rising housing costs

BY JEFF STEIN
AND RACHEL SIEGEL

President Biden will unveil a new proposal in Nevada on Tuesday to cap rental costs nationwide, according to three people familiar with the matter, as he works to assuage Democratic concerns about the viability of his candidacy while the Republican convention gets underway.

The policy push reflects the White House's efforts to respond to widespread voter anger over high housing prices, which have soared since the pandemic and undermined Biden's standing among voters about the economy. Nevada has seen among the biggest explosions of housing costs in the country, and Democrats have grown increasingly concerned that Trump could win the state in November.

Biden's plan — which would need to be approved by Congress — calls for stripping a tax benefit from landlords who increase their tenants' rent more than 5 percent per year, the people said. The measure would apply only to landlords who own more than 50 units, which represents roughly half of all rental properties, the people said. It would not cover units that have not yet been built, in an attempt to ensure that the policy does not discourage construction of new rental housing. The people spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe a proposal that isn't yet public.

The president hinted at the plan during his news conference at the conclusion of the NATO summit last week, surprising aides who did not expect to reveal the announcement yet. Biden also referenced a plan to "cap rents" during his late-June debate with Trump, although he has not explained the policy publicly or how it would work.

"It's time to get things back in order a little bit. For example, if I'm reelected, we're going to make sure that rents are capped at 5 percent increase — corporate rents, for apartments and the like, and homes, are limited to 5 percent," Biden said at the news conference.

A White House spokesman declined to comment.

Tenant advocates — and scores



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Biden talks to reporters as he leaves the White House last month. He is expected to announce Tuesday a plan to strip tax benefits from landlords who raise rent more than 5 percent per year.

of renters — would probably welcome the move. Housing costs continue to drive overall inflation, and rent often ranks as a top budget item for lower-income families with fewer and fewer options for affordable homes. Fresh inflation data released last week showed much-awaited progress on rent costs. But it is too soon to tell whether that will stick.

Tara Raghuveer, director of the National Tenant Union Federation, said the move was "monumental" and a strong signal of the federal government's responsibility to regulate the rental market.

"For now, this directive is just messaging," Raghuveer said. "Tenants need action. Congress must act, and the president can and must take the first step by immediately regulating rents in federally financed housing."

The plan is also likely to prove controversial among economists, including many Democrats. Experts on both sides of the aisle tend to argue that government limits on rent discourage new development by making it less lucrative. Housing is so expensive in the United States in large part because there simply aren't enough homes, with

"Tenants need action. Congress must act, and the president can and must take the first step by immediately regulating rents in federally financed housing."

Tara Raghuveer, director of the National Tenant Union Federation

economists estimating a shortage of between 1.5 million to 5 million units. With construction and labor costs already high, some fear that developers could respond to new restrictions by reducing new construction.

"Rent control has been about as disgraced as any economic policy in the tool kit. The idea we'd be reviving and expanding it will ultimately make our housing supply problems worse, not better," said

Jason Furman, who served as a top economist in the Obama administration and is now a professor at Harvard.

That is the case even if future units are exempted, Furman said, because it could change how developers consider their incentives.

White House officials, however, say the rent cap would give short-term relief to renters before millions of new housing units become available in two years, which should also drive down prices. (The Biden plan would apply only to rental units for two years, by which point, in theory, this fresh supply would alleviate costs.) The Biden administration is also pushing numerous policies to increase housing construction, through incentives to local governments to change their zoning codes and new federal financial incentives for builders. If implemented, they could bring 2 million new units to the market in addition to the 1.6 million already in the pipeline.

"It would make little sense to make this move by itself. But you have to look at it in the context of the moves they propose to make to expand supply," said Jim Parrott, nonresident fellow at the Urban

Menendez jury asks judge questions, to resume deliberations

BY SALVADOR RIZZO,
SHAYNA JACOBS
AND EL CALABRESE

NEW YORK — The jury in Sen. Bob Menendez's corruption trial deliberated for its first full day on Monday without reaching a verdict, sending a note to the judge shortly after 4:30 p.m. that they were done for the day.

The six women and six men from Manhattan, the Bronx and suburban Westchester County have discussed the sprawling bribery case involving the New Jersey Democrat for about 10 hours since they began Friday afternoon.

Menendez and his two trial co-defendants, New Jersey businessmen Fred Daibes and Wael "Will" Hana, could face decades in prison if convicted on charges including bribery, extortion, wire fraud and obstruction of justice.

U.S. District Judge Sidney H. Stein told the jury to be back in

court Tuesday morning.

Prosecutors allege that the senator and his wife, Nadine Menendez, accepted cash, gold bars and a Mercedes-Benz convertible in exchange for official favors, starting around the time of their first date in early 2018, continuing through their wedding in 2020, and after their Englewood Cliffs, N.J., home was searched by the FBI in 2022. The agents dispatched to the property with court-approved warrants found more than \$486,000 stuffed in bags, clothing, boxes and a safe, along with gold bars and other alleged bribes.

During almost two months of proceedings, witnesses testified that the senator sent unclassified insider information to Egyptian officials and that Hana was later given an exclusive and lucrative contract to certify beef exports to that country. Other witnesses testified that Menendez tried to influence federal prosecutors in



LARRY NEUMEISTER/AP

Sen. Bob Menendez (D-N.J.) leaves federal court Monday in New York after the day's proceedings in his bribery and extortion trial.

New Jersey who were pursuing bank fraud charges against Daibes, complaining to a candidate for U.S. attorney in 2020 that Daibes was being treated unfairly.

The jurors on Monday worked through their lunch and at one point asked for a 10-minute break on an outdoor terrace. They sent two questions about the case

Monday.

First, "Does a not guilty verdict on a single count require unanimity?" The judge wrote back that any verdict — whether guilty or not guilty — must be unanimous.

Later, the jury asked whether Count 11 and Count 12 of the indictment contained the allegations that Menendez intervened in Daibes's earlier bank fraud prosecution in New Jersey. The judge essentially answered yes — after conferring with attorneys for an hour in open court.

"It's obvious that the government's case is not as simple as they made it to be," Menendez told reporters in brief remarks after leaving the courthouse for the day. He said of the jury: "They are doing their work."

Nadine Menendez has not attended her husband's trial because she is receiving treatment for advanced breast cancer. Stein has scheduled a separate trial for her, to begin Aug. 5.

DIGEST

ILLINOIS

Ex-hospital executives charged in covid fraud

Federal authorities have charged a former Loretto Hospital executive in a scheme to embezzle \$15 million from the health-care facility.

In an indictment filed late last week, Anosh Ahmed was charged with eight counts of wire fraud, four counts of embezzlement, 11 counts of aiding and abetting embezzlement and three counts of money laundering.

Ahmed was chief financial officer and CEO of the safety-net hospital when he resigned in 2021 for his involvement in questionable distribution of coronavirus vaccines, a controversy that is not part of the federal indictment.

Criminal charges have also been filed against Sameer Suhail of Chicago, who owns a medical supply company and allegedly participated in the fraud, and Heather Bergdahl, the hospital's former chief transformation officer. Bergdahl and Ahmed are from Houston.

The indictments allege that Ahmed, Bergdahl and Suhail engaged in a scheme from 2018 to 2022 to siphon money from the hospital. They allegedly

made requests for hospital payments to vendors for goods and services never provided. They directed the money through a computerized system to accounts they controlled, authorities said.

Suhail is charged with six counts of wire fraud, six counts of aiding and abetting embezzlement, and two counts of money laundering.

Bergdahl, who was charged with embezzlement in May, also has been charged with 14 counts of wire fraud, 21 counts of embezzlement and one count of money laundering.

Ahmed made news in 2021 when Block Club Chicago reported that Loretto was making coronavirus vaccines available at affluent locations where Ahmed lived and visited instead of providing the vaccines in the economically distressed Austin neighborhood that the hospital served. At the time, the vaccine was new and scarce and reserved for people in most need of it.

— Associated Press

UTAH

Three hikers die from heat in state parks

Three hikers died over the weekend in suspected heat-

related cases at state and national parks in Utah, including a father and daughter who got lost on a strenuous hike in Canyonlands National Park in triple-digit temperatures.

The daughter, 23, and her father, 52, sent a 911 text alerting dispatchers that they were lost and had run out of water while hiking the 8.1 mile Syncline Loop, described by the National Park Service as the most challenging trail in the Island in the Sky district of the southeast Utah park. The pair set out Friday to navigate steep switchbacks and scramble through boulder fields with limited trail markers as the air temperature surpassed 100 degrees Fahrenheit.

Park rangers and a helicopter crew with the Bureau of Land Management began their search for the lost hikers in the early evening Friday, but found them already dead. The San Juan County Sheriff's Office identified them on Monday as Albino Herrera Espinoza and Beatriz Herrera of Green Bay, Wis.

Later Saturday, first responders in southwest Utah responded to a call about two hikers "suffering from a heat-related incident" at Snow Canyon State Park, which is known for its lava tubes, sand dunes and a canyon carved from

red and white Navajo Sandstone.

A multiagency search team found and treated two hikers who were suffering from heat exhaustion. While they were treating those individuals, a passing hiker informed them of an unconscious person nearby. First responders found a 30-year-old woman dead, public safety officials said.

— Associated Press

CALIFORNIA

Beloved gorilla dies at San Diego zoo

Winston, a western lowland gorilla who was a favorite attraction at the San Diego Zoo Safari Park, has died at the age of 52 after having multiple health problems, officials said.

The park said Winston was euthanized Saturday after veterinarians determined his condition was declining.

Winston was one of the oldest male gorillas in a U.S. zoo, the San Diego Union-Tribune reported Sunday.

"This gentle giant will be remembered for his quiet strength, easygoing nature, and heart of gold," the zoo said.

In recent years, Winston had been treated for a variety of "age-related conditions," including heart disease, degenerative joint

disease and kidney disease, officials said.

The gorilla was born in the wild and later came under the care of a private owner in England. Since coming to the San Diego safari park in 1984, Winston fathered nine offspring and was the grandfather to eight and great-grandfather to one, the Union-Tribune reported.

— Associated Press

Search suspended for pilot, passenger after helicopter crash

Authorities suspended the search for a tour helicopter pilot and one of his passengers after they crashed into the ocean off the Hawaiian island of Kauai last week. The U.S. Coast Guard and Kauai officials said they suspended the search Sunday after searching for about 60 hours across hundreds of square miles. The Robinson R44 helicopter, of Ali'i Kauai Air Tours & Charters, was carrying the pilot and two passengers, a couple from Kentucky. A hiker on the Kalalau trail reported seeing the helicopter crash into the water about a quarter of a mile off the Na Pali Coast on Thursday afternoon, officials said. Lifeguards recovered the body of one person Thursday as crews searched for the other two.

— Associated Press

Special counsel vows to appeal ruling in documents case

DOCUMENTS FROM A1

On social media, Trump said that Monday's dismissal "should be just the first step" and that the rest of the criminal and civil cases against him also should be tossed out of court. He accused Democrats of conspiring against him to bring those cases, a claim that has been repeatedly denied by federal, state and local officials.

"Let us come together to END all Weaponization of our Justice System," the former president wrote.

One of Trump's attorneys, Christopher Kise, said Cannon made a "courageous and correct decision."

"Jack Smith must now respect the rule of law, shut down his office, and end this unconstitutional abuse of power," Kise wrote in a statement.

After Cannon's decision, one person who had been told they could be called as a witness in the documents case described Trump as "the luckiest man on Earth." The person spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe candid feelings about the development.

Trump advisers have long considered the classified documents case to be the strongest of the four criminal cases against him — in part because the acts in question occurred mostly after he left the White House — and it was the case that most worried them. The case has been particularly concerning to those advisers because if it went to trial, it would feature first-person accounts from people in Trump's inner orbit describing conversations with him.

The former president was charged with 40 counts of illegally retaining classified defense information and obstructing government efforts to retrieve the material. Some of the documents found in an FBI search of Mar-a-Lago, his Florida home and private club, contained information about top-secret U.S. operations so closely guarded that many senior national security officials are kept in the dark about them, The Washington Post reported last year.

Cannon's opinion delves into the legal minutiae of special counsel regulations and does not



A photo from the indictment against Donald Trump shows boxes of records stored in a bathroom at Mar-a-Lago in Palm Beach, Fla. Investigators recovered classified documents from the estate.

address the crimes Trump and his co-defendants are accused of committing, or the merits of the evidence that prosecutors have collected.

The former president separately was convicted in May of falsifying records to conceal a hush money payment to an adult-film actress ahead of the 2016 election. He is now challenging that verdict and the indictment itself based on the Supreme Court's immunity ruling. Two other cases — his federal election interference case in D.C. and a similar state trial in Georgia — have been stalled by legal challenges and will also be affected by the immunity decision.

Cannon, who was nominated to the federal bench by Trump, wrote that the issue of a special counsel was a novel one that had to be decided before the prosecution could proceed any further.

"Upon careful study of the foundational challenges raised in the Motion, the Court is convinced that ... Smith's prosecution of this action breaches two structural cornerstones of our constitutional scheme — the role of

“Very few historic special attorneys resemble Special Counsel Smith. For starters, the title ‘special counsel’ is of fairly recent vintage.”

Judge Aileen M. Cannon,
ruling to dismiss the case

Congress in the appointment of constitutional officers, and the role of Congress in authorizing expenditures by law,” Cannon concluded in her order.

Cannon found that the Justice Department has inconsistently appointed special counsels and said the “lack of consistency makes it near impossible to draw any meaningful conclusions about Congress’s approval of modern special counsels like Spe-

cial Counsel Smith.”

She said Smith's degree of autonomy made him a different type of prosecutor.

“In fact, very few historic special attorneys resemble Special Counsel Smith. For starters, the title ‘special counsel’ is of fairly recent vintage. Special-attorney-like figures bore many titles throughout the decades,” Cannon wrote. “In the Court's view, this is not an insignificant semantic detail.”

Cannon has long been skeptical of prosecutors' decision-making in the documents case, but Monday's decision is her most consequential expression of that skepticism by far. In 2022, after FBI agents searched Trump's home and found more than 100 classified documents, Cannon appointed a special master — essentially an extra judge — to scrutinize what documents investigators seized. An appeals court later reversed her special master appointment.

“She has been open to and often embraced some of the more aggressive — even outlandish — arguments of Trump's lawyers

and appears to have done so here,” said Daniel Richman, a professor at Columbia Law School.

The legal theory that Smith was illegally appointed and funded has generally been considered far-fetched, particularly given the recent history of special counsel appointments, including that of former FBI director Robert S. Mueller III in 2017 to investigate any possible ties between the Trump presidential campaign and Russian election interference efforts. The Mueller appointment was also challenged in court, but two district court judges and an appeals court panel upheld it as legitimate.

Conservative legal groups — including the influential Federalist Society, with which Cannon is affiliated — have long questioned the constitutionality of special counsel appointments.

The former president's lawyers did not make a similar request to dismiss Trump's federal election interference case in D.C. — even though Garland appointed Smith to oversee that case in the same way as the Florida case. Because judges in D.C. have already rejected challenges to other special counsel appointments, it would be even more unlikely that the D.C. court would accept the argument this time around.

But the legal argument gained momentum this month, after Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas wrote in the presidential immunity case that the special counsel's office needs to be established by Congress and that Smith needed to be confirmed by the Senate. Thomas urged lower courts to explore the issue. The justice wrote that he tacked on his concurring opinion to the immunity ruling to “highlight another way in which this prosecution may violate our constitutional structure.”

In Monday's ruling, Cannon cited Thomas's opinion — which none of the other justices signed on to — multiple times.

She agreed with Trump's attorney that she is not bound by every aspect of the unanimous 1974 Supreme Court opinion in *U.S.A. vs Nixon*, which forced President Richard M. Nixon to hand over to a federal court tape recordings

and other subpoenaed materials related to the Watergate scandal.

As part of that opinion, the justices wrote that Congress has given the attorney general the authority to appoint a special prosecutor — an earlier iteration of a special counsel — to handle key duties of the department. That assertion was not a central part of the 50-year-old ruling, Cannon concluded, explaining why she did not think the language dictated the constitutionality of special counsels.

“Cannon has brushed aside language from *U.S.A. vs Nixon* and embraced the opinion of the single justice,” Richman said.

Cannon held two hearings last month on the appointment of the special counsel, a few weeks before Thomas issued his opinion. During the hearing, it was not clear how she would rule, but she acknowledged that precedent seemed to support Garland's appointment of Smith and that there would be a high legal bar for overturning it.

The crux of Trump's argument is that because Garland has repeatedly said Smith is acting independently in overseeing the investigation, the special counsel should be considered a “principal officer” — a top government official who has no immediate supervisor and whose appointment requires Senate approval.

The special counsel team countered that Smith, like other special counsels before him, is not a principal officer. The team said that while federal regulations say Garland does not provide day-to-day supervision of special counsels, the attorney general ensures that they adhere to Justice Department protocols and can review major investigatory steps.

In an unusual move, Cannon invited outside groups to participate in the hearings and offer arguments for and against the appointment of Smith.

“What do you make of this potentially tolerated practice?” Cannon asked outside attorney Gene Schaerr, noting that previous attorneys general have made appointments similar to Garland's naming of Smith.

Josh Dawsey in Milwaukee contributed to this report.

Dismissal brings scrutiny once again to Cannon’s handling of Trump case

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL

U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon, an appointee of President Donald Trump with relatively little experience on the bench, has been under intense scrutiny since she was selected to preside over Trump's criminal trial for allegedly illegally retaining classified documents and obstructing government efforts to retrieve them.

She has been praised by Republicans, denounced by Democrats and second-guessed at almost every turn by legal experts. That clamor turned deafening Monday, when the federal judge in Florida tossed the high-profile case in a bombshell move hours before Trump officially became his party's presidential nominee.

Ruling on a motion Trump's attorneys submitted months ago, Cannon dismissed what many legal scholars considered the strongest criminal case against the former president and the one that was on the surest legal footing. Centered on highly sensitive national secrets and with significant evidence of alleged obstruction, it also appeared to be the one Trump most feared.

She ruled not on the merits of the case, but on the legality of the Justice Department's appointment of a special counsel to oversee it.

Cannon's 93-page opinion embraced a legal theory that special counsel Jack Smith was improperly appointed. It is one that has gained traction in conservative legal circles but remains “an outlier,” rejected by a handful of other judges who have considered it, said conservative legal scholar Jonathan Turley.

He called the ruling a “three-point shot” for Trump, who has

repeatedly raised long-shot legal arguments in the case.

“This is a seismic ruling. The Florida case was the greatest threat to Trump,” Turley said. “The other cases have constitutional and statutory problems. The problems have increased over the last year, especially with the recent Supreme Court rulings in the Fisher and Trump cases.”

Turley was referring to recent decisions by the high court that prosecutors improperly used an obstruction charge to prosecute hundreds of Jan. 6 rioters and that Trump had broad presidential immunity from prosecution. The immunity decision narrowed key aspects of the indictment Trump faces in D.C. federal court for allegedly trying to overturn the 2020 election, with prosecutors having to prove which of his acts were official and which evidence they can use in the case. The obstruction ruling could also affect that indictment, because two of the four counts Smith brought against Trump involved obstruction.

Legal experts said Smith will almost certainly appeal Cannon's classified-documents ruling to the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals, and the case could eventually make its way to the Supreme Court. Still, her dismissal of the indictment all but ensures that no trial will occur before November's election or Biden leaves office. If he becomes president, Trump could ask his own Justice Department to drop the appeal of Cannon's ruling.

Reaction on Monday was swift and polarized, a dynamic that has played out again and again after Cannon's rulings in the case. Democrats slammed the judge for what they described as putting politics above the law, while



U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon's ruling Monday brought disagreement among legal experts and faces appeal by special counsel Jack Smith.

Republicans praised her for doing what they felt was overdue. Legal scholars squabbled.

“This breathtakingly misguided ruling flies in the face of long-accepted practice and repetitive judicial precedence,” Sen. Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) posted on X. “It is wrong on the law and must be appealed immediately. This is further evidence that Judge Cannon cannot handle this case impartially and must be reassigned.”

Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) posted a photo of Cannon on X and wrote: “Future Supreme Court Justice Cannon.”

In her ruling, Cannon sided with Trump, who argued that the Constitution does not permit Attorney General Merrick Garland to appoint a special counsel without Senate confirmation. The special counsel told Cannon that Garland had such authority — a position other federal judges

have upheld when ruling on challenges to special counsel appointments in other cases.

While some special counsels are serving as U.S. attorneys when they are appointed, and have been confirmed by the Senate for those positions, others — including Smith — are tapped for the job while serving in jobs that don't require such confirmation.

Legal scholars pointed out that Cannon was following a legal road map that was laid out by Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, who argued in a concurring opinion in the recent immunity decision that Smith was improperly appointed. No other justice joined Thomas in that opinion.

Leah Litman, a law professor and host of a liberal legal podcast, quipped on X that “Justice Thomas's ‘Cannon-currence’ worked.”

Controversy has dogged Cannon's other rulings — even before the case began.

The judge grabbed headlines in fall 2022 when she intervened in the FBI's investigation of Trump for his handling of classified documents, slowing the case. She appointed an expert to review material seized from Mar-a-Lago, Trump's Florida home and private club, and barred agents from looking at those items before the review was concluded.

In making that ruling, Cannon found that Trump required extra protection as a former president, writing that the “stigma associated with the subject seizure is in a league of its own. A future indictment, based to any degree on property that ought to be returned, would result in reputational harm of a decidedly different order of magnitude.”

An 11th Circuit panel unanimously reversed Cannon's deci-

sion, saying it was unwilling to “carve out an unprecedented exception in our law for former presidents.”

The ruling later prompted calls for Cannon's recusal from Trump's classified documents case and led some legal experts to question whether she was out of her depth in handling the prosecution of a former president.

Cannon, 43, was appointed by Trump to the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida in 2020 and had less than three years' experience as a judge when she was assigned the classified documents case. A former federal prosecutor, she is one of more than 200 conservative lawyers Trump nominated to the federal bench.

She was born in Colombia, the daughter of a Cuban immigrant mother, and raised in Miami. She is a graduate of Duke University and joined the conservative Federalist Society as a law student.

Cannon raised eyebrows again in March, when she issued an unusual order regarding jury instructions that are given at the end of a trial, even though she was not close to starting the classified documents trial and had yet to resolve many pretrial issues.

In May, Cannon announced Trump's trial would be delayed indefinitely because of the complicated legal issues involved in the case, angering critics who accused her of slow-walking a trial they thought should play out before voters made their choice in this year's election.

University of Michigan law professor Barbara L. McQuade said Cannon's inexperience was on clear display in such a consequential case. She also called Cannon's Monday ruling an outli-

er and said it had been rejected by other courts.

“Judge Cannon's handling of the case has been shaky from the start,” McQuade wrote in an email. “After the criminal case was assigned to her, she worked at an incredibly slow pace to hold hearings on motions and to address how classified documents would be handled at trial.”

But others dismissed such arguments.

David Marcus, a Florida attorney, said the work Cannon put into her ruling was impressive and noted that she was handling an unprecedented legal proceeding.

“This is the biggest criminal case there is,” Marcus said. “She's taking the time to look at it, rule on it and not rush it to trial.”

Turley said Cannon's ruling on the dismissal had merit, arguing that the Constitution clearly lays out that appointments such as the special counsel must be made by the president and approved by the Senate, not simply announced by the attorney general.

Others rejected that idea.

“What she was raising was neither a frivolous or easy question,” Turley said. “The one thing I think critics have to acknowledge is that it is a glaring anomaly that we have this formal constitutional process that can simply be circumvented with the unilateral appointment of a private citizen.”

What's clear is that Cannon has dealt another significant blow to Smith's prosecution of Trump, which was already damaged. McQuade said the special counsel could take comfort on one point.

“This ruling may be a blessing in disguise for Jack Smith, who may now appeal and ask the court to replace Cannon as the judge on this case,” McQuade wrote.

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ELECTION 2024

Economy, inflation focus of speeches

CONVENTION FROM A1

economy and inflation. Several everyday Americans recounted their struggles with higher gasoline and grocery prices while a succession of elected officials asserted that a second Trump presidency will bring greater prosperity to working families.

The evening's final speaker was Sean O'Brien, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. His lengthy speech in the hour that was broadcast by major networks and cable news channels, included attacks on major corporations, long a key constituency of the GOP, highlighted the Trump campaign's focus on expanding support and turnout among White working-class voters. "We must put workers first," he said.

Republican speakers on Monday sought to make virtues out of what Democrats see as some of Trump's major vulnerabilities. Rather than strength, Democrats see in Trump an authoritarian streak, a candidate who has spoken about using the presidency for retribution and revenge. Since Saturday's shooting, Trump has said he plans to focus on a message of unity Thursday night, rather than on attacks. But his past statements stand as blueprint for what a second term might bring.

Biden, in an interview with NBC's Lester Holt, pointed to his opponent's statements to draw the contrast his campaign hopes to make. "I'm not the guy that said I want to be a dictator on day one," he said. "I'm not the guy that refused to accept the outcome of the election. I'm not the guy who said that wouldn't accept the outcome of this election automatically. You can't only love your country when you win."

The main business of the first session was the formal nomination of Trump as the party's presidential standard-bearer for the third time in as many elections, ratifying his easy string of victories during the Republican primaries. The convention will be a demonstration that Trump has totally remade the Republican Party in his own image and around the issues and policies he favors.

This year's convention comes during a month in which the former president has seen events play to his advantage, and his campaign's hope is that they can create momentum heading out of the convention at the end of the week.

Even before the nearly 2,500 delegates could take their seats in the Fiserv Forum, the convention arena, Trump received a major victory when U.S. District Judge

Aileen M. Cannon dismissed the indictment against him in the classified documents case brought by Justice Department special counsel Jack Smith.

It was the latest event that has played in Trump's favor, including Biden's faltering debate performance, which has thrown the Democratic Party into turmoil amid calls for the president to step aside, just as Republicans have newfound unity.

Delegates, decked out in patriotic colors, were in an upbeat mood as the week began, relieved that Trump had survived Saturday's shooting and hopeful about the final months of the campaign. At the media center, vendors were selling all kinds of Trump merchandise, including a variety of T-shirts that read, "I'm voting for the convicted felon."

"It feels like there's momentum that has shifted in our favor," said Stephanie Soucek, a delegate from Wisconsin. "It feels like we're much more unified, which is what we've been pushing for." As awful as the assassination attempt was, she said, it "has caused people to rally around Trump more."

But in a sharply polarized country where both parties see little margin for error in a handful of hotly contested swing states, some Republicans have warned against complacency. South Carolina Gov. Henry McMaster, a longtime Trump loyalist, said the party cannot get overconfident. "People have a tendency sometimes, when they think things are real good, to ease up a little bit. That's a way to lose. You have to work every single second," he said.

Saturday's shooting at the Trump rally in Butler, Pa., increased security concerns at an already locked-down city and has the potential to alter the tone of the convention itself.

But party officials indicated no major changes were planned for the already well-scripted convention. The schedule includes a week of programming designed to prosecute the case against Biden and his policies on the economy, inflation, immigration and safety. Monday evening's prime-time program was titled, "Make America Wealthy, Again."

Sara Workman, a single mother working two jobs, talked about her family's financial strain and a husband who "fell victim to the drug epidemic." Growing emotional, she took a deep breath and paused as the crowd gave her an ovation. "Donald Trump put me on this stage to show that he hears us, he sees us, and we are forgotten no more," she said.

Another speaker, Vanessa Faura, said that her family immigrat-



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

From left, Tiffany Trump, Eric Trump, Republican National Committee Co-Chair Lara Trump and Donald Trump Jr. pledge Florida's votes to their father at the Republican National Convention on Monday. Donald Trump was formally named the party nominee.

ed legally from Peru and that "under the Biden-Harris agenda, we're no longer living, we're surviving."

There was another contrast that Trump's campaign hopes to draw with Biden, which was summed up by Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R). He described the election as a few simple choices: "It's common sense versus chaos," he said. "It's strength versus weakness."

With Trump's campaign vowing to compete for the support of Black voters, Monday's program also featured five Black Republican elected officials in prime-time speaking roles. Among them was Sen. Tim Scott (S.C.), who failed in his effort to deny Trump the nomination and who has since become one of the former president's most enthusiastic supporters. On Monday night, he referred to Trump as a roaring "American lion."

Vance, 39, is one of the youngest vice-presidential nominees in history. He is serving in his first term in the Senate, having been elected in 2022 from a state that has turned decisively to Trump since 2016.

His selection appeared designed to appeal most to Trump's MAGA base of loyalists, but how much the senator's often strident rhetoric will appeal to undecided swing voters is another question.

That test will come in some of the northern battleground states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, where the competition for White working-class voters will be

intense.

Vance beamed as he entered the hall for his formal nomination and walked slowly down the aisle with his wife, Usha Vance, pausing to clasp people's hands and pose for photos.

Biden's campaign immediately drew attention to Vance's embrace of Trump's false claims he won the 2020 election and said he would do what Mike Pence refused to do for Trump: reject legitimate election results.

"A clone of Trump on the issues," Biden said of Vance on Monday. "I don't see any difference."

Vice President Harris left a message congratulating Vance and saying she hopes they can face off in a vice-presidential debate organized by CBS News, according to a Biden-Harris campaign official.

The roll call of the states, one of the traditions of political conventions, began shortly before 3 p.m., with Iowa, where Trump's victory in last winter's caucuses started him on the path to the nomination, casting the first votes for his renomination. Iowa's votes were soon followed by New Hampshire, which in 2016 was the first state Trump won on his way to his nomination that year.

One more sign of Trump's takeover of the party came when the chair of the Massachusetts delegation referred to his state as "Machusetts."

In 2022, Charlie Baker, then the moderate Republican governor who had been at odds with Trump and with Trump's fol-

lowers within the party, chose not to seek reelection.

When the roll call arrived at Trump's adopted home state of Florida, it was Trump's son Eric who cast the deciding votes that gave the former president the necessary number of votes to claim the nomination. The screens in the convention hall flashed with videos of fireworks with the words "OVER THE TOP," setting off a brief celebration.

The Democratic drama took attention away from Trump's debate performance, which was replete with lies and distorted statements, and gave him the opportunity to stay out of the limelight while the Democrats argued among themselves.

This week will mark his full reemergence and comes after the shocking shooting at his rally Saturday and his show of defiance, his arm raised, his fist clenched, as he was led to safety by Secret Service agents.

"Donald Trump's reaction to being shot, almost assassinated and his show of strength — yelling, 'Fight, fight, fight' — just brings all of us that sense of a desire to make America great again," said RNC committee member Jane Timken of Ohio. Attendees were still in shock over the violence, she said, but the crowd was energized.

Trump arrived in Milwaukee on Sunday night. People with knowledge of his activities said he had dinner with one of his donors, and aides reported that he was in good spirits, despite the shooting that

left his right ear bloodied, a member of the audience dead, two others wounded and the suspected shooter, Thomas Matthew Crooks, dead at the hands of the Secret Service.

Security remained a major issue on the convention's first day. Secret Service officials said Sunday that they were not changing their security blueprint, which they said had been the result of 18 months of planning. Local officials said Milwaukee this week would probably be one of the safest places on the planet. Still, after what happened in Pennsylvania on Saturday, the potential for unexpected problems was clearly on the minds of many.

The most secure zone in downtown Milwaukee, which includes the convention center, the media filing center and other buildings, showed a heavy presence of law enforcement officials, many from out of state. Convention attendees, from production workers to volunteers to members of the media, faced long lines as they tried to enter the secure zone Monday morning.

One other piece of business on the first day was the adoption of the party platform. To the dismay of some conservative activists, the platform downplays the issue of abortion in contrast to the language in past platforms.

Sabrina Rodriguez, Dylan Wells and Maegan Vazquez in Milwaukee and Tyler Pager in Washington contributed to this report.

Unconventional convention entrance

TRUMP FROM A1

with former Fox News host Tucker Carlson and Rep. Byron Donalds (R-Fla.), before clapping hands with his eldest son, Donald Trump Jr., and pointing at another son, Eric. He turned to his left to greet Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), his newly minted running mate, and House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.).

Then, Trump sat, and seemed to take in the moment, glancing about the cavernous hall.

Trump appeared before the convention crowd almost exactly 48 hours after a gunman attempted to assassinate him Saturday night at his rally in Pennsylvania, a tragedy that killed one attendee, injured two others, and left Trump safe but injured.

Still, Trump's emotional and highly anticipated entrance was a fitting culmination to a two-and-a-half-week stretch — starting with the first presidential debate June 27 — where just about every major political moment has broken Trump's way.

At their first debate stage face-off, President Biden delivered a halting and politically devastating performance — shuffling onto the stage, whispering and trailing off, losing his train of thought and generally prompting a Democratic Party existential crisis over whether the occupant of the Oval Office should remain their nominee.

Four days later, the Supreme Court ruled that presidents have "absolute" immunity for clearly official acts, a decision along ideological lines that sent Trump's indictment for allegedly trying to subvert the 2020 election back to a lower court, postponing any decision until after November's election.

And on Monday, only hours before the Republican National Convention officially opened in Milwaukee, U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon dismissed the classified documents case against Trump, which legal experts and many Democratic and Republican strategists had viewed as the strongest and most clear cut of the indictments Trump is facing.

Even Trump was surprised by the case being dismissed, according to two people close to him, who, like others interviewed for this report, spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe their conversations with the nominee. Trump's team had expected the legal fight to continue for months.

"The man just has an extraordinary amount of luck," said Richard Porter, an RNC committeeman from Illinois. "He just doesn't stop. He's relentless. He just keeps going. And things are falling his way finally."

After the Supreme Court's immunity decision, some of Trump's advisers began privately saying they believed God was on his side. And after he was shot, Trump told advisers that "God saved me," according to a person who talked to him on the phone.

"This would be an excellent day for him to buy a lottery ticket," said David Axelrod, a Democratic strategist who served as a top aide under former president Barack Obama.

Only a few months ago, Trump's advisers had been bracing for a grueling year of multiple criminal trials and grappling with daunting questions: How would Trump logistically be able to campaign while spending much of his time in court? How would multiple potentially guilty verdicts affect his polling? And how would Trump respond to seeing former and cur-

rent aides on the witness stand?

Many of his advisers feared they would have to testify against him. Some of his lawyers had even hired lawyers themselves, and aides scrambled to avoid controversial discussions with the former president — hoping to remain subpoena-free.

There were somber discussions about who might be wearing a wire. Trump's team would regularly make a grim inquiry: Was anyone else about to be indicted?

"We control what we can control," Susie Wiles, one of Trump's top advisers, said during an early 2024 staff meeting, according to people who heard her comments.

Try not to worry, she continued, about things you cannot control.

In the run-up to the Republican convention, however, the events that Trump's team could not control ultimately accrued in their candidate's favor. Biden's debate stumbles were self-inflicted, and the two court decisions provided seismic relief to Trump and his aides.

Trump made some of his own luck, Axelrod said. The former president installed judges on the Supreme Court who would be more likely to agree with him; had the instincts to strike a pose of strength and defiance before Secret Service agents rushed him offstage Saturday; and largely allowed Biden to self-destruct during the debate, Axelrod said.

And on Monday afternoon, Trump managed to keep secret his vice-presidential choice, announcing that he had selected Vance to be his running mate on his own social media platform.

Even Saturday's terrifying moments of political violence — hardly auspicious by any measure — resulted in an iconic photo of Trump, and helped inspire his



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Former president Donald Trump, his ear covered by a white bandage, on the first day of the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee. He was visibly emotional and uncharacteristically subdued.

supporters and further consolidated his party behind him.

"The juxtaposition of that first few minutes of the debate in Atlanta and that heroic shot of him in Pennsylvania are the bookends of the Trump campaign right now," Axelrod said. "It's the prevailing dynamic of this campaign."

Several Trump advisers have privately expressed amazement about how many events have fallen their way recently. Among Democrats, meanwhile, the effort to persuade Biden to exit the presidential race continued to slog ahead Monday.

In this moment, Trump seems as close as he's ever been to returning to the White House, where he has promised to be a dictator on "Day 1," round up and deport millions of undocumented immi-

grants, root out the so-called "Deep State," and exact his vision of retribution on political enemies.

One prominent Democrat who speaks often to top leaders in the party described the mood as "morose" as the party watched Trump's political fortunes seem to continue to wax, while Biden's appeared to wane.

"The prevailing sentiment is we're doomed," this person said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to share a candid opinion.

After the attempted assassination, Trump's team discussed having him speak at the convention Monday, in what they hoped would be a unifying show of resilience.

In the end, Trump merely waved at and acknowledged the

crowd, occasionally flashing a tight-mouthed smile. But the moment served its intended purpose. Inside the Fiserv Forum, the crowd marveled at the moment.

"He's very lucky. I think there's a little bit of intervention from up there," said Rick Lacey, a delegate from Trump's home state of Florida. "You can feel the momentum building up day by day."

As Trump prepared to take his seat, the crowd first broke into chants of "USA! USA! USA!" before switching to the words Trump had uttered onstage at his Saturday rally as Secret Service surrounded him and prepared to usher him to safety: "Fight! Fight! Fight!"

Sabrina Rodriguez in Milwaukee contributed to this report.

ELECTION 2024

Young VP nominee’s rise reflects an evolution on new boss

VANCE FROM A1

understand Trump’s appeal to the White working-class voters who had helped install him in the Oval Office.

Vance turned to politics, successfully running for Senate in 2022, a remarkable ascendancy for a political newcomer. By then, Vance had walked back much of his criticism of Trump, defending him as a “great” president and echoing Trump’s false claims about widespread fraud in the 2020 election.

And on Monday, the 39-year-old was announced as Trump’s 2024 running mate, capping a meteoric rise for the GOP star and a transformation of the Ohio Republican from fierce Trump critic to loyal ally. Vance strode onto the floor at the Republican National Convention to Merle Haggard’s “America First,” taking so long to shake hands with attendees that the song had to be played twice.

Introducing Vance at the convention, Ohio Lt. Gov. Jon Husted (R) described the vice-presidential pick as a man who would represent Americans with “moral courage, strength and honor.”

“J.D. is a living embodiment of the American Dream. He came from humble beginnings, and even as his life took him to places he might have never imagined, he never forgot where he came from. Ohio values are in his blood,” Husted said.

After breaking with his previous vice president, Mike Pence, over Pence’s refusal to reject the 2020 election results, Trump’s selection of Vance brings the former president a No. 2 who has in recent years demonstrated unflinching loyalty to him. Vance also could hold electoral strength for Trump, shoring up Republicans’ White working-class base in the Upper Midwest, while Vance’s youth is a sharp contrast to the 78-year-old Trump in an election year where voters have voiced concerns about the ages of both President Biden and Trump.

If voters choose the Trump ticket, Vance — who will turn 40 on Aug. 2 — would become the third-youngest vice president at the time of inauguration, as well as one with very little political experience. Vance served as a U.S. Marine from 2003 to 2007 as a combat correspondent, where his responsibilities were akin to a public affairs specialist, gathering information and conducting interviews for the military’s news service.

In 2005, Vance deployed to



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio) with his wife, Usha Vance, on the Republican National Convention floor in Milwaukee on Monday.

Iraq for a six-month assignment, where he wrote about the work of fellow service members, such as crews for aging Huey helicopters, under the name James D. Hamel, taking the surname of his stepfather at the time. Vance left the Marine Corps as a corporal in September 2007. His awards, including an Iraq campaign medal, achievement and good conduct medals, are typical of enlisted service members at the time.

Vance then studied political science and philosophy at Ohio State University and graduated from Yale Law School. Afterward, he worked at a large corporate law firm and then as a principal at billionaire Peter Thiel’s investment firm in San Francisco. Vance is married to Usha Vance, a former law school classmate and the daughter of Indian immigrants, and the couple has three children.

He rose to fame in 2016 after the publication of “Hillbilly Elegy,” which was adapted into a 2020 Netflix movie directed by Ron Howard. As he promoted the book, Vance didn’t mince words about his distaste for Trump.

During his book tour, Vance compared Trump’s candidacy to cultural heroin and told a former roommate that Trump was either a “cynical asshole” or “America’s Hitler,” according to texts shared on social media by the roommate.

In 2019, after the success of his book, Vance returned to Ohio and founded a venture capital firm. He has hosted or helped organize high-dollar fundraisers for Trump, including one in June hosted by Silicon Valley entrepreneur David Sacks.

His evolution on Trump was perhaps not entirely unpredictable. Even in his 2016 interviews, social media posts and writings that were critical of Trump, Vance often followed up his sentiments by saying he nevertheless understood why White working-class voters would support him. To

Rose in 2016, Vance said he felt “elites” directed an attitude of “We told you so” toward White working-class Trump supporters.

“The problem is if you take that attitude as sort of gloating ... then you’re playing into the very thing that gave rise to Trump in the first place, which is a feeling that the elites think that they are smarter than you and just think you’re a bunch of idiots,” Vance said then.

In a 2018 print run of “Hillbilly Elegy,” Vance revealed he voted for a third-party candidate in 2016. But while he still had “reservations” about Trump two years into his term, Vance also wrote that there were aspects of his candidacy that had appealed to him, including Trump’s “disdain for the ‘elites’ and criticism of foreign policy blunders in Iraq and Afghanistan” by previous ad-

ministrations.

“For so many years, I and a few of my intellectual fellow travelers in the Republican Party were telling politicians to make precisely those sorts of arguments,” Vance wrote in 2018. “Yet the populist rhetoric of the campaign hasn’t informed the party’s approach to governing. Unless that changes, I suspect Republicans will pay a heavy political price.”

Trump endorsed Vance — a first-time candidate running in a crowded 2022 Republican primary for U.S. Senate. He dismissed Vance’s past criticism of him, saying in a statement at the time that the venture capitalist “gets it now, and I have seen that in spades.”

“He is our best chance for victory in what could be a very tough race,” Trump added.

Vance won the primary and the general election, defeating former Democratic congressman Tim Ryan by more than six percentage points. During his term, the Ohio Republican has embraced a more populist direction for the GOP under Trump, vehem-

“J.D. is a living embodiment of the American Dream. ... Ohio values are in his blood.”

Ohio Lt. Gov. Jon Husted (R)

ANALYSIS

Five takeaways from Night 1 of RNC: Picking Vance and courting new voters

BY AARON BLAKE

Night 1 of the 2024 Republican National Convention is in the books. Donald Trump was officially nominated, and, answering the day’s biggest question, he announced Sen. J.D. Vance (Ohio) as his running mate.

Below are some takeaways.

1. The Vance pick is a confident, dicey one

The most significant event Monday was the GOP ticket being filled out. Trump bypassed two other finalists — Sen. Marco Rubio (Fla.) and North Dakota Gov. Doug Burgum — to select Vance, a first-term senator.

In Vance, Trump charts a new course. While Mike Pence was selected in 2016 to appeal to establishment-oriented Republicans and a key voter group — evangelical Christians — Vance is the vanguard of a new, younger MAGA era in the Republican Party. Although much is yet to be determined, it could be politically dicey.

Vance was not a popular Senate candidate in 2022, underperforming every other statewide Republican. His selection could also alienate more hawkish Republicans.

If nothing else, Trump’s choice of Vance appears to signal confidence about the election ahead. Trump picked him over other candidates with seemingly broader appeal — not just Rubio and Burgum, but also Sen. Tim Scott (S.C.) and others — apparently in hopes of having an ideologically aligned second-in-command. Trump is also effectively deputizing a new leader of the MAGA movement for the years and potentially decades



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

The Connecticut delegation cheers as Sen. J.D. Vance (Ohio) officially becomes the GOP’s vice-presidential nominee. Vance represents a new, younger MAGA era in the Republican Party.

to come.

Time will tell whether that confidence is warranted.

2. The assassination attempt loomed large, with a few references

About 48 hours after the attempted assassination of Trump in Pennsylvania, it wasn’t a huge focal point onstage — except in a few key moments.

“On Saturday, the devil came to Pennsylvania holding a rifle, but an American lion got back up on his feet, and he roared!” Scott said

as the crowd went wild. “Oh, yeah! He roared!”

And Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (Ga.) said in her speech, “I thank God that his hand was on President Trump.”

But the big moment was when Trump appeared around 9 p.m. Central time, walking to his seat with a bandage on his ear. He appeared genuinely moved by the reception, as his supporters

echoed his words from shortly after the attempted assassination: “Fight! Fight! Fight!”

3. No party for old hawks?

Vance, who once said, “I don’t really care what happens to Ukraine,” wasn’t the only sign of an increasingly isolationist Republican Party. Seemingly approved remarks from multiple speakers pushed the GOP in a decidedly un-Reagan direction.

“While hundreds of thousands of Americans are suffering, the Democrats spent over \$175 billion — your tax dollars — to secure Ukraine’s borders,” Greene said. (Left unsaid: Around half of con-

gressional Republicans have supported that aid as well.)

Turning Point USA head Charlie Kirk accused Biden of sending hundreds of billions to “foreign nations, while Gen Z has to pinch pennies.”

Tech investor David Sacks spent much of his speech on the topic, deriding U.S. involvement in a “forever war” and even saying Biden “provoked — yes, provoked — the Russians to invade Ukraine with talk of NATO expansion.”

Few big-name conservatives, outside of Tucker Carlson and Sen. Tommy Tuberville (Ala.), talk in those terms. And Sacks’s speech, in particular, was a huge departure from the Reagan era and even the GOP of a decade ago.

4. The “unity” message has an uneven start

After the assassination attempt, the Trump campaign and Republicans previewed what was supposedly to be a more unifying message.

There was reason to doubt that would truly be what we’d get this week, and it proved a tough promise to keep.

One of the earliest speakers was Greene, who has repeatedly blamed Democrats for the assassination attempt, despite no direct evidence of the shooter’s motive. (The shooter was a registered Republican who once donated to a progressive group.)

“[Democrats] promised unity and delivered division,” Greene said, soon adding, “They promised normalcy and gave us Transgender Visibility Day on Easter Sunday.”

The overlap between those two

ments criticizing U.S. aid to Ukraine and becoming one of the most ubiquitous defenders of the former president.

Vance showed his support outside the New York courthouse during Trump’s criminal trial earlier this year and boosted the presumptive GOP presidential nominee in frequent appearances defending him on cable TV. Vance also has grown close with Trump’s eldest son, Donald Trump Jr., despite a striking contrast in his hardscrabble upbringing to that of the wealthy New York real estate family.

Soon after the shooting Saturday at a Trump campaign rally in Butler, Pa., Vance promptly blamed President Biden’s campaign “rhetoric” for the incident, drawing criticism for escalating the situation before full details had emerged.

Vance has also echoed Trump’s false claims about widespread fraud in the 2020 election and has indicated that he would have taken a different path on Jan. 6, 2021, than Pence. Vance told ABC News in February that if he had been vice president, he would have allowed Congress to consider fraudulent slates of pro-Trump electors.

The Biden campaign seized on Vance’s previous remarks to attack Trump’s running mate pick on Monday.

“Donald Trump picked J.D. Vance as his running mate because Vance will do what Mike Pence wouldn’t on January 6: bend over backwards to enable Trump and his extreme MAGA agenda, even if it means breaking the law and no matter the harm to the American people,” Biden campaign chairwoman Jen O’Malley Dillon said in a statement.

Vance would not commit unequivocally to accepting the results of the 2024 election, telling NBC’s “Meet the Press” earlier this month that he would do so “so long as it’s a free and fair election.” In the same interview, he vowed to work with Trump, even if he was not selected as his running mate.

“We’re just trying to work to elect Donald Trump. Whoever his vice president is, he’s got a lot of good people he could choose from,” Vance said. “It’s the policies that worked and the leadership style that worked for the American people. I think we have to bring that back to the White House, and I’m fighting to try to do that.”

Alex Horton and Maegan Vazquez contributed to this report.

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ELECTION 2024

Republicans are in town. For Milwaukee, that’s complex.

BY JOANNA SLATER

MILWAUKEE — When chef Adam Siegel learned that Milwaukee had clinched the Republican National Convention, he exulted. His 300-seat restaurant, Lupi & Iris, was less than a mile from the action. In 2023, it was named one of the 10 best new restaurants in the country.

Siegel had anticipated a sold-out week as an estimated 50,000 visitors poured into town for politicking and schmoozing. “We’re an overlooked city,” he said. “This was going to be something that elevated everybody.”

But as the convention opened Monday, Siegel had only two private parties booked, fewer than on a normal week. And he’s worried that regulars will stay away, spooked by concerns about traffic downtown.

“I’m disappointed,” he said. “But I’m hopeful that I kind of eat my words and it becomes an amazing thing.”

That mixture of apprehension and excitement was evident across Milwaukee as this heavily Democratic city prepared to host a Republican convention that local leaders have touted as an economic boon.

That was true even before Saturday’s shooting at a Trump rally in Pennsylvania sent shock waves across the country and scrambled expectations for the tone and tenor of the convention.

For Milwaukee, this week is a kind of do-over: The city spent months preparing to host the 2020 Democratic convention before it was postponed and then conducted mostly remotely because of the coronavirus pandemic.

Four years later, with Wisconsin still very much a battleground state, the GOP is also turning to Milwaukee to launch the nomination of Donald Trump (last month, he complicated matters by reportedly calling Milwaukee a “horrible” city.)

Many here say they welcome a second chance for Milwaukee to shine on the national stage, although some business owners say the event is proving less of a boost than they expected.

There’s also the potential for unrest, with protests planned and counter protests possible. Citing security concerns, the city passed an ordinance banning tennis balls, umbrellas and other objects in an area surrounding the convention venue that is open to pedestrians. However, under state law, the city cannot prohibit firearms.

“As a politician, I want to say that [the convention] will be good for the city,” said LaTonya Johnson, a Democratic state senator who represents Milwaukee, pointing to the influx of tourism dollars. “The piece that makes me nervous is you can’t have metal water bottles, but you can have your guns.”

City officials have spent months coordinating with federal and state authorities on security arrangements, and thousands of additional law enforce-



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: Ricky Ramirez, right, owner of a Milwaukee bar, speaks to some of his regular customers last week. Ramirez decided to close the Mothership this week because of the Republican National Convention, which is taking place in the city. BOTTOM: Supporters of former president Donald Trump take part in a boat parade in Milwaukee Bay on Saturday.

ment personnel were brought in from elsewhere in the country for the convention.

For Milwaukee, the Republican convention is “a starting point, not the end point,” said Jeff Fleming, a spokesman for Mayor Cavalier Johnson (D). If the city shows “the world that we can put on a big event, the benefits we will reap will come next year and the year after that and the year after that.”

Some small-business owners said the convention offered a chance to finish what the pandemic interrupted. “With the DNC, we had such high hopes,” said Theresa Nemetz, owner of Milwaukee Food & City Tours, recalling the nearly two years of meetings and preparations for an

event that never materialized.

Hosting the Republican convention is “closure,” Nemetz said. “Yes, it’s for a different political party, but that’s okay in my mind ... it’s not about red or blue, it’s about Milwaukee.”

Others said the event had fallen short. Gary Witt is chief executive of Pabst Theater Group, which operates six entertainment venues in Milwaukee with the capacity for anywhere from 200 to 2,500 guests. He agreed not to book shows this week to leave space for convention-related groups.

But those events never materialized. Five of the six venues will sit empty this week (the sixth, the Pabst Theater, is hosting a CNN event, which Witt described

as a “carryover” from the canceled Democratic convention).

Milwaukee “should always be chasing things like this,” Witt said. But business-wise, it has turned out to be “something of a nothingburger.”

As delegates began to flow into the city on Saturday, cordons went up on downtown streets and city buses displayed a welcome message: “Hello RNC!” Meanwhile, locals took advantage of the sunny afternoon to stroll, run and bike along the shores of Lake Michigan.

Regina Jones, 35, was flying a kite with her fiancé near the water. The law firm where she works downtown is going remote this week to avoid traffic or security hassles. Jones said a friend

had described the event as “the clown show” coming to town. Those were Jones’s sentiments, too.

Milwaukee is a “liberal city in a conservative state,” Jones said. “I don’t know what they’re doing here.”

Trump supporters had called for a boat parade on the waterfront Saturday afternoon (“Too big to rig,” read an online flier.) At 2 p.m., about seven vessels festooned with Trump-themed flags went back and forth on the lake’s dark blue, choppy waters.

Dennis Wangerin, 61, was sitting in the shade in a lawn chair emblazoned with the American flag. As the boats passed, he stood up. Then he extended both his arms in a double thumbs-down gesture.

“This Republican stuff, I’m not into it,” Wangerin said.

When Milwaukee clinched the convention in 2022, it was far from clear that Trump would vanquish his rivals in the Republican nominating contest. Trump hasn’t made it easy for the city to welcome him, particularly after the reports of his “horrible” remark in a meeting with GOP lawmakers on Capitol Hill.

Johnson, who made history as Milwaukee’s first Black mayor, had a swift response. “If Donald Trump wants to talk about things that he thinks are horrible — all of us lived through his presidency, so, right back at you, buddy,” Johnson said.

(Trump campaign spokesman Steven Cheung later said Trump “was talking about how terrible crime and voter fraud are.”)

The Democratic National Committee jumped on Trump’s remarks, putting up billboards in the city that highlighted them. The Republican National Committee responded with billboards near the Fiserv Forum, the site of

the convention, using the first part of a recent Trump comment to Fox News in which he proclaimed his love for the city.

MobCraft Beer, one of Milwaukee’s many breweries, had its own riposte: It launched a special pale ale named “(not so) Horrible City IPA,” calling it a tribute to everything that makes the city great. Judging by preorders, the beer is already one of the 11-year-old brewery’s most successful special editions.

For at least one Milwaukee small business, its encounter with national politics has proved far less positive. Ricky Ramirez, 38, is the owner of the Mothership, a five-year-old bar with a profane online persona in the city’s Bay View district that cheerfully calls its own patrons “idiots.”

“We’re the type of bar where we throw a party every single day,” Ramirez said. “And right now, I don’t think that either political party especially deserves a party.” After talking with his staff, he announced on social media that the bar would close during the Republican convention because “everything gets amplified” and referred to the event with an expletive.

That elicited a torrent of online abuse, bad reviews and threats. Someone in Florida mailed a letter to the bar threatening to burn it down. (Ramirez gave the note to police.) Instead of regular service this week, the bar will host a private birthday party and a girls’ rock-and-roll camp.

Ramirez feels as though he needs to be sitting outside the bar’s entrance the whole week just to keep an eye on the place. “It’s been such a weird thing that we really want to be over,” he said. He knows the political stakes are high. “But man, we are just trying to make some vodka sodas here.”

A coalition of activist groups held a large protest march Monday. Christine Neumann-Ortiz, executive director of Voces de la Frontera, the largest immigrant rights organization in Wisconsin, said it was their duty to participate in the demonstration.

“We stand up to bullies,” Neumann-Ortiz said, “and to challenge the intimidation and the hatred and the cruel policies that they are promising to implement.”

Back at Lupi & Iris, Siegel is hoping to persuade local customers to come downtown during the convention regardless of any potential disruptions. The restaurant’s website sports a special banner urging people to “support downtown businesses during the Convention.”

The restaurant has adjusted its hours and offerings — an extended happy hour, a prix fixe menu — in ways that Siegel hopes will draw delegates and other visitors this week.

Convention organizers “hyped us up thinking that this was going to be an incredible thing,” he said. “And it only turned out to be for a very small handful of establishments.”

Thousands of convention protesters denounce Trump, agenda

BY JOANNA SLATER, MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE AND REIS THEBAULT

MILWAUKEE — Thousands of protesters descended on this Midwestern city on Monday, denouncing the Republican Party and its presidential nominee Donald Trump, who had survived an assassination attempt less than 48 hours earlier.

Even as elected leaders called for unity in the aftermath of political violence, there were few signs that either side of the partisan divide would lower the rhetorical temperature on a sweltering summer afternoon in downtown Milwaukee.

Inside the Fiserv Forum, home to the city’s professional basketball team, the Republican National Convention was kicking off its first day, still reeling after a gunman opened fire at the former president’s Pennsylvania rally on Saturday. The gathering brimmed with defiant energy, as delegates formally nominated Trump and prepared to greet his newly chosen running mate, Ohio Sen. J.D. Vance (R).

Outside, about 3,000 people filled a park near the arena, including representatives from more than 100 activist groups, in a long-planned protest of the GOP’s positions. The coalition said in its platform that it opposed Republicans’ “racist and reactionary agenda,” which organizers said threatens the rights of

women, the LGBTQ community and immigrants.

The twin events — convention and protest — served as two early tests of how Americans would react to the first assassination attempt of a president or candidate in more than 40 years, which unfolded during what was already one of the darkest and most divided eras in recent memory. The initial indication: On both sides, little seems to have changed.

For Trump supporters, the shooting only increased their resolve, becoming the latest — and largest — grievance to animate a campaign focused on retribution.

Anti-Trump demonstrators, meanwhile, confronted the more delicate task of condemning the man they deem an existential threat to democracy while at the same time decrying the violent act that threatened his life. And the language of protest offered little room for nuance.

Organizers were careful to call out political violence of all stripes, but otherwise they showed few changes in rhetoric.

“Defeating the Republican agenda is a matter of life and death for working and oppressed people,” Kobi Guillory of the Freedom Road Socialist Organization told the crowd of protesters as they prepared to march toward the convention site.

Few speakers mentioned Saturday’s shooting, and demonstration coordinators said it did not

impact their plans. It remains more important than ever to oppose the GOP agenda as loudly as possible, they said.

“If we can’t do it now, are we going to do it when it’s ‘Handmaid’s Tale’ time?” said 69-year-old protest attendee Jackie Sparks, referring to Margaret Atwood’s dystopian novel set in a totalitarian society. “I hope it doesn’t come to that.”

Sparks, who drove up from Chicago to march, said both left and right have contributed to the corrosive political discourse, but one side bears much more blame.

“There’s divisive rhetoric on both sides, but the most violent rhetoric has been on the Trump side,” she said.

Christine Neumann-Ortiz, the head of Wisconsin’s largest immigrant rights group, Voces de la Frontera, said the country’s most vulnerable residents are still dealing with dangerous fallout from Trump’s first term in office.

“It is undeniable that Trump’s rhetoric, policies and actions have contributed to a climate of increased violence and hate crimes by white nationalists, especially against people of color,” she said.

Responding to a question about the shooting, Omar Flores, the co-chair of the Coalition to March on the RNC, said, “I think the Republicans are experts on political violence.”

The protest drew attendees from across the country, from

Seattle and Los Angeles to Detroit and D.C., ranging in ideology from Democratic die-hards to far-left establishment critics. Many said they had made the trip because the stakes of November’s election have never been higher.

“If I have a message to the American people, it’s: Please stop being apathetic,” said Nadine Seiler, of Waldorf, Md. “I just want people to participate.”

Seiler, an American citizen originally from Trinidad, was wearing a shirt that read, “Stop Project 2025,” referring to the conservative playbook for a second Trump presidency.

Nearby, Jim Schwartzburg held a tie-dye sign denouncing the Republican Party in explicit terms. He traveled to Milwaukee from northern Wisconsin and said he was disappointed at the protest turnout.

“Obviously, the other side cares more,” he said. “And that’s the magic of Trump: He gets people who never got off their couches to come out.”

Other protesters echoed a long-held Democratic anxiety that seemingly everything that has happened in this chaotic presidential campaign only increases Trump’s chances of reelection.

Ranay Blanford, who served 20 years in the Army and was clad in a “Veterans Against Trump” tank top, worried that the shooting will energize Trump’s base, who will see him as “a hero, a martyr.”

At the same time, she said, the

attack was “awful, deplorable.”

“We do not do that in America,” she said. “We vote people out, we don’t shoot them.”

As the demonstrators wound their way through downtown Milwaukee, they encountered small groups of counterprotesters, mostly composed of antiabortion activists, holding signs comparing the procedure with domestic violence and murder.

At one point, a handful of counterprotesters shouted into a megaphone that the marchers were going to hell.

“There might be a bullet with your name on it today,” the man leading the calls yelled. “You might not be as blessed as Trump and dodge that bullet. It’s time to get right with God!”

Another held a sign that read “Homo sex is a sin.”

As the march passed, one protester called back: “It’s fun, you should try it!”

Nonetheless, organizers largely succeeded in putting on the “family-friendly” protest they promised. The groups exchanged sharp words, but there were no apparent clashes. Volunteer marshals helped separate the participants when necessary, while the police presence was minimal except for a few officers on foot wearing light blue vests identifying them as members of a community policing team from Columbus. A few more small rallies are planned for the rest of the week.

The demonstration’s coordina-

tors promised a larger turnout next month in Chicago, where the Democratic Party will hold its own nominating convention and protests will focus on Israel’s war in Gaza.

Participants from the left and right said they were unafraid to show up Monday, even after the assassination attempt plunged the country into a new state of unease.

“This is the safest place in America right now, wherever Trump is,” said Dan Gilles, a graduate student in Chicago, who was among the counterprotesters and wore a “Make America Straight Again” hat.

But even as the status quo — and its poisonous political dialogue — seemed destined to prevail, some among the crowd were searching for harmony. One of them was Joshua Hanson, a 52-year-old from Asheville, N.C.

Hanson, a ministry worker, bears a striking resemblance to the Jeff Bridges character from the movie “The Big Lebowski,” and he was wandering around the protest area in a shirt emblazoned with the film’s protagonist, a go-with-the-flow slacker type.

Hanson, who had been driving across the country on his way home from a Grateful Dead concert in Las Vegas, stopped off in Milwaukee to preach the gospel of unity.

“We need healing as a nation. We’re so divided,” he said. “We’re all lost. We’re all hurting. ... We just need to come together and see what we can agree upon.”

America, he seemed to be saying, will abide.

ELECTION 2024



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST



JOEL ANGEL JUAREZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Republican convention kicks off with momentum

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: A person wears a Trump 2020 hat at Fiserv Forum in Milwaukee on Monday, the first day of the Republican National Convention. Patrons at the Drink Wisconsinbly Pub across from the convention arena. Attendees are reflected in a mirror at the convention. Delegates Kim Delgrosso and Gayle Ruzicka listen to speeches on the convention floor.

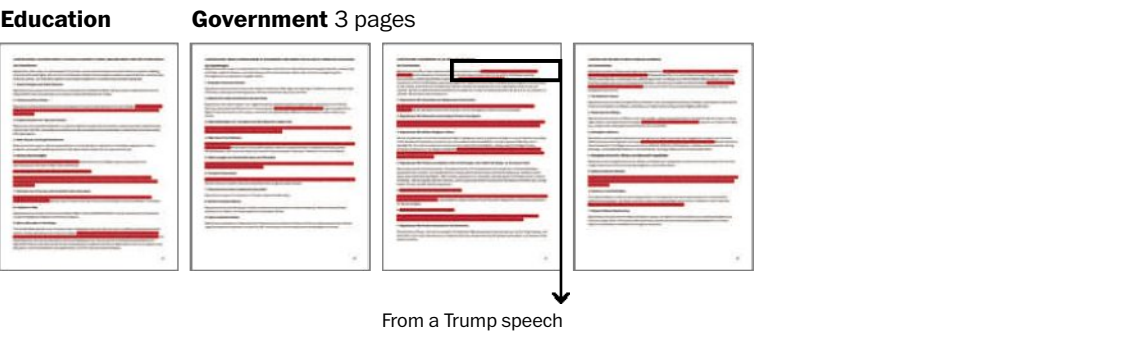
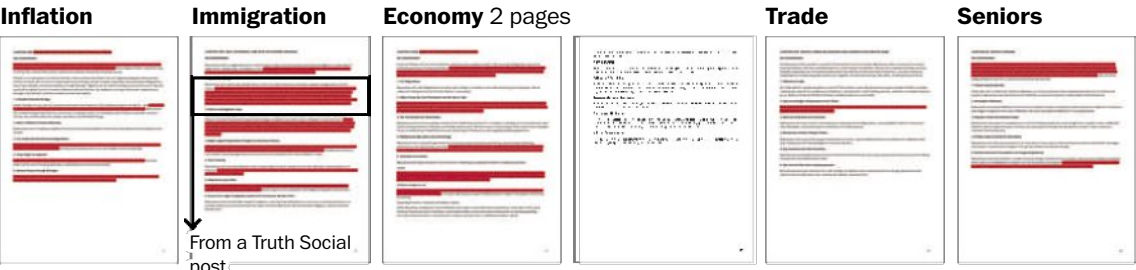
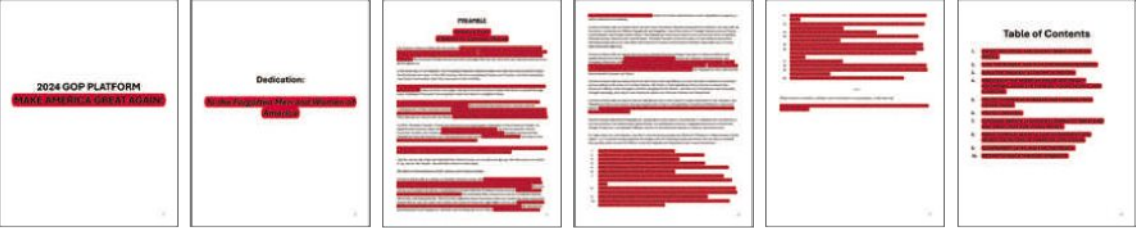


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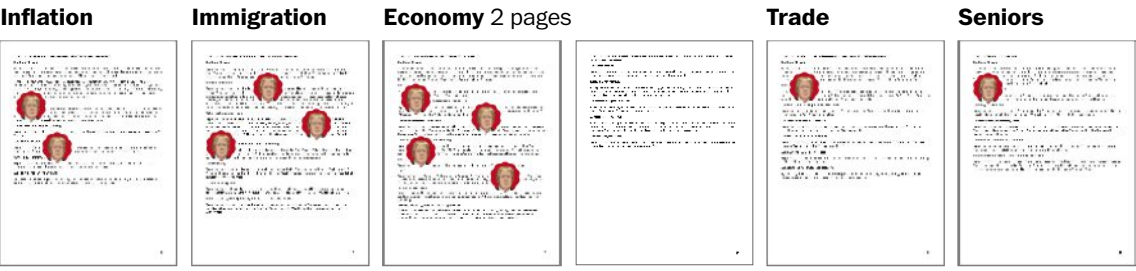
Trump's wording echoed in the 2024 RNC platform

Cover, preamble and index 6 pages



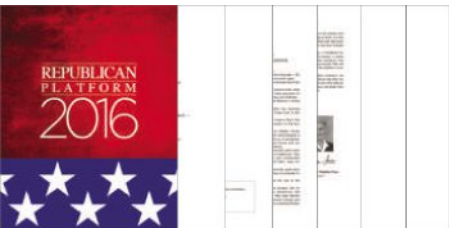
2024 RNC platform
16 pages
Trump mentions **19**

Cover, preamble and index 6 pages



2016 RNC platform
66 pages
Trump mentions **0**

Cover and introduction 7 pages



Economy 8 pages



Constitutional liberties 8 pages



Agriculture and energy 6 pages



Government 8 pages



Education, health care, criminal justice 10 pages



Foreign policy 14 pages



Credits, back cover 5 pages



How Trump’s rhetoric shaped the GOP platform

His catchphrases and grievances are baked in, often word for word

BY DEREK HAWKINS, CLARA ENCE MORSE, ADRIÁN BLANCO AND AADIT TAMBE

If the 2024 Republican Party platform sounds as though it was dictated by Donald Trump, that’s because a lot of it was.

The 16-page document, released ahead of this week’s Republican National Convention, contains numerous passages that paraphrase or lift directly from things Trump has said in speeches or in Truth Social posts since he launched his bid for a second term.

Some sections quote Trump verbatim, using key phrases from his rallies, while others heavily echo his signature grievances, baseless claims and bluster. Notably, a section of 20 promises that the platform makes to Americans is written in all-caps, in his distinctive voice.

The document reflects how the norm-destroying former president and presumptive Republican nominee has reshaped the GOP in his image, down to the language of its written agenda.

Historically, party platforms have been long, dry statements of principles crafted by party insiders and subject matter experts, and scarcely read

outside those circles. The 2016 platform was just that — 50-plus pages of dense text invoking Reagan-era policy ideals and never mentioning Trump by name. In 2020, the GOP didn’t even bother updating the platform, given the ongoing coronavirus pandemic. The 2024 platform is leaner and simpler by design. Overall, it reads like an homage to Trump, repeatedly name-checking him and mirroring his unmistakable writing style, with random uppercase letters and sentence fragments scattered throughout.

It also officially enshrines some of Trump’s most aggressive proposals, including carrying out mass deportations and shuttering the Department of Education. And it abandons long-standing calls for sweeping restrictions on abortion. A former Trump aide wrote much of the platform, which Trump later reviewed and edited, according to people familiar with the process.

Here’s a look at some of the sections where the platform most closely resembles rhetoric Trump has used in speeches and on social media.

Immigration

Trump has made immigration a centerpiece of his campaign, and his harsh language on the issue is seared into the 2024 platform. The document repeatedly references a migrant “invasion” — Trump’s go-to term for describing border crossings in Texas — and envisions “the largest deportation program in American history.” The 2016 platform also proposed strict enforcement of immigration laws, but its rhetoric was milder, extolling immigrants’ contributions to American society and saying, “We welcome all to the Great Opportunity Party.” Some current and former immigration officials, along with many immigration experts, have called Trump’s proposals inhumane, legally dubious and virtually impossible to carry out on the scale he imagines.

Trump speech from Reno, Nev., Dec. 17, 2023: I will **invoke the Alien Enemies Act to remove all known or suspected gang members, drug dealers or cartel members from the United States, ending the scourge of illegal alien gang violence once and for all.**

2024 platform: We will also **invoke the Alien Enemies Act to remove all known or suspected gang members, drug dealers, or cartel members from the United States, ending the scourge of Illegal Alien gang violence once and for all.**

Trump speech from Green Bay, Wis., April 2, 2024: We will terminate every **open-borders policy** of the Biden administration and **begin the largest domestic deportation operation in American history**, starting with all of the criminals that are pouring in — the criminals and the terrorists.

2024 platform: 3. **Begin Largest Deportation Program in American History** — President Trump and Republicans will reverse the Democrats’ destructive **Open Borders Policies** that have allowed criminal gangs and Illegal Aliens from around the World to roam the United States without consequences.

Facebook post from Feb. 21, 2019: **If we don’t have a border, we don’t have a country!**

2024 platform: Common Sense tells us clearly, in President Trump’s words, that **“If we don’t have a Border, we don’t have a Country.”**

Economy

The platform highlights inflation as one of the nation’s biggest problems. It advocates domestic energy production as a solution for lowering costs — and borrows some of Trump’s favorite rhetoric around fossil fuels to do so. Inflation has eased in recent months after hitting a pandemic-induced high in 2022. In particular, gas prices and energy prices fell in June, undercutting Trump’s suggestion that a surge in fossil fuel production is necessary to control costs.

Trump speech from Indianola, Iowa, Jan. 14, 2024: Inflation surged dramatically again, **slicing into family budgets** and further **gutting our middle class**. You know, **we had the highest inflation**, I think, maybe ever, but they say, they say **in 80 years**.

2024 platform: The Republican Party will reverse **the worst Inflation crisis in four decades** that has **crushed the middle class, devastated family budgets**, and pushed the dream of homeownership out of reach for millions.

Trump speech from Windham, N.H., Aug. 8, 2023: ...to stop Biden’s inflation catastrophe, bring down the cost of energy and **become energy independent, and even energy dominant**. We are — just three years ago, we were **energy dominant**, we were energy independent, but **we will drill, baby, drill**.

2024 platform: **We will DRILL, BABY, DRILL** and we will **become Energy Independent, and even Dominant again**.

Trump speech from Maquoketa, Iowa, Sept. 20, 2023: We **have more liquid gold under our feet than any other nation, by far**.

2024 platform: The United States **has more liquid gold under our feet than any other Nation, and it’s not even close**.

Education

Trump has embraced calls from conservative activists for tight restrictions on the teaching of race, gender and sexuality in public schools. Now, those calls are cemented in the party platform. The 2016 platform barely mentioned race, and it contained only a brief discussion of gender and sexual orientation in education. It warned of a movement, however, to “reshape our schools — and our entire society — to fit the mold of an ideology alien to America’s history and traditions,” perhaps foreshadowing the more inflammatory language the party would adopt under Trump. The federal government’s role in public school curriculums is already limited compared with state education departments. Many states with Republican-controlled governments have passed a bevy of culture-war laws in recent years restricting what teachers can say about sensitive topics, including race and gender identity.

Trump speech from Waukesha, Wis., May 1, 2024: I will sign a new executive order to **cut federal funding for any school pushing critical race theory, transgender insanity, and other inappropriate racial sexual or political content onto the lives of our children**.

2024 platform: **CUT FEDERAL FUNDING FOR ANY SCHOOL PUSHING CRITICAL RACE THEORY, RADICAL GENDER IDEOLOGY, AND OTHER INAPPROPRIATE RACIAL, SEXUAL, OR POLITICAL CONTENT ON OUR CHILDREN**.

Trump speech from Palm Beach, Fla., July 15, 2023: I want to **close the Department of Education and move education back to the states where it belongs**, and where parents have total control of their children’s lives.

2024 platform: We are going to **close the Department of Education** in Washington, D.C. **and send it back to the States**, where it belongs, and let the States run our educational system as it should be run.

Trump’s legal problems

Convicted in one criminal case and fighting charges in three others, Trump has long claimed without evidence that he is the victim of a political persecution designed to keep him out of the White House. His personal legal problems are baked into the party platform, and his baseless persecution claims are treated as systemic issues. Two of Trump’s indictments were brought in state court, outside the federal government’s jurisdiction. The other two were brought in federal court by special counsel Jack Smith, who was appointed by Attorney General Merrick Garland and operates with more independence than other federal prosecutors.

Trump speech from Wolfeboro, N.H., Oct. 9, 2023: As you know, Crooked Joe Biden and his **radical-left** thugs **have weaponized law enforcement** to arrest their leading political opponent: me.

2024 platform: Republicans will offer a clear, precise, and USA oriented plan to stop the **Radical Left Democrats’ Weaponization of Government**.

Trump speech from Greensboro, N.C., June 10, 2023: This vicious persecution is a travesty of justice. You’re watching **Joe Biden try to jail his leading political opponent**. Think of it. This is like third-world country stuff.

2024 platform: We will hold accountable those who have **misused the power of Government to unjustly prosecute their Political Opponents**.

ELECTION 2024

GOP approves platform with revised abortion position

BY MERYL KORNFIELD,
HANNAH KNOWLES
AND ABBIE CHEESEMAN

MILWAUKEE — Delegates at the Republican National Convention approved a new party platform Monday that embraces presumptive nominee Donald Trump’s political positions, including a leave-it-to-states approach to abortion law that abandons the party’s long-standing explicit support for national restrictions on the procedure.

The new Republican platform still includes language that links abortion to the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, leaving open a path to legislation or court decisions that would grant fetuses additional legal rights. But the approval of the 16-page document nevertheless infuriated some antiabortion advocates within the party, who view the watered-down language as a faithless betrayal of a core part of the GOP base.

The Republican Party’s public abandonment of its long-standing position on one of the most controversial issues in American politics reflects the impact of the Supreme Court’s decision in 2022 to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the ruling that had protected abortion rights for half a century.

Trump and other Republicans had long called for national restrictions, and the previous party platform endorsed a federal ban after 20 weeks of pregnancy. But Trump and several other leading members of the party shifted their positions after antiabortion forces suffered losses at the polls as red state after red state voted to protect or restore access to the procedure. Several battleground states, including Arizona and Nevada, are expected to have abortion referendum on the ballot this year.

A party platform is an image-making document, not a binding road map, and Trump himself has offered varied positions on abortion over the years. Still, many antiabortion advocates remain furious with the party’s shift on the issue. Antiabortion protesters hung outside the entrance to a Sunday night convention welcome party and greeted people with shouts, including “Blood, blood, blood on your hands!”

“GOP your hands are red!” they yelled as delegates and other attendees walked by, mostly ignoring them. Some held signs from



Antiabortion protesters and counterprotesters with the Coalition to March on the RNC rally near the convention’s event space.

Live Action, an antiabortion nonprofit. Others roved around and followed Senate candidate Kari Lake of Arizona down the street as she entered the welcome event, at one point yelling, “Kari Lake and Donald Trump support abortion!”

Republican National Committee spokesperson Danielle Alvarez said the platform reflects Trump’s vision for a second term.

“The president is the leader of the party and he has built unity because of his winning record and his winning vision for the future, and he’s put together a team efficient at executing for him,” Alvarez said. “This team has gone and built consensus and spoken with delegates and made sure the support was there.”

Trump advisers said they wanted to cut down the platform in part to limit opponents’ ability to use the language against them.

The new platform also abandons the old document’s opposition to same-sex marriage, saying only that “Republicans will pro-

“We spent thousands of dollars to be here, and everything they told us they were going to do isn’t what happened. None of it happened. I’ve never seen this happen before.”

Gayle Ruzicka, president of Utah Eagle Forum and veteran GOP activist who has attended the convention since 1992

mote a Culture that values the Sanctity of Marriage.”

The platform embraces more extreme language on several issues, including immigration and education.

Echoing comments made by the former president, the platform has enshrined Trump’s commitment to invoking the Alien Enemies Act — a 1798 law that Trump has suggested would grant him unilateral power to detain and deport noncitizens above the age of 14 — and to moving “thousands” of U.S. troops from overseas to the southern border.

The platform also includes promises to shut down the Department of Education and to cut federal funding to any school the government deems to be pushing “inappropriate racial, sexual, or political content.”

Trump personally reviewed and edited the draft platform before it was presented to members of a platform committee last week, Alvarez said. Committee members then voted to approve

the text, 84-18, in a closed-door meeting in Milwaukee that broke with tradition in several ways. The meeting was not televised, as it usually is, and participants said the vote happened quickly and without the usual chance to workshop language in breakout groups.

Gayle Ruzicka, a veteran GOP activist who has attended the convention since 1992, was so furious after last week’s committee meeting that she declared in an interview viewed more than 2.5 million times that “they rolled us.”

“That’s what they did,” Ruzicka, president of Utah Eagle Forum, told a local reporter. “We spent thousands of dollars to be here, and everything they told us they were going to do isn’t what happened. None of it happened. I’ve never seen this happen before.”

The disagreements led to subtle but clear displays of protest Monday as delegates voted to pass the platform.

Eagle Forum, a socially conservative group, passed out but-

tons declaring “Republicans are Pro-Life.”

But Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council, said Monday afternoon that antiabortion advocates had scrapped plans for a floor fight on the abortion language in the platform because of the Saturday assassination attempt against Trump.

“Things have changed,” he said. “We don’t feel like now, given what’s happened, is the time to speak.”

Activists said they felt overshadowed by events.

“This was the second most important thing going on at the convention, and now it’s the third,” one activist, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to speak critically about the convention, told The Washington Post.

The platform states: “We proudly stand for families and Life. We believe that the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States guarantees that no person can be denied Life or Liberty without Due Process, and that the States are, therefore, free to pass Laws protecting those Rights.”

That language won’t quiet the concerns of abortion rights supporters. “Government interference in health care decisions is unacceptable,” Reproductive Freedom for All, a group that supports abortion rights, wrote on X after the platform was approved. “We’re fighting for reproductive freedom protections that respect people’s right to make their own reproductive decision — and that includes the decision to seek abortion care.”

Some antiabortion groups, including Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America and the Faith and Freedom Coalition, took the new platform language as a win.

“It is important that the GOP reaffirmed its commitment to protect unborn life today through the 14th Amendment,” SBA Pro-Life America President Marjorie Dannenfelser said in a statement last week. “Under this amendment, it is Congress that enacts and enforces its provisions. The Republican Party remains strongly pro-life at the national level.”

But to Ruzicka and others, the language was lacking because it did not clearly state that fetuses have a right to life.

“A sentence in there that says the unborn has the fundamental right to life,” she said. “That one sentence would make it pro life.”

Energy, defiance in the air at RNC convention after Pa. rally shooting

Some in GOP believe the attack makes Trump politically stronger

BY HANNAH KNOWLES
AND DYLAN WELLS

MILWAUKEE — Barely a day had passed since a gunman fired at Donald Trump in what authorities said was an attempt to assassinate him, shaking the country on the eve of his third consecutive nomination for president. But at a welcome party for the Republican National Convention on Sunday evening, the music blasted and the mood in the crowd was defiant, even excited.

This wasn’t just any convention, any campaign, participants said.

It was about “good versus evil,” as one attendee put it: an assault on their standard-bearer that they believed would backfire and make him politically stronger.

“The American people are as mad as hell, and they’re not going to take it anymore, and this just makes them a little extra mad as hell,” Ken Abramowitz, 73, from Palm Beach, Fla., said, wearing a “1776” hat as he walked toward the party.

Thousands of Republicans are converging on Milwaukee this week for the convention that kicked off Monday amid raw emotions and a charged political atmosphere following Saturday’s shooting at a rally in western Pennsylvania. In interviews, delegates and other participants repeatedly described a heightened sense of mission about the four-day gathering. They had seen the photos of Trump — face bloodied, pumping his fist and shouting “Fight!” before the Secret Service rushed him offstage — and they wanted to show solidarity with him.

“The president needs to know



ABOVE: People gather for a prayer vigil in Milwaukee on Sunday for former president Donald Trump. BELOW: Secret Service officers escort Trump after a shooting at his rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday.



that America is with him. We’re not going to back down. We’re going to fight just like he told us last night,” said Alexandra Schweitzer, president of Republican

Women of Waukesha County.

Next to a large printed headshot of the former president, fans signed a “Get Well Soon” poster with messages for Trump. Schweitzer handed out colorful markers for supporters to write their messages and assured people that the large card would make it to Trump himself. Multiple messages on the poster read “Fight, fight, fight,” echoing Trump’s call in the seconds after he was injured.

Dozens of Republican elected officials, luminaries and party pooh-bahs will take the stage this week to deliver speeches in a cavernous arena. Activists will hold meetings on the sidelines. How the shocking scene at Saturday’s rally will factor into the convention’s scripted and looser moments was not yet clear. Yet many had already formed opinions of the shooting, and some arrived with outrage.

They were aghast at the security lapses that allowed a gunman to come so close on Saturday to killing the man they were

about to nominate for president. Some worried that the convention might not be safe. The authorities said they were still investigating a motive, but many Trump supporters were angry at the heated rhetoric against the former president, blaming it in part for the attack.

Authorities have identified the gunman as Thomas Matthew Crooks, a 20-year-old from Pennsylvania, and said there will be a lengthy inquiry into how he was able to fire into the rally from a rooftop despite many security measures. Condemning the attack Sunday from the Oval Office, President Biden said that “politics must never be a literal battlefield.”

Law enforcement officials said Sunday that they were not increasing security for the convention. Alternate delegate Carrie Yanson shook her head firmly when asked if she was nervous to be here.

“The men who founded this country were willing to put up their lives,” she said.

If there was any doubt about November, it seemed to some convention-goers that now — more than ever — divine intervention was on their side.

“I want to thank God for protecting President Trump and sparing his life,” said Robin Armstrong, a Texas Republican national committeeman, as he kicked off a Sunday prayer vigil and said it was a miracle that Trump was alive.

Supporters had gathered in a park not far from the convention venue, holding signs bearing well wishes with messages like “Pray 4 Trump” and “Jesus Loves America + Trump.”

“We ask that this demonic attack will be a spark for a great awakening for this nation,” Armstrong said.

Terrence Wall, a convention delegate from Wisconsin, said that after the shooting, he talked with friends about their concerns over the lapse in security

and whether the convention would be safe. Attending the prayer vigil with his 7-year-old English lab, Lambeau — who wore a custom vest reading “No. 1 Republican Service Dog” — Wall said he believes that the shooting at the Trump rally brought people together and that there is more unity in the party as a result.

He recounted conversations in the past day with friends who were on the fence between voting for Biden or Trump, or were considering not voting at all. They are now supporting Trump, he said.

Amy DeClue, a delegate from Missouri, said she was in Kohl’s when a fellow delegate messaged her to break the news that Trump had been injured. She ran outside the store to get better cell service to learn more. She was relieved to see the video of him, fist in the air, alive: “That’s Trump, man. Only he can get shot and stand up and still pump his fist in the air. And he’s just — he’s legend at this point.”

“I think the energy is going to be 100 times more than what it was to begin with,” DeClue, who is also the chair of the Franklin County Republican Central Committee, said of the shooting’s effect on the convention.

“We now can add bulletproof to all of the adjectives that we use to describe our president,” said Jeff Giles, the 2016 Louisiana delegation chair. “It’s truly unfortunate in America that has to be the way people want to resolve their differences.”

Niraj Antani, a delegate and state lawmaker from Ohio, said intraparty squabbles felt insignificant as the party gathered. “I’ve never felt a more unified Republican Party than I do on this day,” he said.

As people streamed out of the Sunday night welcome party amid rain, loud cracks rang out. Some looked startled.

But it was just fireworks, and everyone went on with their day.

Gunman bought 50 bullet rounds on morning of rally, person familiar says

GUNMAN FROM A1

with access to the gunman's family and friends, his phone and the phones of some of the people he communicated with, investigators have found little information pointing to a motive, according to people familiar with the probe who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss an ongoing investigation.

FBI officials have said they do not have meaningful evidence of an ideology driving Crooks to commit the act. He appeared to act alone, they said. Officials cautioned that the investigation was in an early stage and that their understanding could change with more evidence.

President Biden and Vice President Harris were briefed Monday in the Situation Room by senior law enforcement and security officials, including FBI Director Christopher A. Wray, Attorney General Merrick Garland and Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas.

Secret Service Director Kimberly Cheatle also participated. The agency faces questions over how Crooks managed to get on the roof of a building outside the rally's security perimeter and open fire. Video taken just before the attack appears to show some spectators trying to alert police to the shooter's presence.

FBI special agent in charge Kevin Rojek said Crooks used an AR-style rifle chambered in 5.56mm, a common caliber for such weapons. Authorities said the weapon was identified and traced using records from a gun dealership that is no longer operating.

On the morning of the shooting, Crooks bought 50 rounds of ammunition at a local gun store called Allegheny Arms, according to the person familiar with the investigation. The store owner and employees declined to comment when visited Monday morning by a reporter from The Washington Post. They offered a statement that said they have a "prerogative to cooperate with law enforcement in every way."

"We are thankful that President Trump was not assassinated and our hearts and prayers go out to all victims of this horrible incident," the statement said.



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

A police car is seen at Butler Farm Show Inc. in Butler, Pa., where a gunman shot at a rally for former president Donald Trump.

Crooks lived with his parents in Bethel Park, a quiet suburb of Pittsburgh that is about 50 miles south of where Saturday's rally took place. He worked at a nursing home and graduated in May with an associate's degree in engineering science from the Community College of Allegheny County in western Pennsylvania, according to a college spokesperson.

"Like all Americans, we are shocked and saddened by the horrific turn of events that took place," the community college said in a statement. It expressed relief that Trump is safe and offered condolences to the family of Corey Comperatore, the 50-year-old engineer, firefighter and father of two who was killed.

Crooks planned to enroll at Robert Morris University in Pittsburgh this fall, according to a university spokesperson.

At the community college,

Crooks was a part of a proof-based mathematics book club that met weekly, according to a former classmate who spoke on the condition of anonymity to protect his privacy. While Crooks was interested in math, the classmate said, he took more of a liking to physics.

The classmate said Crooks was a reserved person, rarely talking about politics at school and politically leaning more moderate to central right. When the classmate heard Crooks was identified as the gunman, he texted Crooks saying he was sorry someone was trying to impersonate him. He didn't receive a text back. Then, his classmate saw the photo of Crooks fatally shot on the roof of a building.

"If I had to speculate, I would assume this was a suicide-by-cop," said the classmate, who considered Crooks a friend. "Tom was a good guy, I assumed he was going

to live a good life. I don't know what drove him to do this. I worry about our democracy, his family, the Crooks. I feel awful for the firefighter's family."

In Crooks's hometown of Bethel Park, residents on Monday had grown weary of the journalists who had descended on their community in search of answers about the would-be assassin.

The American flag outside of the Sheetz convenience store billowed at half-staff. And next to a shuttered heating and cooling company, someone planted a sign that said, "TRUMP LIVES!" Beside it was a picture of the former president, ear bloody and fist raised.

Some store owners preprinted statements to hand to visiting reporters. At the library, someone had cut out Crooks' picture from a high school yearbook. Residents largely declined to talk about

Crooks but defended Bethel Park as home to kindhearted and community-oriented people, despite the gunshots that had landed their hometown at the center of American history.

Police and volunteer firefighters blocked off access to the gunman's neighborhood on Sunday, but the area was reopened to the public Monday. Crooks lived in a small, one-story brick home with his parents, Matthew and Mary, who have so far declined to publicly comment on the attack.

The Crooks have owned their 1,000-square-foot ranch-style home since 1998, the same year they married and five years before their son Thomas was born.

Matthew and Mary Crooks have both been licensed counselors for over two decades, Pennsylvania state records show, a certification that requires a master's degree or higher. A LinkedIn profile lists

Matthew Crooks' employer as a company that provides mental health care, but the company did not respond to requests for comment. Matthew Crooks also owns a business called C&F Professional Disability Services based out of his mother-in-law's Pittsburgh home, records show. The company has a minimal online footprint.

Up and down the block where the Crooks lived, many neighbors did not open their doors, or they declined to comment.

Liam Campbell, who lives across street, said he and his family were rustled out of bed around midnight Saturday by police who were evacuating the neighborhood for fear that there might be an explosive device inside Crooks's house.

"They said there was a device in a neighboring household that needed to be removed and that just we needed to get everyone out of the house out and stay somewhere," said Campbell, 17, adding that he was not allowed to return home until 10 p.m. Sunday.

During Campbell's freshman year of high school, he and Crooks rode the school bus together. But Campbell said Crooks "kept to himself" and didn't seem to interact with many people at school or in the neighborhood.

"He would just walk around the neighborhood by himself," Campbell said. "He was a quiet kid, and he was kind of strange. He sat by himself. Didn't talk to anyone. ... But he just seemed like a normal person who just didn't like talking to people."

The gunman was a member of the Clairton Sportsmen's Club, a shooting club in Clairton, Pa., a club lawyer confirmed Monday.

The club "fully admonishes the senseless act of violence that occurred on Saturday," Robert S. Bootay III said. He added that the club "offers its sincerest condolences to the Comperatore family and extends prayers to all of those injured, including the former president."

Barrett and Hilton reported from Washington. Bailey reported from Atlanta. Shawn Boburg, Alice Crites, Monika Mathur, Razzan Nakhlawi, Maria Luisa Paul, Aaron Schaffer, Perry Stein and Matt Viser in Washington contributed to this report.

Secret Service director acknowledges failures after Trump rally shooting

BY NICK MIROFF AND MARIA SACCHETTI

U.S. Secret Service Director Kimberly Cheatle, facing deepening scrutiny over an assassination attempt against former president Donald Trump, took responsibility Monday for her agency's failure to prevent the attack but said she would not resign.

"It was unacceptable," Cheatle told ABC News in an interview, her first public remarks since Saturday's bloodshed at a political rally in western Pennsylvania. "The buck stops with me."

Cheatle's statements were published hours after Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas called the shooting a security "failure" but stopped short of assigning blame — telling reporters at the White House that he had "100 percent confidence" in the U.S. Secret Service and its director. The incident left one rallygoer dead and two others injured, officials have said. Trump has said he was struck by a bullet that "pierced" his right ear.

The shooting in Butler, Pa., was the first time since the assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan in 1981 that a U.S. leader has been attacked while under Secret Service protection. The agency's failure to secure the rooftop used by the gunman — one of the most basic preparations for public speaking events — has raised questions about staffing, strategy and leadership.

The strains are occurring as the agency shifts focus to safeguarding the Republican National Convention this week in Milwaukee.

In her interview with ABC News, Cheatle appeared to shift some of the blame to local authorities, who coordinated with the Secret Service on Saturday. She said agents moved quickly to stop the shooter after rallygoers spotted him atop a building just outside the security perimeter, but that police officers were inside that structure while the gunman, identified as 20-year-old Thomas Matthew Crooks, was on the roof.

The Secret Service was assigned to secure the inner perimeter of the event, while the local police were assigned to safeguard the area that included the building, Cheatle noted.

The Secret Service is responsible for coordinating the overall security plan for events where the president, former president and



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

U.S. Secret Service agents react after shots were fired at former president Donald Trump during a rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday. Kimberly Cheatle, director of the Secret Service, called the security lapse "unacceptable" and appeared to shift some blame to local police.

other senior officials it protects attend. It also has primary responsibility for addressing the risk of a long-range shooter and blocking lines of sight, including by instructing local police to secure or stand guard at buildings that could provide an opportunity for an attacker.

"There was local police in that building — there was local police in the area that were responsible for the outer perimeter of the building," she told ABC News.

Butler Township police referred inquiries to Pennsylvania State Police, which said in a statement that it "provided all resources" the Secret Service requested. The state police referred questions about the investigation to the FBI.

Mayorkas said that in the aftermath of the weekend's violence in western Pennsylvania, the Secret Service adjusted its protective measures for Trump, President Biden, Vice President Harris and others, and that security details would be provided to independent candidate Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

along with Trump's newly announced running mate, Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio).

Additionally, officials will assemble a team to conduct an independent review of the apparent lapses Saturday, Mayorkas said.

"We need to move with swiftness and urgency, because this is a security imperative," he told reporters, adding that the work should commence within "days."

Lawmakers are launching inquiries of their own. Rep. James Comer (R-Ky.), chairman of the House Oversight Committee, led a group of Republicans who wrote to Cheatle asking by Thursday for a list of the agents and officers assigned to safeguard the rally, as well as any recording of what transpired and directives from the agency's leadership in response to the shooting.

The letter asks for Cheatle to furnish additional materials by July 29 that include security assessments, reports and plans related to the agency's preparation for the event.

"Americans deserve answers," Comer wrote on social media, saying he expects Cheatle to testify before the committee July 22.

The House Oversight Committee will receive a briefing on the assassination attempt Tuesday, according to a person familiar with the planning.

Mayorkas said the independent review would be led by someone outside of the Department of Homeland Security and "externally of the government, so that no question of its independence can be raised." Their findings will be made public, he said.

"It's very important," he added, "that this independent review have the confidence of the people."

Mayorkas said it would examine the actions of Secret Service and other law enforcement personnel "before, during and after the shooting."

Cheatle has said the agency would cooperate fully with an independent review and "work with the appropriate congressional committees on any oversight ac-

tion."

The U.S. Secret Service is part of the Department of Homeland Security. Biden appointed Cheatle as director in 2022 and noted that she had served on his security detail when he was vice president.

The agency has more recently come under scrutiny for failing to preserve its text messages for an investigation into the Jan. 6, 2021, assault on the U.S. Capitol by Trump supporters. A 2015 House Oversight Committee report found that the Secret Service had stumbled during multiple security breaches, including a 2011 shooting at the White House under the Obama administration.

Sens. Gary Peters (D-Mich.) and Rand Paul (R-Ky.), the chairman and ranking minority-party member of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, said Monday that the panel will conduct a bipartisan investigation of the shooting. "The senators plan to hold a hearing 'to examine security failures' that led to the shooting, the committee

announced.

House Homeland Security Committee Chairman Mark Green (R-Tenn.) has also asked Cheatle for a list of documents.

The Secret Service agents who protected Trump and killed his attacker have been widely praised for acting quickly and decisively. But it remains unclear how Crooks was able to gain access to a nearby roof with an AR-style rifle.

Leon Panetta, a former CIA director and defense secretary during the Obama administration, said the Biden administration should urgently assess the failures at the Trump rally to prevent another attack in the coming months, as the nation remains deeply divided in the lead-up to November's election.

"Somebody's got to head up this investigation as quickly as possible," Panetta, now a member of the Homeland Security Advisory Council, said in a telephone interview. "We're not at the end of a political campaign, we're at the beginning of a political campaign. We've got to quickly learn what went wrong and make sure that we've corrected it."

Bill Bratton, a former New York police commissioner and a member of the Homeland Security Advisory Council, said he expected the FBI-led criminal investigation to take priority over the administrative probe into the Secret Service's actions. Authorities must conclusively and urgently determine if the shooter acted alone — which Bratton said appears increasingly likely — or in concert with any terrorist organizations, he said.

"Nobody is questioning the bravery and the actions after the event began to unfold, the Secret Service putting their bodies between the sniper and the president," Bratton said. "It's the run-up that's really going to be the focus. There's a potential for people to lose their positions as a result of this, certainly."

White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre told reporters that Cheatle has Biden's support and confidence. Mayorkas said he did not believe that anyone had been reassigned or removed from Trump's security detail.

Jacqueline Alemany, Abigail Hauslohner, Carol D. Leonnig, Kyle Melnick, Maria Luisa Paul, Leo Sands, Praveena Somasundaram and Matt Viser contributed to this report.

Lies and trolls flood social media in the aftermath of Trump rally shooting

BY DREW HARWELL,
NAOMI NIX
AND CAT ZAKRZEWSKI

In the chaotic hours after former president Donald Trump was spirited offstage Saturday by Secret Service agents, his face streaked with blood, a doctored photo of the scene began bouncing around on X, falsely showing Trump with a wide smile.

The faked photo was held up as bolstering a baseless theory, promoted among some on the far left, that the shooting — deemed an attempted assassination by law enforcement — had been staged to boost Trump's political chances. "Why is he so happy?" one woman said in an X post viewed more than a million times. (X removed the image after this story was published, saying it had been "digitally altered.")

The doctored image, like another one that showed the grimaces of Secret Service agents manipulated into grins, highlighted how the historic moment — captured live from multiple angles — was being warped online in real time, as social media users worked to skew the truth of what happened, win attention or score political points.

As the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee was set to open Monday, the confusion hadn't ebbed, even as more details of the shooting emerged. On Sunday, tens of thousands of X users saw or shared a baseless post suggesting an official conspiracy to harm the former president. The post purportedly came from one of the rally's countersnipers, who said the Secret Service refused to let him fire on the gunman. The claim was sourced only to 4chan, an anonymous message board infamous for lies and trolls.

As GOP delegates gathered in Wisconsin, social media platforms are stoking false narratives amid the most divisive presidential campaign in recent history. Some of the biggest have backed away from moderating content, partly out of concern about drawing blowback for removing too much. Sites once lauded as places for views to be exchanged have increasingly become echo chambers for those with like-minded political views serving up falsities to bolster shared beliefs.

The conspiracy theories bubbling up on social media since Saturday's shooting in Butler, Pa., have given conservatives and liberals alike a lens through which to explain and process such a catastrophic event, said Dannagal Young, a professor of communication and political science at the University of Delaware who studies conspiracy theories.

"The kind of content that goes



A woman watches Donald Trump's motorcade as he heads to the Republican convention in Milwaukee on Sunday. Conspiracy theories have flooded social media since the attempt was made on Trump's life.

viral is the content that is moral and emotional," regardless of accuracy, and it can drive people to political extremes, Young said. After an event like Saturday's shooting, "it's like all you think about is how the world looks through the lenses of your partisan glasses," she added. It was "a match that was just lit and thrown."

The flurry of false information threatened to muddle the public understanding of what happened ahead of the GOP convention, where Trump arrived Sunday. The presumptive Republican nominee is scheduled to address delegates Thursday, after a parade of GOP heavyweights, celebrities and Trump family members who are expected to demonstrate a party in lockstep behind Trump, especially in the wake of his close call in Pennsylvania.

Trump and his allies often draw political rhetoric from X and other social media platforms, foreshadowing the possibility that some of the claims could be repeated on the convention stage. Key speakers — including vice-presidential nominee Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio) — took to social media to blame the assassination attempt on President Biden's campaign. Trump's convention speakers include some of his top social media supporters, including Turning Point USA Founder Charlie Kirk.

Saturday's shooting also appeared to energize political opportunists keen to undercut their ideological opponents and recruit new allies.

"Time to get to work[,] meme army," said a post on the pro-Trump message board Patriots.win. The post included a cartoon comparing Trump's reaction to the shooting with an onstage fall by Biden last year. Some posts on the site were removed by moderators, one of whom warned users not to "spread messages which my backfire on you, or this site."

In the comments on one of Trump's posts on his social network Truth Social, his followers championed his bravery after the shooting and accused his political opponents of being behind the attack. One comment — which showed an illustration of President Abraham Lincoln's assassination and was captioned "When Democrats don't get their way, they get dangerous" — was liked more than 3,000 times.

In the aftermath of a shocking episode like Saturday's shooting, people don't just want to understand what happened, but for that information "to align with our political aims, if possible," said Kate Starbird, a University of Washington professor who studies information flows. "We are all currently participating in a massive 'collective sensemaking' process, attempting to gather and interpret evidence to give meaning to this terrible event," she wrote on Bluesky. Online audiences enter the fray to "signal their political identity ... and help their political team."

The welter of false theories isn't set to die down as facts emerge over Saturday's shooting, given that many Americans see threats to the country's democracy, said Brian Fishman, who led Meta's effort to stem terrorism and hate on its platforms before co-founding Cinder, a company that promotes internet trust and safety.

Social media is less policed and more fragmented than three years ago, when Biden and U.S. lawmakers promised a political reckoning in Silicon Valley following the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol. In the immediate aftermath, Democrats criticized social media companies for providing Trump an online megaphone to make false claims about the results of the election, and law enforcement scrutinized the way the rioters used group chats and fringe platforms to organize the attack.

But Congress and the Biden administration ultimately did not develop new rules that would make tech giants more responsible for the violent screeds or falsehoods that circulate on their platforms. The Jan. 6 committee's 800-plus-page report left out the evidence that the committee collected on the role platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and others played in the attack, due to political tensions on the committee and fear of a public battle with the tech giants.

Meanwhile, Republicans used their control of the House to investigate what they saw as systematic censorship of their views online, conducting a probe that eventually eroded some of the key academic programs and government initiatives to stem conspiracy theories and other falsehoods online. Mainstream social media companies — including X, Meta and YouTube — have weakened or eliminated policy and programs meant to fight political misinformation. Following billionaire

Elon Musk's purchase of Twitter in October 2022, tech companies cut teams that handled misinformation and reversed policies barring certain political conspiracy theories — such as the notion that the 2020 election was rigged. The platforms have also largely removed the restrictions they placed on Trump's accounts in the fallout of Jan. 6, after suspending him for violating their rules on inciting violence.

As Americans have grown increasingly polarized, Democrats and Republicans have started to consume and share social media content in more partisan ways. Right-leaning internet users often flocked to platforms such as Rumble, TruthSocial and Telegram to consume and spread commentary and information about the shooting while many on the left stuck to mainstream sites such as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. Even mainstream social media sites such as Facebook can funnel people into environments where they mostly encounter news and opinions from people they agree with, research shows. After Musk bought Twitter, the share of Democrats who said the site was good for American democracy decreased while it increased for Republicans, according to the Pew Research Center, a Washington think tank.

Violent extremism has also increasingly moved to more opaque corners of the internet or services with lighter content moderation rules, after many companies deplatformed accounts that stoked the attack on the Capitol in 2021. In the immediate aftermath of the attempt on Trump's life, calls for more violence or a civil war ricocheted in Telegram channels associated with the Proud Boys militia group as well the pro-Trump Patriots.win, according to an analysis from the nonprofit Advance Democracy Inc.

"War now. They don't want to live and let live," one user on Patriots.win wrote.

In the aftermath of the shooting, viral claims distorting the facts became almost impossible to ignore. Trump's supporters shared false names and photos for the shooter, saying they were proof that the gunman — identified by the FBI on Sunday morning as Thomas Matthew Crooks, a 20-year-old registered Republican — was a "Democrat" and "Antifa thug."

One troll on X shared a video of himself lying that he had committed the crime and adding, "I hate Trump. And guess what, you got the wrong guy." He later locked his account, but not before the video was circulated millions of times online, entrenching a false narrative about the shooter's motive,

which the FBI has yet to publicly describe.

Musk has pledged that his platform, renamed X, is better at covering current events than the mainstream media due to its crowdsourced commentary from anonymous users and its speed of information flow. But the platform played host to some of the most viral strands of misinformation since the shooting, including the troll who purported to be the shooter in a video and received millions of views.

Some left-leaning accounts alleged without evidence that the shooting was fake, sending the word "staged" to X's "trending topics" list. "I'm not one for conspiracy theories, but you don't just stand around and fist pump when there's an active shooter," said one X post, which has more than 2 million views.

Others alleged that the shooting was an "inside job" or that there was "evidence of a set-up" by the "deep state" to remove Trump. Musk himself questioned whether the Secret Service's failure to stop the gunman in advance was "de-liberate."

Roger Stone, a longtime Trump confidant, falsely accused a man who was not Crooks of being the shooter, citing unnamed "sources," in an X post Sunday. That man, whom The Washington Post is not naming, was an anti-Trump protester who pleaded guilty to charges stemming from a scuffle with police in 2016. By the time Stone's X post was removed Sunday morning, it had gained more than 1.6 million views and 10,000 likes.

Unproven claims about the shooter's motives were also popular on Trump's Truth Social and other social networks catering to conservative users.

After Crooks's name first surfaced in a New York Post report late Saturday, several fake accounts with his name emerged on Instagram, X and other platforms — a common phenomenon after violent political attacks in the social media era.

Violent rhetoric tied to the assassination attempt is likely to increase online across the political spectrum in the coming weeks and months, said Graham Brookie, vice president for technology programs and strategy at the Atlantic Council, a Washington think tank.

"This is a very challenging moment of political violence in this country," he said, "and platforms have to address this event as an act of violence as opposed to a political topic that is sensitive to engage on."

Clara Ence Morse contributed to this report.

How to avoid falling for misinformation and conspiracy theories online

BY HEATHER KELLY

Anyone with an internet connection can watch breaking news unfold in real time, or at least some version of it. Across social media, posts can fly up faster than most fact-checkers and moderators can handle, and they are often an unpredictable mix of true, fake, out of context and straight propaganda.

The risk is higher immediately after politically charged incidents such as the Trump rally shooting, which has already flooded social media with incorrect information and spawned a number of conspiracy theories.

The rapid spread of easily accessible artificial intelligence tools is mudding the waters even further. How do you know what to trust, what not to share and what to flag to tech companies? Here are some basic tools everyone should use when consuming breaking news online.

1. Know why misinformation exists

Think about who would benefit from spreading confusing information during a news event. During elections, for example, experts say to look out for conflicting information and conspiracy theories, baseless accusations and unfounded concerns about voter fraud that may benefit one political party or candidate. Propaganda is also used as a tool during armed conflict and can come through official news releases or feed through unofficial channels. Know what the common false narratives and keywords are, such as anything mentioning the "deep state."

Not all misinformation is serious. Some is created just for fun or to troll people, so be as skeptical of silly stories as serious ones.

2. Examine your gut reaction

If something feels too outrageous or satisfying, pause and do more research. Misinformation is often accidentally spread by people

who want it to be true because it aligns with their viewpoint or values. The groups spreading it could be trying to rile up supporters or create more tension between people on opposing sides of an issue, or generally destabilize a population.

3. Slow down while reading or watching

Do not hit that share button. Social media is built for things to go viral, for users to quickly share before they are even done reading the words they are amplifying. No matter how devastating, enlightening or enraging a TikTok, X post or YouTube video is, you must wait before passing it on to your network. Assume everything is suspect until you confirm its authenticity. Question why you want to share it in the first place.

You may not always be able to find an accurate version of events, especially in fast-moving situations. In those cases, wait as long as it takes for additional or confirmed information before sharing or drawing conclusions. News outlets may seem slower than social media, but that's because they are waiting until information is confirmed and accurate.

4. Find the original sources

Look at who is sharing the information. If it's from friends or family members, don't trust the posts unless the information is from someone who is confirmed to be there or a known expert. Remember that having a verified check mark or being well known does not make an account trustworthy. Plenty of political pundits and big-name internet characters post inaccurate information regularly, and it's on you to approach each post with skepticism.

If the account posting something is not the source of the words or images, investigate where it came from: Dig to find the original Facebook, YouTube or social media account that first shared it. If you can't determine the origin, that's a red flag. Be

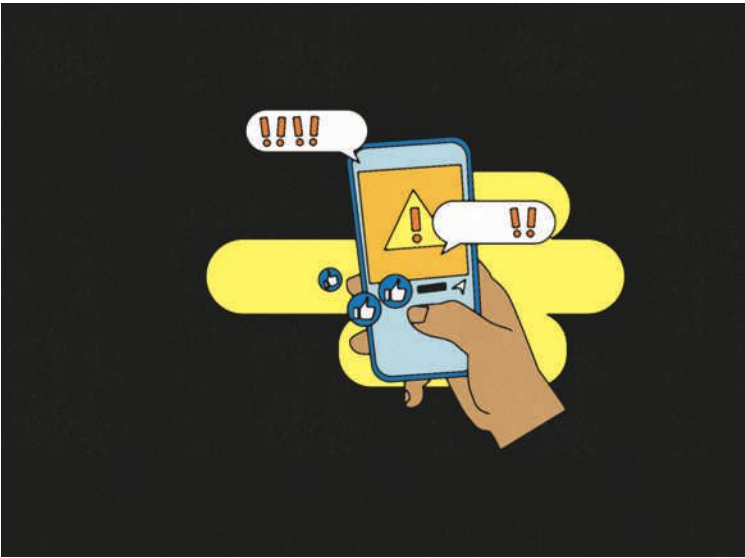


ILLUSTRATION BY ELENA LACEY/THE WASHINGTON POST

wary of screenshots, which can be even harder to trace back.

When screening individual accounts, look at the date it was created, which should be listed in the profile. Be wary of anything extremely new (say, it was created in the past few months) or with only a few followers. For a website, you can see what year it was created on Google. Search for the name of the site, then click on the three vertical dots next to the URL. Click "More about this page" and scroll down in the results to see the date it was indexed by the search engine. Don't skip the basics: Do a Google search for the person or organization's name.

5. Make a collection of trusted sources

Doing mini background checks on random social media accounts is time-consuming, especially with new content coming from so many places simultaneously. Instead, trust the professionals. Legitimate mainstream news organizations are built to vet these things for you, and often do report on the same videos or photos taken by real people after they have confirmed their origin.

Use a dedicated news tool such

as Apple News, Google News or Yahoo News, which choose established sources and have some built-in moderation. On social media, make or find lists of vetted experts and outlets to follow, specifically for news about the topic you're following.

If you consume breaking news on X, formerly known as Twitter, take care to follow confirmed reporters from trusted outlets on the ground. Do not assume that an account is trustworthy or vetted by X because it has a blue check mark.

6. Don't use AI to get news

Tech companies are pushing their voice assistants and AI chatbot tools as a way to get the latest news. In a fast-moving situation, do not rely on these features for accurate information. They can be incorrect, out of date or simply copying words from legitimate sources with little credit or visibility. For example, a number of chatbots and voice assistants still struggle to say who won the 2020 U.S. presidential election. Some chatbots have started adding disclaimers around breaking news events, advising readers to look elsewhere for new information. Going directly to news sources

will ensure you get more accurate information, while also supporting the organizations using their resources and skills to gather and vet it.

7. Seek out additional context about news events

Misinformation often spikes before, during and after major news. Real-time news events will include a flow of disjointed information from the ground, such as smartphone videos and first-person narratives. Even if you see only legitimate posts, they can still be confusing or misleading — they may be the most compelling pieces of a puzzle, but they are not the whole picture. Try to augment any one-off clips or stories with broader context about what is happening. Mix in information from established experts on the topic, whether it's foreign policy, cyberwarfare, history or politics. You can also turn to online or television outlets that add this context.

8. Use these tricks to spot AI images

AI image generation tools make identifying fakes much harder, but not impossible. Here are five clues that you can look for to spot AI-generated images, including by zeroing in on hands, background images and inanimate objects that often don't look quite right.

- Look at the hands. AI software has a history of generating human hands with too many fingers or other oddities, though the technology is getting better fast.

- Zoom in on any inanimate objects in the image to see whether they feel off. Focus on items in an image like eyeglasses, fences or bicycles and see whether they have any telltale flaws.

- If you're wondering whether an image is made by AI, look for writing on such objects as street signs or billboards and see whether it's backward or nonsensical.

- Scan the background. AI-generated images may have blur-

ry or distorted details, particularly in the background.

- Check whether the images are overly glossy or artistic-looking. Some AI-generated images of real people appear garishly stylized or depict people with plastic-looking faces.

- Use all the other misinformation signs if you're still unsure. Is it shared by a reliable source? Are there separate reports of the same event?

9. Vet videos and real images, too

Look for multiple edits and odd cuts, or listen closely to the audio and run it through a third-party tool such as InVid, which helps check the authenticity of videos. This can be harder on live-streamed videos, like what's on Twitch or other live social media options.

To check images that aren't AI-generated but still seem suspicious, put them into Google's image search by grabbing a screenshot and dragging it to the search field. If it's an old image that has circulated before, you may see telling results.

10. Use fact-checking sites and tools

Social media sites do have some of their own fact-checking tools and warning labels, and many have added special sections to promote official election results. However, given the sheer volume of posts with which they are dealing, a problematic video or post can still be seen by millions before ever getting flagged. Keep an eye out for content warnings on social media sites for individual posts, which can appear as labels below links or as warnings before you post something that could be misleading. Look up individual stories or images on fact-checking sites such as The Washington Post's Fact Checker, Snopes and PolitiFact.

Shira Ovide and Geoffrey A. Fowler contributed to this report.

Two previous assassination attempts offer lessons in wake of Trump shooting

WorldView
ISHAAN THAROOR

It's an image you've already seen: former president Donald Trump on a panicked outdoor stage in Pennsylvania, surrounded by Secret Service agents, blood streaming from the corner of his ear across his cheek. He seems shaken but defiant, a clenched fist in the air as he's hurried away.

Trump survived an apparent assassination attempt Saturday that saw the shooter shot dead, one rally attendee killed and two others critically injured. The shooter has been identified by the FBI as Thomas Matthew Crooks, 20. At the time of writing, there was no official indication of his personal motives. His assault on Trump has shocked the world and upended an already volatile, heated U.S. election cycle.

President Biden described the assassination attempt Saturday evening as "sick," saying "there's no place in America for this kind of violence." He later spoke with Trump. World leaders across the political spectrum issued shocked condemnations of the attack and expressed relief that Trump was not seriously harmed. A host of Trump allies immediately blamed Democrats and anyone who suggests Trump's ultranationalism is a danger to U.S. democracy as being somehow complicit in the attack.

In that rhetorical leap, they were joined by certain leaders elsewhere who see themselves in at least partial ideological alliance with Trump: Argentine President Javier Milei used the occasion to blast the "authoritarian agenda" of the "international left." Salvadoran President Nayib Bukele, long irked by criticism from the Biden administration and human rights advocates over his quasi-autocratic consolidation of power while executing a wildly popular crackdown on crime, simply posed a one-word question on social media: "Democracy?"

But, of the foreign leaders, the reactions of current Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico and



Bodyguards move Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico into a car to leave the scene after he was shot and injured in Handlova, Slovakia, on May 15. Fico, a populist often likened to Donald Trump, was almost killed, allegedly by a "lone wolf" assailant who disliked his politics.

former Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro may be the most significant. Only two months ago, Fico, a populist often likened to Trump, was shot and almost killed, allegedly by a septuagenarian "lone wolf" assailant who disliked Fico's politics. The controversial Slovak leader has emerged from his convalescence all the more animated about the perfidy of his perceived ideological opponents.

And in 2018, then-Brazilian presidential candidate Bolsonaro was stabbed, also by a lone-wolf attacker, in the middle of a campaign rally. The incident drove public sympathy toward Bolsonaro, another anti-establishment, hard-line nationalist like Trump, and

swept him into power.

By Sunday morning, Fico and Bolsonaro had publicly embraced Trump and denounced his opponents. "It's a carbon copy of the script," Fico wrote on social media, suggesting he and the former U.S. president were victims of an environment where their enemies fan public hysteria against them. "Trump's political opponents are trying to shut him down. When they fail, they incite the public until some poor guy takes up arms."

Bolsonaro tweeted his "solidarity" with Trump, and said he would see Trump at his inauguration — a reflection of the overwhelming confidence among right-wing observers that the incident would turn into a

political boon for the former president. Bolsonaro's son Eduardo echoed the sentiment, responding to a tweet from Trump's son Eric with the message that Trump was "already elected" and gesturing to Bolsonaro's stabbing in 2018. "We have experience with a situation like that, we know the enemy — and you too," Eduardo wrote.

Trump's critics point to his own record of incendiary rhetoric; they link him to a sprawling canvas of political violence that's marred life in the United States over the past decade. Trump's rhetoric has echoed language in far-right conspiracy theories linked to mass shootings in El Paso and at a synagogue in Pennsylvania, and to the wider mobilization of armed far-right white supremacists. It fanned the flames of the Jan. 6, 2021, storming of the Capitol by his supporters.

"Trump himself often uses inflammatory language, having taken office ... by describing the state of the nation as 'American carnage,'" wrote my colleague Michael Scherer. "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."

Some analysts see a political precedent that may inform U.S. politics in the months to come. "All Brazilians instantly thought of the knife attack that propelled

Bolsonaro to victory in 2018," noted Thiago Krause, a Rio de Janeiro-based historian, in reaction to the assassination attempt on Trump. "This is going to give Trump a major boost and it will further radicalize his base."

Bolsonaro and his camp are arguably more aggrieved now, out of power, than they were before they had won it. After Bolsonaro lost his reelection bid in 2022, some of his supporters carried out an insurrection attempt with parallels to Jan. 6, briefly storming federal buildings in Brasília. They were dispersed and driven out, and the aftermath has plunged the former Brazilian president and key allies into a thicket of criminal investigations and charges that may yet see him sent to prison.

Like Bolsonaro and Fico, Trump nurses a powerful persecution complex. They all cast the legal cases against them as witch hunts cooked up by an evil establishment, no matter the seriousness and substance of the allegations and the apparent independence of the judiciary in their countries.

Fico, a four-time prime minister, was earlier booted out of office in the wake of the murder of a journalist who had been investigating his associates' ties to the Italian mafia. He came back to power on a platform stitching together a version of leftist populism with far-right nationalism. After he was almost killed, Fico's allies said the news media and opposition were behind the incident, setting a tone some rights activists feared would chill the public discourse.

"Blaming the opposition, ideological and political opponents, the media or the nongovernmental sector starts a spiral of fear, hatred and further possible violence," read a statement signed by representatives from Slovakia's major civil rights groups.

Just last week, after returning to his public duties, Fico made clear his defiance. "Dear progressive liberal media and opposition, sorry to have survived, but I am back," he posted on Facebook.

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THE WORLD

A worn-out Israel looks warily toward war in Lebanon

BY SHIRA RUBIN
AND LIOR SOROKA

KIBBUTZ SASA, NORTHERN ISRAEL — Israeli leaders say that they do not want a war in Lebanon but that their country is ready for any scenario.

Israel is “prepared for a very intense operation,” Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said on a visit to the Lebanese border last month. Defense Minister Yoav Gallant threatened to take Lebanon “back to the Stone Age.”

Beneath the posturing, though, there are growing fears within Israel that its soldiers are overstretched and its resources depleted after the country’s longest war in decades. Nine months of punishing attacks against Hamas in the Gaza Strip have not vanquished the group, and a politically embattled Netanyahu has yet to outline an exit strategy. In Lebanon, Israel would face a larger, better-armed and more-professional foe, experts warn, and the threat of an even deeper military quagmire.

Israel has been fighting on two fronts since Oct. 8, the day after Hamas-led militants assaulted southern Israel, killing about 1,200 people and taking more than 250 hostages. Within hours, fighters from Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed political movement and militant group that is allied with Hamas, began launching attacks on northern Israel from Lebanon — the start of a tit-for-tat border conflict that has escalated, and spread deeper into both countries, with each passing month.

Israel says it is transitioning to a less intensive combat phase in Gaza, and it has resumed negotiations in Cairo over a possible hostage-release deal. But Hezbollah insists it will not lay down its arms, or consider retreating from the Israeli border, until a ceasefire is in place in the Strip.

Both Israel and Hezbollah say they would prefer a diplomatic solution, but neither seems prepared to make the kind of concessions such a solution would require. The result is a strained stasis, with death tolls mounting; border towns standing abandoned, their fruit trees and dairy farms untended; and pressure building from Israel’s displaced for the government to act.

Israeli military leaders have been drawing up plans for a Lebanon offensive for months. On Wednesday, a day after two Israeli civilians were killed in a Hezbollah missile barrage, former war cabinet member Benny Gantz said that he and others had demanded that Netanyahu authorize an Israeli incursion into Lebanon in March, but that the prime minister “hesitated” — refusing to commit to returning Israeli residents to their homes in the north by Sept. 1, the start of the new school year.

“Israel cannot afford for the events in the north to go on as they are, to lose another year,” Gantz said. “The time has come for the price to be paid in military targets and Lebanese infrastructure, of which Hezbollah is a part.”

Netanyahu, who once boasted of his ability to prevent wars, “knows that the Israeli public is not prepared for thousands of rockets on Tel Aviv,” said Gayil Talshir, a political scientist at Hebrew University.

Instead of strategizing, she said, he has “isolated” himself, avoiding hard decisions in order to buy time and surrounding himself with loyalists lacking military expertise.

Since dissolving his war cabinet, after Gantz’s recent departure, Netanyahu has distanced himself even further from the army brass, analysts say, including Gallant, who has pushed for months for a cease-fire and hostage deal in Gaza to allow the military to focus on Lebanon.

“These are critical days in terms of exercising our power against [Hezbollah], which only responds to force,” Gallant said on July 7 as dozens of missiles fell on Israel, including at a strategic military base on Mount Meron.

The few Israelis who stayed in northern Israel after Oct. 8 to defend the border did not expect to be in limbo for so long.

“The families are tired,” said Omer Simchi, who has served for nine months on the local defense squad of Kibbutz Sasa, an Upper Galilee agricultural commune a mile from the Lebanese border.

Simchi’s wife and two young children were among nearly 100,000 Israelis who evacuated northern Israel as Hezbollah rockets, kamikaze drones and antitank missiles began raining down last year, transforming this pastoral mountain region into a conflict zone. Similar numbers of Lebanese have been displaced by Is-



MOSTAFA ALKHAROUF/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

ABOVE: A fire ignited this month by Hezbollah rockets sent into northern Israel. BELOW LEFT: A July 12 service for Israeli Master Sgt. Valeri Chefonov, struck in a Hezbollah drone attack. BELOW RIGHT: The July 4 funeral of Hezbollah senior commander Mohammad Naameh Nasser, killed by an Israeli strike in Tyre, Lebanon.



HEIDI LEVINE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



BILAL HUSSEIN/AP

raeli attacks across the south of their country.

At least 94 civilians and more than 300 Hezbollah fighters have been killed in Israeli strikes in Lebanon; Hezbollah attacks have killed at least 20 soldiers and 11 civilians in Israel.

Simchi finds a replacement on the squad when his family needs him, but there are never enough volunteers.

“I don’t know if there will be a diplomatic agreement or a war, but what I do know is that it cannot go on like this,” he said, speaking in the kibbutz’s school auditorium, destroyed by Hezbollah missiles in December.

Local council head Moshe Davidovich said hundreds of homes have been damaged or destroyed across northern Israel.

It is only a small glimpse of the

destruction Hezbollah would be likely to inflict in a full-scale war — expected to bring widespread power outages, massive rocket and missile barrages, and intense ground combat against well-trained and well-equipped fighters battling on familiar terrain. Hezbollah is believed to have more than twice as many fighters as Hamas, and more than four times as many munitions, including guided missiles. Concerns that Israel is unprepared are now being voiced openly.

“The reserves and the regular army system have been worn to the bone,” Yair Golan, leader of Israel’s Labor party and a former deputy chief of staff of the Israel Defense Forces, told an Israeli radio station last month.

“Israel is used to fighting short wars,” said Yoel Guzansky, a for-

mer official on Israel’s National Security Council and now a senior fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies. “But after nine months, the IDF is exhausted, the equipment needs to be taken care of, the munitions have been used up, and every family in Israel is affected by it.”

Even the relatively low-intensity conflict along the border has taken a heavy toll on front-line soldiers. A 25-year-old Israeli reservist, who spoke on the condition of anonymity in line with military protocol, was deployed to northern Israel on Oct. 7. Under fire for four months, the “burn-out” accumulated, he said.

When his tour ended, “it was hard to return to routine,” he said. He guiltily asked for a break from his job as a teacher so he could readjust to civilian life.

Now preparing to be called up again, he wonders if he is up to it. His friends, he says, are also wrestling with the decision.

Since the start of the operation in Gaza, 326 Israeli soldiers have been killed, more than four times the toll from the 2014 war against Hamas. The losses have been compounded by a mounting sense of strategic failure. In late winter, Israel returned most of its reservists home without achieving either of its stated war goals: the destruction of Hamas and the return of the more than 100 hostages that remain in Gaza.

More than 38,000 Palestinians have been killed in Gaza, according to the Gaza Health Ministry, which does not distinguish between combatants and civilians but says the majority of the dead are women and children.

An Israel-Lebanon war would be disastrous for both sides, experts say.

After publishing drone footage last month of the port in the Israeli city of Haifa, Hezbollah leader Hasan Nasrallah warned of a war “without rules and without ceiling.” Last week, Israeli Foreign Minister Israel Katz posted on X: “Nasrallah, if you don’t stop the threats and violence and withdraw to the Litani River, you will be considered the destroyer of Lebanon.”

But an Israeli invasion of Lebanon could be a “trap,” said Guzansky, pulling Israel into another grueling war with no endgame.

“There is a false belief in Israel that a war there could be finished in a number of days or weeks,” he said.

Scenes of devastation in Lebanon would also intensify international pressure on Israel and increase tensions with Washington.

Last month, Netanyahu said that there had been a “dramatic decline in weapons deliveries from the U.S. to Israel,” and that only “a trickle” had been delivered since — a claim strenuously denied by American officials. On Wednesday, U.S. officials said that some of the bombs held up since May were now en route to Israel.

To avert a Lebanon war, Israeli officials are demanding — through U.S. and European diplomats — that Hezbollah retreat about 10 miles north of the border, past the Litani River, a military demarcation agreed upon at the end of the 2006 war.

Darina Kalabrino, a resident of Kibbutz Sasa, was living in the nearby city of Kiryat Shmona in 2006 and hid in the bomb shelter as her home was hit by a Hezbollah missile. In 2018, the Israeli military said it had uncovered Hezbollah plans to “conquer” the Galilee. It found several cross-border tunnels, though residents believe that there are many more.

Kalabrino says her greatest fear is the kind of mass infiltration and massacres experienced in the southern kibbutzim.

“We need to not become the next Oct. 7,” she said. “We saw what can happen with our own eyes.”

Suzu Haidamous in Beirut contributed to this report.



HEIDI LEVINE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

An empty playground in Kibbutz Sasa, a mile from the Lebanese border. Nearly 100,000 Israelis fled northern Israel as the region became a conflict zone. Similar numbers of Lebanese have been displaced by Israeli attacks across the south of their country.

Crucial test approaching for Biden’s bold deal with Venezuelan strongman

BY ANA VANESSA HERRERO,
SAMANTHA SCHMIDT
AND KAREN DEYOUNG

CARACAS, VENEZUELA — For President Biden, it was a gamble: ease crippling sanctions on the government of Venezuelan strongman Nicolás Maduro in exchange for Maduro’s promise to hold a free and fair election for president this year.

With that election now less than two weeks away, Venezuelans — and U.S. officials — are watching to see if the outreach has helped yield a democratic vote.

The lead-up to the July 28 election has not been promising. The authoritarian socialist state has barred the country’s most popular politician from running, blocked European Union monitors from observing the vote and harassed opposition candidates and their supporters.

Still, the opposition and its U.S. backers are hopeful of an overwhelming victory for Edmundo González — currently enjoying a double-digit lead in the polls — that could force Maduro to negotiate a peaceful transition.

“A year ago the naysayers would have said none of this is going to happen, the opposition will never unite, the regime will never allow an election,” said a senior U.S. official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity under rules set by the administration. “The fact that we’ve come this far I think is a significant statement that the effort was worth it.”

With the vote looming, U.S. and Venezuelan authorities have revived talks. U.S. diplomats are working to protect the election, and some of Maduro’s leftist allies are pushing him to accept the results.

Negotiations have never been more urgent. If Donald Trump is elected president, this rare opportunity for engagement will probably end. During Trump’s first term as president, the United States recognized opposition leader Juan Guaidó as Venezuela’s rightful leader, Maduro severed diplomatic relations, and Washington increased sanctions.

For Biden, success would be a rare foreign policy victory to take into his own reelection battle. It could allow some of the more than 7 million Venezuelans who have fled Maduro’s autocratic rule — hundreds of thousands of them now in the United States — to return home. It could pull Venezuela away from friends Russia, China and Iran. And it could give the United States greater access to a crucial source of oil.

The opposition is hopeful that a



LEONARDO FERNANDEZ VILORIA/REUTERS

Backers of Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro rally last month in Caracas. The signs read “Always together with the people.” President Biden agreed to ease U.S. sanctions in exchange for Maduro’s promise to hold a free and fair presidential election. The vote will be July 28.

strong showing will force Maduro to the table.

“We are confident that our margin of victory will be so overwhelming that it will open a new political reality in the country, and that will open spaces for negotiation,” González, the opposition candidate, told The Washington Post.

“Maybe it’s wishful thinking,” the 74-year-old former diplomat said. But that’s the only kind, he said, in which he’s willing to engage.

Pushed to play an unfair game

Maduro has ruled Venezuela since the death of his mentor Hugo Chávez, the founder of Venezuela’s socialist state, in 2013. By the time the Biden administration took office, he had survived the collapse of Venezuela’s economy, the exodus of millions, street protests, a shadow government, an uprising aimed at his ouster, a U.S. indictment for alleged narcoterrorism, an armed coup attempt. U.S. sanctions had deepened the country’s economic crisis but failed to push Maduro out.

So last year, the administration tried a new approach: a deal. In closed-door talks in Qatar, U.S.

negotiators agreed to suspend crippling sanctions on Venezuela’s state-run oil and gas industry in exchange for Maduro’s promise to hold a competitive, internationally monitored presidential election this year.

But the administration’s offer was even broader and bolder than initially revealed, according to a draft document obtained by The Post. If Maduro complied with all its terms, the United States would lift virtually all of the economic and financial sanctions imposed by the Trump administration.

The Qatar talks led to a breakthrough agreement between the Maduro government and the opposition, in which Maduro pledged to allow parties to run the candidates of their choice, invite international observers and set a date for the election.

Then, in January, Venezuela’s supreme court, controlled by Maduro, ruled that María Corina Machado, his strongest challenger, was ineligible to run. The 56-year-old former National Assembly member had won an opposition primary election with more than 92 percent of the vote.

U.S. officials made clear to Maduro’s negotiators that if Machado

was barred from the election, the proposal offered in Qatar would be dead. In April, the oil sanctions were reinstated.

Bill Brownfield, a former U.S. ambassador to Venezuela, said the U.S. deal was “looser than it should have been.”

“Maduro got, front-ended, all of the benefits he was supposed to get in exchange for promises to comply with in the future,” Brownfield said. “He didn’t comply, but he got the stuff he really wanted.”

The opposition was largely left out of the Qatar negotiations. Machado refused to endorse the deal without seeing the details. But despite being sidelined, Brownfield said, she “has figured out how to use [the deal] to maximum effect.” She remains the face of the opposition and draws crowds at rallies throughout the country.

David Smilde, a sociologist at Tulane University who follows Venezuela, sees this as the great success of the Biden outreach: It lured the opposition back into electoral politics.

“The opposition is finally doing what people said for years,” he said. “You play the game, even if the game is not fair.”

For a time, Maduro appeared ready to follow the example of Daniel Ortega. The Nicaraguan dictator has shut down independent and foreign organizations, jailed or exiled virtually all political opponents and refused to allow presidential elections.

But Maduro, in contrast, has agreed to compete against an opposition candidate in a vote with at least some international observers. The E.U. isn’t coming, but the Atlanta-based Carter Center plans to. A U.N. panel of experts will also attend, to prepare a confidential report for Secretary General António Guterres.

Carolina Jiménez Sandoval, president of the Washington Office on Latin America, sees progress: “Even in Venezuela’s terrible repression,” she said, “there are cracks.”

Hope for a peaceful transition

What will happen if Maduro loses the vote? Leaders across the hemisphere, including some with friendly relations with Maduro, are urging the sides to prepare for a peaceful transfer of power. Gustavo Petro, the first leftist president of Colombia, has reached out to Brazilian President Luiz

Inácio Lula da Silva, a fellow leftist, to lead talks.

Petro spoke with Maduro and some members of the opposition this year about granting the losing side some type of immunity from prosecution, according to a senior Brazilian foreign affairs official who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private talks. The proposal could be put to voters in a referendum on the day of the election.

If both sides supported the approach, Lula told Petro, he would too, according to the official. But both rejected it. Colombian Foreign Minister Luis Gilberto Murillo said he’s keeping diplomatic channels open.

The economist Victor Álvarez, a former Chávez supporter, has circulated a proposal in which Maduro could be made a lifetime member of the National Assembly, which would give him parliamentary immunity.

Tamara Taraciuk Broner, who directs a rule-of-law program at the Washington-based Inter-American Dialogue, is researching possible legal incentives — such as reduced sentences — that U.S. officials could offer Maduro allies implicated in drug trafficking, money laundering and corruption. “It’s a dirty conversation,” she said. “But there’s not going to be a clean way out of this mess.”

Opposition leader Henrique Capriles, who narrowly lost the 2013 presidential election to Maduro, sees a role for Washington.

To give up power, Capriles said, Maduro will need to feel confident that his exit from the presidency won’t lead to prison. “The United States will have to step in.”

Andrés Izarra, a former minister under Chávez, said a transition will be possible only if Maduro’s hand is forced, or if military leaders are persuaded to negotiate an exit.

“The price to leave Miraflores” — the presidential palace in Caracas — “is way too high,” Izarra said.

González says he is willing to negotiate a transfer of power with Maduro. If he wins the vote, he says, he won’t persecute adversaries. He would give Maduro’s party a place in the National Assembly.

“We hope the government has the political maturity to accept that it lost the election and that a new government will take power,” González said. “If the magnitude of the defeat is as convincing as we aspire it to be, he will have no other choice.”

Schmidt reported from Bogotá, Colombia, and DeYoung from Washington. Marina Dias contributed to this report.

Gambia keeps ban on female genital cutting after fears it would be repealed

BY RACHEL CHASON

BANJUL, GAMBIA — Gambia will maintain its ban on female genital cutting following a historic decision by the National Assembly on Monday that marked a victory for women’s rights advocates in this West African nation.

Following nearly a year of heated debate, the majority of Gambia’s lawmakers rejected every clause of a controversial bill that would have repealed the ban on female genital cutting, which is also known as female genital mutilation (FGM). The speaker of Gambia’s National Assembly said the rejection of a bill at this stage — ahead of the final vote, which had been scheduled for July 24 — was unprecedented.

Lawmakers’ rejection of the bill followed months of intense activism led by Gambian women, who faced threats and harassment as they led campaigns to explain the negative effects of cutting on their lives and that of their families. In March, the vast

majority of lawmakers had voted to advance the bill, sparking widespread fear that Gambia could be the first nation in the world to roll back such a protection.

“I am relieved but sad that we had to be taken through this torment,” said Fatou Baldeh, a Gambian activist and survivor who has received international attention for her advocacy against the practice. “I am so proud of Gambian women for not giving up. We refused to let go.”

Standing outside parliament as women hugged and danced and music blasted, Sirreh Saho, 29, said she was so excited she could barely process the news, which they had “fought so much for” over the course of months. She and her older sister, Fatou Saho, have been fighting for justice for Fatou’s daughter, who was cut without her permission — and against the law.

“The only thing that is left is to enforce the law,” Sirreh Saho said. “As long as the law is not

enforced, then it’s just black writing on a white paper.”

In Gambia, a nation of about 2.5 million, the United Nations estimates that about 75 percent of women ages 15 to 49 have been subject to cutting, which can involve removing part of the clitoris and labia minora and, in the most extreme cases, a sealing of the vaginal opening. Globally, more than 200 million women and girls are estimated to be survivors of female genital cutting, most of whom live in sub-Saharan Africa.

Proponents of the practice said it is linked to tradition and religion in this majority-Muslim nation, claiming it was taught by the prophet Muhammad. (Other Muslim leaders have said it is not required by Islam, and it is not practiced in many Muslim-majority countries.)

Gambia’s law, which was put in place in 2015, comes with a potential prison sentence of up to three years, or a fine of about \$740. But there have only been

three convictions under the law — and it was those convictions that sparked the current debate, with Abdoulie Fatty, a prominent imam, paying the fines of the women convicted and launching the campaign to overturn the ban.

Sitting in parliament Monday with other religious leaders, Fatty watched the proceedings stone-faced. He said they planned to target lawmakers who rejected the bill in upcoming elections, declaring them “not real Muslims.” And he vowed that cutting — which he calls “female circumcision” — would continue.

“We are imams,” he said, noting that more than 95 percent of people in Gambia are Muslim. “They listen to us.”

Medical experts say the procedures, which do not have medical benefits, can cause a range of short- and long-term harms, including infections, severe pain, scarring, infertility and loss of pleasure.

“We can breathe now,” said

Jaha Dukureh, a Gambian activist whose little sister died as a result of a botched procedure and who found out on her wedding night, at 15, that she had been sealed as a baby. “We stood on the right side of history. And regardless of the threats we faced, we stood our ground.”

Lawmakers said that turning points involved an announcement last month by President Adama Barrow — whose office had before then been silent on the matter — that he supported maintaining the ban and a trip by members of the health committee to Egypt, where they heard from lawmakers, civil society members and religious scholars about why Egypt had criminalized the practice.

“We are all religious,” said Amadou Camara, who chairs a joint health and gender committee that recommended in a report earlier this month that cutting should remain outlawed. “But at some point you have to use your good sense and your

mind.”

Camara and other lawmakers who supported maintaining the ban said at an event Friday that they have received numerous threats for their positions.

Abdoulie Ceesay, the deputy majority leader, said that lawmakers know that some Gambians feel “we denied them their right” and that there will have to be continued education campaigns about the practice.

Aminata Ceesay, an investigating officer with Gambia’s National Human Rights Commission who has been working in communities in recent months on issues related to cutting, said that too many women have accepted the side effects as “normal.”

“With education, they realize that these things are not normal,” she said in an interview. “It has never been easy, even among the educated, for people to talk about their experiences as survivors ... but I think things are changing now.”

DIGEST

ITALY U.S. murder convict under house arrest

An American tourist convicted and jailed for the murder of a police officer in Rome was moved to house arrest by judges Monday.

Gabriel Christian Natale-Hjorth and his friend Finnegan Lee Elder were originally given life sentences for the 2019 murder of Mario Cerciello Rega, 35, who was stabbed to death in a botched drug deal.

Both saw their initial sentences repeatedly trimmed as the case bounced around courts.

Natale-Hjorth did not handle the knife during the attack but was tussling with another Carabinieri police officer as Elder was stabbing Cerciello Rega, court documents said.

Elder eventually got a 15-year, two-month term and remains in prison.

Judicial sources said that judges granted Natale-Hjorth the house arrest on the request of his lawyers and that he would remain under detention at his grandmother’s home near Rome. There were no immediate details on the reasons for the decision.

Cerciello Rega’s widow, Rosa Maria Esilio, was “totally shocked by the news” of the house arrest, her lawyer Massimo Ferrandino said in a statement.

— Reuters

NETHERLANDS Giant panda gives birth to cub at zoo

A giant panda has given birth to a cub at a Dutch zoo, a boost

to the captive population of the vulnerable mammals.

The zoo, Ouwehands Dierenpark, announced Friday’s birth on Monday and released video of Wu Wen as she gave birth to her cub, whose gender has yet to be determined.

“Mother and her cub are in the maternity den and are doing well. Ouwehands Dierenpark is happy and proud that it can again contribute to the conservation of this endangered species in a natural way,” the zoo said in a statement.

The video shows Wu Wen in a bed of hay as a high-pitched squeal and low growls signal the birth of the cub. The mother can then be seen carrying the cub in her mouth.

A second cub was born about an hour later but died shortly after birth, the zoo said.

— Associated Press

ENGLAND Colombian charged with killing 2 men

A Colombian man appeared in a London court Monday, charged with murdering two men whose remains were found in suitcases in southwest England.

Yostin Andres Mosquera, 34, was charged with murdering Albert Alfonso, 62, and Paul Longworth, 71, London’s Metropolitan Police said.

The suspect spoke only to confirm his name, address and date of birth in a brief hearing at Wimbledon Magistrates’ Court. Magistrate Christina Ruiz ordered that he be detained until a hearing in a London court Wednesday.

Police said that the victims had previously been in a relationship and still lived

together, and that the suspect had been staying with them at their west London apartment.

The suspect was arrested at a train station in Bristol on Saturday, three days after the grisly discovery of body parts in suitcases on the city’s Clifton Suspension Bridge.

— Associated Press

A storm that brought heavy rainfall to eastern Afghanistan killed at least 35 people Monday, a Taliban official said. Many others were injured across Nangahar province, said Sediqullah Quraishi, provincial director of the information and culture department. Among the dead were five members of a family who were killed when the roof of their house collapsed in Surkh Rod district, Quraishi said. Aminullah Sharif, head of the regional hospital in

Nangahar, said 207 injured people were brought in for treatment from Jalalabad and nearby districts.

Armenia launched joint military drills with the United States on Monday, reflecting its leader’s efforts to forge closer ties with the United States and other Western allies as the country’s relations with old ally Russia sour. The war games involve Armenian peacekeeping forces, service members of the U.S. Army Europe and Africa, and the Kansas National Guard. It wasn’t immediately clear how many troops were taking part. Armenia’s ties with Russia have grown strained since Azerbaijan waged a military campaign last year to take the Karabakh region, ending three decades of ethnic Armenian separatist rule there.

— From wire reports

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

Online vendors, right-wing figures cash in after attempt on Trump’s life

BY TAYLOR TELFORD
AND AARON GREGG

Online retailers and right-wing supporters have commodified the assassination attempt on Donald Trump at lightning speed, with products from T-shirts to trading cards bearing images of the former president — fist raised and bleeding at his Pennsylvania campaign rally — flooding the internet.

“Impeachment failed, jailing him failed, killing him failed. He’s unbeatable. Just like the deal on this merch!” one seller posted on X over the weekend, linking to a \$16 T-shirt on Etsy.

“Just threw out all my son’s Superman and Batman memorabilia. Replacing it with bloodied Trump photos and figurines,” conservative commentator Candace Owens posted Saturday on X. She linked to a T-shirt for sale

on her personal website that bore a photo of Trump post-assassination attempt with the words “For God and Country.”

Some of the merchandise is coming from supporters hoping to capitalize on the harrowing moment to propel Trump’s presidential bid, including online retailers such as the Trump Store and Trump MAGA Shop. The presumptive Republican nominee was rushed off the stage Saturday during a campaign rally in Butler, Pa., after shots rang out. The gunman killed one man and seriously injured two others before being fatally shot by the Secret Service. Trump’s ear was injured in the melee.

“The idea of selling merchandise to capitalize on an event like this is not unheard of,” said Marc Farinella, senior adviser to the Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago.

Farinella drew a parallel to the assassination attempt on Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 as he was seeking a return to the White House. He was shot in the chest during a campaign rally in Milwaukee but went on to deliver a lengthy speech before seeking medical treatment.

Roosevelt was “macho in the way that Trump wants to be perceived as macho,” Farinella said, and his campaign harnessed the incident to suit its storyline.

“Trump surviving an assassination attempt, his fist in the air in defiance, it all fits into the narrative about Trump that Trump and his supporters want to tell.”

The rush of T-shirts, hats, stickers, mugs and other merchandise came in the lead-up to the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee, which

began Monday.

“100% of profits from this shirt go to Trump’s campaign,” conservative YouTubers the Hodgetwins posted on X on Saturday, with a link to a T-shirt emblazoned with Trump and the words “Fight! Fight! Fight!”

Others, some far removed from U.S. politics, apparently sensed an opportunity: Chinese vendors started churning out T-shirts and other related products on Saturday, shortly after the shooting, Reuters reported. “[The sales] exceeded my expectations. I didn’t expect that Trump would have so many fans,” Zhong Jiachi, 28, a clothing merchant on Douyin, the Chinese version of TikTok, told the outlet.

As of Monday, an Etsy search for “Donald Trump assassination” yielded more than 1,000 results. Sellers played into the

assassination attempt with slogans such as “Bulletproof: Trump 24,” “Shooting makes me stronger,” and “Grazed and Unfazed.”

As of noon Monday the two fastest gainers on Amazon’s list of top-selling clothing products were black T-shirts sporting a photo from the Saturday rally, according to an Amazon webpage.

The eight fastest-gaining handmade products on the site were all assassination-themed merchandise, with the top item — and 10th overall bestseller in the handmade category — being stickers picturing the president holding up two middle fingers and the words “You Missed.”

Amazon did not immediately respond to a request for comment. (Amazon founder Jeff Bezos owns The Washington Post.)

Josh Gerben, a D.C.-based

trademark attorney, said any merchandise using photos from the assassination attempt could be subject to copyright claims. “Depending on the image, and who took it, and the resources of the person who took it, you could definitely see copyright take-down claims come out.”

Though the Trump camp could block online sellers from profiting from his image, Gerben said they would probably prefer to produce their own merchandise for fundraising purposes.

Trump’s campaign — which marketed products with his mug shot after he was charged with illegally conspiring to overturn his 2020 election defeat in Georgia — has yet to release any merchandise related to the assassination attempt.

Caroline O’Donovan contributed to this report.

BY CHRIS VELAZCO

SAN FRANCISCO — Fun fact: The closest thing this newspaper has to a theme song is a John Philip Sousa march you’ve definitely heard before. It’s a classic, for sure, but perhaps we can do better.

Sadly, I’m no songwriter — so I turned to AI.

This month, Suno, an artificial intelligence start-up that lets you create songs by plugging in just a bit of starter text, released an iOS version of its app. In doing so, Suno arguably made it easier than ever for regular folks like you and me to whip up music on the fly.

That probably wasn’t welcome news to the handful of record companies that sued Suno in late June, arguing that the company’s tool can only generate tunes because it chewed on untold numbers of their copyright songs to learn how. (Suno, for its part, has said its technology is “transformative.”)

Still, the app remains live and free to download — for now, anyway.

Since the app dropped, what started as a silly experiment to generate catchy, journalism-themed tunes has turned into a minor obsession for me. As it turns out, creating full-blown songs on a whim using AI is genuinely a blast, but it also began to reshape my relationship with music in ways I didn’t feel great about.

Here’s what Suno can do and why I felt a little unnerved after living with it.

Replacing the march

Getting started with Suno is simple: Just create an account, decide if you want to pay extra to create more songs each day, then start plugging in 200-character prompts.

Generating those songs can take from seconds to minutes, depending on whether you’ve paid for a higher tier of service, and your requests will always generate two tracks for you to review.

Your musical tastes are probably different from mine, but I already knew what I wanted my first attempt at a new Washington Post theme to sound like. Bright, jangly guitars were a must, as were meandering, adventurous bass lines and journalism lyrics.

But when I asked Suno to create just that, it produced a pair of generic pop-funk tracks that used the words “bright and jangly” as lyrics rather than instructions.

Maybe this genre wasn’t the

‘The Washington Post March’ needed updating. I tried using AI to replace it.



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK/THE WASHINGTON POST

right fit. Next up, I fed Suno the following prompt to see if it would copy a specific artist: “early 2000s Paramore-style pop punk, high energy, female vocals, lyrics about The Washington Post.”

Neither of the resulting tracks immediately felt like Paramore pastiches to me, but that might be because Suno completely ignored my request for female vocals. Still, the songs felt like something I would’ve listened to in high school and featured a surprisingly earworm-y chorus:

*“Washington Post
Always on the go
Telling tales that we need to*

*know
From the city to the world and back
On its pages no turning back”*

I wanted to keep those lyrics (plus a few tweaks) for my final attempt, so I opened Suno’s “Custom” mode and pasted them back in for another go-round. (Interestingly, if you want Suno to build a song around a full set of lyrics, its website reminds you to only use AI-generated lyrics; the app doesn’t bother to mention that.)

Now, for the rest of the instructions. Going further afield felt like the right move, so I requested that the style of music include the following elements: “j-pop, math

rock, female singer, anime theme, instrumental intro, guitar solo outro.”

And for the first time, Suno’s results felt like they fully embodied what I gave it in the prompt — except when both of the tracks abruptly ended, went quiet for a while, and started up the fake guitars again for one last run-through.

Okay, fine, none of these will ever really replace “The Washington Post March” — but if any of them had a chance, it’s Postamble 2.

The unclear road ahead

After I finished my AI journal-

ism song spree, I found myself just messing around with Suno, creating dumb little songs with nonsense lyrics and trying to re-create the styles of one-off tracks I loved.

But it didn’t take long before I felt like I was using — and sharing the results — a bit too much. My wife was having a rough day, so I sent her a lovey-dovey AI song, including our dumb pet names, to cheer her up. I cooked up some truly awful rap lyrics and sent a friend four Suno songs built around them in a row.

Then it hit me — I could easily see myself continuing to dash off songs and send them to people as

cavalierly as I fire off emojis.

Music is a force for good, for pleasure and healing and activism and reflection. Was all this slapdash music generation serving in some way to devalue music in my life?

Max Vehuni, one half of the indie-pop duo slenderbodies, talked me off that ledge.

“Music is a way for people to express themselves,” he said. “If it’s another way for you to communicate with your wife, I think that’s really cool.”

Vehuni, clearly, is no AI music doomer — he’s experimented with Suno and services like it for personal projects and says he sees incredible potential for AI as a tool to enhance an artist’s writing and production.

He’s also quick to admit that, while Suno is being sued for allegedly using copyright music as training data, that process isn’t entirely different from what humans do.

“Artists are drawing a line, saying, ‘Well, I’m okay with artists being influenced by me, humans being influenced by me. But once a computer is influenced by me, that’s not okay,’” he said. “Is that something to agree with or disagree with? I don’t know.”

But that doesn’t mean there aren’t other things to fret over. The rest of my lingering unease, for instance, stems from a worry that I’d be screwing the artists I love by generating music that sort of sounds like theirs, but isn’t.

Fortunately, Vehuni said slenderbodies makes most of its money from touring and that the band is lucky enough to have a fan base that would support it through a “post-AI music apocalypse.”

Choosing to directly support the artists you care about, in other words, is more important than ever.

Still, he worries about the possibility that record labels could pitch their copyright song catalogues to AI companies in return for access to models that can create synthetic music they wouldn’t have to pay royalties on. Or that streaming services will create and promote their own synthetic artists and pocket the revenue. (He’s not alone in wondering about this, either.)

It’s too early to know how any of this will shake out. Either way, Big Tech, the music industry and the rest of us have no choice but to keep grappling with AI music creeping into our lives.

“We’ve taken it out of the box, and I don’t think we’re ever really putting it back,” Vehuni said.

DIGEST

STOCK MARKET

Wall Street rises as momentum rolls on

U.S. stocks were in record territory Monday as Wall Street’s momentum keeps pushing it upward. The S&P 500 climbed 0.3 percent and was just shy of its all-time high set last week. The Dow Jones Industrial Average rose 0.5 percent to a record close, and the Nasdaq composite index added 0.4 percent and was just short of its high.

Some of the market’s best-performing areas were ones that do best when former president Donald Trump’s chances for reelection look better. Trump Media & Technology Group, the company behind Trump’s Truth Social platform, soared by nearly a third. Bitcoin and longer-term

Treasury yields also rose.

— Associated Press

ECONOMY

Fed more confident inflation is slowing

Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell said Monday that the Fed is becoming more convinced that inflation is headed back to its 2 percent target and said the Fed would cut rates before the pace of price increases actually reaches that point.

“We’ve had three better readings, and if you average them, that’s a pretty good pace,” Powell said of inflation in a question-and-answer session at the Economic Club of Washington. Those figures, he said, “do add somewhat to confidence” that inflation is slowing sustainably.

Powell declined to provide any hints of when the first rate cut would occur. But most economists foresee the first cut occurring in September, and after Powell’s remarks, Wall Street traders boosted their expectation that the Fed would reduce its key rate then from its 23-year high. The futures markets expect additional rate cuts in November and December.

Rate reductions by the Fed would, over time, reduce consumers’ borrowing costs for such things as mortgages, auto loans and credit cards.

— Associated Press

RETAIL

Macy’s ends takeover talks with two firms

Macy’s is terminating its months-long buyout talks with

two investment firms, citing a substandard offer and the lack of certainty over financing.

In announcing the end of negotiations Monday, Macy’s alleged that Arkhouse Management and Brigade Capital Management did not meet its request for information by a June 25 deadline, including the highest purchase price they were prepared to pay and details about how the revised deal would be financed.

Instead of delivering an “actionable proposal,” Macy’s said that Arkhouse and Brigade submitted on June 26 — one day past the deadline — what the suitors called a “check-in” letter expressing an interest in acquiring all of Macy’s outstanding shares for \$24.80 in cash. Macy’s said that offer was within a range that its board had previously told Arkhouse and

Brigade was “not compelling.”

Macy’s shares tumbled nearly 12 percent Monday, closing at \$16.85.

— Associated Press

ALSO IN BUSINESS

Google parent Alphabet is in talks to acquire cybersecurity start-up Wiz, according to a person familiar with the matter. A deal may be worth as much as \$23 billion, said the person, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss nonpublic information. That would make it the tech giant’s largest acquisition to date. An agreement has not been reached and talks could still end without one, the person said. A representative for Alphabet did not respond to requests for comment. A spokesperson for Wiz declined to comment.

Data from Walt Disney’s internal Slack workplace collaboration system was leaked online, including messages related to ad campaigns, studio technology and interview candidates, the Wall Street Journal reported Monday. Hacking group NullBulge published data from thousands of Slack channels at the entertainment giant, including computer code and details about unreleased projects, the report said, citing the group’s blog post. The hacker group said in a post Friday that it had released more than 1 terabyte of data from Disney. The leaked information includes talks on managing Disney’s corporate website, software development and job applicant evaluations, among others, with the data going back to at least 2019, the report added.

— From news services

BY SHIRA OVIDE

Another day, another data breach. But this one is nasty. AT&T said Friday that hackers who have hit other companies also swiped at least six months of 2022 phone records for almost everyone who had AT&T mobile service — that’s roughly 110 million customer accounts. AT&T said hackers don’t have the content of people’s calls or texts.

For what AT&T says is a portion of those records, the stolen data also included some people’s estimated locations.

The swiped location data is relatively unusual in a cyber-attack, and it’s the part that freaked out Albert Fox Cahn, founder of the Surveillance Technology Oversight Project.

Your phone company logs the nearest cellular tower every time your device connects to its mobile network. That data is essentially a rough timeline and map of everywhere you go with your smartphone, including your home, work, house of worship, medical appointments and more.

“It’s such an invasive window into our lives,” Cahn said. The stolen location records of AT&T customers were limited to data from older 3G mobile connections and during slices of the day, an AT&T spokeswoman said. That’s probably a relatively limited amount of data on customers’ estimated whereabouts.

You can’t know for sure how this stolen AT&T information might be used against you. I’ll talk you through how to know if your data was swiped, what could go wrong and how to protect yourself.

Also, take a moment to feel furious. This data theft shows the risks from the United States’ largely unregulated personal data harvesting. You, and generally not the companies, bear the burden when companies fail to secure your information from thieves.

How do you know whether your phone records were stolen?

AT&T said it will notify affected customers by text, email or physical mail.

But if you had AT&T mobile service between the beginning of May and the end of October in 2022 or on Jan. 2, 2023, you should assume your phone records were stolen.

TECH FRIEND

Hackers stole almost all of AT&T’s call records. What should you do?



AT&T said hackers illegally downloaded records of mobile service customers from May and October 2022, as well as Jan. 2, 2023. The stolen data includes phone numbers that customers called and texted, but AT&T said the hackers didn’t obtain the content of calls or texts.

What information is in those hacked phone records?

The swiped records include information like every number you texted and called and how many times you called your spouse in a given month and the cumulative time those calls lasted.

AT&T said monthly wireless and home telephone customers can go to att.com/event/lander to see the phone numbers of your calls and texts that were in the stolen records.

AT&T also said that the names

associated with accounts, Social Security numbers and credit card numbers weren’t stolen.

Another potential risk may be from the stolen logs of AT&T customers’ locations.

Even if the stolen data had relatively limited data about customers’ physical whereabouts when they connect to a mobile network, the location data from cellphones is so sensitive that the Supreme Court has said it generally deserves extra legal protections. Police must have a warrant to obtain the kind of location

data that thieves just stole from AT&T.

What do you have to worry about?

AT&T’s statement said it doesn’t believe the stolen phone records have been leaked online. But Cahn said the thieves could at any time sell the phone records to other criminals or post them on the web for anyone to see.

With information like the numbers you frequently call, a crook could impersonate your boss, brother or bank to get you

to hand over money, said Frédéric Rivain, chief technology officer of the password management service Dashlane. (Although crooks already can and do impersonate your contacts’ phone numbers without stealing your phone records.)

In the wrong hands, stolen data from phone records could also be used to blackmail people having affairs, for criminals to find the homes of police officers and prosecutors, or for abusers to track down their former romantic partners.

If you think I’m exaggerating: Phone location and call records from two Georgia prosecutors pursuing a legal case against former president Donald Trump were presented as evidence of their romantic relationship. And in 2021, a priest was ousted from his job after a conservative Catholic group used location information from the gay dating app Grindr to trace his movements to a gay bar and a gay bathhouse and spa.

What can you do to protect yourself?

It’s an unfair burden, but personal vigilance is your best defense.

If it seems like your sister is texting you in a panic to ask for bail money or if someone calls from what seems like your grandson’s phone number and says he’s holding your grandson for ransom, be suspicious. Hang up and try to reach your loved one directly or through a family member or friend.

Be extra vigilant about phone calls and texts that seem to come from your bank, too, in case crooks are impersonating the bank’s phone number.

AT&T said if you’re a target of fraud on your wireless number, you should report it to the company’s fraud team.

And if you typically have numerical codes texted to your phone to confirm your identity when you log into Facebook, a credit card account, your email or other websites, this might be a good moment for a security upgrade.

If you can manage it on your sensitive accounts, use an app like Authy or Google Authenticator that generates single-use codes instead of text messaged codes. Using an app instead of texts protects you from a serious but uncommon type of hack in which criminals intercept calls or texts to your phone number.

Cahn said the location data saved by AT&T and other cellphone providers is not something you can protect on your own. That’s on companies to keep safe.

He says location data could be abused to endanger vulnerable people, including victims of stalkers or intimate partner violence.

“Where it could be potentially really scary is for people who put a premium on protecting their location privacy,” he said.





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Rule to protect workers from excessive heat faces pushback from employers

BY ANNA PHILLIPS,
NICOLÁS RIVERO
AND NIKO KOMMENDA

On any given day in the warmest months, millions of workers nationwide labor in heat that is increasingly hazardous to their health. This month, the Biden administration proposed a rule that, for the first time, would protect such workers, whether their jobs are indoors or outdoors.

The proposal sets out two heat index triggers that would apply nationally. One, at 80 degrees, would require employers to offer drinking water, rest breaks as needed and a plan for new workers to gradually increase their workload so their bodies adjust to the temperature. More protections would kick in at 90 degrees, including monitoring for signs of heat illness and mandatory 15-minute breaks every two hours.

The proposal is more than two years in the making and won't become final until at least 2026. Yet it is already facing stiff resistance. Employers in industries from agriculture to construction, tourism and oil and gas extraction have argued that it's unnecessary and could make them less competitive. It is likely to encounter major obstacles, including the near-certainty that it would be abandoned if Donald Trump were to win the presidency in November.

But if the rule takes effect, data analyzed by The Washington Post shows that it could be transformative for workers — especially in the South.

The region's punishing heat and humidity have long been a workplace hazard. Although Texas and California accounted for a quarter of all heat-related workplace fatalities from 2000 to 2010, workers in Southern states face the most lethal threat when the size of worker populations is taken into account. Mississippi, Arkansas, Nevada, West Virginia, and South Carolina had the highest rates of heat-related deaths on the job during that period.

Southern states are highly dependent on agriculture and homebuilding — the two jobs where workers face the most risk from heat — and with low rates of union membership, working-class laborers have little power to demand protection. Factor in the effects of climate change — more-

frequent heat waves and extreme temperatures — and the future of work in these states could be increasingly dangerous.

Heat index data goes beyond temperature to factor in humidity, which can intensify the impact of hot days. Such data reveals that parts of Texas, Louisiana, Florida, California and Arizona are already so hot, they would trigger the rule's most strenuous requirements for at least four months of the year. Those are the most extreme cases, but the measure would have a much broader impact.

According to a Post analysis of heat and employment data, the rule could affect more than 500,000 agricultural workers and 4.3 million construction workers who are exposed to 30 days or more of dangerous heat each year. OSHA officials estimate it would extend new protections to about 36 million people who work indoors and outdoors.

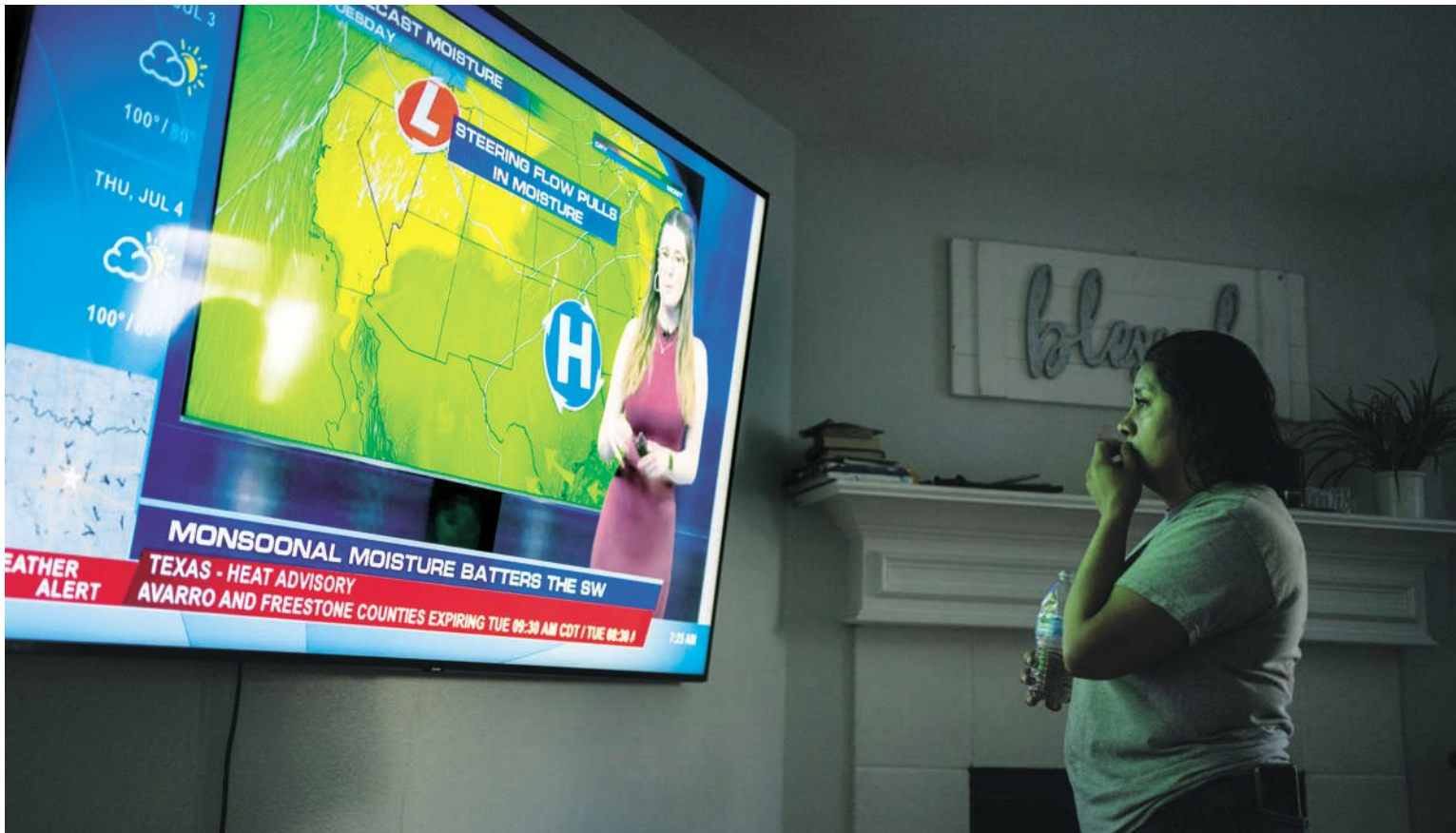
That is the current picture. But a hotter future is certain.

Because nations have been slow to curb carbon pollution, scientists have found that temperatures will continue to climb, probably surpassing the world's most ambitious climate target by the early 2030s. As the danger grows, more parts of the United States are likely to hit OSHA's heat triggers, requiring employers to make allowances for longer periods of time.

Veronica Carrasco, a 40-year-old construction worker, said workers need a national heat standard to protect themselves from exploitative bosses.

Carrasco works for a contractor remodeling homes in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, which has more workplace heat deaths than any other state. Her employer provides water and allows workers to take rest breaks, but the job is still arduous. Carrasco said when she works inside, her boss turns off the air conditioning so that the dust doesn't damage the home's HVAC system, leaving her in hot, stagnant air. When she works outside, temperatures regularly soar past 100 degrees.

"You have to imagine that it's 110 degrees and I'm up on a 40-foot ladder with the sun beating down on my head," she said. "It's like working with a fever throughout my entire body."



Veronica Carrasco checks the forecast before heading to work early in the morning on July 2 in Dallas.



John McAllister, 59, a laundry worker in Durham, N.C., wants to see improvements on heat-related guidance for his industry.

Some business groups say employers know best how to protect their workers from heat, and argue they have an incentive to do so, since productivity lags when workers are ill.

Yet Carrasco said she's encountered bosses who ignore the risks. "I worked for four years for a boss who didn't give us breaks and

didn't give us water, Gatorade or electrolytes — nothing," she said. "All they care about is getting work out of you. They don't care how hot it is."

Carrasco has little choice but to work through the heat. After her husband died last year, she's the only one looking after her three kids. Remodeling work slows down in the winter, she said, so she puts in as many hours as she can throughout the summer. But she worries about the risks she's taking with her health.

"I don't have any other family here," said Carrasco, who immigrated to the United States from Honduras in 2011. "I have to make it back home to my kids."

Lately, she's started taking steps to protect herself from the heat — and uncaring employers. Three years ago, she started attending meetings of the Workers Defense Project, a nonprofit that advocates for immigrant construction workers in Texas and offers training on heat safety and workers' rights.

"I'm very lucky because I learned to speak up," she said. "When I started with this contractor [three years ago], I said, 'This is the law. You have to give us water. I'm nobody's slave.'"

Powerful industry groups are already working to limit the reach of a rule they view as burdensome, redundant and expensive.

A large consortium of construction and home-building companies wrote to OSHA last month, asking it to leave the construction trades out of the rule and craft a separate measure for the industry, a move that might delay protections for years.

"We know that [business groups] are very interested in getting their industries exempt from this rule," said Rebecca Reindel, the safety and health director of the AFL-CIO.

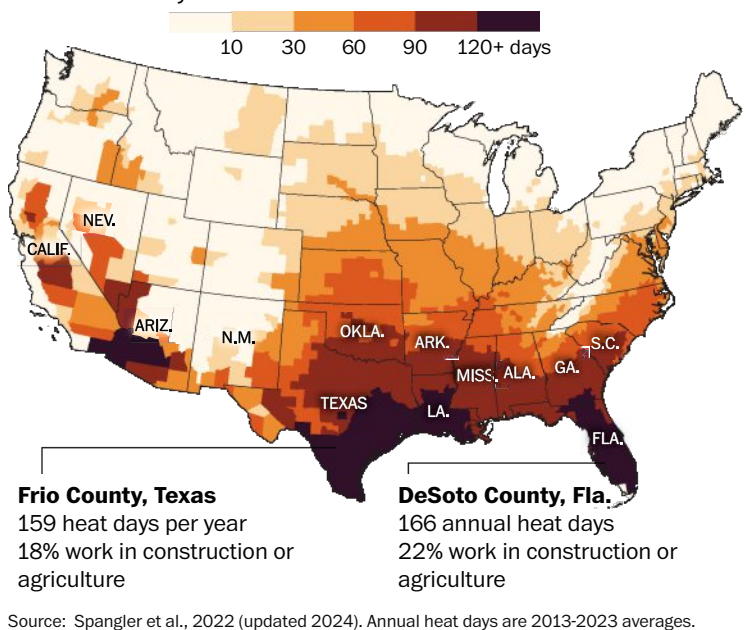
Some industries have argued they are already protecting employees from heat and that a new regulation would be duplicative or, worse, get in the way of what they're doing. They have pushed back against the rule's expected acclimatization requirements, which would mandate a gradual ramping up of work hours during high heat. Some have questioned the entire initiative, saying that a workplace heat rule is unnecessary because not many workers die of heat exposure.

Agency officials and public health advocates say official data underestimates the scale of the problem, given underreporting and the difficulty of attributing a death to heat.

Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that, from 1992 to 2019, an average of 32 workers died of heat-related causes annually. There were 43 such deaths in 2022, up from 36 in 2021. But workplace data aside, deaths from heat in the United States have steadily increased in recent years. An estimated 2,300 people in the United States died of heat-related illness in 2023.

A common argument from

Where extreme heat is most prevalent in the lower 48



business groups is that OSHA should require heat protections to kick in at higher temperature thresholds in parts of the United States with hot and humid weather.

"One of the things that we have stressed over and over to OSHA is just that this sort of blanket threshold across the country isn't going to work because workers are acclimatized to different regions with different, varying heat and humidity levels," said Prianka Sharma, vice president and counsel for regulatory affairs for The American Road & Transportation Builders Association. For workers in Florida and other Southern states, she said, "an 80-degree threshold for them isn't going to be considered hot."

In a letter sent last year to Douglas Parker, assistant secretary of labor for occupational safety and health, the industry group was dismissive of the agency's efforts to address the growing effects of climate change on workers, writing: "OSHA policy should not be the means of achieving unrelated political talking points."

Supporters of the heat protection rule have praised OSHA for developing standards that kick in during extreme heat, but also during moderately high temperatures. They point to research showing that even an 80-degree day can be deadly. They say the United States urgently needs a national heat standard because states where workers are the most at-risk have shown they are not going to protect workers on their own. Although five states have heat rules — California, Colorado, Minnesota, Oregon and Washington — lawmakers in Florida and Texas have passed laws blocking municipalities from enacting their own heat safety regulations.

Biden announced the proposed rule one day after Florida's law took effect, signaling a desire to position himself as pro-labor. Many worker safety advocates and union leaders believe the outcome of the presidential election will decide the rule's fate. Travis Parsons, director of occupational safety and health for the Laborers' Health & Safety Fund of North America, said if Trump were to prevail, the heat standards "will be dead on arrival."

Even if a Democrat wins the White House, other hurdles remain. Emboldened by recent decisions chipping away at the federal government's authority to address climate change and worker safety, Republican attorneys general would probably take the heat rules to court. The Supreme Court recently rejected a lawsuit against OSHA backed by conservative and business groups, but its decision last month limiting regulatory agencies' authority could make it easier for the rule's opponents to

challenge it.

John McAllister, a 59-year-old industrial laundry plant supervisor in Durham, N.C., said workplace heat protections would be life-changing.

Inside the cinder block building where he and about 120 other employees wash and iron, radiant heat from the machines often makes the building 10 to 20 degrees hotter than the air outdoors, he said. Although the break room is air-conditioned, McAllister said the workspace has no temperature controls. The heat has made him lightheaded and he's seen employees break out in heat rash and become woozy.

"In the summertime, for somebody to pass out is not an irregular thing," he said. "To be under that kind of continual heat stress, it just wears on you like a hundred-pound weight just sitting on your shoulders."

After working at the plant for six years, McAllister can recognize the signs of heat illness. He said he jumps into action when co-workers seem disoriented or are having difficulty standing on their own. And through negotiations with his union, a local chapter of the Service Employees International Union, his employer now provides Gatorade, water and fans. Yet he would welcome clearer safety rules, especially ones requiring a cooler work area.

North Carolina doesn't have workplace heat protections. Though state officials have said they would adopt the federal OSHA regulation when it's finalized, lawmakers voted last year to make it more onerous to do so. Instead of being automatically adopted, new federal health and safety rules will have to be reviewed by a state commission.

"I think what's happening in Florida and Texas, and the entire South, paints a picture of why we need federal intervention," said Oscar Lodoño, executive director of WeCount!, a South Florida worker advocacy group that led a doomed push to create local heat protections for farm and construction workers in Miami-Dade County.

At least one company that pushed to kill the Miami-Dade County bill now supports OSHA's effort to create national heat rules. Having one standard that applies across the United States makes more sense for companies like Costa Farms, a Miami-based tropical plant nursery that operates farms in Florida, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, according to the company's chief people officer, Arianna Cabrera de Oña.

"Whatever comes out of this, wherever it ends up, it's highly unlikely that it will be perfect ... but I do think that it will be something that we can live with."

KOSTAS IS FRED

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

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TUESDAY OPINION

KATHLEEN PARKER

Cheerleaders you can believe in

Anyone who grew up in the South has known gals like those who become Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders. They have wide, pretty smiles and big hair (“The bigger the hair, the closer to God,” as they say), and they’re sweet as Moon Pies. Some of them also love Jesus, and Jesus loves them.

Familiar as I am with the species, I wasn’t sure I needed to watch the Netflix documentary, “America’s Sweethearts: Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders,” a peek into the lives of the 2023-2024 squad. The seven-episode series takes us from the rigorous tryouts (and heartbreaking eliminations) to the tush-kicking training and through the whole season, including a Thanksgiving spectacular featuring Dolly Parton.

My seasoned guess is that one’s experience of the documentary varies by age. While these young women seem like children to me now, I can assure you I wouldn’t have been a sympathetic witness at 22, my age when the DCC first swished onto the Cowboys’ field 50 years ago. I wouldn’t have deigned to watch a football game, much less tolerate a bunch of scantily clad cheerleaders — an anachronistic insult to the freshly liberated generation of young women to which I belonged.

But I ended up binge-watching this countercultural hybrid of “Here Comes Honey Boo Boo” (because you can’t quite believe your eyes), “Barbie” and “Legally Blonde,” with a family-style side of Tammy Faye Bakker’s “The PTL Club.” Everyone is so *nice*, except of course my favorite characters: the women who run the show.

These are two tough broads, which I’m allowed to call them since we’re talking about adult cheerleaders. Director Kelli Finglass and choreographer Judy Trammell are both former cheerleaders and mature beauties who push their girls to perfection. They have passion, humor, enormous curlers, grace under pressure, uncompromising dedication to excellence, and blunt, if sometimes cruel, things to say to girls who don’t kick high enough, aren’t peppy enough or have their mascara wrong.

A documentary makes clear that most of the cheerleaders are dancers and all are superb athletes. But there’s no pretending otherwise: Their job is to arouse the crowd.

The documentary makes clear that most of the cheerleaders are dancers and all are superb athletes. Ten were new recruits, the rest veterans, who have to re-audition each season. Two were daughters of former Dallas cheerleaders. Only a few weren’t from the South. One who hailed from California had a steep learning curve when it came to applying makeup. (I’m pretty sure the Southern girls had been wearing it since they were toddlers.)

There’s no pretending otherwise: Their job is to arouse the crowd, using their bodies for maximum sexual effect while wearing the iconic short shorts, white boots and midriff blouses. But you get the feeling they’re play-acting the way little girls might prance in front of a mirror, pretending to be Taylor Swift. They’re shocked when a photographer touches one of them “inappropriately,” as though there were another way. The squad has a strict “no-touch” policy. Male fans who pose for photos with them are handed a footfall to hold between their paws.

In addition to performing at games, the cheerleaders visit nursing homes and children’s hospitals and, not the least of their responsibilities, just try to “give people hope and happiness.” They’re a multimillion-dollar business for the football franchise, but their pay, according to one former cheerleader, is comparable to a full-time worker’s at Chick-fil-A.

Some online commenters upset by the pay inequity have urged the cheerleaders to unionize. Others have been infuriated by the plain exploitation of women in tiny togs for the entertainment of the grandstands of America’s most macho sport. But the cheerleaders say it’s a privilege to wear the uniform. Some credit God’s grace for their being in Dallas.

I was struck by the wide-eyed innocence of the featured cheerleaders, most of whom were in their early 20s. A standout is Reece, who is engaged to Will, her college sweetheart and not her match in any obvious way. He admits to having no big-dream plans, other than “to pursue this woman,” and lands a job at a pressure-washing business.

The couple is shown cooking “deer burgers,” made from Reece’s kill in Blount County, Ala. (It was her second deer but her first buck.) As they discuss their upcoming wedding, Will asks whether they have a registry at Home Depot. “Yes, is it practical?” she asks, as he eyes a sturdy shovel on a laptop screen.

We are to realize that these women, though superheroes for a while, are grounded in basic American values. They might not be what most young women aspire to be — or what many parents would want their daughters to be — but choice works all ways. Life as a cheerleader is short. Leaving the squad is understandably a challenging transition. Victoria, who followed in her mother’s footsteps, is a fourth-year veteran who decides to retire.

“I feel like I’m being stripped naked and it scares the s--- out of me,” she says.

As the closing soundtrack plays, “Girls Just Want to Have Fun,” the camera zooms in for a close-up of a cheerleader’s face as she removes her makeup. In the next frame, another gal peels away her false eyelashes. Clean-faced and unadorned, they begin to look more like Walker Evans portraits. We get it. So goes the bloom from the rose.

But God’s grace is infinite. As Reece says, “I know that in every season, the Lord always produces fruit.” I’m almost certain executive producer and director Greg Whiteley would agree. I’m betting on a Season 2, but praying for serious salaries for the cast — some of the best athletes in the world.

JASON REZAIAN | TASTES LIKE HOME

How the burek came to Rockville Pike



PHOTOS BY HECTOR EMANUEL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Geraldine Hoyos Postigo preparing bureks at MezeHub.



Edin Saracevic, the owner of Mezehub, in his restaurant in Rockville.



Bureks at Mezehub.

There are varieties of it that I have never seen outside the Balkans. You skim the cream off boiled milk every half-hour. It’s a meticulous, tedious process. It’s so expensive to make in terms of labor. We source kajmak from North Macedonia.

You always ask yourself, “If we change this original recipe or the traditional approach, are we doing a disservice to the quality of food? Or are we actually enhancing it?” I struggle with that. But the quality of the flour, the [basic] ingredients available here — if you nail down the recipes properly, I think you can produce — not just good versions, but sometimes even better products.

Mention Bosnia and many Americans remember the brutal ethnic wars that tore apart the country in the 1990s. But just off Rockville Pike an entrepreneur originally from Sarajevo is hoping to alter that association in customers’ minds, one flaky layer of dough at a time.

Bosnia has a population of 3.2 million, with almost as many people living in the diaspora. The largest group of Bosnians outside of Europe now lives in the Midwest. With the wars of the 1990s, however, many also came to the D.C. area. Among them was Edin Saracevic, the co-founder of MezeHub.

Part restaurant, part specialized grocery store, MezeHub’s mission is to reintroduce the Balkans to Washington.

MezeHub prides itself on its burek, a savory stuffed pastry it produces in a kitchen set at the center of the retail space.

Connoisseurs argue over the dish’s origin, which people make it the best — and even which variation of the pie has the right to be called a “burek” in the first place.

“Burek actually originates in Iran,” Saracevic told me. “The Ottoman Empire was an ambassador for burek — they spread it throughout the world.”

But the fact that the dish can be enjoyed across the Balkans is instructive: shared culinary traditions are more prevalent than ancient hatreds.

Jason Rezaian: What are the challenges of being an immigrant restaurant owner?

Edin Saracevic: The beauty of the United States is that it really is a land of opportunity. That means it doesn’t really matter what your last name is. In Europe, if you have a last name that doesn’t fit in, you might have a harder time earning a living.

In America, you have to be determined. You have to know what you are trying to do. All the other things that are obstacles elsewhere — here, you just don’t have them. But you have to put in the work and you have to be patient enough to see the results, tweaking your concepts and your best strategies on a daily basis.

Is there a food from home that you can’t get here?

Two things. First, ajvar, which is something that every household would make — a vegetable spread that, growing up, we loved so much that we would eat an entire jar all at once. And we always had it in limited quantities because it would take hours of hard work to make it.

Then there’s something called suho meso, which is a kind of cured meat — just smoked. Smoked meat is prohibited by the Food and Drug Administration from being imported into the United States. So a guy up in Pennsylvania created a company making suho meso, dry goods — all that stuff. It’s a multimillion dollar business right now. He’s doing really well.

Is there an aroma that takes you back to Bosnia?

Sarajevo is very famous for two products: cevapcici [grilled meat kebabs] and burek. Their flavor, it’s just unique. The smell is an absolute trigger, no matter if you are full or have just had dinner. When you walk in the old town in Sarajevo, the smell is always there, no matter what time of year it is.

There is this part of town, Bašcaršija, which translates to “real market.” It’s easily two or three square kilometers, it’s not just one street or a couple of streets. The moment you cross from the Austro-Hungarian part of the city into this Ottoman part of the city, you are in a universe of smell.

Do you remember your first burek?

I don’t because burek was always homemade. The first one I would venture outside for, however — there was a shop near my high school. There was one guy on the corner making bureks. When we had a longer break during the day, we would run there and get a burek as a snack or as lunch. The store is still there.

What are the ingredients you need to make your dish that aren’t readily available here? And are there ingredients that you have discovered here that have changed and reshaped your cooking?

I think one of the most difficult things to replicate is something that’s produced on a small scale — in a household. Kajmak is something that is unique. It’s a cream cheese, and it can be sweet or it can be salty.

KAREN ATTIAH

Biden’s silence on Tulsa survivors is a growing pain point

In 2021, in the midst of America’s so-called racial reckoning, the world descended on Tulsa, where a century earlier a heavily armed White mob wiped out the thriving Black community of Greenwood — burning and looting homes and businesses and killing hundreds of citizens. President Biden visited the site, the first sitting president to do so, and in his speech pointedly called what happened a “massacre.” “The only way to build a common ground is to truly repair and to rebuild,” he said. “I come here to help fill the silence, because in silence, wounds deepen.”

Last month, Oklahoma once again deepened the wounds of the Tulsa victims. In an 8-1 ruling, the state’s Supreme Court dismissed the last remaining survivors’ lawsuit against city officials. Biden, who had spoken of repair and filling silence, made no comment.

But 109-year-old Lessie Benningfield Randle and 110-year-old Viola Fletcher did. “It seems that the only ‘justice’ permitted for Black Americans are sympathetic words and supposed promises that white Americans, our government, and our justice system will ‘do better,’” their statement said. “But the lip-service continues and tangible justice is consistently denied.”

The Tulsa race massacre is more than a state or local issue. It is a “crime in America” issue — among the worst domestic terrorist attacks in U.S. history. Damarion Solomon-Simmons, a lawyer for the survivors and representative of the Justice for Greenwood organization, calls Tulsa “the largest crime scene in America.” He and the survivors were hopeful after meeting with Biden in 2021 — but today, the president’s silence is a pain point. “No one from the White House has reached out to at least express condolences,” he told me. “That’s the bare minimum.”

As their earthly time is running out, the survivors have one last ask for repair. “We ask that the United States Department of Justice intervene and open an investigation into the Massacre and do what Oklahoma has never done. It is not too late to do the right thing.”

For decades, the massacre was omitted from Oklahoma history books and public memory. In reporting in and about Tulsa, I learned that beyond reparations for lost property and harm, the plaintiffs and their supporters have long sought to open processes of discovery that would add to the collective understanding of what happened during those dark days. But Tulsa, and now the Supreme Court of Oklahoma, continue to stand in the way.

The implications of the survivors’ appeal for a federal investigation into the massacre are significant, and should be taken seriously by Biden as well as whoever else seeks the presidency in November. As the campaign heats up and candidates jockey for Black votes, the very least the Biden-Harris administration could do is announce support for a federal investigation into the Tulsa massacre.

Cornell William Brooks, a former Justice Department civil rights lawyer and former head of the NAACP, told me the there have been many instances where the DOJ has stepped in when states have declined, or not completed, investigations of racialized murder. None, though, has been on the scale of Tulsa.

One was the case of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, three civil rights workers who were murdered in Mississippi in 1964. The Justice Department started an investigation into their murders under the Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Rights Crime Act of 2007, which states that governmental justice entities should “expeditiously investigate unsolved civil rights murders,” and “pro-

vide all the resources necessary to ensure timely and thorough investigations in the cases involved.” Brooks also cited federal investigations into the killings of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., and Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge.

In a recent paper titled “Normalizing Reparations,” Brooks and Harvard colleague Linda Bilmes argue that the federal government has a “policy norm” of providing “reparatory compensation” to various groups of people for all manner of harms. Such restitution “is a widely accepted, utilized, and institutionalized practice of federal government with centuries of precedent,” they wrote.

Talking with me, Brooks pointed out that the practice has long been used to compensate victims of racial violence from various identity groups. “The Department of Justice basically oversaw the investigation and reparations schemes for Japanese Americans forced into internment camps during World War II,” he said, adding that the Justice Department also presided over reparations programs for Jewish people subject to the horrors of the Holocaust. The federal American Indian Trust Fund was set up to compensate the descendants of indigenous people who lost their land rights in the 1800s.

Terrorism victims also have gotten some forms of repair and justice. Family members of the Iran hostage crisis, the Oklahoma City bombing and 9/11 families received compensation for harms.

Why have Black victims of Tulsa’s mass racial terrorism been denied the same justice for decades?

Time has run out for empty rhetoric and moral navel-gazing about a need for “national conversations” about race. Norms, precedents and tangible, functional systemic delivery systems of investigation and repair already exist in America. They should be deployed for the victims of Tulsa and their descendants.

OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Judge Cannon goes another step too far

THE CLASSIFIED documents case against former president Donald Trump has been going nowhere for a long time. Judge Aileen M. Cannon of the Southern District of Florida had all but eliminated the possibility of a timely verdict even before her decision Monday to dismiss the case on the theory that special counsel Jack Smith was improperly appointed. But her action this week might spell broader trouble for American justice, too.

Judge Cannon’s insistence on holding in-person hearings on nearly every arcane question the defense sent her way, no matter how outlandish, promoted delay in a case that is not nearly as complicated as she and the defense attorneys have made it seem. The prosecution against Mr. Trump for retaining privileged materials, including nuclear intelligence and details of military operations, at his private Mar-a-Lago residence is the strongest of the multiple legal cases pending against him — not least because of the way he allegedly obstructed the investigation. The former president’s strategy has been to forestall a verdict until, if he becomes president again, he can terminate the prosecution; Judge Cannon has helped. Even so, her willingness to consider implausible statutory readings or constitutional theories was

less troubling than her readiness now to *adopt* them. In her Monday opinion, she promulgates a point of view scholars, and indeed courts, have widely considered far-fetched: that Attorney General Merrick Garland lacks the authority to appoint and fund Mr. Smith. The special counsel, she writes, qualifies as a “principal officer,” or else the administration wouldn’t be emphasizing his independence. And the absence of an immediate supervisor means he requires approval from the Senate to serve in his role. This contention is refuted both by context and by history. The attorney general doesn’t look over the special counsel’s shoulder, and nor should he; the point, after all, is to shelter politically sensitive investigations from, well, politics. But he does have the authority to review major steps in those investigations and to ensure they don’t breach Justice Department protocols. Attorneys general have long been assigning touchy subjects to outside actors — under Richard M. Nixon, George W. Bush and, yes, Donald Trump. Before that, presidents did the job themselves, starting with Ulysses S. Grant after the Whiskey Ring scandal. The courts have blessed the tradition, pointing to the 19th-century statute that authorizes the attorney general to “appoint officials ... to detect and prosecute crimes against the United States.”

The Supreme Court cited the code in *U.S. v. Nixon* after Watergate; the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit confirmed the same thinking in a case about the Iran-*contra* independent counsel; the D.C. Circuit said in 2019, pursuant to the appointment of Robert S. Mueller III, that

If there had been any chance of overcoming previous delays in the classified document case, there’s no chance at overcoming this one. The public will not get a speedy trial in a case of national importance.

“binding precedent” settled the debate. Judge Cannon, meanwhile, looked not to precedent at all. Her only reference was Justice Clarence Thomas’s recent concurring opinion in a Trump immunity case — in which no other justice joined. Justice Thomas’s concurrence has no legal force, and it wasn’t even relevant to the case at

hand. Yet it sent a signal to lower-court judges, and to Judge Cannon in particular, encouraging them to throw out cases about post-presidential conduct. The Justice Department can appeal the decision to the 11th Circuit, perhaps asking for a new judge while they’re at it. Or prosecutors could refile in the District of Columbia. But if there had been any chance of overcoming previous delays in this case, there’s no chance of overcoming this one. The public will not get a speedy trial in a case of national importance. Worse still, the ability of the Justice Department to appoint special counsels at all is apparently in play, even though the institution, for all its faults, is necessary to remove partisan tint from extraordinary investigations, particularly those that pose potential conflicts of interest for Justice officials. The alternative to Mr. Smith would be Mr. Garland, whose motivations Trump allies have assailed, probing the former president himself. It also would have been Mr. Garland, not former special counsel Robert K. Hur, scrutinizing the *current* president’s own mishandling of classified documents. These arrangements would have put strain on the department’s credibility. They would also, however, have aligned with many conservatives’ shared vision for the Justice Department: one that possesses no independence from the person in the Oval Office.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We can choose to be a different kind of country

Tell The Post how you would change America’s political culture: <https://wapo.st/political-culture>

When I heard former president Donald Trump had been attacked, it felt as if time had stopped. Mr. Trump ducked down. Got up! He had blood on his face. He raised his fist. He is lucky to be alive, and we, too, are fortunate he survived. My neighbors and friends are shocked. Half support Democrats, half Republicans. Everyone has missed heartbeats. At first, many thought: Are the photos that began to flood social media manipulated with artificial intelligence? No, they were and are real. America seems to be entering a new dark period, divided in two by great enmity. And if America goes into darkness, then the whole world will follow. The agenda now changes radically, shifting from discussions of President Biden’s age. Political violence returns to the scene. Memories of the assassination of John F. Kennedy will return. Maybe even thoughts of the American Civil War. “God bless America” has never been a more necessary sentiment than it is in these hours. America needs all of us, too. Let us think of Aristotle’s three virtues, which should distinguish the citizen: justice, courage and temperance. And let’s walk ahead all united from now on.

Dimitris Eleas, Brooklyn

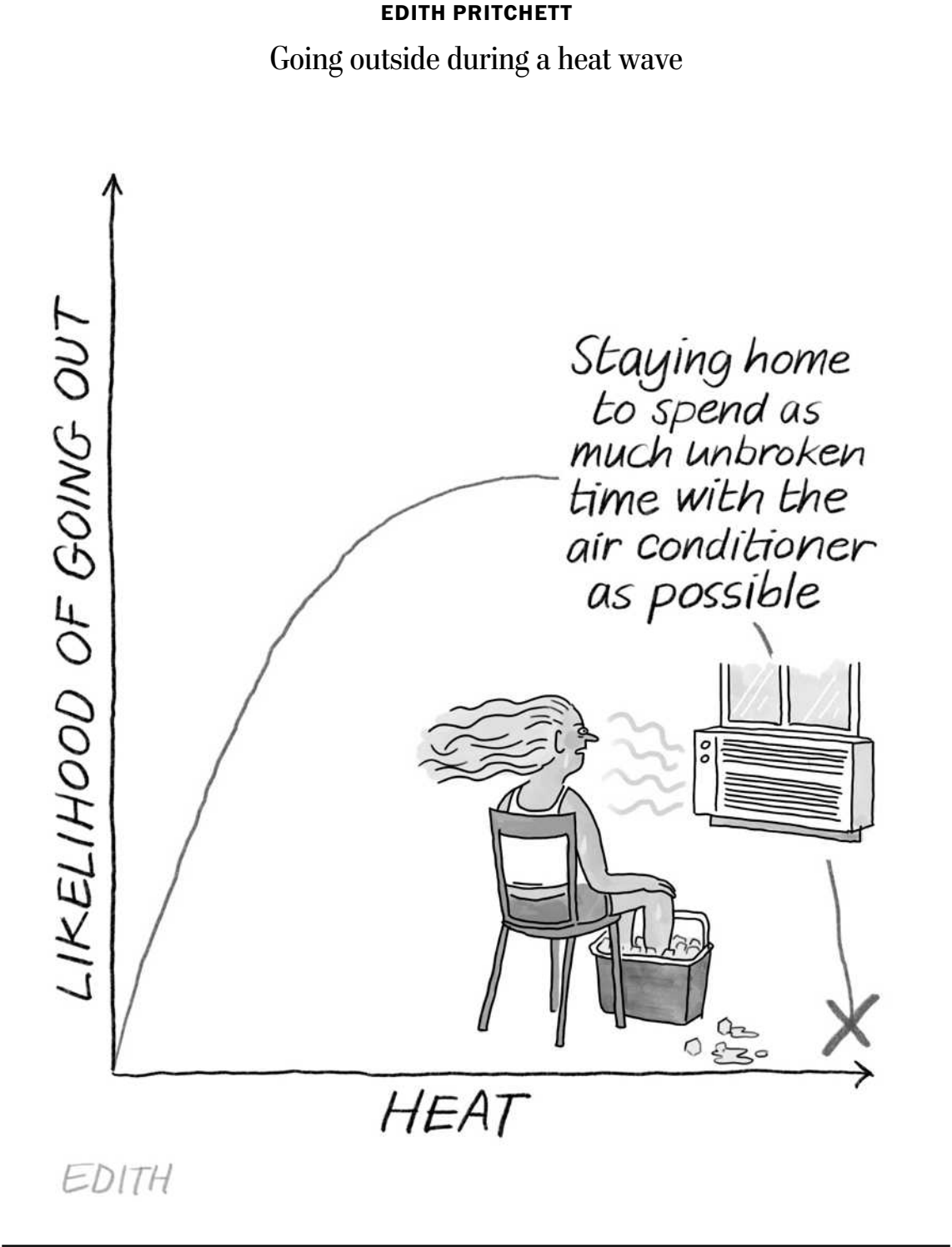
A compact of civility

For those, like myself, whose formative years included the assassinations of the 1960s, the attack on former president Donald Trump is a reminder of how, in an instant, our country and its political system can be shocked and dazed. But in the face of the current rhetoric across the political spectrum, no one should really be surprised when the unbalanced and deranged hear bellicose words as a call to action. That’s why on macro-political levels as well as on micro-personal ones, what is needed now more than ever is a compact of civility. It’s long past time for our political leaders and their speechwriters to avoid hyping rhetoric and embellishing themes that are designed to escalate important and heartfelt differences into hateful and toxic disunity. And, on a personal level, each of us should take responsibility by asking oneself if we are being driven by a desire to incite and inflame when we share news reports, rather than acting with deliberation and a search for truth. Simple steps such as these won’t ensure that civility returns to our political life and personal interactions. But at least it’s a start up that road, long and winding as it might be.

Chuck Cutolo, Westbury, N.Y.
The author worked as legislative director to Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.).

Our beautiful country

We watched the news of the assassination attempt on Donald Trump with shock, sadness and anger. This event echoes the traumas of the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, his brother Robert F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., as well as the attempt on President Ronald Reagan’s life in 1981. Our beautiful country emerged as a model republic and an economic and political power after World War II. During this period, the United States has played a pivotal role in promoting democracy and good governance around the world. At home, our political leaders in the House and Senate dealt with their differences with relative civility and reached a political consensus based on the demands of their constituents and the national interests of the United States



Unfortunately, in the past few years, our great political and democratic system has become stuck in the gridlock of tribal politics. The politics of dissonance and division have adversely affected people’s perceptions toward each other, and those with different opinions and ideologies are demonized. It is time for reconciliation in the United States. Reconciliation is an act of empathy, mercy, truth, compassion, acceptance, forgiveness and justice. The burden is upon our leaders in the House and Senate to acknowledge and accept responsibility for the mistakes of the past and adopt a philosophy of empathy, acceptance and forgiveness under this spirit.

A. Matin Royeen, Chicago

An attack on the republic

I do not like or support Donald Trump. That said, attempting to assassinate the former president was a heinous and horrible act of political violence that should not and cannot be acceptable in America. Coups and assassinations take place in developing and autocratic nations, not in the greatest democracy on the planet. Make no mistake: This attempt on Mr. Trump’s life was a direct threat to our 248-year-old democratic republic and a threat to all political figures in what has become a

battleground in the true sense of the word. Perhaps this brush with death will persuade the former president to back off from his ugliest rhetoric. I pray this event will not be the start of retaliatory attacks of violence on Democratic leaders by anyone who has been itching for an excuse to lash out and attack democracy. Praise to the Secret Service men and women who acted quickly and professionally. Their jobs just became many times more difficult.

Henry A. Lowenstein, Newport, R.I.

A right to speak

Violence of any kind is never acceptable, but political violence is anathema to our nation’s founding ideals. Every American, regardless of political affiliation, but especially politicians, has the right to speak out for or against any issue. Anyone who has lived through the ’60s knows of the trauma associated with assassinations and the long-lasting effects they have on the nation’s psyche. I am diametrically opposed to everything Donald Trump stands for, but I still support his right to say whatever he wishes. My only wish is that he would learn from this life-threatening experience and cut back on his volatile political style.

Skip Strobel, Washington

Fighting disillusionment

Hate has won. The country has lost. People are so angry that some of them are treating violence as a legitimate option. In the 1860s, it was Blue vs. Gray. The country barely survived. Now it is Red vs. Blue. With no middle ground, with no one talking civilly, with only anger to guide how we think and act, is there any future? People are just going to withdraw and give up on this country. “I am tired, and I can’t take it anymore” will be the mantra. Democracy without participation is not democracy. A motivated minority will be in total control, and the majority of people will just put their heads down and try to get by each day. Like a disease that must take its course, we, the majority of Americans, can only hope that the ailment is not fatal.

Michael J. Makara, Mays Landing, N.J.

An awakening

Is there any chance that an assassination attempt on a former president could wake us all up to the desperate need for gun control in this country?

Nora Post, Kingston, N.Y.

An epidemic of violence

Regarding the July 14 editorial, “What do we want to do, America?”: Respectfully, this is a meaningless editorial. This is not a watershed moment. Ask us instead about Sandy Hook. Uvalde. If we’re not willing to do what it takes to protect our children, why would you think we would feel differently when it comes to our politicians? What will it take to turn the tide on violence? All of us indeed. Including politicians who have unleashed or enabled the violent epidemic our country is facing.

Nancy Mueller, Seattle

What about the Secret Service?

The roof where the shooter stationed himself should have been under the direct observation of the Secret Service. At least two or three Secret Service agents should have been on the highest roof in that warehouse area, at which point they would’ve seen the sniper and incapacitated or killed him before he was able to fire. The roof was within 150 yards of the stage upon which Donald Trump was speaking and had an unobstructed line of sight. No one should have been on a roof with a clear view within 1,500 yards. If one cannot secure the area from snipers, there should be bulletproof glass around the stage or podium. This is not rocket science.

Wayne L. Johnson, Alexandria

An unfortunate headline

The July 13 front-page headline “Biden trains fire on Trump” proved an unfortunate choice by The Post’s editors. It is past time to tone down the expressions of violence in our civil discourse, no matter how incidental.

Margaret McKelvey, Arlington

Guest opinion submissions

The Washington Post accepts opinion articles on any topic. We welcome submissions on local, national and international issues. We publish work that varies in length and format, including multimedia. Submit a guest opinion at oped@washpost.com or read our guide to writing an opinion article at wapo.st/guestopinion.

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

OPINION

RUTH MARCUS

In a blink, decades of special counsel rulings are swept aside

The nerve. President Richard M. Nixon's attorney general named a special counsel to investigate White House wrongdoing. So did President Ronald Reagan's attorney general. So did President Donald Trump's.

The Supreme Court blessed the practice when it was challenged during Watergate. Later, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit twice rejected a challenge to the use of special counsels — first during the Iran-contra investigation, second during Robert S. Mueller III's probe of Trump.

Now comes U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon, who on Monday threw out the Mar-a-Lago classified documents case against Trump on the grounds that Jack Smith's appointment as special counsel was unconstitutional.

Is there nothing this judge won't do to help the president who appointed her? It sure looks that way.

Cannon has slow-walked the Trump prosecution since the case landed in her lap more than a year ago. Now she has dismissed it altogether — five months after Trump's lawyers asked her to do so.

This move can be appealed to the 11th Circuit. Smith could try to refile in a different jurisdiction, with a different judge. Attorney General Merrick Garland can assign the investigation to a run-of-the-mill federal prosecutor.

But justice for Trump is once again delayed, certainly until after the election. He is credibly accused of unlawfully retaining classified documents and then



U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon, in an image taken from video in 2020.

obstructing justice as government officials sought to recover them. The likelihood that he will be held to account for this behavior diminishes by the day.

The argument that Smith's appointment was illegal is grounded in the Constitution's appointments clause. The clause provides that "Officers of the United States" must be nominated by the president and confirmed by the Senate, but it also allows Congress to give the "Heads of Departments" — in this case, the attorney general — authority to appoint "inferior Officers," those subject to supervision and removal. The underlying rationale is to protect and reinforce the constitutional separation of powers, ensuring that the exercise of executive authority is subject to congressional approval.

In the classified documents case, Smith

argued that he is subject to Garland's supervision and is therefore an inferior officer, not a "principal" officer subject to Senate confirmation. He cited a suite of legislative provisions that authorize the attorney general to bring in outside lawyers: 28 U.S.C. §533 authorizes the attorney general to "appoint officials ... to detect and prosecute crimes against the United States," while 28 U.S.C. §515 provides that "any attorney specially appointed by the Attorney General under law, may, when specifically directed by the Attorney General, conduct any kind of legal proceeding, civil or criminal ... which United States attorneys are authorized by law to conduct."

Smith pointed, as well, to precedent. The Supreme Court dealt briefly with the issue in 1974 in *U.S. v. Nixon*, the Watergate tapes case, upholding the attorney general's authority under §533 and other laws to delegate authority to the special prosecutor.

In 1987, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit rejected a challenge to the authority of Lawrence E. Walsh, the Iran-contra independent counsel, who had been given a parallel appointment under Justice Department regulations because of constitutional questions about the independent counsel law, which has since expired.

"We have no difficulty concluding that the Attorney General possessed the statutory authority to create the Office of Independent Counsel," the court said.

And in 2019, the D.C. Circuit, citing those cases, threw out a challenge to

Mueller's appointment on the same grounds as those being pressed by Trump's lawyers before Cannon. "Because binding precedent establishes that Congress has 'by law' vested authority in the Attorney General to appoint the Special Counsel as an inferior officer, this court has no need to go further to identify the specific sources of this authority," it said.

Cannon was unimpressed. She said it was a close call about whether a special counsel is an inferior officer or, as Trump claimed, one whose appointment requires Senate confirmation — something Cannon termed "a point worthy of consideration given the virtually unchecked power given to Special Counsel Smith."

But, she said, assuming that Smith is an inferior officer, there was no statutory basis for his appointment, meaning he could not proceed, and the case was finished. But Cannon wasn't. For good measure, she said, the funding for Smith's office also violated the appropriations clause because Congress hadn't specifically authorized payment for special counsels.

To reach this extraordinary conclusion, Cannon had to read the legislation authorizing the attorney general to bring in outside lawyers in the most cramped way possible and dismiss Smith's "strained statutory arguments." She had to dismiss the long-standing practice of naming special counsels as a "spotty historical backdrop."

She also had to dismiss the Supreme Court's decision rejecting Nixon's challenge to the Watergate special prosecutor as mere "dicta," not binding precedent.

And she had to diminish the D.C. Circuit's two rulings to the contrary as "out-of-circuit authority," as if the court with far more experience in matters involving special counsels were not due significant respect. In all, it was 93 pages of bending over backward for Trump.

In this enterprise, she was aided and abetted by Justice Clarence Thomas's gratuitous concurring opinion earlier this month in the Trump immunity case. Thomas had no business raising the issue of whether Smith had been lawfully appointed — it wasn't presented in the immunity case — but, no surprise, Cannon cited his concurrence three times.

Cannon presented her conclusion as a defense of "significant structural safeguards of the constitutional scheme." She quoted Justice Felix Frankfurter in *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, warning ominously that the "accretion of dangerous power does not come in a day."

Dangerous power, really? You would not know from her opinion that the point of the special counsel regulations is to provide some reassurance to the public that political appointees are not directing the outcomes of sensitive cases. The alternative to Smith wasn't dropping the prosecution — it was leaving the politically charged investigation fully under Garland's control. Whatever the legitimate criticisms of the performance of special counsels, there are costs to removing this instrument from the Justice Department's toolbox.

This Cannon isn't just loose. She misfired.

HUGH HEWITT

J.D. Vance brings veteran appeal to a populist campaign

When he chose his 2024 running mate, Donald Trump was surely thinking about veterans.

The "veteran vote" matters enormously in the five key swing states. There are nearly 800,000 veterans in Pennsylvania, a half-million-plus in Michigan and 283,000 in Wisconsin. Arizona has more than 450,000 and Nevada more than 200,000. Add to that tally large numbers of active-duty military in Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia.

Exit polls showed that Trump won 61 percent of the veteran vote in 2016, but only 54 percent in 2020. That seven-point drop mattered in states where he lost by the narrowest of margins: 81,000 votes in the Keystone State; 34,000 votes in the Silver State; 155,000 in Michigan; and only 21,000 in Wisconsin. If he pushes his margin among veterans back up by 7 percent, he wins Wisconsin and Michigan easily, and closes the gap significantly in Pennsylvania as well as the other swing states.

Veterans are a seldom-studied subgroup of politics, and Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio) — whom Trump announced as his vice-presidential pick at the Republican National Convention — speaks to them as an enlisted man, a former Marine Corps grunt who spelled out at length the role of the Corps in making the man in his best-selling memoir, "Hillbilly Elegy."

I interviewed Vance back in August 2016, when "Hillbilly Elegy" was published. "I think in a lot of ways, and for a lot of kids, frankly, the military is that ticket out," he told me. "It shows you a different world. It gives you a set of skills that I simply didn't have when I joined the Marines. ... From there, I went to Ohio State, and then I went to Yale Law School," he continued. "But it really provided a number of opportunities that again, I wouldn't have had if I hadn't had the Marine Corps."

The skills he acquired as a Marine took him to Big Law, then Big Tech, and on to Big Politics and the Ohio Senate contest of 2022. In a debate I moderated between the six candidates for the GOP nomination that year, Vance was cool and unflappable. He is rarely heard raising his voice, but he also never doesn't make his point. He is a relentless advocate for his positions and views. As a warrior who deployed to Iraq in 2005, he saw firsthand what it is to operate as an American in uniform in a war zone, and is leery of committing U.S. troops to battle. But he is also an advocate of peace through strength.

The story I have most often retold from Vance's book and the score of interviews I've done with him over eight years is this one, which he recounted in that first interview with me in 2016.

"What's awesome about the Marine Corps is that you build on experiences and successes," he began. "So they give you one task, and if you succeed at it, they give you another one. And if you fail, they just yell at you until you figure it out. And I think that's critically important. But it also provides, you know, this mentorship in the kind of noncognitive, non-hard skills that are important to life."

He continued: "So I talk in the book about wanting to go and buy a car, getting offered the low, low interest rate by the dealer of 21 percent APR, and telling my gunnery sergeant, 'Hey, I'm going to buy this car, and they offered me an interest rate of 21 percent.' And he said 'Stop being an idiot.' 'Here,' you know, he said to another Marine, 'take this guy to the credit union and get him a better interest rate.' You know, he just saved me from a really stupid decision, but frankly, a decision that I didn't know was stupid until someone told me it was."

That's the sort of story that connects with blue-collar Americans, both the active-duty enlisted military and blue-collar voters who make up a lot of the new GOP.

Trump has often said "I will be your voice" to rural America and the hollowed-out manufacturing heartland. Vance extends and deepens that message to the veteran and military community. Add the Yale law degree and the skill set it signifies to a natural fluency in the language of the working lower class, and Trump has added a tribune of the people to his populist campaign.

Pollsters provide cross-tabs on everything. Watch that "demo" in the weeks ahead. Vance is a superb campaigner and represents, at the age of 39, a turning of the page in American politics.

Ohio is a deep-red state, but the voters for whom Vance has deep appeal live across the states central to Trump's return to the White House. Trump needs to flip back one or all of the old "blue wall bastions" of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. Tapping this young senator as his running mate was a smart move. Vance will provide powerful pull to the already climbing momentum there for Trump.

And, in a debate, he should take Vice President Harris apart — in the language familiar to the Rust Belt-turned-Trump-heartland.



Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), Donald Trump's choice to be his presidential running mate, with his wife, Usha Chilukuri Vance, in Milwaukee on Monday.

GEORGE F. WILL

Trump's pick: A standard-bearer of the MAGA worldview

Gunfire prompted the president to recommend turning down the rheostat on political rhetoric, a welcome thought from someone who in 2012 — before Donald Trump normalized enveloping grotesque lies in scabrous language — told an audience, including many African Americans, that Republicans will "put y'all back in chains." So, perhaps President Biden will end his pattern of wretched excesses, such as:

Calling mild changes to Georgia's voting laws "Jim Crow 2.0" and "voter suppression" (they presaged 2022's high Georgia voter turnout) favored by people "on the side of" secessionists and segregationists. And charging that those who, in supporting his 2020 opponent, threatened "the very foundations of our Republic." And warning that the Jan. 6 rabble that delayed a congressional process for a few hours held "a dagger at the throat of our democracy." And on and on. Untalented speechwriters produce such rubbish; unworthy politicians proclaim it.

By his rhetorical and policy extravagances, Biden has made himself into a president against whom the nation recoils as strongly as it does against his similarly reckless predecessor — who, unless the Democratic Party acts, is Biden's likely successor. Biden's party should, and might yet, retire him. Nothing less would demonstrate that Democrats are experiencing episodes of sincerity when they warn that another Trump presidency would be even more dangerous than embarrassing.

The key danger is Trump's advertised ambition to wield unilateral, unconstrained executive authority even more aggressively than his successor has done. (See Biden's student loan forgiveness, immigration law changes, ban-by-increments of vehicles with internal combustion engines, and on and on.) If voters give Trump a chance to intensify the bipartisan drive for

presidential grandiosity, the principal defender of the Constitution's architecture — the separation of powers — will be the federal judiciary.

And especially the Supreme Court, which progressives, in agitation of astonishing shortsightedness, have been trying to delegitimize with, for example, solemn hand-wringing about a justice's spouse doing something foolish with a flag. The judiciary is the "least dangerous" branch (Alexander Hamilton, *Federalist* 78) because, having neither the power of the sword nor the purse, its strength is in the deference

Trump reportedly thinks the Ohio senator's beard makes him look like 'a young Abraham Lincoln.'

produced by the prestige that comes from public confidence that it reasons judicially rather than politically.

Progressives are rallying around Biden because they probably hope he will remain pliable because of their rallying. And they are railing against the court as a political rather than judicial institution. Trying to nominate an anemic candidate while weakening the court is a recipe for producing a rampant Trump presidency.

Signaling his intention to double down on expanding the MAGA movement, Trump has chosen a running mate who has an aptitude for conversions, and a convert's pugnacity. J.D. Vance voiced contempt for Trump until a road-to-Damascus moment, perhaps related to his ambition to become a Trump-blessed Senate candidate. Five years ago, he converted to

Catholicism. If suburban women blanch because he once defended an abortion ban without exceptions for rape or incest (he said the question "is whether a child should be allowed to live even though the circumstances of that child's birth are somehow inconvenient or a problem to the society"), he can explain that he has had another conversion.

Vance embodies the serrated edge of MAGA politics. He checks many boxes of fealty, from praising a favorite of "national conservatives," Hungary's autocrat, Viktor Orban, to what Vance delicately calls "the post-2020 thing": He says there should have been "alternative slates of electors" to force a Jan. 6 debate on whether the election was stolen. This counts as MAGA moderation.

Trump reportedly thinks the Ohio senator's beard makes him look like "a young Abraham Lincoln." (Lincoln grew his beard after the 1860 election, at age 51.) It is unlikely that Vance, a rhetorical brawler in the running mate tradition of Richard M. Nixon in 1960 and Spiro Agnew in 1968, has Lincoln's ameliorative instincts. ("We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies"; "With malice toward none ...")

Last Saturday's gunfire in Pennsylvania unleashed an epidemic of sociology in the service of the modern instinct to identify social causes for disturbing individual acts. Tentativeness, although unfashionable, is, however, advisable when ascribing a particular act to promptings from the social atmosphere. Still, imagine a happier, safer nation if cable news and social media ax-grinding disappeared for even just a month.

"And silence, like a poultice, comes to heal the blows of sound." So said Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., who heard the sound of gunfire — before, during and after Antietam — in times darker than these.



ILLUSTRATION BY EMILY SABENS/THE WASHINGTON POST; GAYLE LAIRD; ISTOCK

In biodiversity crisis, a question of whether to replace animals that go extinct

BUTTERFLY FROM A1

which 1 million species may go extinct globally, humanity will increasingly face fraught questions: To restore ecosystems, should society replace animals that disappear? If so, what creatures should serve as surrogates for extinct ones? And could this become a roundabout way of bringing species back from extinction?

The butterfly experiment taking flight now in California may help answer some of those questions — even if not everyone agrees that trying to replace an extinct butterfly with another one is the best idea.

‘X’ is for extinction

Once found in the sand dunes that became San Francisco, the Xerces blue was a pollinator and food source — and may have even had a symbiotic relationship with the area’s ants.

Caterpillars of many related species provide ants with a sweet substance in exchange for guarding the soft-bodied larvae from predators. Some European species go as far as entering the ants’ nest and feeding on their young, which the ants tolerate for the sweet reward.

It’s a “baroque” relationship, butterfly researcher Robert Michael Pyle said. “It’s so complex it’s hard to even conceive of the ramifications.”

Development in the fast-growing city gobbled the Xerces’ habitat, driving it to oblivion and rendering it the first butterfly known to go extinct in North America because of human activity. The last was seen in the 1940s.

Three decades later, Pyle was on a train in England when, like a bolt from the blue, it occurred to him.

He had just listened to a lecture from a British entomologist about the decline of a butterfly species in the United Kingdom. The lecturer had suggested making that European species a symbol for British butterfly conservation.

Pyle, an American, thought of the Xerces blue. “We should make that our symbol for butterfly conservation in the U.S.,” Pyle said. The fact that the butterfly’s name began with an “X,” evoking “extinction,” didn’t hurt.

He went on to found the nonprofit Xerces Society for Invertebrate Conservation, turning the Xerces blue into a symbol for not just threatened butterflies, but all sorts of imperiled insects.

Something old, something new

Today, much of the Xerces blue’s old sandy haunts are bustling San Francisco neighborhoods. But an old U.S. Army post called the Presidio is now a national park site where managers have restored some of the lost dunes.

The Presidio Trust, a federal agency that manages the park, has repopulated the coastal landscape with turtles, newts and damsel-



PHOTOS BY GAYLE LAIRD

Researchers place silvery blue butterflies, a close relative to the Xerces blue, under netting to prevent them from flying away.

flies that once lived there. “We’ve had some successes with this,” Presidio Trust ecologist Lew Stringer said.

To find a Xerces stand-in, Kapan and his colleagues plucked DNA from the legs of Xerces specimens kept at the California Academy of Sciences and analyzed their genomes. Their analysis revealed that a relatively common

butterfly called the silvery blue is a close relative.

So the team searched for silvery blues fluttering in habitats similar to the Xerces’ old foggy and sandy haunts in San Francisco. They found a match about 100 miles south in Monterey County. Both butterflies relied on the same plant, called deerweed, for laying eggs.

“It was a really good ecological match,” said Stu Weiss, a conservation ecologist who was a consultant on the project. “Probably the single most important thing for a butterfly reintroduction is to get the closest ecological match that you can.”

In April and May, researchers gently tucked some of the butterflies into coolers and fed them

fruit-punch-flavored Gatorade on the ride to the city for release.

“It was really touching,” said Ryan Phelan, executive director of Revive & Restore, a nonprofit that partnered on the project. Holding a butterfly in the palm of her hand and placing it on a plant “felt like a religious offering.”

Something borrowed, something blue

The butterfly introduction required several organizations working together for years. One that decided not to partner on the project was the Xerces Society itself.

While the group that bears the butterfly’s name did not oppose the project, “we do not see it as a priority when there is so little funding for insect conservation,” said Scott Black, its executive director.

“We should invest limited funding in the protection of and habitat restoration for the butterfly species that are currently facing extinction rather than introducing a common species into new areas,” Black added.

Proponents say the bill for the butterfly release wasn’t high — over \$70,000 for genome sequencing, ecological modeling and other work, according to Kapan. For Pyle, the Xerces Society founder, it feels like a missed opportunity. “I thought they were maybe missing out on a good thing,” he said of the group.

For years, Pyle backed the idea

of introducing some near relative of the Xerces. Perhaps if scientists transported a genetically similar insect from a nearby location, natural selection in the new environment would nudge the introduced butterflies to be even more Xerces-like.

As he wrote in a 2000 essay, “extinction may not always have to be forever.”

Now scientists have the genetic tools to test how well the silvery blues adapt. “We might set it back on a trajectory that by natural selection would then enable it to evolve toward something that resembled the Xerces blue,” Stringer said.

Weiss wonders how the surrogates will adapt to San Francisco’s fog. “That’s the really exciting part of the genetics — how natural selection hones the performance of organisms,” Weiss said. But other features, like the distinct spot pattern on the underside of Xerces’ wings, may be lost for good. “I’m not so sure about that” returning, he said.

‘Reknit the web of life’

The silvery blue introduction is similar to past conservation efforts, according to Ben Novak, Revive & Restore’s lead scientist. The group is involved in even more ambitious work using genetic advances to bring back the passenger pigeon and other extinct animals.

Wolves roaming Yellowstone today were originally from Canada, he noted. Peregrine falcons soaring over East Coast cities descend from transplants brought from elsewhere.

“Whether or not there’s any butterflies seen next year will be the real key thing,” he said. “Butterfly reintroductions are hard.”

For now, scientists in San Francisco are waiting to see what happens next.

In late May, Kapan was thrilled to spot a hairy caterpillar a quarter of an inch long nestled next to a flower on a plant where he had previously seen minuscule butterfly eggs — “so tiny that they are essentially smaller than a sesame seed.” But a later analysis of pictures of the caterpillar revealed it was not a silvery blue, but another butterfly species.

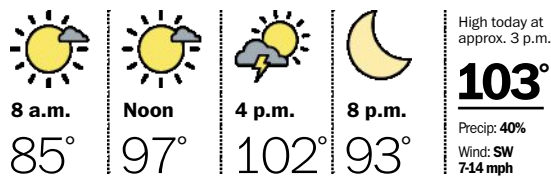
Kapan isn’t deterred. The researchers will look next spring to see if “a self-sustaining, fully established population” of silvery blues is beginning to take flight, he said.

This work isn’t “a Jurassic Park-style de-extinction project,” Kapan said. But for him, it is necessary for reviving lost ecosystems.

“There’s the direct need in many cases to do something similar for hundreds of species to reknit the web of life.”

This article is part of Animalia, a column exploring the strange and fascinating world of animals and the ways in which we appreciate, imperil and depend on them.

Specimens of the extinct Xerces blue butterfly, some dating back more than a century, are housed in the California Academy of Sciences’s collections.



INSPIRED LIFE

Thomas Dambo creates giant trolls out of trash and hides them in wooded areas for people to find. **B3**



OBITUARIES

Meditative poet Stanley Moss, 99, financed his literary career by working as an art dealer. **B4**



OBITUARIES

Eddie Spence, the cake icing artist to the British royals over seven decades, was 91. **B4**

Charter school in D.C. trying new tactic

Families will be paid to help ease poverty stress; aim is reducing truancy

BY LAUREN LUMPKIN

A D.C. charter school will give 15 of its families \$2,400 during the next school year, part of a pilot to see whether no-strings-attached payments can help mitigate the effects of poverty, reduce truancy and keep teens out of crime.

The program is being launched this summer at the Social Justice School and administered by anti-poverty organization Mother's Outreach Network, which will also offer families free legal education services. It marks an expansion of similar programs in the city aimed at fighting poverty — including another Mother's Outreach Network-funded effort to give money to low-income Black mothers accused of child neglect and a D.C.-led initiative that paid more than \$10,000 to mothers living in poverty.

This latest iteration will be the first offered by a D.C. school, according to Myron Long, founding executive director of the Social Justice School in Northeast Washington, a campus of about 120 fifth through eighth graders that opened in 2020. It's also unique in that kids will get their own payments.

"Poverty impacts children in different ways than it impacts adults," Long said, adding that his students advocated for the guaranteed income program last year. "If we really want to get serious about interrupting these notions around poverty in D.C., we have to be able to support kids and families."

Families who participate in the pilot, called "Guaranteed, Together," will receive \$800 each month for three months, paid in weekly installments. Children — up to two in a family — will get \$25 each every week, something Long hopes will deter youth from bad behavior. "They're taking things because they don't have things," he said. "I think having a few extra dollars would allow them to support their families, but also support themselves."

The participants will get their first payments in late July, said Melody Webb, executive director and founder of the Mother's Outreach Network. The 15 families selected had to meet certain requirements, including receiving

SEE INCOME ON B2



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Hydrate. Take breaks. Use sunscreen. Wear a hat.

Officials urge residents to take precautions as record-setting temperatures sweep D.C. area

BY KYLE SWENSON, CLARENCE WILLIAMS AND ANTONIO OLIVO

As the Washington region sweats through another week of scorching temperatures — one of the hottest runs of days on record — local governments are warning residents to remain indoors, keep blinds drawn against the sun, take cold showers or baths, and drink water.

The D.C. area on Monday hit record temperatures for the second day in a row, with another high of 101. The weather forced officials to shutter outdoor day camps and sporting events and prompted Prince George's County to push trash pickup an hour earlier through September.

The Washington Post's Capital Weather Gang forecasts the earlier half of this week is expected to reach the upper 90s and 100s through Wednesday. Elected leaders from across the region are warning residents to be careful.

"Reminder: we are in an Extended Heat Emergency through Wednesday, July 17," D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) posted on X on Monday morning. "Please stay cool and check on seniors and neighbors."

The District has opened up nearly 120 cooling stations across the city for residents at community pools, community centers, and shelters for anyone in need of relief as the city braces for another week of triple-digit weather.

Luminis Health Anne Arundel Medical Center in Annapolis and the company's Doctors Community Medical Center have seen increased numbers of patients reporting to emergency rooms with symptoms of heat exhaustion, including employees who work outdoors, according to Sunil Madan, chief medical officer at the Lanham site.

Physical conditions can deteriorate over hours if people don't take the proper precautions to replenish fluids and to rest frequently, in cool environments if possible, Madan said.

More severe heat illnesses can result in organ failure, especially for people who suffer from co-morbidity conditions, Madan said.

SEE HEAT ON B2

TOP: The Capitol dome bakes in the heat of a 101-degree day. LEFT: Luis Arraez hydrates at a work site in Clarksburg, Md., on Monday. He says he drinks plenty of water on hot days.

RETROPOLIS

Assassination attempts pervade American history

BY MICHAEL E. RUANE AND MAHAM JAVAID

On March 30, 1981, Ronald Reagan was walking out of the Washington Hilton Hotel where he had just addressed labor leaders when the mentally ill son of a wealthy Texas energy executive stepped from the crowd and emptied a six shot revolver at him.

The gunman, John W. Hinckley Jr., 25, hoped to impress then-child actress Jodie Foster, with whom he was obsessed. His bullets struck three people, and a ricochet hit Reagan, as police and Secret Service agents piled on Hinckley in a melee on the pavement.

Reagan was rushed to the hospital and survived.

Before Saturday's wounding of former president and current Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump, Reagan was the latest among top politicians and cultural figures who have been victims of a strain of violence rooted in American discourse go-



MIKE EVENS/CONSOLIDATED NEWS PICTURES/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Police and Secret Service agents react after John Hinckley Jr. shot President Ronald Reagan on March 30, 1981, in Washington.

ing back more than 150 years.

There have been at least 15 direct assaults on U.S. presidents, presidents-elect and presidential candidates alone; five of them resulted in deaths, according to the Congressional Research Service.

The first attempted presidential assassination, according to the U.S. Senate history office, came on Jan. 30, 1835.

A troubled, unemployed house painter named Richard Lawrence armed himself that day with two

pistols and hid behind a pillar in the U.S. Capitol to ambush President Andrew Jackson.

Jackson, 67, was attending a funeral in the Capitol, and as he approached, Lawrence pointed a single-shot derringer at the president's heart and pulled the trigger. The gun went off with a bang and a cloud of smoke but had misfired.

Jackson lunged at Lawrence with his cane. Lawrence pulled his second pistol and squeezed the trigger. But that misfired, too. Bystanders pounced on Lawrence, who was later judged insane, and rushed Jackson away.

There would be more attempts on the lives of U.S. presidents, and four presidential assassinations — Abraham Lincoln in 1865, James Garfield in 1881, William McKinley in 1901 and John F. Kennedy in 1963.

In 1975, President Gerald Ford survived two assassination attempts in a month.

In each case, the violence shook

SEE RETROPOLIS ON B3

Guns are the issue. When will we learn this lesson?



Petula Dvorak

"Well I don't know what is wrong with this world, I wanna see some love. Everybody's fightin', here and there, I wanna see

some love.

Can't we get along? All day long, Think it's time we do."

This is the message of unity we're hearing across the nation now, after a shocking weekend of violence at a Trump rally.

But the author of these words may surprise you.

It's from a song written by John Hinckley Jr., the man who shot President Ronald Reagan 43 years ago in D.C.

And his actions and words show us the problem isn't about politics. It's guns.

Leaders across the nation are decrying the shooting of former president Donald Trump at a

weekend rally as "political violence."

"Violence has no place in our politics," Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, (R-Ky.), said on X.

"Political violence has no place in our country," said Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) in a statement.

But it also has no place in our classrooms, our streets, our theaters, airports, concerts, offices, grocery stores and houses of worship.

The politics aren't the story here, as they weren't when Hinckley pulled the trigger.

He's important to remember — and listen to — at this moment, as the nation grasps for a motive in the shooting that killed one of the rallygoers and injured former president Donald Trump.

We're riveted, searching for anything about Thomas Matthew Crooks, the 20-year-old killed by the Secret Service moments after

SEE DVORAK ON B3

Health officials urge residents to stay hydrated, keep cool amid record heat

HEAT FROM B1

“Hydrate. Take breaks. Wear sunscreen. Wear a hat,” Madan said. “The information is out there, the warnings. But I do think the public needs to be more aware and heed. It’s a serious thing.”

D.C. Fire and EMS Captain Renaldo Bell said medics have responded to treat patients dealing with cramping, heat exhaustion and, in rare cases, heat stroke. Many calls result from people who get overheated while exercising in extreme heat and children who play in pools and lie out in the sun but fail to continually hydrate.

“The pool will keep you cool, but you’re actually sweating with the energy and playing and you’re losing a lot of sodium and electrolytes,” Bell said.

The city’s pools and cooling centers help lessen the number and severity of calls, Bell said, but responders still have concerns about elderly residents who may not venture outside.

“A lot of the time the elderly don’t like a lot of air, and then it gets hotter than they expect,” Bell said. “At this point you’re dealing with the heat stroke type of environments.”

Mild heat-related symptoms include cramping from a lack of replenishment of fluids. But as conditions worsen, heat exhaust-



ALLISON ROBERT/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Grass dries up on a record-setting 101-degree day in D.C. RIGHT: Construction workers don protective clothing and drink Gatorade while smoothing concrete in Clarksburg.



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

hour earlier due to conditions outside. Outdoor recreational programs in Prince George’s have been canceled for Monday.

Fairfax County in Virginia has also opened cooling stations. The county school district announced all activities such as team practices and other outdoor extracurriculars have been canceled.

As of Monday afternoon, the

county had not closed any camps or parks. “We continue to encourage all parents — particularly those parents of participants in outdoor camps — to make sure their child comes prepared with appropriate clothing, water bottle and sun protection,” said county spokesperson Ben Boxer.

The city of Alexandria suspended all outdoor programming until 8 p.m. Monday. This

included organized sports and camps, according to Ebony Fleming, the chief spokesperson. The parks were still open.

Loudoun County has also not yet closed parks or community facilities, according to Kraig Troxell, a spokesperson for the Department of Parks, Recreation and Community Services. Cooling centers are open for residents.

D.C. charter school looks to augment family incomes, keep students on track

INCOME FROM B1

ing public assistance and being at risk of a referral to the city’s Child and Family Services Agency, which is responsible for investigating cases of child neglect.

More than 8,000 students in D.C. traditional public and charter schools were referred to the agency for educational neglect during the 2022-23 school year, according to data from the traditional public school system and charter school board. A referral occurs after a child between the ages of 5 and 13 accumulates 10 unexcused ab-

sences at school.

But that represented a portion of students who should have been given referrals — in D.C. Public Schools, 10 percent of eligible students were sent to the agency, according to the district. The discrepancy has raised concerns among lawmakers over whether children who needed services were getting them.

At the same time, however, some advocates criticized that system as ineffective. When a student is referred to child services, an investigator is sent to find signs of abuse or neglect. If the agency determines a child is a victim of neglect, officials can

take action ranging from offering child-care resources to removing children from their homes.

“We think that the issues are rooted in poverty,” Webb said, adding that parents and teens need economic support — not punishment. The “system currently blames parents who are already struggling to meet the basic economic needs of their family.”

The experiment comes as leaders in D.C. attempt to take a less punitive approach to truancy. The D.C. Council on Tuesday passed emergency legislation that will pilot a measure to send

truant teens to social services — such as intensive case management or court diversion programs — instead of juvenile court.

Long said that parents want their children to be in school, but may encounter barriers that can make consistent attendance challenging.

Some parents are hesitant to put their children on the Metro — sometimes the site of harassment and violence for kids, he said. Other teens are too afraid to walk through their own neighborhoods.

“We get a ton of requests from families to get Ubers,” Long said,

something he obliges. “They’re asking for additional support, which is economic.”

Cities across the country have embraced the idea of giving people money to spend without restrictions.

Researchers from the University of Pennsylvania found that a no-strings-attached cash program in St. Paul, Minn., helped participants improve their lives and find better jobs.

But there has also been criticism — including from the conservative American Enterprise Institute, which said these programs could disincentive people from working and from Iowa

Republicans, who moved to ban local governments from using them.

In D.C., Webb and Long hope the program with Social Justice School families, along with others like it, will help build a case for their expansion.

The goal is to see whether families participate more at school when their basic needs — like affording transportation, groceries or medical care — are met.

“We have families who are engaged. We want to get them more engaged,” Long said. “This is an opportunity to remove that barrier.”

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PETULA DVORAK

Regardless of where shootings happen in the U.S., need for gun control is clear

DVORAK FROM B1

they said he fired six rounds into the crowd at Trump's Saturday rally in Pennsylvania, grazing Trump, injuring another person and killing a firefighter there with his family.

He's a registered Republican! Wait, he donated \$15 to a liberal PAC! What? He had no criminal record? What are his politics? Where's the manifesto?

In 1981, when Hinckley shot Reagan, his press secretary Jim Brady and two members of the presidential detail, we weren't so used to this now-familiar pattern of figuring out a shooter.

"Prosecutors did not suggest a motive for the shootings," the Associated Press wrote on the day Hinckley was arraigned in D.C.

Hinckley wasn't rabidly anti-Reagan, this wasn't about GOP politics.

The previous year, he was arrested with three guns in his suitcase in Nashville and investigators believe he was following former president Jimmy Carter.

Turns out his motive had



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

FROM LEFT: John Hinckley Jr., who attempted to assassinate President Ronald Reagan in 1981, in 2022. Secret Service agent Timothy J. McCarthy, policeman Thomas Delahanty and White House press secretary James Brady lie wounded outside the Hilton Washington in '81.

nothing to do with Reaganomics, the Second Amendment or the GOP. Hinckley was obsessed with actress Jodie Foster and wanted to impress her by mimicking a character in one of her films, "Taxi Driver."

How could a nation make sense of that?

It was Vernon Jordan who pinpointed the problem right away — guns.

Jordan, who was then the president of the National Urban League, had been shot in the back the year before Hinckley's shooting.

He knew it was time to call out America's gun problem.

"This is a good opportunity to do it," he said in a news conference three days after the shooting. "The country is outraged at the shooting of the



RON EDMONDS/AP

president and what's happening on the streets of America."

He worried America wouldn't move to control the Saturday night special, the cheap handguns like the .22 revolver Hinckley bought for \$47 from Rocky's Pawn Shop in Dallas and fired in D.C. These were the main drivers of American gun violence at the time.

Around 53 percent of American

households had guns at the time, according to an analysis by the Violence Policy Center.

But we didn't have such a powerful, political gun culture.

"The climate of the country right now is not good," Hinckley told ABC News soon after his release from court oversight in 2022. "It's not good to have so many guns."

Will this weekend's shooting

American history is checkered with assassination attempts on presidents

RETROPOLIS FROM B1

the country as Americans struggled to make sense of what had occurred.

On Sept. 5, 1975, Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme, a member of the Charles Manson cult, tried to shoot Ford outside the California Capitol in Sacramento. She was about an arms length away. But her gun had no bullet in its chamber when she pulled the trigger.

On Sept. 22, 1975, Sara Jane Moore, a self-described radical, fired a gun at Ford outside the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco, but missed.

On Nov. 1, 1950, two Puerto Rican nationalists attempted to assassinate President Harry S. Truman at Blair House, where the president was staying in D.C. One of the gunmen was killed, along with a White House policeman. Truman, who remained inside, was unharmed.

On Feb. 15, 1933, an assassin nearly killed President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt at a rally in Miami. An unemployed bricklayer, Giuseppe Zangara, who said he



KEYSTONE-FRANCE/GAMMA-KEYSTONE VIA GETTY IMAGES

Jacqueline Kennedy is helped as she exits the convertible shortly after President John F. Kennedy was shot on Nov. 22, 1963; Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme, a member of the Manson Family, was charged with the attempted assassination of President Gerald Ford in 1975.

hated officials and rich people, fired five times. Roosevelt was unharmed, but the bullets wounded four people and killed Chicago's mayor, Anton Cermak.

Oct. 14, 1912, former president Theodore Roosevelt was campaigning in Milwaukee for a non-consecutive third term in office when he was shot by a mentally ill

bar owner from New York City named John Schrank as Roosevelt emerged from a hotel.

But the bullet was slowed by a thick copy of a speech he was planning to give and an eyeglass case Roosevelt had in a pocket. Roosevelt was staggered but went on to deliver the speech that night. The bullet stayed in his



UPI/BETTMANN ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

body for the rest of his life. Schrank died in a mental institution in 1943.

On April 4, 1968, civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., was assassinated in Memphis by an escaped convict James Earl Ray.

Two months later, on June 5, presidential candidate and U.S. Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was slain

in Los Angeles.

Four years after his older brother, President John F. Kennedy, was killed in Dallas by Lee Harvey Oswald, Robert Kennedy was shot in a hotel in Los Angeles while campaigning for office.

Robert Kennedy was shot in the head by a Christian Palestinian, Sirhan Sirhan, as Kennedy walked

near a kitchen in the hotel where he had spoken. Sirhan was angry over Kennedy's support for Israel.

Sirhan was sentenced to death, but the sentence was later changed to life in prison. Last year, his latest appeal for parole was denied.

Kennedy's son, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., is running for president as an independent against Trump and President Biden and has said he previously requested and was denied Secret Service protection.

The chaos that unfolded after Trump was attacked Saturday was reminiscent of the shooting of George C. Wallace, a presidential candidate and the segregationist governor of Alabama in May 1972.

Wallace was making campaign promises to a crowd of roughly 1,000 people at the Laurel Shopping Center, northeast of D.C., when he was shot. The assailant, Arthur Herman Bremer, a 21-year-old from Milwaukee, was said to be working alone.

Wallace was partially paralyzed for the rest of his life. Bremer served 35 years in prison and was released in 2007.

INSPIRED LIFE

Over the river and through the woods, from a trash heap these trolls go

BY CATHY FREE

Thomas Dambo was rummaging through a city dump in Minnesota when he stumbled on perfection: large yellow plastic bins that had been tossed by a tool manufacturing company.

"They were perfect for the rabbit," said Dambo, a Danish artist, who reached out to the company to request the rest of their discarded bins.

Dambo gathered the trash and hauled in about 25 tons of scrap wood, then brought together 300 volunteers in Detroit Lakes, Minn., to make gargantuan outdoor public art.

Working together, they built five enormous trolls and a looming golden rabbit that was accented with salvaged wiper-blade whisks and motorcycle helmets for eyes. The supersize artworks — ranging in height from 16 to 42 feet — were then hidden in forested parks around the city.

"My ultimate goal is to have trolls surprising people in every state," said Dambo, who has made a career out of building the mythical giants. He has placed 139 outsize trash trolls in 19 states across the U.S., from Washington to Maine, as well as in 20 countries.

He used five tons of scrap wood to build each troll in Minnesota, and said he is eyeing another 12 million tons of recyclable scrap wood across the country.

"That's enough material to build two and a half million trolls," he said. "I'd love to show people how much beauty we can create from all that trash."

In Detroit Lakes, a troll named Alexa holds a large wooden spoon

over a recipe book and a cauldron, while a troll called Ronny Funny Face pokes his tongue out at anyone who stumbles across him in the woods. The tallest troll, Long Leif, towers 42 feet above the grass.

The creations have been drawing visitors from around the country since the exhibit opened June 10, said Amy Stearns, executive director of Project 412, a nonprofit community arts support group named after the 412 lakes that surround Detroit Lakes.

Volunteers also helped Dambo build 800 birdhouses to put around the city, she said.

"Our part of northwest Minnesota gets overlooked a lot," said Stearns, noting that Detroit Lakes is about 3½ hours from Minneapolis. KSTP News recently reported on the massive art installations.

Project 412 used donations to hire Dambo and his crew after Stearns and others at the nonprofit learned about a troll the team had constructed in 2018 in Breckenridge, Colo.

Most of Dambo's trolls are permanent fixtures, although some travel in temporary exhibits, such as the "Save the Humans" trolls that were on display at the Philadelphia Zoo earlier this year with a message about caring for the environment.

Dambo's troll project in Detroit Lakes is his largest so far, he said.

Dambo, 44, is a former rap musician and graffiti artist who pivoted to monster-size art in 2014. He said he'd built 250 birdhouses from scrap wood and put them all over Denmark, and he wondered if there was another way to use up trash and tell a story.



THOMAS DAMBO ART

Thomas Dambo hides his recycled art in the woods for people to find. This one, Jacob, is in Minnesota.

"My mother used to sing me a song about trolls, and there was a cassette tape we'd always rent at the library that told the legends of trolls in Denmark," Dambo said. "Trolls play a big part in Scandinavian folklore."

"I'd been wanting to make some big sculptures, and trolls seemed like the answer," he said. "They came from my childhood, my part of the world."

He debuted his first two trolls, Mr. Limbo and Mrs. Limbo, at a Danish music festival, and they were such a big hit that he continued. In 2016, he built Six Forget-

ten Giants around Copenhagen, followed by Troll Hunt in Chicago and the 7 Trolls and the Magical Tower in Belgium.

In 2021, Dambo and his wife, Alexa Piekarski, bought a farm near Copenhagen and set up a studio to plan and design projects.

Dambo said he and a crew of 26 now build heads for the trolls in the workshop, then ship them to be assembled with the rest of the sculptures on-site.

"We're working on 12 [trolls] in the studio right now, and it takes about 750 hours to complete each one from beginning to end," he

said.

Dambo said he consults with the cities and organizations that hire him to find the best public locations where he can hide the trolls and elevate the surprise.

"It's like hiding a giant in a haystack," he said. "It seems special when you find something that big, and it's also silly to hide something that big. I love the idea of people just stumbling upon it."

Dambo posts photos of his creations on Instagram and Facebook, where he has more than 300,000 followers. He said he always incorporates stories and legends

into each of his projects because he wants people to take away a message about caring for the Earth.

"My trolls are the voices of nature and the animals," Dambo said. "In Detroit Lakes, the story is about a golden rabbit that comes into the city and casts a spell on humans, so they think they have to work all the time to get twice as much money to be twice as happy."

Visitors begin their search for the golden rabbit in Detroit Lakes City Park at the Alexa troll named after Dambo's wife.

"They can only find the golden rabbit if they solve the riddles provided by the trolls," Dambo said.

He left clues in a book next to Alexa, and placed necklaces around each troll's neck with further clues, which ultimately leads participants to the rabbit, he said.

"Collect this information and you can solve the riddle," Dambo said, adding that it would probably take about 10 to 12 hours to visit all of the Detroit Lakes trolls in a single day.

People who are limited on time and don't want to go through each step of solving the riddle can still see the five trolls by driving or hiking to them individually using directions provided by Project 412, he said.

He said he takes pride in knowing that his trolls are bringing smiles while also making use of throwaway materials from the local landfill.

"Inside your trash can is the possibility to change the world if you apply some creativity and some love," Dambo said. "All trash is treasure."



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OBITUARIES

STANLEY MOSS, 99

Meditative poet financed his literary career by working as an art dealer

BY HARRISON SMITH

Stanley Moss, a poet and art dealer known for his meditative verses on friendship, God, evil, animals, his Jewish heritage and the incessant march of time, died July 5 at a rehabilitation and nursing center in New City, N.Y. He was 99.

His death was confirmed by poet Greg Miller, one of his literary executors. Mr. Moss suffered a “cardiac event” in recent months, he said, and increasingly had trouble breathing.

Across more than a dozen books of poetry, Mr. Moss turned moments of autobiography into reflections on love, loss and suffering, writing rangy free-verse poems that won the admiration of peers including W.S. Merwin, Stanley Kunitz and Gerald Stern.

He found a home for his pieces in the New Yorker, the New York Times and Britain’s Times Literary Supplement, although wider fame and major literary prizes eluded him. His friend John Ashbery, praising Mr. Moss’s “highly charged, stinging beautiful lyrics,” once hailed him as “American poetry’s best-kept secret.”

Mr. Moss collected material wherever he went, writing poems about his travels to France, Italy, China and Israel; his homes in the Bronx and in Clinton Corners, N.Y., where he cared for a trio of beloved donkeys; and his friendships with artists and writers, whom he memorialized in poems such as “How I Got Ted Roethke’s Raccoon-Skin Coat.”

Many of his poems were intensely personal, and could be mischievously self-deprecating or painfully self-lacerating. “I have protected the flame of a match/ I lit and then discarded/ more than I cared for you,” he wrote at the start of “Lost Daughter,” about a child he may have fathered long ago. Others were bawdy and irreverent (“I’m a psalmist with a Miss-directed penis,” he declared) or explored his skeptical views on God, whom he treated “like a nettle/ on my trouser cuff.”

“Moss may or may not be accurately termed a religious poet: if he’s a religious poet, he’s one of the too-few irreligious kind, firmly of this world in his vivid pleasures and sorrows, joyfully harrying God from myth to unsatisfac-

tory myth, denomination to denomination, fascinated by the whole subject of deity, but hardly expecting a catch or kill,” British poet Carol Rumens wrote in the Guardian in 2015.

Although he wrote poems ever since he was a child, Mr. Moss was in his early 40s by the time he published his debut collection, “The Wrong Angel,” in 1966. Eleven years later, he founded a small publishing house, Sheep Meadow Press, putting out books by American poets including Kunitz, Emily Fragos and Hayden Carruth, as well as translated work by Paul Celan, Federico García Lorca, Fernando Pessoa, Yehuda Amichai and Hans Magnus Enzensberger.

“Being involved with writers of different cultural backgrounds, nationalities, invigorated him,” said Miller, who worked with Mr. Moss as an editor at the press. “He often talked about poetry as, he hoped, making a small difference in the world. Making people more free, a little less cruel. It was a kind of act of faith.”

Mr. Moss financed his literary career by working as an art dealer, placing paintings by Spanish and Italian old masters at the Louvre, the Prado, the Getty and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

A multilingual bon vivant who spoke Spanish, Italian and some French, he made his name in the art world after befriending the heirs of Alessandro Contini Bonacossi, an Italian count who died in 1955 and left behind a gallery’s worth of great works, including paintings by Goya and Piero della Francesca. Before long, Mr. Moss was placing those pieces in major museums, prompting New York Times art critic John Russell to describe him in 1978 as “an important factor — an ‘eminence grise,’ in the words of one good judge — in the international Old Masters market.”

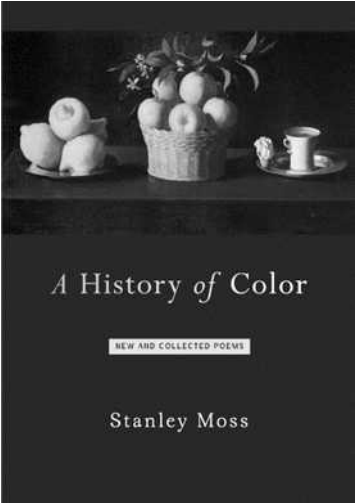
As Mr. Moss told it, he “had no money or training” when he started selling art, although he did have certain “social advantages.”

“People liked my jokes,” he said in a 2005 interview with journalist Dylan Foley. “I had personal skills and insights into people. I see certain things that other people don’t see.”

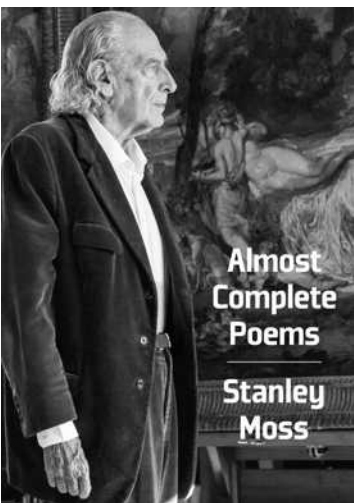
His poems could attest to that. Mr. Moss’s work was filled with striking images, like a nest of



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The author of more than a dozen books, Stanley Moss ran a small publishing house in addition to being an art dealer who placed paintings in the Louvre; his poetry could be mischievous.

“Being involved with writers of different cultural backgrounds, nationalities, invigorated him.”

Greg Miller, a poet and one of Mr. Moss’s literary executors

EDDIE SPENCE, 91

He took the cake: Icing specialist to British royal family was also a historian

BY BRIAN MURPHY

One day in November 1947, a young apprentice at a bakery in Scotland carried some ingredients from his downstairs workstation to the main kitchen. Just at that moment, the head confectioner was looking for an extra hand.

Everyone else was busy. This was the most important commission ever undertaken by the team at Mackie’s in Edinburgh: creating one of the cakes for the upcoming wedding of Princess Elizabeth and Philip Mountbatten.

The 16-year-old apprentice was told to get bowls, eggs and a whisk. “I was given the job of hand-beating eggs,” recalled Eddie Spence. He spent all day at the job, churning away at scores of eggs, in his first peek into the craft of cakemaking for royalty.

Over the next seven decades, Mr. Spence was involved in nearly every major royal event — weddings, anniversaries, celebrations — as one of Britain’s most acclaimed cake decorators. His intricate artistry with icing was studied in culinary schools, featured in exhibitions and elevated him to a foodie celebrity along with the popularity of baking shows and competitions such as “The Great British Bake Off” (known as the “The Great British Baking Show” to U.S. audiences).

He received an honorary title in the Order of the British Empire, bestowed by Queen Elizabeth II more than a half-century after he beat the eggs for her wedding cake. And, in one of the more delightful breaks in protocol, Mr. Spence called the queen “pet” at the medal presentation ceremony in 2000.

“I said, ‘Thanks, pet.’ I always call everybody ‘pet,’ and of



FAMILY PHOTO

Eddie Spence was involved in many royal events over 7 decades.

course, right away she laughed,” recalled Mr. Spence, who died July 2 at his home in Bournemouth, England, at 91.

The wedding cake for Elizabeth and Philip made by Mackie’s — one of 12 cakes from different bakers — was a four-

tiered, six-foot tower inspired by Edinburgh’s monument to the early 19th-century writer Sir Walter Scott.

The white icing and floral flourishes took nearly a week to apply. Mr. Spence was given an opportunity to assist with the decoration, according to a history of royal cakemaking. “His hands [were] covered in blisters from the task,” the account said. (The main wedding cake, made by McVitie & Price outside London, was nine feet tall and yielded more than 2,000 slices.)

After the wedding, Mr. Spence became a self-taught scholar of royal cake decorations, studying past designs from the Victorian era and earlier as well as the various techniques for the specific style known as royal icing.

The more common sugar paste and fondant frostings remain soft. Royal icing, which can include meringue powder, hardens when cooled and can be used to create rigid designs or coatings (such as on gingerbread houses) or high-gloss, plaster-smooth surfaces.

“There’s nothing to beat royal icing,” Mr. Spence said on British talk show “Loose Women” as he demonstrated how to squeeze out perfect braids of icing from a confectioner’s piping bag.

In early 1960, he received a letter from Queen Elizabeth’s sister, Princess Margaret, asking for a “traditional” cake when she married Antony Armstrong-Jones later that year. “So that’s what we did,” he told the Daily Mail.

The cake became of Mr. Spence’s favorites, he said. Each of the six-sided tiers featured either a stylized floral pattern, a royal crest or a monogram of “M” and “A,” the couple’s initials.

Nothing was simple about his next major royal project. For the

queen’s Silver Jubilee in 1977, marking 25 years of her reign, Mr. Spence went rococo with a 56-pound cake in the form of a horse-drawn coach covered by a lavish royal icing veneer in gold, red and purple, which was carved in painstaking detail right down to the simulated wood grain on the carriage wheel spokes.

“I said, ‘Thanks, pet.’ I always call everybody ‘pet,’ and of course, right away she laughed.”

Eddie Spence, on receiving the Order of the British Empire from Queen Elizabeth II in 2000

For the 1981 wedding of Prince Charles and Diana Spencer, Mr. Spence returned to more classic lines with an eight-foot-tall, four-tier cake of glass-flat icing and royal symbols. The fruitcake interior, made by bakers who worked with Mr. Spence in Bournemouth, contained 180 eggs, 12 pounds of butter and two bottles of rum. Buckingham Palace dispatched a Rolls-Royce to Bournemouth, about 110 miles from London, to transport the cake and Mr. Spence’s team.

In 2021, a piece from one of the nearly two dozen other wedding cakes was sold for more than \$2,500 at auction. The slice, showing the royal coat of arms, had been kept in a tin box by a former member of the Queen Mother’s household.

Mr. Spence retired in 2018, saying his hands had become too shaky for the fine details needed in his work. He had just finished

what would be his last royal commission, decorating the cake for the 70th wedding anniversary of Elizabeth and Philip in 2017. He adorned the cake with myrtle flowers made from sugar in remembrance of her wedding bouquet.

Apprentice at 14

Edward Millar Spence was born July 14, 1932, in Edinburgh. His father drove a delivery van, and his mother worked at Mackie’s bakery.

He left school at 13 because his family could not afford the fees. On his 14th birthday, he started at Mackie’s, which had a standing arrangement to supply treats such as petit fours and cakes for afternoon teas at the royal residence in Edinburgh, the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

He later decorated wedding cakes and other goods for the Mackie’s window display and taught cake-decorating classes at Napier Technical College (now Edinburgh Napier University). After Mackie’s closed in the late 1960s, he instructed aspiring pastry chefs in Derby and then Bournemouth, where he settled.

His 2010 book, “The Art of Royal Icing,” sought to pass along the details of the craft. One repeated tip: Be careful of high humidity, which can soften the icing.

Mr. Spence’s first wife, Betty Spence, died in 1999. Tracy Spence, whom he married in 2017, confirmed the death but did not note a cause. Other survivors include three children from his first marriage; two stepchildren; a brother; and seven grandchildren.

Mr. Spence often said he was not overly fond of cake himself. Yet he did indulge his sweet tooth. “I always have four teaspoons of sugar in my tea,” he said.

OBITUARIES

BENGT SAMUELSSON, 90

Nobel-winning researcher unearthed some of the human body’s mysteries

BY EMILY LANGER

Bengt I. Samuelsson, a medical researcher who shared the 1982 Nobel Prize for his role in explaining prostaglandins, hormone-like substances that regulate the intricate machinery of the human body, died July 5 at his summer home in Mölle, a coastal village in his native Sweden. He was 90.

His death was announced by the Karolinska Institutet in Stockholm, the medical university where Dr. Samuelsson spent most of his career. He had cardiac disease, his family said.

Dr. Samuelsson belonged to a trio of researchers whose work on prostaglandins was honored with the 1982 Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine. At 48 when the award was conferred, he was the youngest of the three and at the time of his death was the last surviving member of the group.

His fellow honorees included John R. Vane, then 55, a British pharmacologist associated with the Wellcome Research Laboratories in Beckenham, England, and Sune K. Bergström, then 66, a Swedish scientist who worked alongside Dr. Samuelsson in the 1960s and 1970s and had once been his professor.

The teacher-pupil relationship gave an added poignancy to the awarding of the Nobel, although Bergström publicly refused any credit as a mentor for his protégé’s share in their accomplishments.

“I don’t think teaching means much,” Bergström told the Associated Press when the Nobel was announced. “You have to have it in you.”

By all measures, Dr. Samuelsson had it in him as a researcher. With his colleagues, he was credited with opening up the study of prostaglandins and, along with it, a broad array of applications in medical science.

Prostaglandins were named in the 1930s by Ulf von Euler, a Swedish scientist who shared the 1970 Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine. He detected the substance in semen, concluded it was produced by the prostate gland and coined the term “prostaglandins.”

In fact, prostaglandins are produced throughout the body and serve to regulate blood pressure and circulation, body temperature, the transmission of nerve impulses, allergic reactions, inflammation, and muscle and uterine contractions, among other functions.

The Nobel Assembly of Karolinska Institutet, which awards the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine, credited Bergström with determining the chemical structure of prostaglandins and with demonstrating that they are made from unsaturated fatty acids.

Dr. Samuelsson, according to the assembly, provided a “detailed picture of ... prostaglandin metabolism and clarified the chemical processes involved in the formation and breakdown of the various compounds in the



NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE/SCIENCE SOURCE

Bengt I. Samuelsson, a Swedish biochemist, researched interests in cholesterol metabolism with importance to reaction mechanisms.

system.” Vane, who conducted his research independently, was credited with discovering that aspirin, one of the most commonly used drugs in medicine, works by halting the formation of prostaglandins.

Collectively, their research was applied to the treatment of high blood pressure, blood clots and other circulatory problems, asthma, allergies, peptic ulcers, gallstones and kidney stones. In obstetrics and gynecology, prostaglandins are used to relieve pain from menstruation, to start labor and to induce abortion.

“Very few scientists can open up a whole new field of knowledge. But that is what Bengt Samuelsson did,” Göran K. Hansson, a professor at the Karolinska Institutet, said in a statement published on the university’s website.

“Based on Ulf von Euler’s and Sune Bergström’s discovery of prostaglandin,” Hansson continued, Dr. Samuelsson “mapped an entire biochemical continent of signaling molecules in the human body.”

Bengt Ingemar Samuelsson was born in Halmstad, Sweden, on May 21, 1934. His father was a merchant, and his mother was a homemaker.

Dr. Samuelsson attended public schools before studying medicine at Lund University, where he first met Bergström. He pursued graduate work at the Karolinska Institutet, where he studied biochemistry in tandem with medicine, receiving a PhD in 1960 and a medical degree in 1961.

He spent a year as a research fellow at Harvard University before returning to the Karolinska Institutet, where he eventually became dean of the medical faculty and served from 1983 to 1995 as president. From 1993 to 2005, he was chairman of the Nobel Foundation.

Both Bergström and Vane died in 2004.

Dr. Samuelsson’s survivors include his wife of 66 years, the former Karin Bergstein, and two children, Bo Samuelsson and Astrid Samuelsson Norhammar, all of Stockholm; a sister; five grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren. His daughter Elisabet Samuelsson died in 1996.

In his Nobel banquet speech, Dr. Samuelsson reflected with wonder on scientific advances and the rate at which one followed another.

“Every time a significant discovery is being made one sets in motion a tremendous activity in laboratories and industrial enterprises throughout the world,” he said.

“It is like the ant who suddenly finds food and walks back to the anthill,” he continued. “The other ants follow the path immediately in order to benefit from the finding and continue to do so as long as the supply is rich. Then they switch to another source opened by another discovery. If we could understand the language of the ant we would probably hear the same excitement and exhilarating joy that one can hear in the laboratories when new knowledge is suddenly uncovered.”

DEATH NOTICE

CURTIN



PATRICIA ANN CURTIN (Age 83)
On Tuesday, July 2, 2024, of Silver Spring, MD. Beloved wife of Denis J. Curtin; mother of Beth Boyle (spouse Matt Boyle), Denis Curtin (spouse Elizabeth Curtin), Rosemary Dailey (spouse James Dailey), and Peter Curtin (spouse Emily Curtin); grandmother of James Dailey, Molly Boyle, Charles Dailey, Jack Curtin, Kate Boyle, Lucille Dailey, Andrew Curtin, Joseph Dailey, Liam Curtin, Sarah Curtin, Finn Boyle, Rebecca Curtin and Nora Curtin. Also survived by nephew William Baroni Jr., sister-in-law Sister Joan Curtin CND, and brother-in-law William Baroni Sr. Visitation at Our Lady of Grace Church, 15661 Norbeck Blvd., Silver Spring, MD, Wednesday, July 17, 2024, from 10 to 11 a.m., followed by celebration of the Mass of Christian Burial at 11 a.m. Interment Gate of Heaven Cemetery, in lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to Catholic Charities. <https://www.catholiccharitiesusa.org/www.collinsfuneralhome.com>



DEATH NOTICE

NORRIS



AUDREY MAY NORRIS
Audrey M. Norris, nee Atherton, was born in Ozone Park, New York, on July 30, 1925. She met the love of her life, William G. Norris, while he was assigned to commission the “Bon Homme Richard.” They had an extraordinary life. She passed on June 30, 2024, to rejoin Bill. There will be a celebration of life at Northwood Church, 1200 University Blvd West, Silver Spring, MD, at 11 a.m. on September 21, 2024. Contributions to the Church may be made in Audrey’s memory. Audrey is survived by three children: Bill (Debbie) Norris, Jeri (Mike O’Connor) Rhodes, and Sandi (Kent) Roddy. Her son Bob was predeceased. She leaves 13 grand-

DEATH NOTICE

EORY



ROSEMARY JEAN EORY
IMF RETIRED PERSONNEL OFFICER/ BENEFITS DIVISION
Rosemary Jean Eory died peacefully at her home with her beloved cats and family on June 18, 2024. Beloved mother of the late, Suzanne; and grandmother of Ashley and Markus. She is also survived by her great-grandchildren, son-in-law, Charles and a host of devoted friends. Inurnment: Gate of Heaven Cemetery, 13801 Georgia Avenue, Silver Spring, MD 20906 on Friday, July 19, 2024 at 1 p.m. www.marshallmarchfh.com



DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

JONES

RICHARD JONES SR.
On Friday, July 12, 2024. The beloved husband of 67 years, to Nellie Anna Jones; devoted father of Richard Jones, Jr. and Theresa Huff; loving grandfather to Gregory Shackelford, Robert and David Huff, and Brenden, Hunter, and Jason Jones; and his granddaughter, Hailes Colarelo, and three great-grandchildren. Friends are invited to celebrate Dick’s life on Thursday, July 18, 2024 from 6 to 8 p.m. at the Kalas Funeral Home & Crematory, 2973 Solomons Island Rd., Edgewater, MD. His funeral service will be held on Friday, July 19 at 10 a.m. at Grace Presbyterian Church, 4012 Birdsville Rd., Davidsonville, MD 21035. Interment will follow at Mount Hebron Cemetery in Winchester, Va. Memorial contributions may be made to an Alzheimer’s research charity of your choice or to the Lions Club International Foundation. Condolences may be made online at: www.KalasFuneralHomes.com

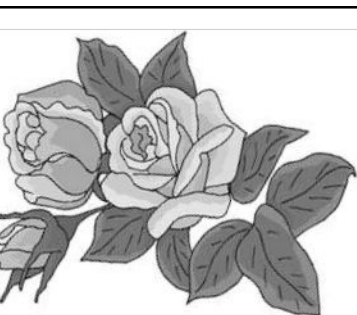
NAUMANN



VICTOR RIDDER NAUMANN (Age 76)
Victor Ridder Naumann passed away on June 7, 2024 in Germantown, MD. A lifelong native of the D.C. area, Victor was known for his expertise as a master Jaguar technician, his passion for motorcycles, and his skills as a professional photographer. He is survived by his sisters, Nancy Forrest and Melinda Bates; his nephews, Shiloh and Noah Bates; and his nieces, Diana Rosenfield and Katherine Forrest. Victor’s departure is deeply felt by many neighbors and friends. Services at a later date.

TAYLOR

JOHN V. TAYLOR (Age 69)
It is with regret that we notify the members of Steamfitters Local 602 of the death of Retired Brother John V. Taylor. A Celebration of Life will be held in August 2024, please check our website for details. Notice #1968. **Christopher M Madero F.S.T.**



DEATH NOTICE

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 Sultland Road, Sultland, Maryland 20746. All are welcome to attend. Please arrive by 10:30 a.m. to secure parking. Send condolences to: www.marshallmarchfh.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:

202-334-4122

800-627-1150 ext 4-4122

EMAIL: deathnotices@washpost.com

Email and faxes **MUST** include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party. Email deadline - 3 p.m. daily Phone-In deadline 4 p.m. M-F 3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2023 RATES: (PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY

Black & White

1" - \$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" - \$880

SUNDAY

Color

3" - \$710

4" - \$810

5" - \$985

6"+ for ALL color notices \$268 each additional inch Mon - Sat \$299 each additional inch Sunday

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ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID

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The Washington Post

The Washington Post INVESTIGATIONS

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To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

The Washington Post

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The Washington Post

THE WEATHER

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Light at the end of a heat tunnel

The region's residents will have to endure one more day of the extreme heat, but good news appears to be on the horizon as long as we can get through the day. Sunshine should dominate as well as very hot temperatures on Tuesday, with highs expected to end up rising to near 100 degrees or into the low 100s in most spots — just like Monday. Humidity, while not extreme, could make it feel more like 105 to 110. There's just a small chance of a late-day storm; overnight, a cooling trend should begin.

Today

Very hot

103° 81°

FEELS*: **107°**

CHNCE PRECIP: **40%**

WIND: **SW 7-14 mph**

HUMIDITY: **High**

Wednesday

Heavy t-storm

94° 75°

FEELS: **103°**

P: **55%**

W: **SW 7-14 mph**

H: **Very High**

Thursday

T-storms

89° 71°

FEELS: **92°**

P: **90%**

W: **SW 4-8 mph**

H: **High**

Friday

Partly sunny

88° 71°

FEELS: **94°**

P: **15%**

W: **ESE 4-8 mph**

H: **Moderate**

Saturday

High clouds

86° 71°

FEELS: **89°**

P: **25%**

W: **ESE 4-8 mph**

H: **High**

Sunday

T-storm

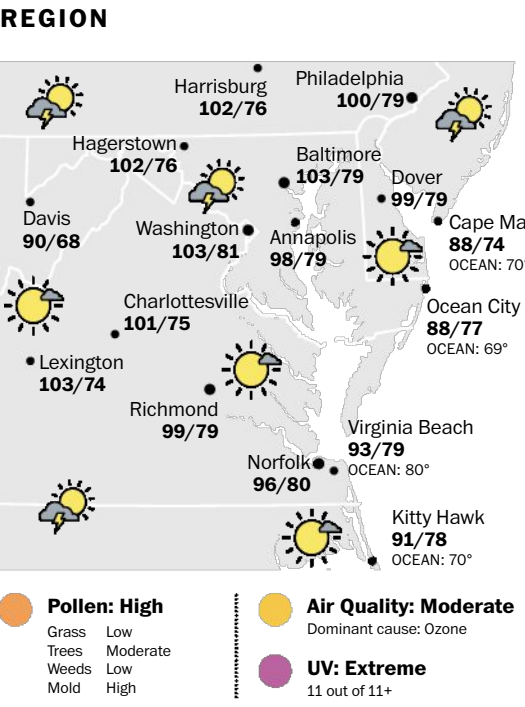
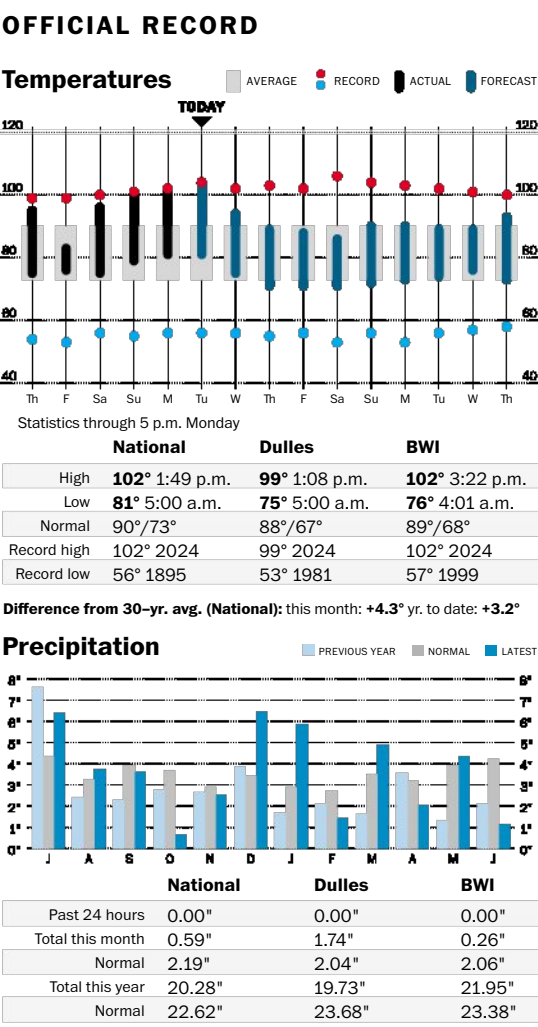
90° 72°

FEELS: **89°**

P: **40%**

W: **WSW 6-12 mph**

H: **Moderate**



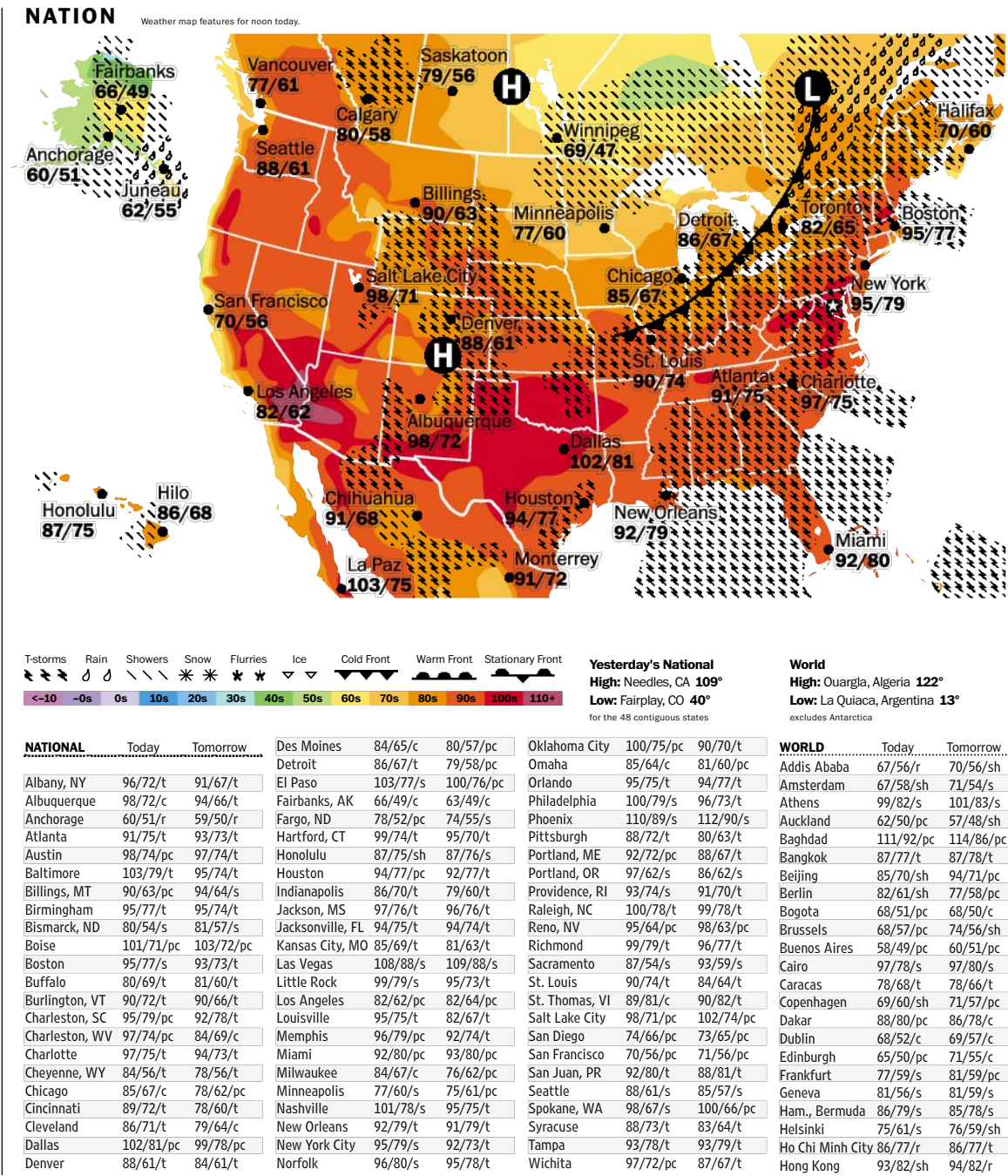
Blue Ridge: Today, partly sunny; hot. High 82 to 89. Winds west-southwest 7-14 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy. Low 71 to 75. Winds west-southwest 7-14 mph. Wednesday, a heavy thunderstorm around. High 77 to 85. Winds west-southwest 8-16 mph.

Atlantic beaches: Today, mostly sunny. Very humid; hot. Caution advised if outside for extended periods of time. High 88 to 96. Winds south-southwest 8-16 mph. Tonight, mainly clear. Low 75 to 80. Winds south 8-16 mph. Wednesday, a thunderstorm in spots.

Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, mostly sunny, a thunderstorm around in the afternoon. Wind southwest 6-12 knots. Waves 0-1 foot. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, mostly sunny. Wind south 7-14 knots. Waves 0-1 foot on the Lower Potomac; 1-3 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.70 feet today, with no change of 2.70 Wednesday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in **Bold**)

Washington	4:27 a.m.	11:38 a.m.	5:04 p.m.	11:08 p.m.
Annapolis	2:10 a.m.	8:36 a.m.	12:50 p.m.	7:39 p.m.
Ocean City	3:43 a.m.	9:43 a.m.	4:22 p.m.	10:49 p.m.
Norfolk	12:00 a.m.	5:39 a.m.	11:34 a.m.	6:16 p.m.
Point Lookout	5:07 a.m.	9:17 a.m.	2:47 p.m.	10:36 p.m.



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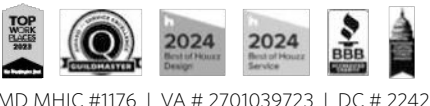
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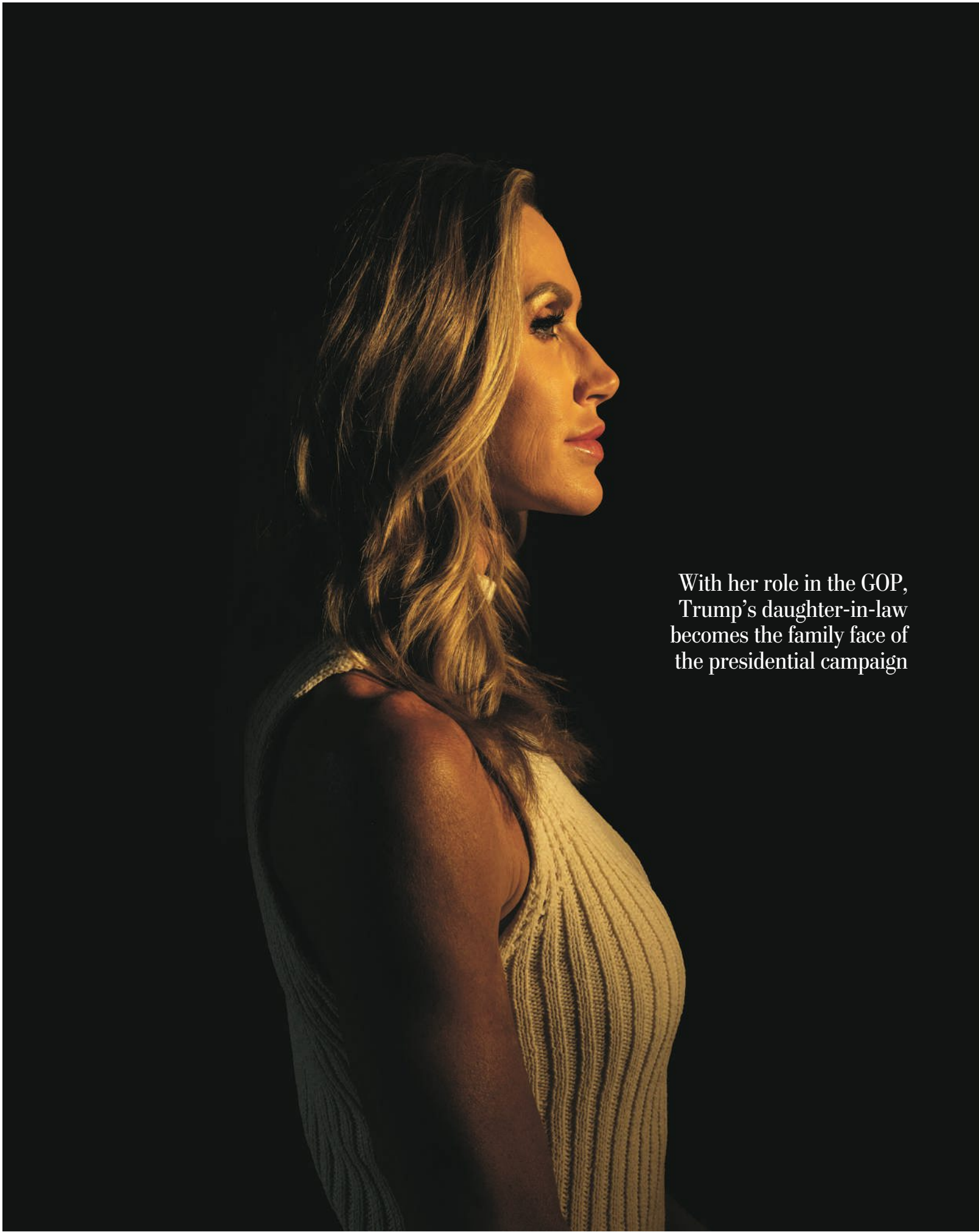


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TAURAT HOSSAIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

With her role in the GOP, Trump's daughter-in-law becomes the family face of the presidential campaign

Media faces backlash for its cautious reporting

On social media, some chide outlets' headlines on early stories of Trump shooting

BY PAUL FARHI

In the frantic moments after a would-be assassin fired shots at Donald Trump, news organizations reported cautiously about what had occurred. As with many breaking stories, it wasn't immediately clear what was unfolding.

But being right rather than first with the news wasn't good enough for many readers. With the benefit of ample hindsight, some critics on social media trashed the early, uncertain reports as inadequate or worse.

USA Today, for example, published its first story just 19 minutes after shots rang out with an initial headline of: "Trump removed from stage by Secret Service after loud noises startle former president, crowd." In a social media post minutes later, it said "popping noises rattled the crowd in Pennsylvania."

Despite continuous updates to the story, some who encountered USA Today's preliminary reports were dismissive and contemptuous.

"So guns just make popping noises and are nothing to worry about? Got it," read one sarcastic post on X — one of hundreds that poured in long after the newspaper had added clarifying details.

Another snarked: "Alexa, why is American media a disgrace to the profession?"

SEE MEDIA ON C4

Former DCist staff launch local news site called the 51st

BY ELAHE IZADI

A group of D.C. journalists who worked at a local news site that was abruptly shuttered by NPR affiliate WAMU earlier this year are launching their own nonprofit devoted to covering community news of Washington.

They are calling it the 51st — a nod to the District of Columbia's lack of statehood — and say it will deliver hyperlocal Washington news relevant to District residents.

Initially, their coverage will focus on topics such as the cost of living in D.C. and how to navigate city services, as well as on accountability reporting.

The idea for the site first arose days after the unexpected closure of DCist, a beloved local news site that had been acquired by WAMU six years ago. When former staff gathered at a downtown restaurant to commiserate, the wake quickly turned into a business-development strategy session.

"Worker-run newsroom: When?" Maddie Poore asked her old co-workers

SEE THE 51ST ON C8

"I brought her a present!" Carolyn Hubay Dominguez tucked a pearly nail under the lid of a small, white box and lifted it. Inside were a pair of dangly earrings, each adorned with a rhinestone American flag. "I thought they would match Lara's style," Dominguez said. "They looked like something she might wear."

Dominguez, a delegate from Orange County, was one of a dozen California Republicans who'd lined up early to meet Lara Trump at their state party convention in mid-May. Delegates, having just been released from an afternoon of workshops on poll-watching and lawfare, flowed into the basement of the Hyatt near the San Francisco airport, forming a long queue by the reception room that would host Lara's cocktail hour. Most had traded their bedazzled MAGA hats and Donald Trump mug shot T-shirts for California-inspired

ELECTION 2024

LARA ALL ALONG

BY KARA VOGHT AND MAEVE RESTON
IN BURLINGAME, CALIF.

Lara Trump is co-chair of the Republican National Committee. "Lara is what party officials dream of when they think of this role," Sean Spicer says.

formalwear: evening gowns with sandals, suits without ties. Some had stopped by the bar and were now sipping liberal pours of "Republican Red."

They had paid a pretty penny to share a moment with the former president's daughter-in-law — though few claimed to know much about her.

"Is it *Lor-ruh* or *Lah-ruh*?" wondered Jeff Burns, the chair of the Contra Costa County Republican Party. (It's *Lah-ruh*; she was named for the long-suffering, lovestruck Lara Antipova, played by Julie Christie in the 1965 film "Doctor Zhivago.") Her last name was the important part, anyhow. Lara Trump's ascent to co-chair of the Republican National Committee represents the full melding of Donald Trump and the political party he took over eight years ago. That meant something, even among

SEE LARA TRUMP ON C2

BOOK WORLD

JFK Jr. through the eyes of those who knew him best

BY ALLISON STEWART

Into the ruthless world of Kennedy family biographies enters "JFK Jr.: An Intimate Oral Biography," co-written by RoseMarie Terenzio — John Kennedy Jr.'s executive assistant and a close confidante of his wife, Carolyn Bessette-Kennedy — and People magazine editor-at-large Liz McNeil.

"JFK Jr." is timed to the 25th anniversary of the still-unthinkable deaths of the couple, and Bessette's sister Lauren, in the crash of a plane piloted by Kennedy on a foggy night off the coast of Martha's Vineyard on July 16, 1999.

The oral history offers extensive reminiscences from a friendly chorus of prep school classmates, colleagues, close friends, housemates, historians, multiple girlfriends and one National Park Service ranger who declined Kennedy's request to rappel off the top of Mt. Rushmore to promote a book associated with his magazine, George. Pamela Anderson shows up to remember Kennedy fondly, as do Garth Brooks, Brooke Shields, Jeffrey Sachs and Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams.

Sprawling and fascinating, "JFK Jr." was clearly written by and populated with people who love him. Terenzio's

SEE BOOK WORLD ON C8



DAVID CANTOR/AP

John F. Kennedy Jr., who died in 1999, wades through the press on his first day at work for the Manhattan district attorney in New York on Aug. 21, 1989.



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

CAROLYN HAX

My 20-year-old listens to a racist rapper. Should I speak up? c8

'MORNING JOE'

MSNBC: Politics didn't play a role in preempting show. c3

YOUNG THUG

The judge in the rapper's case is removed from the trial. c3

How Lara Trump found her place in the family business

LARA TRUMP FROM CI

Republicans in deep-blue California. And here was their brush with MAGA royalty: tall and blond, in a black dress and Christian Louboutins, poised before a row of American and California state flags to take photographs with her most loyal subjects. (The earrings were a hit, by the way: “Oh my God, I love them!” she exclaimed.)

An hour later, onstage in an adjoining ballroom, Lara, 41, was onstage doing a credible impression of her father-in-law asking her to run for RNC co-chair. “Honey, we need you. We need you there,” she said, channeling his nasally New York baritone. “You know, everybody wants this job. If you don’t want it, though, I don’t want to pressure you — but you’re the only one who could do it.” The crowd let out a long, appreciative laugh.

What Trump wants, Trump gets. “Sometimes, the only people you can trust are family,” Lara said in a July 5 interview with The Washington Post. “For him, that’s been the case, sadly, more often than not.”

She’s scheduled to speak Tuesday night at the Republican National Convention — which was expected to take a different tone than originally planned, after the shooting at Trump’s rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday that left her father-in-law with minor injuries to his right ear. (In the aftermath of the shooting, Lara posted an illustration of Trump being touched by Jesus, along with a Bible verse: “Fear not, for I am with you.”) She’ll be the first family member convention-goers and television-watchers will hear from after the incident.

Lara ran unopposed at the RNC’s March meeting in Houston and won with no dissenting votes. Beth Bloch, a West Virginia committeewoman who nominated her, warned her fellow RNC members against overvaluing titles and experience. “God does not call the qualified. He qualifies the called,” Bloch told them. “Lara Trump is the embodiment of this truth.” Her election accomplished one-third of Trump’s takeover of the RNC: North Carolina Trump booster Michael Whatley became chairman, and Trump campaign adviser Chris LaCivita was named its chief of staff, effectively merging the party’s operations with the president’s reelection effort.

Under the RNC’s new leadership, the committee fired dozens of employees in what they said was an effort to build a leaner, more efficient operation. Lara had floated the controversial view that Republican voters would like to see the RNC help pay Trump’s legal bills. (The idea was quashed by Trump campaign officials, who said emphatically that the RNC would not do that.) “It made me nervous that these changes were being made so close to the election,” said Burns, the Contra Costa County GOP chair.

Not that those feelings colored how he viewed Lara: “She strikes me as somebody who’s pretty sharp — you know, well put together, in terms of her communication and everything else,” he said. Plus, “she’s a tall drink of water, I’ll tell you that!”

The RNC’s overhaul was the direct result of Trump’s frustrations with its former chair, Ronna McDaniel, whom he dinged for over-investing in get-out-the-vote programs and underinvesting in Trump’s obsession with “election integrity.” MAGA loyalists, meanwhile, grumbled that McDaniel hadn’t shown sufficient fealty to the former president. “The Republican National Committee had lost the confidence of the lion’s share of the grass roots in the states over the last two years,” LaCivita said. “Part of Lara’s role was to come in and reestablish that trust.”

“On top of the fact that she’s a Trump,” he added, “which gives her instant credibility with the base.”

RNC co-chair is a job well-suited to a nepotism hire. The role carries no real authority or responsibilities, per the party’s bylaws. Typically, the co-chair is just dispatched to raise money and glad-hand at GOP gatherings, “like a best supporting actor or vice president,” said Sean Spicer, who spent six years as a senior RNC staffer before serving as Trump’s press secretary.

“I don’t think, outside of Republican Party geeks, anyone could name a previous co-chair,” Spicer added. “Lara is what party officials dream of when they

think of this role.”

Lara headlines state conventions, like the one in California, and fundraisers, as she did with her husband, Eric Trump, the former president’s second-oldest son, at Trump’s golf club in Westchester County, N.Y., in late June. She’s the face of “Protect the Vote,” an RNC effort to recruit 100,000 volunteers to monitor the November elections so that, as Lara puts it, “2020 can never, ever happen again.” She routinely defends her father-in-law (Lara almost always refers to Trump as her “father-in-law”) in network TV hits — joining CNN, for example, soon after his conviction on 34 felony counts to declare that the outcomes showed “the judicial system being weaponized” against the former president.

She can speak in Trump’s vernacular, but she can also modulate. In the spin room after the first presidential debate, Lara eschewed the temptation to mock Biden’s bad performance, choosing instead to emphasize his “bad policies and bad decision-making” in crisp sound bites. When a British reporter asked her whether Trump — who, during the debate, accepted no responsibility for the violence at the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021 — was rewriting the day’s history, Lara responded coolly. “In what way?” she said. “In the way that he said, peacefully and patriotically, to make your voices heard? That’s what he told the people of the country. So no, I don’t think so at all.”

Lara is “an extremely accomplished communicator,” LaCivita says. She “articulates the message of the campaign — and the message of the party — in a very clear, concise and easily understood manner.”

“She has the trust of the president, she has excellent TV presence, she has a sense for politics,” says Kellyanne Conway, a former senior White House counselor to Trump who remains close to his campaign.

“She’s upwardly mobile!” Trump said of his daughter-in-law at a rally in Doral, Fla., last week, praising her as “head of the Republican Party.”

Lara seems to know that most people haven’t thought much about her imprint on the 2024 campaign beyond her family lineage — though she’s quick to remind them that being part of that family lineage is, in fact, a qualification, given that the Trumps are now on their third presidential campaign. When asked about what she offers besides her last name, she points to the RNC’s recent fundraising successes — more than \$280 million since she joined the organization in March — and how the organization is now laser-focused on election integrity.

“I hope, maybe if people haven’t known me before now, that this is their introduction to me,” Lara told The Post. “I’m a person who, once I set my sights on something, I will do everything in my power to make sure that I do it the best way I possibly can.”

Lara Yunaska grew up in Wrightsville Beach, N.C., a seaside community on the state’s southeastern shore, to parents who were socially conservative but not particularly political. She was a cheerleader in high school and at North Carolina State University, where she studied communications and aspired to be a sportscaster. She modeled throughout college and briefly thereafter, winning a handful of bikini contests. She’d moved to New York in 2005 to attend pastry school and briefly operated her own cake-decorating business.

She met Eric Trump at a Manhattan bar in March 2008. She was drawn to him not because of his last name — which she claims to not have known — but his height: At 6-foot-5, Eric would still be taller than the 5-11 Lara in heels. In 2012, she began working for the TV tabloid show “Inside Edition” — mostly behind the camera, only occasionally in front of it, as an associate producer. Life with Eric fell into a rhythm of charmed New York privilege, as documented on Lara’s Instagram: Weekday sunrise over Central Park from their condo in Trump Parc East. Weekends playing golf at Trump National Golf Club Westchester. Holidays with her in-laws at Mar-a-Lago, where the couple married in 2014. They have two children, ages 4 and 6.

Lara didn’t have much of a role when Trump launched his cam-



TAURAT HOSSAIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

“It’s funny, because I viewed myself very much as an outsider coming into the family,” says Lara Trump, Donald Trump’s daughter-in-law. “The irony now is that we are the two people who are in politics in the family: my father-in-law and me.”

paign in June 2015. Her father-in-law first recognized her political potential, she says, when Trump caught an interview she’d given in the fall of 2016. “I’m actually still unsure which interview it was I was doing. He says Chris Wallace,” Lara recalled in her interview with The Post. Trump, flying on his private plane, had the television on in the background and liked what he heard — not realizing Lara had been the one speaking. “Then he looked up and he’s like, ‘Oh my God, that’s my daughter-in-law who’s doing that!’” Lara said. “That’s the moment that he was like, ‘Wait a minute, there’s something else here.’”

She did a rally with Trump in her home state of North Carolina that fall. It went well; afterward, Trump turned to her and said, “All right, you’re going to be in charge of the state. You’re going to win it for us.” In the campaign’s final weeks, she led a “Women for Trump” bus tour aimed at softening Trump’s misogynistic image.

“Every time we did a stop, she had no problem staying a little bit longer — shaking hands, meeting people, talking to people, and she always followed up,”

says Ashley Hayek, a former Trump campaign adviser who worked closely with Lara on the tour. “She’s just a nice, down-to-earth person who I think people feel like they can connect with.”

“The president’s view of Lara has evolved into utter respect for her,” says a former senior Trump adviser, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they are not authorized to discuss internal Trump family dynamics. “He doesn’t view her as just Eric’s wife anymore. She is the conduit between his family and the politics proper.”

Trump’s enterprises — whether real estate, television or politics — are always family affairs. Ivanka had been the face of the next Trump generation when her father first ran for president. She’d been the one to introduce him as he descended the golden escalator in Trump Tower in June 2015. But Ivanka has removed herself from much of the 2024 campaign — as has former first lady Melania Trump, who has hardly been seen in public, let alone on the campaign trail.

Lara calls her mother-in-law an “elegant, incredible first lady” and her sister-in-law “one of the smartest people I’ve ever met.”

Early on in her courtship with Eric, she’d wondered whether she should be more like them. “Do I act like Ivanka? Do I act like Melania?” she once recalled on an episode of her podcast, “The Right View.”

“It’s funny, because I viewed myself very much as an outsider coming into the family,” Lara told The Post. “The irony now is that we are the two people who are in politics in the family: my father-in-law and me.”

This is not about Republican versus Democrat, left versus right, anymore,” Lara Trump told a crowd of Republicans in Macomb County, Mich., on a recent June evening. “It’s about good versus evil.”

She had just finished singing a verse of Tom Petty’s “I Won’t Back Down” in a duet with country singer Mark Mackay, which had drawn a standing ovation. Now she was reciting verses of Trumpist folklore. She brought up Trump’s mug shot — “the greatest mug shot in the history of the United States, ladies and gentlemen” — and described how Trump’s criminal convictions helped voters realize “the system that has been taking them down

is trying to take him down.” She echoed her father-in-law’s false claims about fraud in the 2020 election.

“It’s amazing that the Trump family drew someone like that,” said Mark Forton, chair of the Macomb County GOP, marveling over Lara’s performance at his group’s event. “You’d think she was blood.”

Forton believes that the 2020 presidential election was stolen in Michigan and is devoting the majority of his county party’s resources to reelecting Trump. “They say politics is local, but not this year,” he said. Lara had been Forton’s first choice — well, really, his *only* choice — to headline the group’s annual Lincoln Day dinner fundraiser: On the RNC’s form to request a speaker, he’d put Lara’s name in all five slots. He didn’t know much about her, but he liked what she represented. “Lara’s made sure the RNC and the Trump campaign are one and the same,” he said. “We thought if we could get her here, it could be a unifying thing.”

Patti Cammarata, a member of the Macomb GOP, left the event thinking Lara’s role could be “*humongous* — can I say that in

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



KEVIN D. LILES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Lara Trump, co-chair of the Republican National Committee, speaks to reporters in the spin room after last month’s presidential debate in Atlanta.

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

all-capital letters?” she said, carrying a sequined MAGA clutch. Lara felt especially important, Cammarata said, given Ivanka and Melania’s absence. “She’s the brand. She epitomizes everything the movement is.”

“I believe she will be the voice for the conservative movement for years to come,” said Tamra Szacon, 65. She wants to see Lara stay with the RNC for a few years before running for Congress.

“I read a little bit about how she tried to transform his image,” said Karen Beck, 68, who hadn’t closely followed Lara until the Macomb fundraiser. “It’s good to have a family member like that, trying to help his campaign who knows him personally. But there’s nothing he could do to change my vote — I mean, unless he killed his children and his wife.”

Lara returned to New York that night and was in the gym early Thursday morning, posting a video of her handstands and bear crawls on social media. But by Friday, she was back in Michigan — this time in Oakland County, 30 miles north of Detroit — to recruit volunteers for the RNC’s new election integrity unit, which she promised would restore confidence for voters who “had a lot of unanswered questions” in 2020, she said.

“She’s a good front-line face for the Republican Party,” said Diana Mannino, 59, a former automotive executive, after the event. “I watch her on TV all the time. I was very happy to see her today. She looks just like she does on TV.”

“She’s so beautiful. She’s like a model,” one female bystander gushed as Lara disappeared into her SUV with a wave.

Whether Lara sticks with the family business after Nov. 5 remains unclear. She has considered a position in the second Trump administration, should it come to pass, or a run for office in either Florida or North Carolina. She’d flirted with running for U.S. Senate in North Carolina in 2022, but ultimately passed. Ron

Kaufman, the Massachusetts RNC member and former adviser to Mitt Romney, had encouraged her. “She’d be a great candidate — and not because she’s his daughter-in-law,” Kaufman said. “Because she’s just really good.”

Onstage at the California GOP convention, however, she seemed to be looking ahead only to Election Day. Her 10th wedding anniversary is just three days after the election, she told the room, and she said she’d like to take the African safari they’d planned for their honeymoon but never took. (Lara had broken both her wrists in a horseback riding accident just before the wedding; she’d worn “some very nice early-’90s ladies fingerless glove situation” to cover the casts at the reception.)

The privilege to hear that story cost \$400 — \$500 for preferred seating, \$350 for those who’d already paid \$400 to attend the photo reception earlier that evening. She was answering one of the soft-focus questions that Howard Hakes, the state GOP’s finance chair, lobbed at her to indulge attendees in a few tidbits from her life as a Trump. She told the room about her first concert (Mariah Carey in Raleigh, N.C.), her perfect meal (blackened salmon; a chocolate dessert), and her dream dinner guest, dead or alive (Elizabeth I: “This lady wasn’t playing around,” she explained — plus, “I’d like to try on some of those outfits”).

But before the levity, as the RNC co-chair, she struck a darker tone. “Listen, this isn’t just about me. This is about all of us,” Lara said. If she and her fellow Republicans failed to reelect her father-in-law, “they’re not just going to come after me — they’re going to come after every one of us,” she warned.

She was here because of her name. But her message to Republicans wasn’t just that she was a Trump. It’s that they were Trump, too.

Voght reported from California and Georgia. Reston reported from Michigan.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST



PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVAIS/AP

TOP: Lara Trump, center, and other members of the Trump family in August 2020 at a memorial service for Robert Trump. **ABOVE:** Lara Trump with Donald Trump and her husband, Eric, in Nashua, N.H., in January.

“She’s a good front-line face for the Republican Party. I watch her on TV all the time. I was very happy to see her today. She looks just like she does on TV.”

Diana Mannino, at a volunteer recruitment event that Lara Trump attended in Michigan

Georgia judge presiding over Young Thug’s trial is ordered off the case

BY HOLLY BAILEY

ATLANTA — The judge overseeing the criminal racketeering trial against rapper Young Thug was formally removed from the case Monday amid complaints that he and prosecutors held an improper meeting with a key prosecution witness.

In a written order, Fulton County Superior Court Judge Rachel Krause, who had been assigned to hear recusal motions from the Atlanta rapper and another co-defendant, said she agreed “generally” with Judge Ural Glanville, who defended the June 10 meeting and his decision not to inform defense attorneys about it.

Krause said she found nothing “inherently improper” about the meeting but also criticized Glanville’s handling of the matter, suggesting that his defensive posture raised questions about his ability to be objective. She ordered that Glanville should be recused, citing public trust.

“This Court has no doubt that Judge Glanville can and would continue presiding fairly over this matter if the recusal motions were denied, but the ‘necessity of

preserving the public’s confidence in the judicial system’ weighs in favor of excusing Judge Glanville from further handling of this case,” Krause wrote.

The ruling comes two weeks after Glanville abruptly halted the case amid complaints of misconduct. The order paves the way for a new judge to be assigned to the case — though it was not immediately clear when that would happen or when testimony in the case would resume.

Already, the case has been the longest-running criminal trial in Georgia history, at 18 months and counting. 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.

Eight months after opening statements, prosecutors were only halfway through their witness list of more than 200 people when the trial was abruptly halted. The jury in the case last heard testimony on June 17.

The Young Thug prosecution is one of two high-profile criminal racketeering cases being led by



ARVIN TEMIKAR/ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION/AP

Jeffery Lamar Williams, center, during a December 2022 hearing. Williams, who raps under the name **Young Thug**, is being tried on criminal racketeering charges in Atlanta.

Fulton County District Attorney Fani T. Willis (D). Last summer, the veteran prosecutor brought charges against former president Donald Trump and more than a dozen of his associates, alleging that they criminally conspired to try to overturn Trump’s 2020 election loss in Georgia.

That case is now at a standstill, as Trump and others appeal a judge’s decision to allow Willis to

continue prosecuting the case amid complaints that she had an improper romantic relationship with the former lead prosecutor in the case. In recent weeks, there have been growing concerns among those close to Willis that the Young Thug case might also be derailed, giving more fodder to her political critics in a year where she is seeking a second term as Fulton County’s top

prosecutor.

A spokesman for Willis declined to comment on the judge’s ruling.

Young Thug, whose real name is Jeffery Lamar Williams, and 27 associates were charged in May 2022 as part of a sweeping grand jury indictment that alleged the rapper and the others were members of a violent criminal street gang in Atlanta.

Prosecutors have alleged that Williams was head of the gang, known as YSL, or Young Slime Life, and have charged him with criminal racketeering, gang conspiracy, and drug and weapons charges, while others were charged with other violent crimes, including murder and attempted armed robbery.

Williams’s attorneys have contended that YSL is merely a record label and have attacked prosecutors for introducing Young Thug’s lyrics as evidence at trial, arguing that his rhymes were merely artistic expression, not literal recountings of criminal acts.

It was not immediately clear whether Glanville’s recusal would get the case back on track.

Brian Steel, an attorney for Williams, has filed numerous motions for a mistrial. He has also sought to remove Adriane Love, an assistant Fulton County district attorney who is leading the case, and another prosecutor who were in last month’s secret meeting with Glanville and Kenneth Copeland, a former Young Thug associate and witness.

In a motion last week, Steel gave notice that he plans to call Glanville and Love as defense witnesses to question them under oath about the meeting with Copeland and any other private meetings related to the case that he says defendants should have been privy to.

Steel did not immediately respond to a request for comment to Krause’s ruling.

MSNBC: ‘Morning Joe’ was not preempted out of political concerns

BY JEREMY BARR

MSNBC has denied a report suggesting that its popular “Morning Joe” was pulled from the air Monday out of concerns about what a guest might say in the aftermath of the shooting at Donald Trump’s rally on Saturday.

The decision was made to prioritize breaking news coverage of the shooting in Butler, Pa., the network said.

CNN had reported late Sunday that MSNBC decided to air news coverage instead of the daily morning opinion show “to avoid a scenario in which one of the show’s stable of two dozen-plus guests might make an inappropriate comment on live television that could be used to assail the program and network as a whole.” That reporting led to a wave of outrage from left-leaning view-

ers, but also schadenfreude from conservatives, who viewed it as evidence that broadcasters who have long been critical of Trump — as hosts Mika Brzezinski and Joe Scarborough have been — are stepping back amid the horror of the shooting.

But a network spokesperson “emphatically” denied CNN’s reporting, saying the decision was part of a broader programming strategy to cover the breaking news with a unified broadcast feed among NBC News, its cable sibling MSNBC and the streaming network NBC News Now, “given the gravity and complexity of this unfolding story.”

“As we continue to cover this story into the week, the networks will continue to cross-simulcast ... so there is one news feed covering this developing situation,” the spokesperson added.



JESSE DITTMAR FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Mika Brzezinski and Joe Scarborough co-host MSNBC’s “Morning Joe,” which did not air Monday during its usual time slot.

“Morning Joe” is scheduled to be back on the air Tuesday morning, though it’s unclear whether the hosts will address their absence. The program that precedes “Morning Joe,” “Way Too Early With Jonathan Lemire,” was also preempted to air a special report from NBC News.

While the network has been in

rolling breaking news coverage since the Saturday night shooting, a regular lineup of opinion hosts — including Rachel Maddow, Joy Reid and Nicolle Wallace — was set to appear on Monday night, providing joint coverage of the first night of the Republican National Convention.

In a social media post, Scarbor-

ough expressed his sadness over the shooting, which left a firefighter, Corey Comperatore, dead. (The alleged shooter, Thomas Matthew Crooks, was killed by Secret Service.)

“Our family is praying this morning for President Trump, those injured yesterday, and for the loved ones of the American tragically killed. May God grant mercy on them and deliver us from the violent political rhetoric that [coarsens] debate and endangers public servants,” Scarborough wrote.

An MSNBC producer, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to comment, said he didn’t find the decision to preempt “Morning Joe” surprising, “because it kept with the strategy since the shooting happened.”

But a former MSNBC producer, Sean Graf, told The Washington Post that he found the decision “very shocking.”

“As a daily viewer of the program who turns to ‘Morning Joe’ for thoughtful analysis from Joe and Mika, I am very disappointed that MSNBC did not air the program today of all days,” he said. “We need more civilized, biparti-

san conversations, not less, and that is what ‘Morning Joe’ does best.”

While “Morning Joe” has always been influential in national political circles, the show has taken on a special significance in the weeks since President Biden’s halting debate performance, as viewers and political insiders have tuned in to see what the co-hosts say about Biden’s candidacy.

On Monday afternoon, the New York Times reported that MSNBC has also shelved plans for a live stream that would have been hosted from the Republican National Convention by anchor Ali Velshi.

The shooting has scrambled other programming intended for the convention. Comedy Central’s “The Daily Show” planned to tape the show live from Milwaukee, but shelved that plan citing “logistical issues and the evolving situation in Milwaukee.”

Covering the aftermath of the shooting while also covering the convention has presented challenges for networks, which had already retooled their lineups to air live blocks of programming from Milwaukee.

Media’s caution in rally shooting story fed backlash

MEDIA FROM C1

Breaking stories, of course, require the kind of caution USA Today displayed. Not all of the central facts had yet been confirmed by authorities at the time the article was first posted.

“If you heard ‘loud pops,’ that’s all you can say,” said Tom Jones, the daily media columnist for the Poynter Report. “To say more than that, without knowing what it was, would have been incredibly irresponsible. ... When dealing with something as critically important as this, you cannot be wrong.”

Whether on the scene in Butler, Pa., or watching from distant newsrooms, journalists suspected that the noise and the chaos were caused by gunfire. But in the first moments, they couldn’t say for sure.

Similar questions lingered for hours as to whether the gunfire was believed to be a deliberate attack on Trump, with some media outlets still cautiously expressing that it is being “investigated as an assassination attempt.”

But the widespread criticism suggests a clash between the enduring impact of the fleeting, first-draft reporting and the impatience of some readers, who assumed journalists had missed or purposely misreported a story that had evolved since it had published.

You can blame social media for that. Tweets and other posts can circulate prominently for hours or days — even after they have been rendered obsolete by fresher developments.

Most news organizations are reluctant to delete old posts for fear of seeming deceptive or evasive. But those old tweets can become fodder for ridicule and contempt, as Saturday’s tragedy demonstrated.

The New York Times’s initial news flash on X, posted some 20 minutes after the first shots, said that Trump had been rushed off the stage “after pops that sounded like gunshots were heard.” The Times stuck with the phrase in two subsequent tweets, the last at 7:33 p.m., drawing an avalanche of criticism. The



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Attendees at Donald Trump’s rally on Saturday in Butler, Pa., duck for cover after shots were fired. “When dealing with something as critically important as this, you cannot be wrong,” says Tom Jones, the daily media columnist for the Poynter Report.

Times soon switched to describing what happened as “a shooting.”

Charlie Stadtlander, a spokesman for the Times, defended the newspaper’s process.

“People speculate and hypothesize on social media all the time. But guesswork is not journalism. Good news organizations report hard and provide facts as quickly and accurately as possible. We did that on Saturday night,” he said.

While the internet and social media have made instantaneous reporting possible, the speed of transmission also has increased the chances of spreading inaccurate information. Given the enormous stakes involved in Saturday’s shooting, reporters generally exercised discipline, limiting

themselves to what they could see and hear.

News organizations can tolerate criticism, Jones said, but inaccurate reporting destroys their most precious asset: their credibility.

Few of the initial accounts of the shooting — which injured Trump slightly; killed a Pennsylvania man, Corey Comperatore; and critically wounded two others — were outright wrong. Instead, readers jumped on the stories’ hesitant approach.

The Washington Post’s initial headline said, “Trump escorted away after loud noises at Pa. rally.” CNN’s first take was headlined, “Secret Service rushes Trump off stage after he falls at rally.”

Both headlines were updated

within minutes as additional details were confirmed. For The Post, that change came around 7:30 p.m., after law enforcement issued a statement clarifying that it would be accurate to term the incident as “shots fired.”

But no matter. Rep. Brian Mast (R-Fla.) posted screenshots of the first two headlines early Saturday evening and added his own critique: “The so-called independent news media.”

MSNBC came in for similar contempt when it cautiously posted on its X account at 7:27 p.m.: “NEW: Two senior U.S. law enforcement officials tell NBC News there is a growing concern in law enforcement circles that this may have been a serious attempt on the life of former President Donald Trump.”

As it was, many of Trump’s supporters were more than ready to blame the news media for the actions of Thomas Matthew Crooks, the 20-year-old Pennsylvania man identified by authorities as the shooter.

Even as Trump was being led away from the scene, crowd members at his rally turned toward the press pen and screamed obscenities at the assembled journalist, middle fingers extended. Shouts of “You did this!” and “This is your fault!” could be heard. Security personnel reportedly stopped a few rallygoers from climbing over barriers to reach the pen.

Conservative pundits joined the chorus. “On a daily basis, MSNBC tells its audience that Trump is a threat to democracy,

an authoritarian in waiting, and a would-be dictator if no one stops him,” posted commentator Erick Erickson on X. “What did they think would happen?”

It’s unclear what forces or rhetoric drove Crooks, let alone whether he had ever watched MSNBC.

Meanwhile, Trump has himself ritualized hostility toward the media. At almost every rally, he takes a moment to denounce the reporters perched on risers behind the audience. He did so before shots were fired on Saturday — marveling at the crowd in Butler, Pa., and saying, “I wish the fake news back there would show it because nobody would believe it.”

Despite Trump’s and President Biden’s calls to unite in the wake of the shooting, several Republicans also denounced “the media” for supposedly creating a climate that encouraged violence.

Rep. Ronny Jackson (R-Tex.) employed all caps in an X post in which he said, “Trump-deranged Left wing LUNATICS that parade around MSNBC ... are DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE for this violent attack.”

Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) also posted on X with all caps, writing, “TO THE MEDIA: THIS IS YOUR FAULT.” She went on to say that journalists “got what they wanted, an assassination attempt on President Trump and one of his supporters murdered.” She offered no specific evidence to support her claim.

There was notably little criticism of the print editions of leading newspapers on Sunday. The main headlines of these editions accurately framed the story in just a few words. The Washington Post’s headline was: “Trump injured in rally shooting.” The New York Times said, “Trump hurt, but safe, after a shooting.” The Boston Globe reported, “Trump survives shots at rally,” and the Los Angeles Times offered, “Trump is rushed off stage in rally shooting.” The New York Post had the starkest and simplest headline of all: “Trump Shot.”

Hayden Godfrey contributed to this report.

TELEVISION

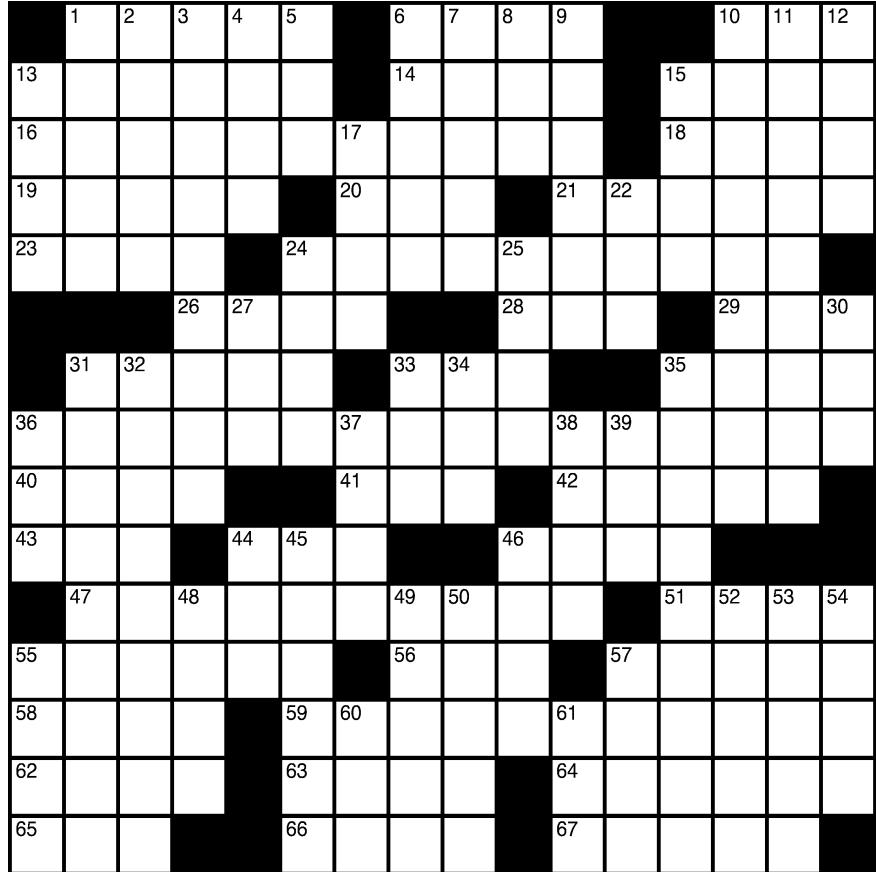
7/16/24	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00
4.1 WRC (NBC)	◆ NBCNe...	◆ Hollywo...	◆ America's Got Talent				◆ Convention (Live)		◆ News
4.2 WRC (IND)	Roseanne	Roseanne	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier	Nanny
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	◆ All-Star Pre..	◆ (Live)	◆ All-Star Game National League at American League (Live)				◆ Fox 5		
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	◆ Wheel	◆ Jeopard..	◆ Celebrity Fam		◆ Judge Steve Harvey		◆ RNC (Live)		◆ News
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	◆ InsideEd.	◆ ET	◆ FBI: International		◆ FBI: Most Wanted		◆ CBS News (Live)		◆ 9 News
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	◆ Rosa		◆ Golpe de suerte		◆ Marea de pasiones		◆ El amor no tien		◆ Noticias
20.1 WDCA (MTV)	◆ FamFeud	◆ FamFeud	◆ Fox 5 News		◆ FamFeud		◆ FamFe...	◆ Strange	◆ Puzzler
22.1 WMPY (PBS)	◆ Farm	◆ Outdoors	◆ PBS News Special: Republican National Convention (Live)						◆ Amanp...
26.1 WETA (PBS)	◆ PBS News Hour		◆ PBS News Special: Republican National Convention (Live)						◆ Amanp...
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	◆ Harriet Tubman		◆ America ReFramed			◆ Dynamic Planet		◆ Untam...	◆ BBCNe...
50.1 WDCW (CW)	◆ Neighbor	◆ Neighbor	◆ Movie: I Am JFK Jr. (2016) (P)				◆ DC News Now		◆ Seinfeld
66.1 WPXW (ION)	◆ Chicago Fire		◆ Chicago Fire		◆ Chicago Fire		◆ Chicago Fire		◆ Chi. Fire
A&E	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Neighbor.	Customer	Customer	Neighbor.
AMC	(6:00) Movie: Vegas Vacation ★ (1997)		Movie: My Cousin Vinny ★★★ (1992) An inept lawyer tries to free his cousin from a Dixie jail.				Movie: Major League II ★ (1994)		
Animal Planet	Air Jaws Final		Sharks		Great White		Jaws vs. Leviathan		Belly
BET	Celebrity Family Feud		Celebrity Family Feud		Celebrity Family Feud		Movie: Boomerang ★★ (1992)		
Bravo	The Real Housewives of Dubai		The Real Housewives of Dubai		The Real Housewives of Dubai (45) Housewives/OC				
Cartoon Network	King/Hill	King/Hill	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	American	American	American	American
CNN	E. B. OutFront (Live)		CNN Republican National Convention (Live)						
Comedy Central	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	Office	Office	Office	DailyShow
Discovery	Deadliest Catch		Deadliest Catch		In the Eye		Contraband		Contraba...
Disney	Big City	Big City	Ladybug	Ladybug	Ladybug	Marvel's	Hailey	Hailey	Raven
E!	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	EI News
ESPN	Baseball (Live)	SportsC- enter	In the Arena: Serena Out of the Shadow		In the Arena: Serena Out of the Shadow		The Ultimate Fighter SportCtr (Live)		
ESPN2	(6:00) NBA Summer League Basketball		NBA Basketball Philadelphia 76ers vs. Minnesota Timberwolves (Live)				NBA Basketball Los Angeles Clippers vs. Milwaukee Bucks		
Food Network	Chopped		Chopped		Bobby's Triple Threat		Alex vs America		Chopped
Fox News	Ingraham (Live)		Jesse Watters (Live)		Hannity (Live)		Democracy (Live)		Gutfeld!
Freeform	(5:00) Movie: R...	Movie: Mulan ★★ (2020) A fearless young woman battles northern invaders in China.				Sasha Reid and the Midnight Order			The 700 Club
FX	Movie: Bullet Train ★★ (2022) An unlucky assassin battles lethal adversaries on a train.						Movie: Bullet Train ★★ (2022)		
Hallmark	Movie: A Magical Christmas Village (2022)				Movie: Next Stop, Christmas (2021) Angie is magically transported into a past Christmas.				Movie: A Shoe Ad...
Hallmark M&M	Aurora Teagarden Mysteries				Aurora Teagarden Mysteries				Murder ...
HBO	(5:35) Movie: The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King ★★★ (2003)				Hard Knocks		(40) House of the Dragon	(45) Hard Knocks	
HGTV	Fixer to Fabulous	Renovation Aloha		Hawaii		Hawaii	Hunt Intl	Hunt Intl	Hunters
History	Skinwalker Ranch	Skinwalker Ranch		Skinwalker Ranch		Beyond Skinwalker		Beyond	
Lifetime	Castle	Castle		Castle		(05) Castle		(05) Castle	
MASN	World Poker Tour		BIG3 Basketball Week 5				Wall to		
Monumental	Beyond the Rise and Strive		NBA Summer League				2024 Stanley Pup		
MSNBC	The ReidOut (Live)		Republican National Convention (Live)				Last Word (Live)		11th Hour
MTV	Catfish: The TV Show		Catfish: The TV Show		Help! I'm In		Help! I'm In		Help!
Nat'l Geographic	Counting Jaws		The Croc		Shark Attack 360		Shark Attack 360		Sharks
Nickelodeon	Movie: Hotel Transylvania ★★ (2012)		Friends		Friends		Friends		Friends
NWSN	Special Ed (Live)		Cuomo (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		Cuomo		
Paramount	Two and a Half Men		Movie: F9 The Fast Saga ★★ (2021) Dom and his crew join forces to battle his deadly brother.		Movie: Italian J...				
Paramount+Sho	(6:15) Movie: Memory (2023)		Fellow Travelers		Movie: Boogie Nights ★★★ (1997) A porn star's (Mark Wahlberg) ego leads to his downfall.				
Syfy	(5:30) Movie: Charlie & the Chocolate Factory...		Movie: Men in Black ★★★ (1997)				Movie: Men in Black II ★★ (2002)		
TBS	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Mod Fam
TCM	(6:00) Movie: Once Upon a Honeymoon (...)		Movie: South Pacific ★★★ (1958) A World War II nurse finds love with a widowed islander.				(45) Movie: Heaven Knows, Mr. Allison (1...		
TLC	Welcome to Plathville		Fat Fabulous		Fat Fabulous		Welcome		Unexpect...
TNT	(6:30) Pregame		Women's International Soccer Friendlies United States vs. Costa Rica (Live)		Postgame (Live)		Movie: The Dark Knight Rises ★★★ (2012)		
Travel	Portals to Hell		Portals to Hell		Portals to Hell		Portals to Hell		Portals
TruTV	(6:30) Pre...		Women's Friendlies (Live)				Postgame		Movie: Hangover Part II (2014)
TV Land	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	(20) Raymond		Raymond	Raymond	(05) King
TV One	CosbySh...	CosbySh...	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single	Lv Single
USA Network	Law & Order: SVU		WWE NXT (Live)		Movie: Deepwater Horizon (2016)				
VH1	Love & Hip Hop		Love & Hip Hop		Love & Hip Hop		Love & Hip Hop		Hip Hop
WNCB	Who Stole Joint		Fed Gov		Fed Gov Today with		WorldNe...		WJLANe...
Skin									
National									
LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs ◆ High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated									

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Rebecca Goldstein

ACROSS

- 1 “Jurassic Park” resin
- 6 Big name in Champagne
- 10 Pippen
- 13 Glacier-climbing tool
- 14 First word of a fairy tale
- 15 __ vez: again, in Spanish
- 16 Arbitrary allowance for error
- 18 Sonnet or ode
- 19 Phony
- 20 Margaret of “Fire Island”
- 21 Play parts
- 23 Ivy in New Haven
- 24 Poker player with the tallest stacks
- 26 Out of __ world
- 28 Not online, online
- 29 Dove’s sound
- 31 Prefix similar to quad-
- 33 38-Down dispenser
- 35 Talk a big game
- 36 Sweet treats for a valentine, or what the starts of 16-, 24-, 47-, and 59-Across are
- 40 Inning’s six
- 41 Tyrannosaurus
- 42 Many Omanis
- 43 Shivered syllable
- 44 Barinholtz who won “Celebrity Jeopardy!” in 2023
- 46 Community FYIs
- 47 Rite of passage for a Jewish boy
- 51 Cheeky answers
- 55 Legal scholar
- 56 Organ with a lobe
- 57 Desert flora
- 58 Shortly, shortly
- 59 Words on a novelty apron
- 62 Piffing
- 63 Uffizi display
- 64 “Love that”
- 65 NNW opposite



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7/16/24

- 66 Body positive activist Holliday
- 67 Brick-and-mortar worker?

DOWN

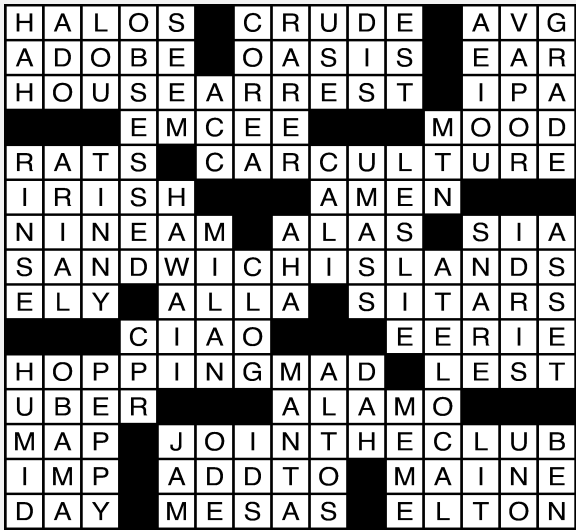
- 1 Honda luxury line
- 2 Olympian’s aspiration
- 3 French loaves
- 4 Stuck through
- 5 Penalty caller
- 6 Sweet rice cake
- 7 In first place
- 8 Prefix with hotel or tourist
- 9 Less verbose
- 10 Crustacean eaten by sea turtles
- 11 Moving side-walk creators?
- 12 Thanksgiving tubers
- 13 Not without risk
- 15 Opinion piece
- 17 German pries
- 22 Berkeley, briefly
- 24 Bologna bye-bye
- 25 Long ride, for short

- 27 Bits of time?
- 30 Need to repay
- 31 Band wagons?
- 32 Like a limited edition
- 33 Hardware chain that celebrated “100 Years of Helpful” in 2024
- 34 “appreciate u”
- 35 Mensches
- 36 __ for apples

- 37 Lose sleep, maybe
- 38 Money
- 39 “Your Song” singer Rita
- 44 Online convos
- 45 Apt candy for a snack break?
- 46 Take different paths
- 48 Like peaches in summer

- 49 Cocktail twists
- 50 Bouquet bearers
- 52 Sneeze sound
- 53 Oktoberfest mug
- 54 Verb in a bread recipe
- 55 Scone spreads
- 57 John of “Argyll”
- 60 Anger
- 61 That guy

MONDAY’S LA TIMES SOLUTION



How do I avoid awkward small talk with actors' families after performances?

Miss Manners

JUDITH MARTIN, JACOBINA MARTIN AND NICHOLAS IVOR MARTIN

Dear Miss Manners: I am a theater professional. My job involves giving honest critiques of actors during the rehearsal process. My reputation is valuable to me.

Even though I try to avoid it, I am frequently introduced to an actor's family members after performances. My reserve of small talk with actors' families

is pitifully small, unless the actor hits their role out of the park. In that case, I can gush over them honestly and enthusiastically.

But can you suggest some things that I can say to actors' families when the actor hasn't excelled in their performance?

Ordinarily, Miss Manners would be explaining how to tell when those who ask for criticism actually want it, and when it is only compliments that are being solicited (almost

always). But you cannot deliver casual niceties, because they will be taken — and probably widely quoted — as your professional judgment.

Miss Manners was in a similar position in a previous life, when she was a drama critic. Her solution was to say enthusiastically, "You must be very proud." It worked every time.

Dear Miss Manners: An older relative is one of those totally honest sorts, and prides herself

on both her wisdom and her willingness to speak her mind in any situation. She keeps lists of everything she dislikes about others, everything she believes they do wrong, etc., and recites those lists, often publicly.

She likes to be the center of attention, and that is certainly part of the problem, but I really believe that, in her misguided heart, she thinks she is improving others and passing on pearls of wisdom.

How does one best respond to such verbal assaults? Many of us

are truly at the end of our patience, and we would be so grateful to know how to politely head off the next diatribe about one more thing she can't stand about us! I am tempted to ask her whether she would like to hear my list of all the things I can't stand about her.

No, you don't want to do that. You don't like insult-slinging — remember? Suppose, instead, you said: "Oh, thank you, Auntie dear, for telling me. I will try to improve."

And suppose each and every one of you repeats that exact same response to every insult. Miss Manners would be amused to see how long your relative can keep it up under that barrage.

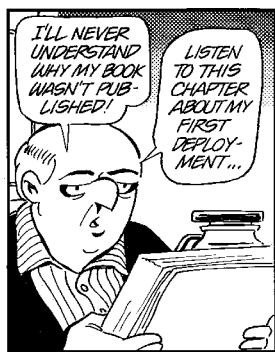
New Miss Manners columns are posted Monday through Saturday on washingtonpost.com/advice. You can send questions to Miss Manners at her website, missmanners.com. You can also follow her @RealMissManners.

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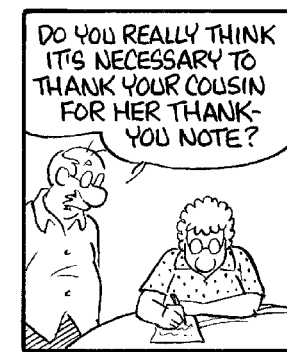
MOVIE DIRECTORY

DISTRICT		MARYLAND		No Pass/No Discount Ticket		Tuesday, July 16, 2024			
AMC Georgetown 14 3111 K Street NW <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 2:10-10:15 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 10:10 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 7:30 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 11:40-2:10-4:45-7:10-10:00 <i>Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes</i> (PG-13) CC: 4:00 <i>The Bikeriders</i> (R) CC: 4:00 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 12:10-2:40-5:15-7:50-8:30-10:20 <i>Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1</i> (R) CC: 2:00 <i>Touch</i> (R) CC: 1:40-4:30-7:20-10:10 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) CC: 3:20 <i>Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience</i> (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:30-10:00 <i>Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024</i> (PG-13) 7:00 <i>Kinds of Kindness</i> (R) CC: 12:20-5:20 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:10-4:10-7:10-9:30 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:30 <i>Inside Out 2 3D</i> (PG) CC: 12:50-6:00 <i>A24 x IMAX Present: Oasis: Supersonic 7.0</i> <i>The Lion King 30th Anniversary</i> (G) CC: 11:50-1:50-4:20-6:50 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:30-4:50-7:30-9:15 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 8:00		AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center 8833 Coleville Road <i>North by Northwest</i> (1959) 1:15-4:00 <i>On the Town</i> (NR) 11:45AM <i>Possessed</i> (1931) (NR) 7:00 <i>Thelma</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:00 <i>A Free Soul</i> (1931) (NR) 11:15AM <i>The Big House</i> 8:45 <i>The Green Berets</i> (Zielona granica) 2:05 <i>Last Summer</i> (2023) 1:45-4:05-6:15-8:30 <i>Thelma</i> (PG-13) 5:00-7:05-9:10 AMC Academy 8 6198 Greenbelt Road <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 1:00-4:00-6:15 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 1:30-4:00-6:30-8:50 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 2:00-7:00-9:30 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 1:20-3:45-6:40 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 2:20-5:00-7:40 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) CC: 5:30-8:00 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:10-4:10-7:10 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) CC: 2:15 <i>Inside Out 2 3D</i> (PG) CC: 4:30 AMC Annapolis Mall #1 1020 Annapolis Mall Road <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 11:05-1:50-4:50-7:40-10:40 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 9:30 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 11:45-2:10-4:35-7:00 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 10:05-11:00-12:30-1:30-3:00-4:00-6:30-9:00 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 12:40-3:20-5:45-8:20-10:50 <i>Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes</i> (PG-13) CC: 6:50 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 12:10-2:45-5:20-8:00-10:30 <i>Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1</i> (R) CC: 10:10 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) 10:00AM <i>Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024</i> (PG-13) 7:00 <i>Kinds of Kindness</i> (R) CC: 10:20 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) CC: 10:00-1:00-4:10-7:20-10:00 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:20-3:30-6:10-10:15 <i>Inside Out 2 3D</i> (PG) 11:35AM <i>The Lion King 30th Anniversary</i> (G) CC: 10:15-2:00-4:25 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 11:50-2:30-5:00-7:30-11:00 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 10:45-1:10-3:35-6:00-8:30-9:20 <i>Kinds of Kindness</i> (R) 2:45		AMC Magic Johnson Capital Center 12 800 Shoppers Way <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 2:30-5:15-8:00 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:10-2:40-5:10-7:40 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 1:15-3:45-6:15 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 12:00-12:25-3:30-6:10-8:45 <i>Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes</i> (PG-13) CC: 7:45 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) CC: 12:45-3:15-5:40-8:10 <i>A24 x IMAX Present: Oasis: Supersonic 7.0</i> CC: 1:45-4:15 <i>Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024</i> (PG-13) 3:00-7:00 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:20-3:30-6:10-10:15 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:20-3:30-6:10-10:15 <i>Inside Out 2 3D</i> (PG) 11:35AM <i>The Lion King 30th Anniversary</i> (G) CC: 10:15-2:00-4:25 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 11:50-2:30-5:00-7:30-11:00 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 10:45-1:10-3:35-6:00-8:30-9:20 <i>Kinds of Kindness</i> (R) 2:45		AMC Georgetown 14 3111 K Street NW <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 2:10-10:15 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 10:10 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 7:30 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 11:40-2:10-4:45-7:10-10:00 <i>Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes</i> (PG-13) CC: 4:00 <i>The Bikeriders</i> (R) CC: 4:00 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 12:10-2:40-5:15-7:50-8:30-10:20 <i>Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1</i> (R) CC: 2:00 <i>Touch</i> (R) CC: 1:40-4:30-7:20-10:10 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) CC: 3:20 <i>Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience</i> (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:30-10:00 <i>Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024</i> (PG-13) 7:00 <i>Kinds of Kindness</i> (R) CC: 12:20-5:20 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:10-4:10-7:10-9:30 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:30 <i>Inside Out 2 3D</i> (PG) CC: 12:50-6:00 <i>A24 x IMAX Present: Oasis: Supersonic 7.0</i> <i>The Lion King 30th Anniversary</i> (G) CC: 11:50-1:50-4:20-6:50 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:30-4:50-7:30-9:15 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 8:00		Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - Loudoun 2055 East Hamilton Pkwy <i>Teen Witch</i> (1989) (PG-13) 7:15 <i>Spider-Man: Into the Spider-Verse</i> (PG) 11:30AM <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 11:00-1:45-3:05-4:30-7:15-10:05 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 10:30-1:05-1:20-1:45-4:15-4:25-6:00-7:00-10:05 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) 10:00-12:15-12:40-3:00-6:00-8:50-10:00 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) 12:00-3:05-6:15-9:10 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) 11:15-2:15-5:05-8:00-9:40-10:50 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) 10:45-2:15-2:45-6:30-9:35 <i>Angelika Film Center Mosaic</i> 2911 District Ave <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 12:15-2:35-5:00-8:30 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 11:00-1:15-3:30-5:45-7:00 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) 11:30-1:45-4:00-6:15-7:30 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) 3:30-7:45 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) 1:15-5:55-8:15 <i>Touch</i> (R) 1:15-2:05-4:45-7:35 <i>Thelma</i> (PG-13) 11:00-2:30-7:10-9:50 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) 11:30-1:00-4:05-4:50-8:00-9:15 CMX Village 14 1600 Village Market Boulevard <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) 11:45-2:40-5:30-8:25 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 12:30-3:05-6:00-8:45 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 11:00-11:35-12:20-12:45-1:20-2:50-3:30-3:50-5:20-5:45-6:20-7:00-7:40-8:15 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) 12:20-4:50-7:30-9:00 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) 11:30-12:00-2:30-3:30-5:00-7:30-8:00-9:35 <i>Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1</i> (R) 11:05-3:00-4:25-9:30 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) 2:00-4:25-9:30 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) 11:00-8:35 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) 10:50-1:10-4:15-6:10-7:20-9:15 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) 12:10-6:40-7:10 <i>The Lion King 30th Anniversary</i> (G) 11:25-1:45-4:05-6:30-8:45 Cinema Arts Theatre 8890 Unit 14 St <i>The Bikeriders</i> (R) 2:25-7:15 <i>Daddio</i> (R) 4:30-9:30 <i>Janet Planet</i> (PG-13) 12:10-4:45-7:20-9:25 <i>Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1</i> (R) 1:00 <i>Touch</i> (R) 9:40-12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-9:45 <i>Ghostlight</i> (R) 12:05-2:35-5:05-7:40-9:50 <i>Thelma</i> (PG-13) 10:00-12:15-2:40-4:10-7:10-9:10 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) 10:10-10:40-7:00-9:30 Cinemark Centreville 6201 Multiplex Drive <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) 10:35-1:25-4:15-7:10-10:05 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 9:45-12:20-2:55-7:30-10:10; 5:55 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 10:20-10:50-12:50-1:20-3:50-6:20-8:50 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) 10:00-11:00-12:15-1:05-1:30-2:25-2:50-4:05-5:25-6:40-9:15-9:20 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) 5:00-7:40-10:20 <i>Kalki 2898 AD</i> 8:30 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 9:30-12:00-1:50-4:20-6:50-7:20-9:20 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) 11:20-2:15-4:50 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) 9:35-11:35-2:30-5:10-7:50-10:30 <i>Indian 2</i> 5:30-9:30 Cinemark Fairfax Corner and XD 11900 Palace Way <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) 10:10-1:15-4:10-7:10 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 9:30-12:10-2:50-5:30-8:10-10:30 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 9:45-10:15-10:55-12:45-2:45-3:15-5:45-7:45-8:15-10:15 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) 9:25-9:45-11:05-1:40-2:35-4:15-5:10-6:50-7:50-9:25-10:25 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) 9:25-12:05-2:45-5:25-10:45 <i>Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1</i> (R) 12:15-2:05-5:00-7:40-10:20 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) 11:30-2:15-5:00-7:40-10:20 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) 12:00-2:40-5:10-7:40-10:10 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) 12:30-3:20-6:00-8:50-11:00 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 7:00-9:40 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 11:20-12:30-1:30-2:40-3:40-4:40-5:40-6:40-7:40-8:40-9:40-10:40-11:40 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) 11:40-5:00-10:00 <i>Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024</i> (PG-13) 7:05 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) 11:40-3:00-6:20-9:50 <i>Ucha Dar Babe Nanak Da</i> 11:20-2:20-8:50 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 4:45-7:30-10:40 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 11:30-2:15-5:00-7:45-8:00 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) 12:20-4:55-7:15-9:55 <i>Kalki 2898 AD</i> 2:05-6:20-8:40-9:40 <i>Jatt & Juliet</i> 3:10-2:50-6:10-9:20 <i>Indian 2</i> 1:50-5:50-9:50 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 11:35-2:25 <i>Indian 2</i> 3:00-10:05 Regal Kingstowne 9910 Kingstowne Towne Center <i>Clifford the Big Red Dog</i> (PG) 11:00AM <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) 1:50-4:40-7:30-10:25 <i>Sonic the Hedgehog</i> (PG) 11:00AM <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 7:00-9:40 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 11:40-2:20-8:50 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) 13:00-4:00-6:45-10:20 <i>Thelma</i> (PG-13) 11:20-1:45-4:15-6:45-9:15 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) 10:30-1:15-4:15-7:15-9:15 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) 11:45AM <i>Indian 2</i> 6:15 <i>Blue Planet II</i> (planet azzurro) (NR) 11:45AM <i>The Dream is Alive</i> 2:10 University Mall Theatres 10659 A Braddock Road <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) 12:30-2:45-5:00-7:30-9:35 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) 12:20-2:30-4:45-7:15-9:15 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) 12:00-1:35-4:35-7:00-9:30	
AMC Georgetown 14 3111 K Street NW <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 2:10-10:15 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 10:10 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 7:30 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 11:40-2:10-4:45-7:10-10:00 <i>Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes</i> (PG-13) CC: 4:00 <i>The Bikeriders</i> (R) CC: 4:00 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 12:10-2:40-5:15-7:50-8:30-10:20 <i>Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1</i> (R) CC: 2:00 <i>Touch</i> (R) CC: 1:40-4:30-7:20-10:10 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) CC: 3:20 <i>Despicable Me 4: The IMAX Experience</i> (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:30-10:00 <i>Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024</i> (PG-13) 7:00 <i>Kinds of Kindness</i> (R) CC: 12:20-5:20 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:10-4:10-7:10-9:30 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:30 <i>Inside Out 2 3D</i> (PG) CC: 12:50-6:00 <i>A24 x IMAX Present: Oasis: Supersonic 7.0</i> <i>The Lion King 30th Anniversary</i> (G) CC: 11:50-1:50-4:20-6:50 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:30-4:50-7:30-9:15 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 8:00		AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center 8833 Coleville Road <i>North by Northwest</i> (1959) 1:15-4:00 <i>On the Town</i> (NR) 11:45AM <i>Possessed</i> (1931) (NR) 7:00 <i>Thelma</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:00 <i>A Free Soul</i> (1931) (NR) 11:15AM <i>The Big House</i> 8:45 <i>The Green Berets</i> (Zielona granica) 2:05 <i>Last Summer</i> (2023) 1:45-4:05-6:15-8:30 <i>Thelma</i> (PG-13) 5:00-7:05-9:10 AMC Academy 8 6198 Greenbelt Road <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 1:00-4:00-6:15 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 1:30-4:00-6:30-8:50 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 2:00-7:00-9:30 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 1:20-3:45-6:40 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 2:20-5:00-7:40 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) CC: 5:30-8:00 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) CC: 1:10-4:10-7:10 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) CC: 2:15 <i>Inside Out 2 3D</i> (PG) CC: 4:30 AMC Annapolis Mall #1 1020 Annapolis Mall Road <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 11:05-1:50-4:50-7:40-10:40 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 9:30 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 11:45-2:10-4:35-7:00 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 10:05-11:00-12:30-1:30-3:00-4:00-6:30-9:00 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 12:40-3:20-5:45-8:20-10:50 <i>Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes</i> (PG-13) CC: 6:50 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 12:10-2:45-5:20-8:00-10:30 <i>Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1</i> (R) CC: 10:10 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) 10:00AM <i>Princess Mononoke - Studio Ghibli Fest 2024</i> (PG-13) 7:00 <i>Kinds of Kindness</i> (R) CC: 10:20 <i>Fly Me to the Moon</i> (PG-13) CC: 10:00-1:00-4:10-7:20-10:00 <i>Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:20-3:30-6:10-10:15 <i>Inside Out 2 3D</i> (PG) 11:35AM <i>The Lion King 30th Anniversary</i> (G) CC: 10:15-2:00-4:25 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 11:50-2:30-5:00-7:30-11:00 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 10:45-1:10-3:35-6:00-8:30-9:20 <i>Kinds of Kindness</i> (R) 2:45		AMC Magic Johnson Capital Center 12 800 Shoppers Way <i>Bad Boys Ride or Die</i> (R) CC: 2:30-5:15-8:00 <i>A Quiet Place: Day One</i> (PG-13) CC: 12:10-2:40-5:10-7:40 <i>Despicable Me 4</i> (PG) CC: 1:15-3:45-6:15 <i>Inside Out 2</i> (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30 <i>MaxXXine</i> (R) CC: 12:00-12:25-3:30-6:10-8:45 <i>Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes</i> (PG-13) CC: 7:45 <i>Longlegs</i> (R) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30 <i>Despicable Me 4 3D</i> (PG) CC: 12:45-3:15-5:40-8:10 <i>A24 x IMAX Present: Oasis: Supersonic 7.0</i> CC: 1:45-4:15 <i>Princess Mononoke</i>					

CLASSIC DOONESBURY



PICKLES



BRIAN CRANE

BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE

NORTH
♠ 6 4 3
♥ Q 5
♦ 7 5 2
♣ A Q 10 9 8

WEST
♠ A J 9
♥ 10 9 8 6 4
♦ 10 8 6
♣ K 4

EAST
♠ K 8 7
♥ K 7 2
♦ J 9 3
♣ 16 5 3

SOUTH (D)
♠ Q 10 5 2
♥ A J 3
♦ A K Q 4
♣ 7 2

The bidding:

SOUTH **WEST** **NORTH** **EAST**
1 NT Pass 3 NT All Pass
Opening lead — ♥ 10

Learning players are taught the hard-and-fast rules of defensive play such as “cover an honor.” The problem is that many such rules are hard and few are fast.

Today's West leads the 10 of hearts against 3NT: queen, king, ace. At Trick Two, declarer leads a club.

Say West plays “second hand low,” observing the rule. Dummy plays the 10. If East takes his jack and returns a heart, South wins and leads a second club, and when West's king appears, he has four club tricks, two hearts and four diamonds. East might save one trick by judging the club position and not taking his jack, but South still wins three clubs and nine tricks in all.

Rules are best treated as tendencies. Here, West can't lose anything and may gain by playing his king, second hand high, on the first club. Whether declarer takes dummy's ace or plays low, he wins only two clubs — and goes down.

To put up the king is not an easy play for anyone. That is why we study the game and aspire to improve.

DAILY QUESTION

You hold:

♠ A J 9 ♥ 10 9 8 6 4
♦ 10 8 6 ♣ K 4

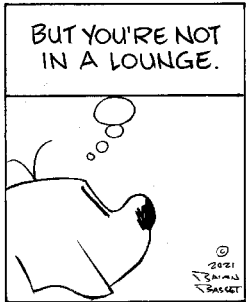
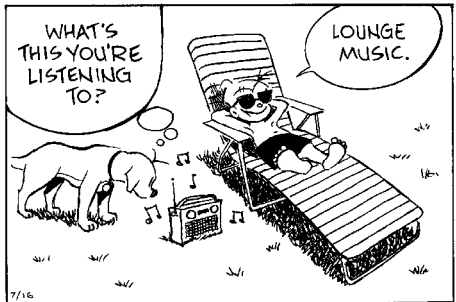
Your partner opens one diamond, you respond one heart, he bids two clubs and you return to two diamonds. Partner next bids two hearts. What do you say?

ANSWER: Your two-diamond preference promised at most 9 points, and partner would have passed if he saw no chance of game. To bid again, he may hold 4, A K 3, K Q 9 5 2, A 8 7 6. With 4, A Q 3, Q 9 7 5 3, A 8 7 6, he would have raised your one-heart response to two. Bid four hearts.

— Frank Stewart

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RED AND ROVER



BRIAN BASSET

AGNES



TONY COCHRAN

FRANK AND ERNEST



SOUNDS LIKE A REASONABLE EXCHANGE TO ME.

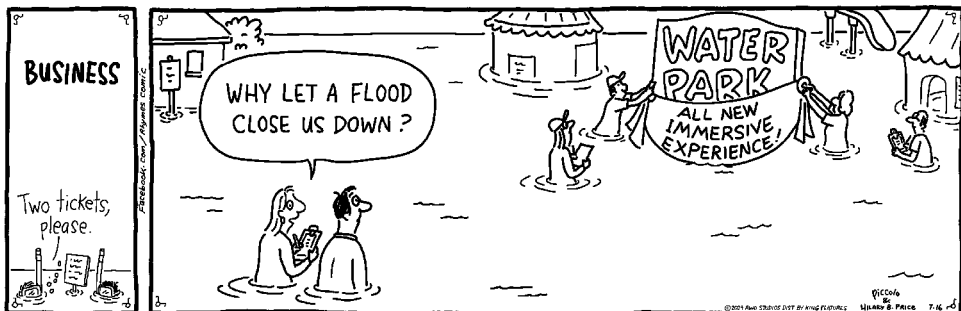
TOM THAVES

CLASSIC PEANUTS



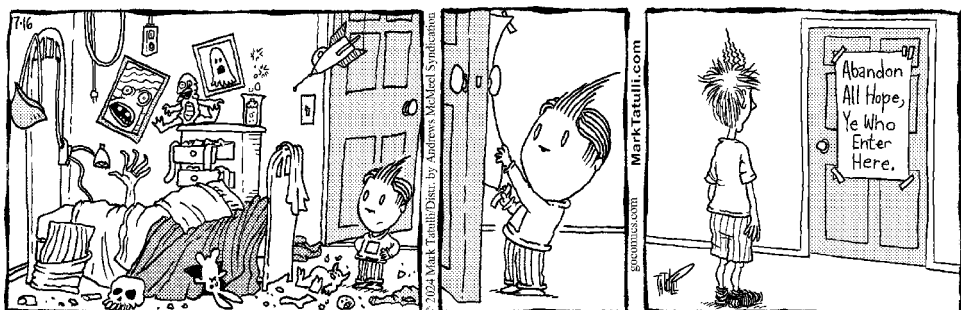
CHARLES SCHULZ

RHYMES WITH ORANGE



HILARY PRICE

LIO



MARK TATULLI

HAGAR THE HORRIBLE



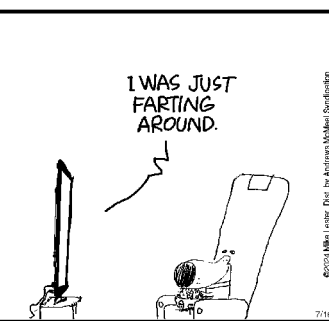
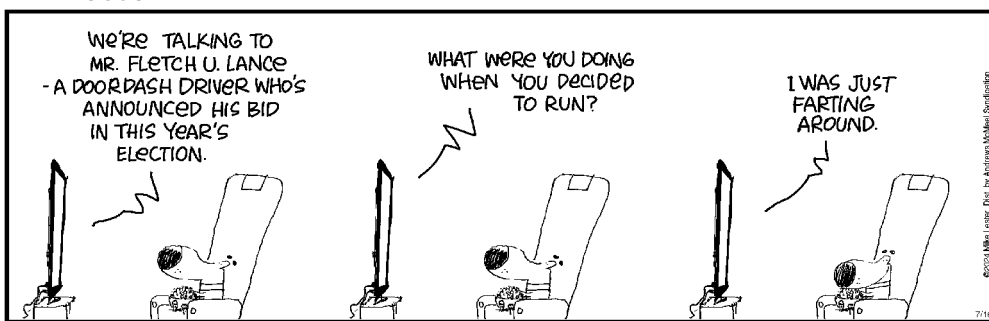
CHRIS BROWNE

BLONDIE



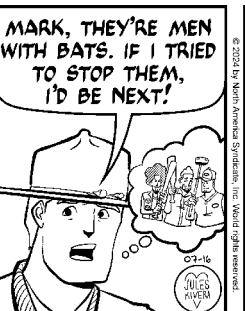
DEAN YOUNG & JOHN MARSHALL

MIKE DU JOUR



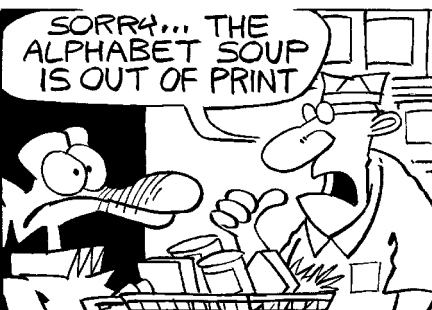
MIKE LESTER

MARK TRAIL



JULES RIVERA

MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



MIKE PETERS

BALDO



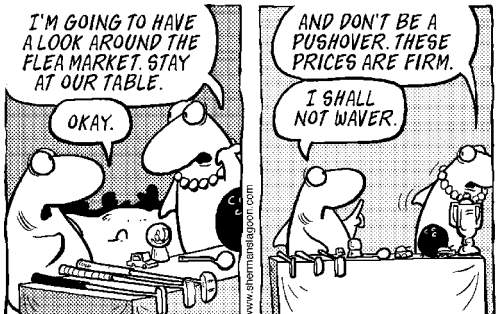
HECTOR CANTU & CARLOS CASTELLANOS

SALLY FORTH



FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE

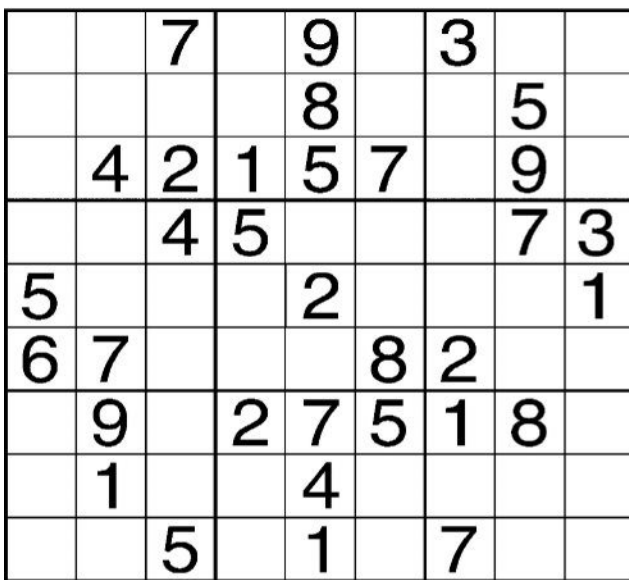
SHERMAN'S LAGOON



JIM TOOMEY

SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.



DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★☆☆☆

SCRABBLE GRAMS

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I	O	U	S	S	C	V
A	A	E	P	L	R	P
A	O	H	C	L	L	R
E	U	L	K	T	M	S

1st Letter Triple
Double Word Score

PAR SCORE 155-165
BEST SCORE 216

FOUR RACK TOTAL
TIME LIMIT: 20 MIN

DIRECTIONS: Make a 2- to 7-letter word from the letters in each row. Add points of each word, using scoring directions at right. Finally, 7-letter words get 50-point bonus. "Blanks" used as any letter have no point value. All the words are in the Official SCRABBLE® Players' Dictionary, 5th Edition. SOLUTION TOMORROW

For more information on tournaments and clubs, email NASPA - North American SCRABBLE Players Association info@scrabbleplayers.org. Visit our website - www.scrabbleplayers.org. For puzzle inquiries contact scrgames@gmail.com

07-16

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS

by David L. Hoyt

How to play
Complete the crossword puzzle by looking at the clues and unscrambling the answers. When the puzzle is complete, unscramble the circled letters to solve the BONUS.

CLUE
1. Vein
5. Cut corners
6. Texas
7. Baptism of fire

ANSWER
RERAT
MSPKI
SAOTT
ERODAL

CLUE
1. Soak up
2. Helen Hunt film
3. Take over for
4. soup

ANSWER
BBRAS
STWERIT
PEACLER
LNTLEI

BONUS
CLUE: More than 100,000 cars a day cross the Bridge.

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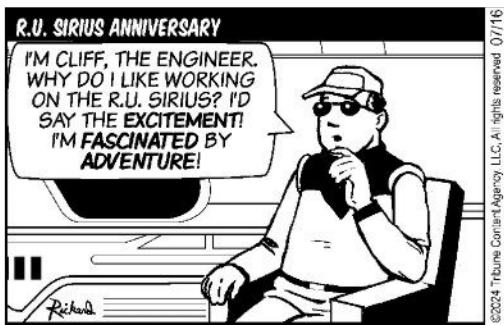
Send comments to TCA - 560 W. Grand Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60654 or D.L.Hoyt@hoytinteractivedesigns.com

CURTIS



RAY BILLINGSLEY

BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



TIM RICKARD

MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL



ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN



HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | JULY 16

You are passionate, adventurous and impulsive. Because you are enthusiastic, you like to share your ideas with others. Simplicity is the key to life this year. Focus on building structures externally or internally. Take charge of your health. Physical exercise will be important.

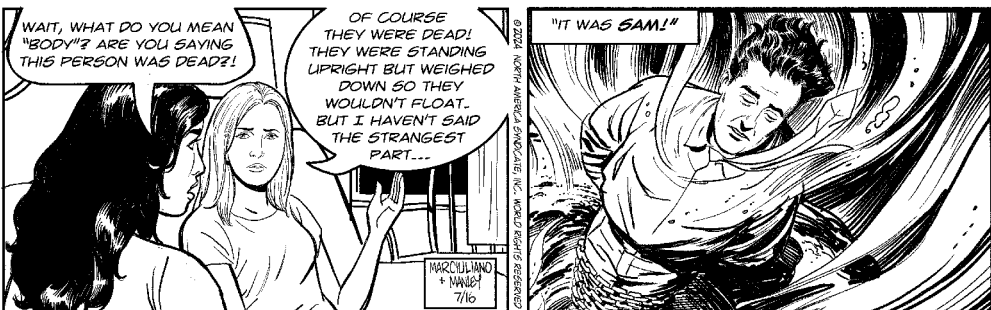
HEART OF THE CITY

STEENZ



JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY



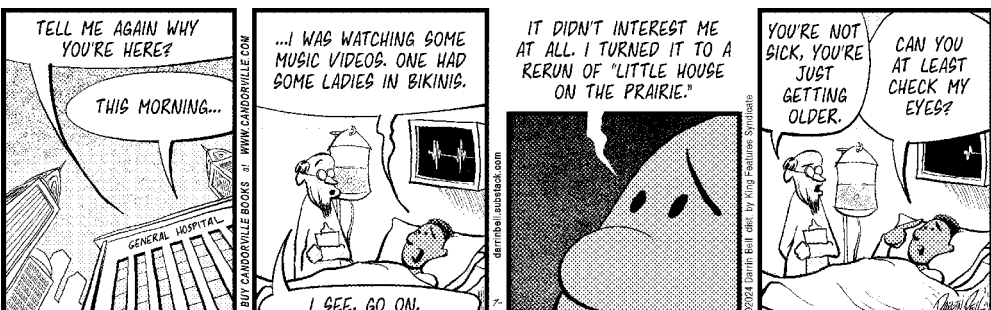
FRAZZ

JEFF MALLETT



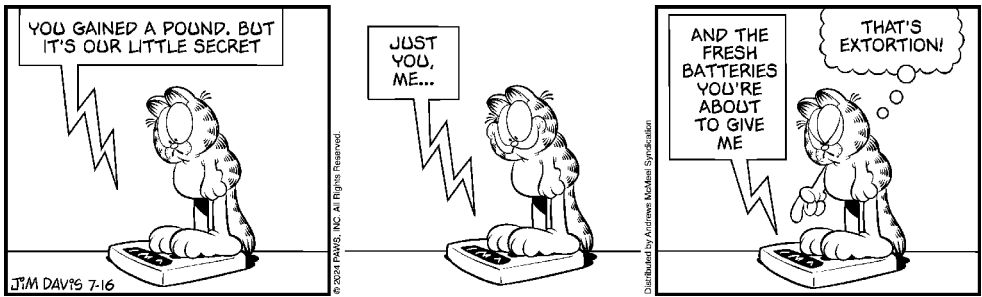
CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL



GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS



BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK



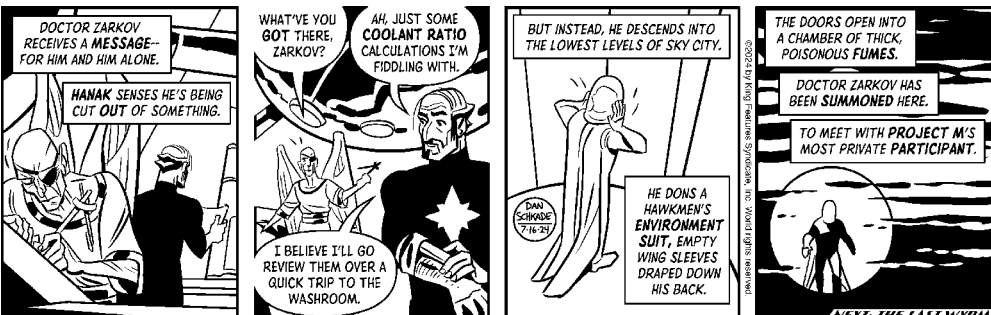
DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER



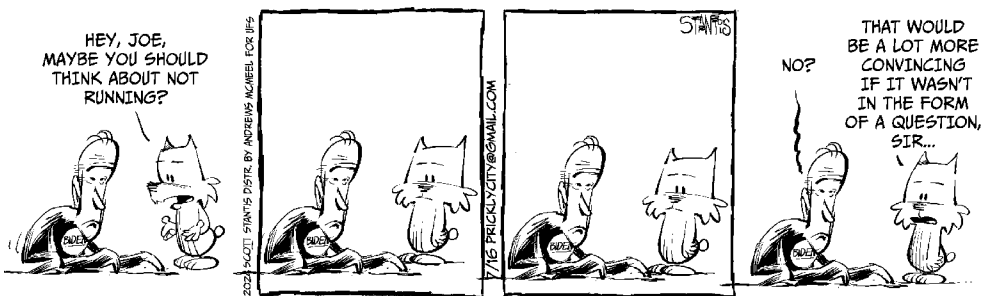
FLASH GORDON

DAN SCHKADE



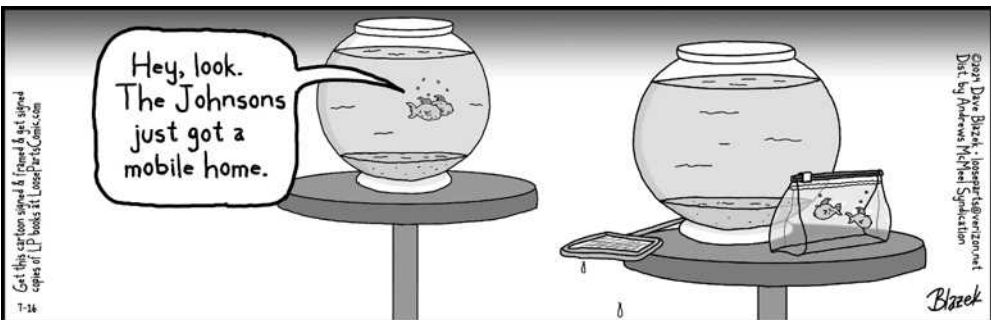
PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS



LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK



NON SEQUITUR

WILEY



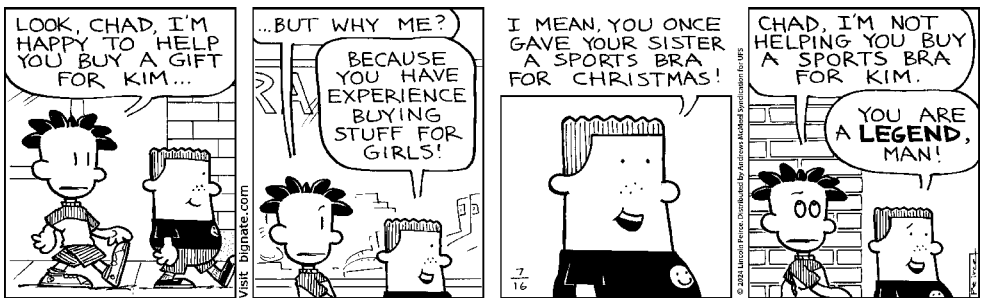
BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT



BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE



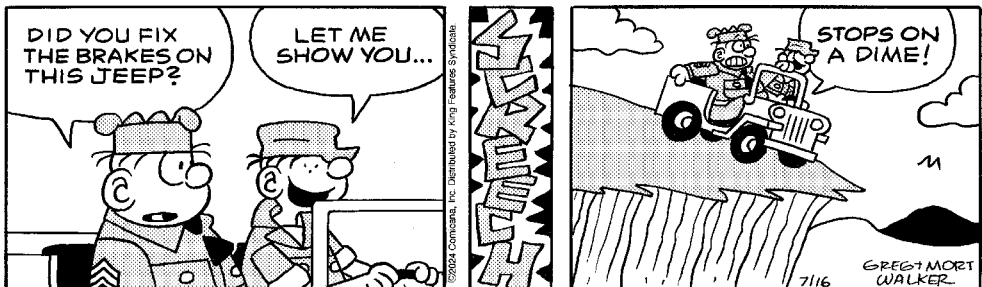
ON THE FASTTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK



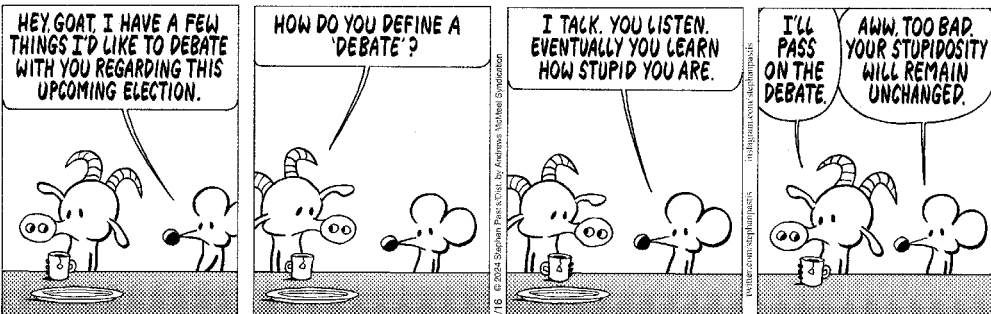
BEEBLE BAILEY

GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS



PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

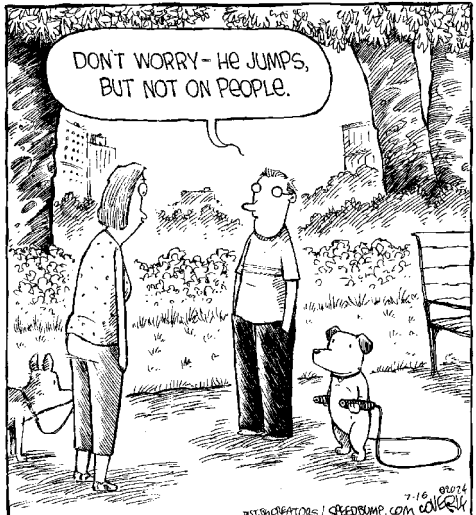
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PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

A	D	W	O	M	A	N	RSACK 1 =	76
M	O	C	K	U	P	N	RSACK 2 =	16
V	O	C	O	D	E	R	RSACK 3 =	71
E	M	O	T	I	H	V	RSACK 4 =	62
PAR SCORE 160-170								TOTAL 225

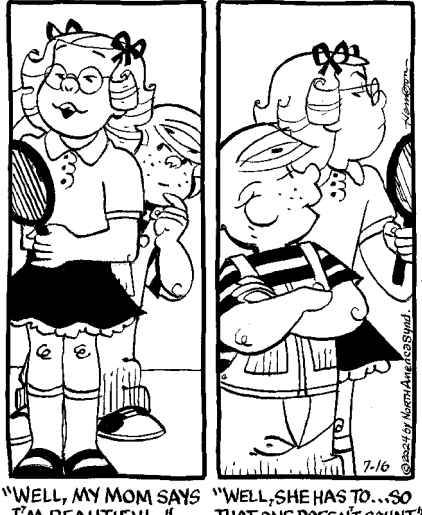
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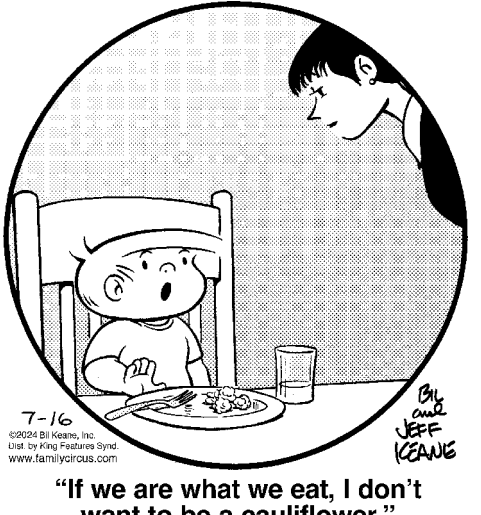
DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM



FAMILY CIRCUS

BIL KEANE



REPLY ALL LITE

DONNA A. LEWIS



Oral history is filled with recollections from JFK Jr.’s friends

BOOK WORLD FROM C1

closeness to the couple was virtually unrivaled. She was staying at their Tribeca apartment the weekend of their deaths; she was the one everybody called in a panic, the one who called Ted Kennedy’s house to tell him his nephew’s plane was missing, the one who boxed up the couple’s effects.

The extent of her access to Kennedy’s inner circle, and the frankness of their recollections, are remarkable. In the first years after Kennedy’s death, few of his famously protective friends spoke to the press, and then it seemed as if they all did, all at once, producing a fire hose of memoirs and documentaries. Terenzio herself has previously done both.

The book benefits from its distance from that gold rush, since Kennedy’s friends no longer need to jealously guard their recollections. It suffers as well, because so few mysteries remain. While “JFK Jr.” almost certainly provides the fullest portrait of Kennedy ever written, stacked with gratifyingly gossipy details, it offers few actual scoops.

Wisely, it doesn’t linger on the well-tilled Camelot years, or on Jack and Jackie Kennedy’s famously fraught relationship. “I’m not so sure he didn’t love her at the end,” says one of Jackie’s confidants, with a notable lack of

JFK JR.
An Intimate Oral Biography
By RoseMarie Terenzio and Liz McNeil
Gallery. 432 pp.
\$30.99



enthusiasm.

The image of John-John (a name he came to hate) saluting his father’s casket came to symbolize the nation’s grief. It was his 3rd birthday, and he had practiced the salute with his Secret Service detail. After that, John F. Kennedy Jr. belonged to everybody.

Jackie, portrayed here as doting but strict, eventually moved her children to Manhattan, hoping to give them regular lives. Classmates remember Kennedy as a mostly normal kid, albeit one who took his friends dancing at Studio 54 and refused to discuss the Warren Commission. “He had a bit of sadness to him,” recalls one of Kennedy’s teachers. “He was a more complicated person than people think.”

Friends describe him as scattered — always late, always losing things, including cars and bicycles — and an indifferent student whose admission to Brown surprised everyone. He would later fail the bar exam twice. “We never thought he’d be very smart,” admits Secret Service agent Clint Hill.

When Kennedy was 27, People magazine named him the Sexiest Man Alive, something that seemed to both embarrass and secretly thrill him. “He knew he was beautiful,” recalls a gossip columnist who knew him. “He spent hours and hours at the gym. I never saw him take a shower with the curtain closed.”

Kennedy developed an alarming taste for adventure that resulted in several near-death experiences. He once wandered off-trail and got lost in the African jungle. He had been fascinated with flying since his days riding with his father in the presidential helicopter. In the air, he was free



Author Liz McNeil.



Author RoseMarie Terenzio.

from the earthbound pressures that came with being a Kennedy, his friend William Cohan says. “He did do a lot of crazy things, but I don’t think he had a death wish. I think he thought he was invincible, which is pretty crazy given his father and uncle were assassinated.”

Under Terenzio and McNeil’s skillful navigation, a portrait of Kennedy emerges: He was a loyal friend, unpretentious and effortlessly likable, skilled at putting norms at ease with his ridiculous fame. He was always the biggest celebrity in any room, and never knew anything else. Regular New Yorkers would stop him on the street to tell him what his

father meant to them. (He usually loved this.) Women, even supermodels, would swoon, sometimes literally.

But when he met and married Calvin Klein executive Carolyn Bessette, the spotlight became unbearable, at least for her. Kennedy’s friends speak of Bessette with what seems like a mixture of fondness, trepidation and resentment. They recall her electric personality, her alternating tendencies toward hostility and warmth, her maternal instincts.

The more they describe her, the more unknowable she seems. (Despite rumors to the contrary, Terenzio says she never saw Bessette-Kennedy use drugs, though

her husband was a daily pot smoker.) She was hunted by paparazzi who would hurl insults to get a reaction, once sending her fleeing into traffic. Toward the end, she became reluctant to leave their apartment. She seemed to be unraveling.

Kennedy, who shared his family’s famous determination to get on with things, was mostly unsympathetic. It didn’t help that the photographers who tormented Bessette-Kennedy would pretend to be kind to her when he was around. “He could have done more to help her,” one friend observes. “He was brilliant in the deep end, so he thought Carolyn could do the same.”

If there’s one surprising thing “JFK Jr.” reveals, it’s how much the tabloids were right: about the tension between the couple in their last days, their likely extramarital dalliances, and the fact that Carolyn, unenthused at the prospect of putting on a brave face at Rory Kennedy’s wedding that terrible weekend, almost didn’t go.

On the day of the crash, Kennedy, according to one friend, was “fighting to turn around his life.” His marriage was crumbling, his best friend and cousin Anthony Radziwill was dying, and he was estranged from his beloved sister, Caroline. Neither sibling liked the other’s spouse, and Caroline, who did not speak for the book, is portrayed as frosty and distant throughout.

According to those who knew him, Kennedy was beginning to cautiously embrace his political destiny. The night before the crash, he told a friend he wanted to challenge New York Gov. George E. Pataki, the first stop on a likely inexorable road to the White House.

It had always been both obvious and necessary that he would pick up the mantle of the Kennedy family. He was their last charismatic member. At the time of his death, he was still struggling to figure out his own way there. “He wanted to be his own person,” recalls boxer Mike Tyson, a friend of Kennedy’s. “But how do you become your own person . . . when you almost belong to everybody?”

Allison Stewart writes about pop culture, music and politics for The Washington Post and the Chicago Tribune. She is working on a book about the history of the space program.

51st founders say they’re using the site to fill void left by closure of DCist

THE 51ST FROM C1

that night, only half-joking. “When are we going to do this? We need this as a city.”

That pipe dream eventually led to a core group of six colleagues talking to local journalism start-up experts from around the country, drawing up business plans and filing legal paperwork.

On Tuesday, they will debut their project, along with a fund-raising campaign that they hope will propel it into a sustainable future.

“All six of us have been working in a volunteer capacity putting just love, sweat and dreams into it,” Poore said. “We are spending our own money to stand this up, like we’re digging into our dwindling savings accounts.”

As local newspapers across the country have shriveled — victims of changing readership habits, an evaporating ad business and corporate cost-cutting — some enterprising journalists have attempted to keep coverage of their communities alive through independent start-ups.

“All these sites are trying to meet a community need,” said Amy Kovac-Ashley, executive director of the nonprofit Tiny News Collective, “and all these people

raising their hands are seeing the needs in their own communities.”

Such an endeavor can be daunting, she said. “Local journalism is not something that is easy to scale.”

Tiny News Collective, which offers services to media start-ups such as guidance on how to establish a board and advice on how to navigate hiring and staffing, is serving as the 51st’s fiscal sponsor while it awaits the IRS nonprofit designation that will allow it to accept donations directly.

The 51st’s staffers hope to raise \$250,000 in the next 30 days to fund their site for six months as they continue to apply for grants and seek donations.

It will be operated as a worker-run newsroom, a model followed by other media start-ups as well, such as New York’s Hell Gate and Defector, which are funded by subscriptions.

The 51st was also inspired by nonprofit newsrooms LA Public Press and the Outlier in Detroit — which, in addition to covering the ins and outs of local government, has also published practical guidance on getting your landlord to fix your toilet and other “how-to” pieces.

DCist covered the city budget,



The staff of the 51st, from left, Natalie Delgadillo, Abigail Higgins, Teresa Frontado (on the screen), Maddie Poore, Colleen Grablick and Eric Falquero. The site will deliver hyperlocal Washington news.

breaking news and other serious matters, as well as life-in-the-city amusements, such as overheard conversations on Metro trains. Founded as a blog in 2004, it was run by volunteers before it became a more professional operation with a staff editor and a fleet of freelance writers.

Along with sister site Gothamist, DCist was abruptly shut down in 2017 by its billionaire owner after unionization attempts. WAMU in Washington and New York’s WNYC, both nonprofit public radio stations, acquired the local sites, and WAMU eventually merged the DCist newsroom with its own.

At its peak, said former executive editor Teresa Frontado,

DCist drew an average of 1.6 million readers a month — though that number dropped to 600,000 by the time it was shut down, which she attributed to earlier cutbacks. About 57,000 people subscribed to the DCist newsletter.

She pointed to those figures as evidence that there is an audience for the 51st. “There was a sadness [when DCist shut down]. We care deeply about what we do,” Frontado said. “But I saw an opportunity to contribute instead of just lamenting the end of a project.”

While the Beltway is home to several massive media organizations that cover federal institutions and national politics, local

news operations in the area have experienced cutbacks, including the Metro staff of The Washington Post, news station WTOP and alt-weekly City Paper.

“We’re kind of in this unique position where it’s a city that is saturated with journalists — it has one of the highest concentrations of journalists of most cities — and yet there are very few resources to do local reporting,” said Abigail Higgins, a former DCist editor.

The 51st’s staffers say they aim to “co-create” journalism with residents by having regular, direct conversations about the kinds of coverage that locals want, Higgins said. “We want to make sure that D.C. residents are

represented in our reporting, just like D.C. residents deserve representation in government.” They plan to host community listening sessions and hire freelancers in each of the city’s wards.

As former DCist managing editor Natalie Delgadillo put it: Instead of “reporting on D.C.,” they hope to think of themselves as “reporting for D.C. . . . and you can’t do that by sitting around and guessing or talking to your friends only. It takes a lot of effort and deep engagement.”

The worker-directed aspect, they said, will allow them to try experiments that may have been mired in corporate bureaucracy, such as distributing digital stories through printouts or sharing information via WhatsApp groups.

Although they say they aren’t trying to re-create DCist — and, in fact, passed on the idea of trying to obtain DCist’s archives from WAMU — they do want to preserve some of DCist’s irreverence, by publishing “pride of place” stories that highlight the quirkiness of D.C.’s neighborhoods.

“We were very intentional about not relaunching DCist,” said staffer Eric Falquero. “This is something new, of wanting to take the best pieces of what we did together there, and build upon that and expand.” He wants to reach DCist’s fans but also “look beyond the audiences we had there.”

“We’re in it for the long haul,” he said.

That is, if they get the support they need to pull it off.

20-year-old listens to racist rapper. Does his parent have a duty to speak up?



Adapted from an online discussion.

Dear Carolyn: What do you say (if anything) when your 20-year-old likes a certain rapper who advocates for the death and destruction of your/his race? Said 20-year-old does not agree with said rapper’s comments but still follows him on social media and still likes his music.

I know my son is no longer a child. I also know, “The ultimate tragedy is not the oppression and cruelty by the bad people but the silence over that by the good people.” I’m trying to respect boundaries. I’m also extremely disheartened. Thank you.

— Do I Say Anything?

Do I Say Anything?: Ugh. I hate this question. I hate the circumstances that make it so relevant. I hate the messiness that makes it so hard to answer. I hate that just before this chat, I was enjoying a video by

my kid’s team manager — great kid, talented, works hard — set to music by a notoriously Nazi-curious performer.

Here’s all I’ve got: It is a parent’s job to raise children to find their way to sound moral reasoning. It is not a parent’s job to do the moral reasoning for their children, or to get them to the point of perfect soundness today/by tomorrow/immediately upon adulthood. Or to keep trying to rear them when they’re clearly adults. Ahem.

Think back to your beliefs at his age, and before, and after, and I think it’ll be clear that beliefs always evolve and deepen with time. We get there when we get there, at our own pace, using or discarding new information and others’ input as we see fit. You may have listened to offensive artists yourself at 20, but thrown away the recordings at 40.

Plus: A moral artist’s own reckoning with artists of grim character can be complicated. Are there painters whose personal lives you know to be problematic? Okay. Do you turn



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

your eyes away from their works? Or do you look and admire because it was ... enough years ago? You’re seeing them free? The artists can’t profit? No one knows you’re looking? Everyone was an oppressor back then!!

What about movies? With so

many in the cast and crew and front office, do you boycott for one corrupted influence? The whole Miramax oeuvre: out?

So where does this land as far as advice ... good question. That also depends on your kid, and how responsive he is to a parental intrusion on his

thoughts. Some young adults will gratefully engage, some will eye-roll — and some are still immature enough to double down just because you butted in. That has a way of blurring even clear moral lines.

Overall, I advise playing the long game. Trust that your

moral teachings have hit their mark and will be absorbed *as he is receptive to them*. If you can’t stop your mouth from moving, then I urge conversation over pronouncements. “How do you feel about X’s music since [relevant events]? I always struggle myself with art vs. the artist.” Then listen, listen, listen, because you’ve reared him already, and because you may just learn something from him.

Part of why this question is so challenging is that soft approaches feel wrong in the presence of such casual dehumanization. If ever there were a time for arm-flapping outrage, this would be it, right?

But what’s the point of the outrage: for its own sake, or to persuade? That’s both the crux of this answer and one entirely unto itself.

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 washingtontimes.com/live-chats.

PRO FOOTBALL

Hall of Famer Terrell Davis says he was “humiliated” on a United flight after an interaction with an attendant. **D2**

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

SEC Commissioner Greg Sankey was served repeated expansion questions during media days. He didn’t bite. **D2**

GOLF

Lexi Thompson, who announced her planned retirement this year, still could have a Solheim Cup role to play. **D4**

RETROPOLIS

Home run king denied second shot at history

After passing Ruth, Aaron wanted to be the first Black manager

BY FREDERIC J. FROMMER

A half-century ago, despite growing pressure from civil rights leaders and high-profile Black baseball players, no major league team had hired a Black manager. The issue got a national airing at that year’s All-Star Game when newly crowned home run king Hank Aaron called out his own team, the Atlanta Braves, who had just bypassed him for a managerial vacancy.

Aaron was still an active player, but player-managers were not yet extinct, with several active players earning managerial jobs before the end of the 1970s. And Aaron wasn’t pleased with how Atlanta addressed its opening.

“The situation could’ve been handled more tastefully,” Aaron told reporters at the 1974 game in Pittsburgh. “I think I deserved to be asked.”

After firing Eddie Mathews in late June, the Braves selected Clyde King as their interim manager. Aaron, 40, had broken Babe Ruth’s career home run record that season, which would be his last in Atlanta.

“Maybe they were afraid I’d say yes, I’d like the job,” he said during the all-star break. “And maybe I would have, just so there’d be a breakthrough. There are plenty more qualified ones than me, but you don’t see any of them getting a job.”

Aaron argued that the California Angels should have hired Frank Robinson when they had a managerial opening earlier that year; that job went to Dick Williams instead. After the season, the Cleveland Indians named Robinson the sport’s first Black manager — meriting a congratulatory telegram from President Gerald Ford. Robinson became the team’s player-manager at the start of the 1975 season.

In 1974, Aaron also talked up his younger brother Tommie Aaron, who was managing Atlanta’s Class AA team in Savannah, Ga.,

SEE AARON ON **D4**



AARON GASH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

CJ Abrams, the Nationals’ 23-year-old shortstop, is a first-time all-star who will be on the National League roster Tuesday night.

All-star affirmation

After achieving a childhood dream, Abrams called his dad, who helped him believe

BY ANDREW GOLDEN

CJ Abrams often speaks in absolutes. It’s never a matter of if with Abrams but when. His dad, Chris, preached to him that the first person who had to believe in CJ was CJ himself. It didn’t take long for his son to embrace that message.

When Abrams was growing up in Alpharetta, Ga., he would watch the Home Run Derby and the All-Star Game with his dad. And he would turn to him and talk about his future in the game, using phrases such as “when I’m in the All-Star Game” or “when I’m in the Home Run Derby.”

This month, Abrams learned a childhood dream would become reality: The Washington Nationals’ 23-year-old shortstop will be on the roster for the National League at the

All-Star Game on Tuesday night in Arlington, Tex. Upon hearing the news, Abrams called his dad but struggled to find the words to match the moment.

“I made it,” he said. Back in Georgia, Chris Abrams understood.

“Of course he wanted to make it, like any kid,” Chris Abrams said. “And as soon as he said, ‘I made it,’ I knew exactly what he meant. ... He’s not a man of many words, but I could tell that he was super excited and a little emotional. He doesn’t show much, but at that point, you could see it on his face, like, ‘Wow, I actually made it.’”

Abrams and his dad talk at least once a day, sometimes more. The conversations help Abrams, who arrived in Washington in 2022 as part of the Juan Soto trade with San Diego,

decompress after games.

They avoid discussing the routine groundballs that turn into errors or the first-pitch swings he wished he had back. Instead, they focus on the highlight-reel catches or the multi-hit nights. In April, there was a lot that went well. But Chris was more proud of his son in May, when he struggled but made the necessary adjustments to have a better June. They knew the all-star nod was possible, but they weren’t sure he would make the NL roster.

Then came the phone call, which Abrams said was full of laughs and fond memories of a rich, shared baseball life — such as when CJ, at 5, hit his first home run at a park in Georgia. Or when CJ, at 21, hit his first home run as a Padre. Or the nights

SEE ABRAMS ON **D3**

MLB All-Star Game: 8 p.m., Fox | **Finnegan gets call:** Nats’ closer added to NL roster. **D3** | **Derby:** Hernández wins a thriller. **D3**

Bethune gives U.S. women’s youth movement a boost

BY ELLA BROCKWAY

Croix Bethune needed less than 90 seconds to announce her arrival to the U.S. national team.

The 23-year-old Washington Spirit midfielder, an alternate on Coach Emma Hayes’s roster for the Paris Olympics, made her senior international debut in the 81st minute of Saturday’s 1-0 win over Mexico, the first of two send-off games.

In the 82nd minute, Bethune got a short pass from Lynn Williams and positioned herself for a strike just 22 yards. Her shot sailed just wide of the left goal post, but it earned a roar from the sold-out Red Bull Arena crowd in Harrison, N.J., and admiration from her U.S. teammates.

“She’s awesome, huh?” captain Lindsey Horan said. “She did wonderful. It’s just amazing when any player can step in and do that.”

Defender Casey Krueger, watching from the sideline, was “over-the-moon excited” to see her Spirit teammate settle right in. (“I was like, ‘Oh, girl,’” Krueger recalled. “She’s a shooter.”)

Added midfielder Sam Coffey: “She’s got some swag, that girl. And she came on just looking cool as can be. ... I think it’s easy for players to come on in their first cap and play it safe, and that’s not who she is, and I love that. I think she’s an incredible player and she’ll have a long future on this team.”



BRAD SMITH/ISI PHOTOS/GETTY IMAGES

Croix Bethune, pictured with U.S. assistant Twila Kilgore, is having a breakout season for the Spirit.

From U.S. national team great Megan Rapinoe, chiming in on Instagram: “First of [infinity].”

Bethune’s post-match commentary: “I can’t stop smiling.”

The U.S. debut capped an eventful week for the Alpharetta, Ga., native, who has taken the NWSL by storm in her rookie campaign. On July 11, she became the first player to earn three consecutive rookie of the month honors. She

has five goals and a league-leading nine assists, one away from matching the NWSL record, and received her first invitation to U.S. senior camp last month.

“She’s a really quiet character but someone who cares deeply about all of the things, all of the processes to be able to perform at that level,” Hayes said. “She’s an old soul, I told her the other day — someone who doesn’t miss a sin-

gle step to put herself in the best place to perform in any and every situation. She holds herself to the highest of standards.”

In her brief time in charge, Hayes has made development a priority. Bethune is the third

SEE BETHUNE ON **D4**

Costa Rica at United States

Friendly at Audi Field
7:30 p.m., TNT, Universo

Even with the NBA’s best, gold cannot be assumed



Jerry Brewer

bias is a helluva drug. However, the current squad ought to have greater concerns than wondering about a mythical game of legends.

Before these American NBA players get to compete against history, they must make their own memories. Although the tally of their NBA accomplishments may suggest this is one of the dreamiest teams ever, the mission to win an Olympic gold medal continues to get more difficult. There’s no time for what-ifs, unless the question ponders the possibility of losing with an “A” squad.

What if our best isn’t good enough?

And even if our best still gets the job done, how close is USA Basketball to ceding absolute superiority?

At the Paris Olympics, we shouldn’t look at the results only as a referendum on Team USA. The greater pursuit should be to gain clarity about the entire state of this global game.

I’d argue the United States has yet to lose when it fields its best team of pro players. The setbacks have come when it rolls out “B” and “C” teams, either out of negligence or desperation because others declined to play.

This will be the ninth Olympics of the NBA era. In the previous eight, the Americans have gone 58-4 with seven gold medals and one bronze in Olympic play. Three of those losses came during the 2004 Athens Games, when an ill-fitting roster of emerging stars and mostly inefficient veterans shuffled to a third-place finish. The other loss came three years ago during the Tokyo Olympics, but the Americans recovered to win gold.

Put those losses with erratic FIBA World Cup efforts — including seventh- and fourth-place showings the past two tournaments — and the novelty of the United States losing with NBA players has mostly worn off. It’s still a major headline when the pros lose. It still inspires appropriate criticism, especially when the biggest stars waver on their commitment to the national team. But while we scrutinize our domestic player development practices and the athletes’ constant yo-yoing

SEE BREWER ON **D5**

Now at Class AAA, Nats prospect remains ahead of schedule

BY CHELSEA JANES

ARLINGTON, TEX. — While many of his fellow prospects on the National League roster for the All-Star Futures Game chatted with a local reporter or two Saturday morning, Dylan Crews welcomed more than a half-dozen journalists at his locker. They came and went, one after the other, which wasn’t exactly surprising. Crews was, after all, the No. 2 pick in last year’s draft and is a call away from the majors just 12 months later.

But reporters were not flocking to Crews because of what he was going to be doing on the field Saturday. Instead, many of them wanted to ask about what a former LSU teammate, Paul Skenes, will be doing at Globe Life Field on Tuesday night. Skenes, last year’s first pick and a rookie of the year candidate for the Pittsburgh Pirates, will be the starting pitcher at the All-Star Game for the NL, making him the first rookie in nearly 30 years to get the honor.

“I’m very happy for him. He deserves everything,” Crews said. “I’m not surprised at all that he’s starting.”

Crews and Skenes have been tied to each other by the strange strands of baseball history for quite some time. Crews’s first collegiate home run came off Skenes, when the big right-hander was at Air Force. By the time Skenes transferred to LSU for the Tigers’ 2023 championship run, Crews had established himself as one of the more accomplished collegiate hitters in recent memory. This time last year, the pair seemed certain to go first and second in the draft, with the only question being which player would be picked at No. 1.

The Pirates took Skenes. The Nationals took Crews. Crews has hurtled through the minor leagues and is hitting .253 with a .713 OPS in his first 20 games at Class AAA Rochester, a résumé that would make him one of the faster movers in a typical draft class.

SEE CREWS ON **D3**

THE DAY IN SPORTS

PRO FOOTBALL

Davis calls for justice after incident on flight

Pro Football Hall of Famer and former Denver Broncos running back **Terrell Davis** said he was wrongfully led off a United Airlines flight in handcuffs after an incident with an attendant Saturday.

In a lengthy post published to his Instagram and X accounts Monday, Davis said he was with his wife, two sons and daughter on a flight from Denver to John Wayne Airport in Orange County, Calif., when a flight attendant alleged Davis hit him. Davis said one of his sons asked the attendant for a cup of ice during the beverage service and the flight attendant “either didn’t hear or ignored” Davis’s son and continued on.

Davis, according to his statement, “lightly tapped” on the attendant’s arm to get his attention and ask again for the cup of ice.

Davis alleged that the attendant responded, “Don’t hit me,” and headed to the front of the plane, leaving his beverage cart. Davis wrote that he was confused by the attendant’s actions but took it as nothing more than him being “rude and blatantly wrong in his accusations of me hitting him.” Davis said he did not interact further with the attendant for the remainder of the flight. But once on the ground, according to Davis, the pilot instructed the passengers to stay seated as six FBI agents and law enforcement officers boarded the plane.

Davis said the agents and local authorities proceeded to his seat, placed him in handcuffs without explanation and removed him from the flight while his wife and children watched and “multiple” passengers recorded the incident but remained silent.

“I was — and remain — humiliated, embarrassed, powerless, and angry,” Davis wrote on social media, adding that the federal agents and local authorities determined during their questioning of him that the attendant was “inaccurate in his accusations.” The agents, according to Davis, “profusely apologized” and offered to support Davis and his family “in any way possible.”

“I refuse to stand by without speaking out on this disgusting display of injustice and deplorable treatment by United Airlines,” Davis added. “... These lies and the ensuing events have the capacity to tarnish the reputation I have spent decades building, and this person should not be able to do this again to anyone in the future.”

When reached for comment, the FBI said it does not provide specifics or names of those who might have been interviewed unless an incident leads to charges that become public. But the agency and the public information office at John Wayne Airport provided a statement acknowledging that FBI agents and law enforcement partners of the airport responded to a report of an incident on a flight that landed there Saturday.

“One individual was detained for questioning, was cooperative with law enforcement and was released to continue his travels,” the statement continued.

Davis said in his social media post that he had not heard anything from United Airlines and was seeking “a thorough and proper investigation” into the flight attendant, which United said was underway.

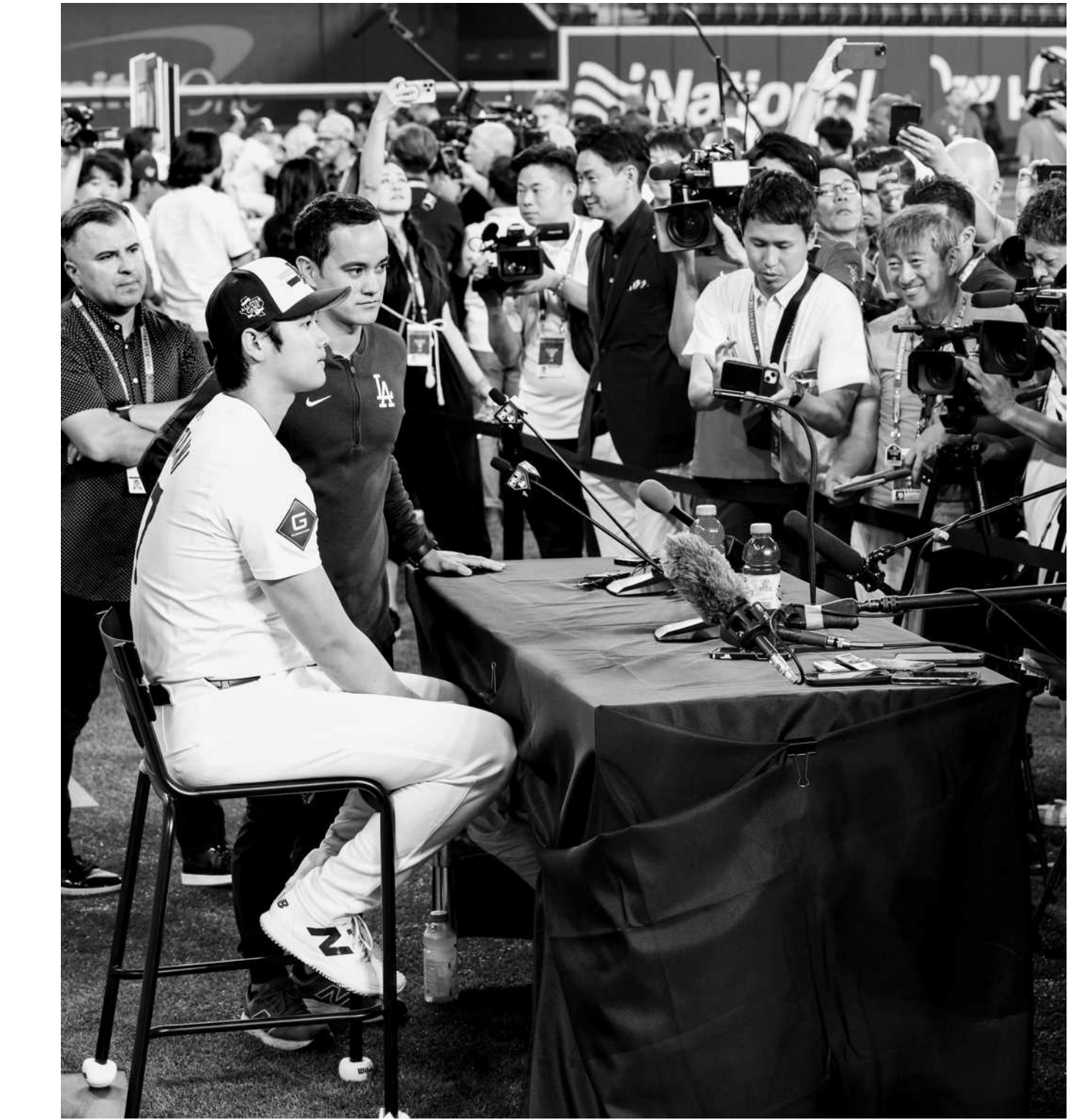
“This is clearly not the kind of travel experience we strive to provide, and we have reached out to Mr. Davis’s team to apologize,” the airline said in a statement. “We have removed the flight attendant from duty while we closely review this matter.”

Davis, a sixth-round pick by the Denver Broncos in 1995, played eight seasons for the franchise, winning a pair of Super Bowl rings and a Super Bowl MVP award. He was the NFL MVP in 1998 after becoming the fourth player in league history to rush for more than 2,000 yards in a season. Davis was inducted to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 2017.

— *Nicki Jhabvala*

Minnesota Vikings wide receiver **Jordan Addison** was arrested in California on suspicion of driving under the influence. The Vikings said they were aware of the incident and gathering more information but had no further comment.

According to the California Highway Patrol, an officer responded Friday night to a report of a disabled vehicle blocking a lane on the westbound Interstate 105 exit to Sepulveda Boulevard that leads



ELIAS VALVERDE IV/ASSOCIATED PRESS

No dodging the spotlight

Dodgers superstar Shohei Ohtani speaks with reporters during MLB All-Star Game media day Monday in Arlington, Tex.

SPOTLIGHT: COLLEGE FOOTBALL

SEC commissioner says 16 is enough for now

BY JESSE DOUGHERTY

DALLAS — Other than football, the theme at SEC Media Days is bigger and better and maybe-you-hadn’t-heard-but-Texas-and-Oklahoma-joined-the-best-conference-in-America-meaning-now-it’s-really-honestly-the-best-conference-in-America-thanks.

But what about even bigger? With Clemson and Florida State locked in legal battles with the ACC — and with no end in sight for either case — what about further expansion, should those schools or others be looking for a new home down the line?

“We’re focused on our 16 — period,” Greg Sankey, the SEC’s commissioner, said at the Omni Dallas Hotel on Monday morning. He was answering the second of three straight questions about whether the conference might be considering

additional members. Clemson and Florida State were specifically mentioned. Sankey didn’t bite.

“My job is to make sure we meet the standard of excellence that we have for ourselves on a daily basis. That attracts interest,” he continued. “It’s done that with the two universities that we have added this year. They’re not the only phone calls I’ve ever had, but I’m not involved in recruitment. Our presidents have been clear that I am not going to entangle us in litigation around expansion. So I pay attention, but I’m not engaged in those conversations.

“In fact, as I understand, the issue [in the Clemson and Florida State cases] is agreements have been signed, the decisions have been made among a conference, and the question is are those going to be honored as they were established? And apparently that’s for a court to

decide now.”

With each passing year, the guise of college sports as anything but business keeps receding. The NCAA, power conferences and plaintiffs’ attorneys for *House v. NCAA* are hashing out a legal settlement that would permit schools to share revenue directly with athletes. In Dallas, in his State of the SEC address Monday, Sankey noted that the conference has partnered with Apple for the iPads that will be used on football sidelines this fall. He shouted out Southwest Airlines, the new official airline of the SEC, then Regions Bank, the official sponsor of four days of breathless interviews.

So, really, even with Texas and Oklahoma on board, more expansion — more, more, more — wasn’t a crazy thing to float Monday. It just maybe wasn’t a conversation for a packed ballroom.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

MLB

8 p.m. **All-Star Game** » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45), WSBN (630 AM)

WNBA

11:30 a.m. **Phoenix at Washington** » Monumental Sports Network

NBA SUMMER LEAGUE — LAS VEGAS

4 p.m. **Indiana vs. Phoenix** » ESPN2
4:30 p.m. **New York vs. Brooklyn** » NBA TV
6 p.m. **Charlotte vs. Denver** » ESPN2
6:30 p.m. **Chicago vs. Detroit** » NBA TV
8 p.m. **Philadelphia vs. Minnesota** » ESPN2
8:30 p.m. **Washington vs. Portland** » Monumental Sports Network, NBA TV
10 p.m. **Los Angeles Clippers vs. Milwaukee** » ESPN2
10:30 p.m. **New Orleans vs. San Antonio** » NBA TV

SOCCER

1 p.m. **Women’s European Championship qualifying, League A: Belgium at Spain** » CBS Sports Network
6 p.m. **Copa Sudamericana round of 32, first leg: Racing CM at Huachipato** » BeIN Sports
7:30 p.m. **Women’s friendly: Costa Rica at United States** » TNT, Universo
8:30 p.m. **Copa Sudamericana round of 32, first leg: Internacional at Rosario Central** » BeIN Sports

TENNIS

5 a.m. **ATP: Hall of Fame Open, Hamburg Open, Swiss Open and Nordea Open, early rounds; WTA: Hungarian Grand Prix and Palermo Ladies Open, early rounds** » Tennis Channel

According to Jesurún’s arrest report, he was accused of becoming “irate” when told by a security staffer to wait instead of going directly through a door leading from the stadium tunnel to the field. The staffer, identified as **Jakari Shaw**, was said to have been instructed by his company’s management to “temporarily hold back the pedestrians” at that spot. Jesurún and his son were said to have approached Shaw and begun yelling at him from “inches” away. When Shaw put his hand on the chest of Jamil Jesurún to “guide him back,” per the report, the elder Jesurún pushed the staffer.

Jamil Jesurún was then said to have grabbed Shaw around the neck, pulled him to the ground and delivered two punches. While Shaw was still on the ground, Jamil Jesurún kicked him in the head, per police. Jesurún’s son was alleged to have grabbed and pushed a female staffer who tried to intervene and to have punched a security supervisor who arrived at the scene. Jesurún also was accused of striking the supervisor.

— *Des Bieler*

OLYMPICS

Drug testing increased for China’s swimmers

Chinese swimmers going to the Paris Olympics are undergoing increased drug testing of at least eight times this year before the Games, World Aquatics said.

The Chinese swim team in Paris is set to have 11 athletes who tested positive for a banned heart medication in 2021, six months before the Tokyo Olympics. They avoided being suspended. In Tokyo, the swimmers won three gold medals.

A Chinese state-backed investigation in June 2021 blamed mass contamination by food in a hotel kitchen, though without evidence to prove it. The World Anti-Doping Agency has been widely criticized for accepting the explanation. ...

Olympic mountain bike champion **Jolanda Neff** and **Marlen Reusser**, the reigning time trial silver medalist, withdrew from the Paris Games in a double blow to the hopes of the Swiss cycling team.

The Swiss Cycling Federation announced the riders have been dealing with illnesses. Olympic silver medalist **Sina Frei** will take Neff’s spot. **Elena Hartmann** will replace Reusser in the time trial and road race.

COLLEGES

Fresno State’s Tedford resigns, citing health

Fresno State football coach **Jeff Tedford** announced he’s stepping down because of health concerns.

Tedford, 62, led the Bulldogs to a 44-22 record in five seasons, including two Mountain West Conference championships and four bowl victories.

Assistant head coach and linebackers coach **Tim Skipper** will be the interim head coach this season. ...

Talladega College is planning to drop its women’s gymnastics program after just one season, but the gymnasts at the historically Black school aren’t giving up on saving their team.

They turned to GoFundMe trying to raise \$500,000 by the end of July, bringing in more than \$14,000 as of Monday. Talladega College last year became the second HBCU to start a gymnastics program, joining Fisk University.

MISC.

Nadal draws a crowd in return to tour play

Rafael Nadal returned to the clay courts in Bastad, Sweden, for the first time in 19 years by teaming up with **Casper Ruud** to win a first-round doubles match at the Nordea Open.

Nadal won the singles title as a 19-year-old in 2005, and this is his first time back as he prepares for the Olympic tournament on clay at Roland Garros in Paris.

Nadal and Ruud won against second-seeded **Guido Andreozzi** and **Miguel Reyes-Varela**, 6-1, 6-4, in front of a packed crowd that came to see the 38-year-old Spaniard play his first tour match since May, when he lost in the first round of the French Open to **Alexander Zverev**. ...

Forward **Quinton Byfield** agreed to a five-year, \$31.25 million contract extension with the Los Angeles Kings. The deal runs through the 2028-29 season.

— *From news services and staff reports*

BASEBALL

NATIONALS NOTES

Addition of Finnegan makes it two Nats on National League all-star squad

BY SPENCER NUSBAUM

The Washington Nationals landed a second all-star Monday afternoon when closer Kyle Finnegan received word that he would replace St. Louis Cardinals closer Ryan Helsley for Tuesday's Midsummer Classic in Arlington, Tex.

In a first half of a season largely defined by the strides made by the Nationals' pitching staff, Finnegan's selection made sense. The anchor of the back end of the bullpen, he will join teammate CJ Abrams when the National League all-stars square off with their American League counterparts at Globe Life Field.

Finnegan, 32, was a late bloomer who has thrived with the Nationals through every stretch of their rebuild. He signed with Washington in December 2019 in the afterglow of the World Series run, making his debut at 28 in July of the pandemic season after seven seasons in the minor leagues.

He has had an ERA below 4.00 in all five of his MLB seasons but has flourished this year, converting 25 saves in 29 opportunities while posting a 2.45 ERA with a .190 batting average against and 1.02 walks and hits per inning pitched, all of which are career bests.

It took just a few simple tweaks. He started throwing his fastball more — and higher — in the strike zone, a credit to working with pitching coach Jim Hickey and pitching strategist Sean Doolittle, the latter of whom was the Nationals' most recent all-star reliever (in 2018).

The addition of Finnegan gives the Nationals multiple all-stars for the first time since 2021, when Max Scherzer, Kyle Schwarber, Juan Soto and Trea Turner were on the team. Helsley opted out of the game, citing a need for rest and recovery.

Finnegan, who was reportedly on vacation with his family when



GREG FUME/GETTY IMAGES

Kyle Finnegan, who has converted 25 of 29 save opportunities, replaced Cardinals closer Ryan Helsley.

he received the news, was making late travel arrangements to get to Texas for the game and was unavailable for comment.

During his second appearance of the season, Finnegan was on the wrong side of a walk-off home run. An ERA that sat at 16.20 got lower and lower, as he followed it up with 15% consecutive scoreless innings, with a stretch in April and May that included 11 straight hitless innings. To reward his rise, he now has a light-show entrance at Nationals Park, and the Texas State alum will head to his home state to take his place among the game's elite.

Catcher depth grows in draft

Look, for a second, beyond the

MacKenzie Gore, CJ Abrams and James Wood types. Jake Irvin and Mitchell Parker carry sub-4.00 ERAs atop the Nationals' rotation. Jacob Young has graded out as one of the best defensive center fielders in the majors. Trey Lipscomb is another excellent fielder who is expected to be the everyday third baseman for the rest of the season.

All four, in a break from Nationals rosters of years past, were Day 2 selections in the MLB draft, selected in Rounds 3 through 10. On Monday, the second day of the 2024 draft, a regime led by new scouting director Danny Haas added to the club's prospect ranks.

The Nationals began, marked-

ly, with yet another catcher, plucking contact-hitting Kevin Bazzell (Texas Tech) at pick No. 79 to join Day 1 selection Caleb Lomavita (California). Entering the draft, the Nationals did not have a catcher among their top 30 prospects as ranked by MLB Pipeline. Atop their depth chart, Keibert Ruiz, 25, is signed through 2030 but is hitting just .220 and has yet to firmly entrench himself in the role, while Riley Adams and Drew Millas appear lodged into roles as backups.

When asked Sunday night whether the organization set out to draft a catcher, Haas said his group hadn't but was happy one as talented as Lomavita was available.

NATIONALS ON DECK			
vs. Cincinnati Reds			
Friday	6:45	MASN	
Saturday	6:45	MASN	
Sunday	1:35	MASN	
vs. San Diego Padres			
July 23	6:45	MASN2	
July 24	6:45	MASN2	
July 25	12:05	MASN2	
at St. Louis Cardinals			
July 26	8:15	MASN2	
July 27	7:15	MASN2	
July 28	2:15	MASN2	
Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)			

"But yeah," Haas said, "we've definitely had conversations with [assistant general manager of player development Eddie Longosz] that it'd be nice to get some more catchers, and so far we've been able to do that."

Smiling throughout a Zoom availability Monday, Lomavita mentioned that he only began catching full time last year but adapted to the defensive responsibilities quickly and was named to the all-defensive team in the Pac-12. He liked that the position doesn't come with much credit. Haas has scouted Lomavita since high school and mentioned his character as a key factor in the selection.

"If I can help the team and we're going to win a lot more games if I catch, then I'll be the best catcher in the world," Lomavita said. "Trust me, I'll work my butt off just to help the team win."

After Bazzell, the Nationals kept their focus on college talent, taking Arizona lefty Jackson Kent in the fourth round, Indiana State shortstop Randal Diaz in the fifth, Florida Gulf Coast righty

Davian Garcia in the sixth, Oklahoma State righty Robert Cranz in the seventh, Iowa outfielder Sam Petersen in the eighth, Mississippi third baseman Jackson Ross in the ninth and Maryland Baltimore County righty Luke Johnson in the 10th.

"We're pretty excited about how it unfolded," Haas said. "We were able to attack up the middle positionally again, get some guys who can hit who have power and snuck in some potential starting pitchers as well."

The Nationals' new scouting brass has prioritized toolsy athletes with power who can play up the middle. On Day 1, the approach was highlighted by Luke Dickerson, a shortstop from New Jersey's Morris Knolls High taken 44th. He is the lone high school player Washington has selected in the first 10 rounds, and he indicated he will forgo his University of Virginia commitment to join the organization.

Dickerson tied Mike Trout's state home run record en route to a New Jersey title. He has a short and compact swing to go with a hulking build. In a call with reporters Monday, he mentioned Trout and Trea Turner as common comparisons, noting plus speed, power and ability to play up the middle.

As for the genesis of his late rise in the draft? During the winter he was busy winning a state title in hockey, cutting into the baseball calendar.

"Tipping the puck in front of the net helps a ton with hand-eye coordination," Dickerson said. "Being aggressive in hockey, that translates in the batter's box, battling with the pitcher. There's a lot of correlation there."

On the pitching side, Haas said the organization valued size and pitchers who filled up the strike zone. The most promising prospect from Day 2 last year, righty Travis Sykora, has pitched to a 2.78 ERA with low Class A Fredericksburg. He is 6-foot-6.

HOME RUN DERBY

Hernández edges Witt in long-ball showdown

BY STEPHEN HAWKINS

ARLINGTON, TEX. — The Los Angeles Dodgers' Teoscar Hernández won the Home Run Derby when he beat local star Bobby Witt Jr. of the Kansas City Royals, 14-13, in the final round Monday night.

The 31-year-old Hernández hit 49 homers over three rounds that totaled 3.98 miles and became the first Dodgers player to win the derby.

Needing one homer to tie with one out remaining, Witt drove a ball to one of the deepest parts of the park in left-center, where it hit halfway up the wall.

Both finished their two-minute final round with 11 homers before bonus swings were added. Witt came up short on his first two bonus swings, then hit two homers in a row — one a 457-foot drive that got him one more swing.

Witt was the No. 2 draft pick by the Royals in 2019 out of Colleyville Heritage High, which is about 15 miles north of Globe Life Field.

He knocked out Cleveland switch hitter José Ramírez, 17-12, in the semifinals. Hernández beat Philadelphia's Alec Bohm, 16-15, after a tiebreaker when both got three swings — Hernández hit two out, Bohm one. They were tied at 14 after the three-minute segment and their bonus rounds, and Bohm came close to avoiding that, but the last ball he hit landed on the warning track in left-center.

Ramírez and Bohm hit 21 homers apiece to lead the first round. Witt started with 20, and Hernández had 19.

The New York Mets' Pete Alonso fell short in his bid to join Ken Griffey Jr. as a three-time derby champion when he hit just 12 in the first round. Baltimore Orioles shortstop Gunnar Henderson had 11 first-round homers to be eliminated as well.

The four hitters with the most homers in the first round advanced, and then the derby shifted to a bracket-style competition for the semifinals and final.

— Associated Press

Crews will not be stressing over call to majors, whenever it comes

CREWS FROM D1

But Crews and Skenes were top picks in a class that also included Florida standout Wyatt Langford at No. 4. Skenes debuted in May to massive fanfare and has a 1.90 ERA in his first 11 starts. Langford made the Texas Rangers out of spring training and is hitting .254 with a .702 OPS in his first 72 big league games. One could hardly blame Crews, who also watched fellow Nationals prospect James Wood debut in recent weeks, for feeling a little left behind. If the 22-year-old was feeling any added weight, though, he certainly did not show it Saturday.

"There's no pressure to it. Whenever my time is, my time is," Crews said. "That's not my decision. I just have to keep doing what I've got to do, and that is be where my feet are every day and do what I have to do that day to be at a high level."

Crews carries himself with a quiet certainty, a time-honed comfort under pressure that stands out among players his age. In some ways, he feels familiar, a little like Bryce Harper in his sturdiness in the spotlight, though even a whisper of comparison is unfair. Crews did not become Baseball America's No. 4 prospect because of gargantuan power or years of teenage hype.



STACY REVERE/GETTY IMAGES

Dylan Crews represented the Nationals in the All-Star Futures Game on Saturday in Arlington, Tex.

He became a polished hitter known for speed and smarts, a guy with power to the gaps and the ability to adjust. And he did so because, after letting pressure and expectations weigh him down in high school, he spent his college years learning how to handle both.

"Going to college really helped me be present every day," Crews said. "... Back in high school, I was always thinking about the draft, not what was happening at that moment. I went to college to give myself a little reset, so going through the minor league system, I can just focus on what I need

to do."

Crews started his season slow at Class AA Harrisburg. On May 14, he was hitting .234 with a .676 OPS. By mid-June, he was hitting .274 with a .789 OPS, five home runs and 15 stolen bases, a recovery so quick that he was promoted to Class AAA on June 18.

When Abrams got the good news, he called his dad: 'We made it'

ABRAMS FROM D1

from his childhood, when father and son would practice in the backyard as Chris yelled out dream scenarios: Game 7 of the World Series. The ninth inning of the All-Star Game.

A few minutes later, Chris said his son shifted his phrasing on the call from "I made it" to "We made it." Abrams has always made sure to include his dad when discussing his accomplishments. It's important to him to acknowledge that he doesn't do anything on his own.

Chris said the inclusion of others is something that most people don't notice. But to Chris, that signals a moment is meaningful to his son.

After Abrams was announced as an all-star, the Nationals posted a video to social media that showed the third-year player choking up in the clubhouse as he

thanked his teammates.

"The All-Star Game, he now knows it kind of validates who he is," Chris said. "But he always felt like he belonged."

Said CJ: "You just put in the work, and it all pays off. It shows up, and that's why you do it. So just got to keep going."

His all-star journey started last July, when Nationals Manager Dave Martinez moved him to the top of the batting order. He hit .327 that month with a .891 OPS and sparked Washington's best stretch of the season. But he couldn't sustain it.

"There was still a lot of unknowns last year, especially at the end of the year," Martinez said. "It was this spring training where I saw a different guy — a guy that wanted to put the work in. His routine got better. ... He had really, really unbelievable maturity this year."

Chris said his son had three

accomplishments on his big league checklist: Be an all-star. Win an MVP award. Play October baseball.

The third goal is what he wants most: to be in a stadium packed with screaming fans. Even in his individual accomplishment, he hasn't lost sight of that.

So on that same phone call with his parents about the all-star invitation, Abrams shifted the conversation to what remained, what he believes is still in his future.

"To see him, and I guess us as a family, accomplish one of those checked boxes, that was really big," Chris said. "It's like, okay, this is unfolding as he tells me it will unfold. He would say, 'This is the way it's going to happen, Dad.' ... I used to tell him: 'You're already an MVP, and you're already an all-star. You're just spending the next 15 years showing people how you did it.'"



MARK SCHIEFFELBEIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A little more than halfway through his second full season in the majors, Nationals shortstop CJ Abrams, 23, is a first-time all-star.

Once a golf prodigy, Thompson feels ‘a sense of relief’ with retirement near

BY GENE WANG

Lexi Thompson was just 18 when she stepped to the first tee in her Solheim Cup debut in 2013 at Colorado Golf Club. Even though the former prodigy, the youngest American to participate in the biennial match-play event against Europe, had been briefed by then-U.S. captain Meg Mallon about the frenzied atmosphere customary at the opening hole, the scene she encountered there was more spectacular than she had envisioned.

“The experience of a lifetime,” Thompson said Monday at Robert Trent Jones Golf Club, where the six-time member of the American team attended media day roughly eight weeks before the Solheim Cup comes back to American soil. The event runs Sept. 13 to 15 in Gainesville.

In the decade-plus since her inaugural Solheim Cup, Thompson, 29, has navigated the pinnacles and pitfalls of stardom during her ascent to becoming among the most popular players on the LPGA Tour. She has regularly drawn the largest galleries and has volunteered more time than most interacting with fans and young autograph seekers.

Her journey has included winning a major championship in 2014 at the Kraft Nabisco. Then 19, Thompson was the second-youngest major champion, finishing three strokes ahead of runner-up Michelle Wie, who also commanded the spotlight as a teenager.

Before that, at the 2011 LPGA Classic, Thompson set a record as the youngest player to win a tournament on the LPGA Tour at 16

years 7 months 8 days. In 2007, at 12, Thompson was the youngest player at the time to qualify for a U.S. Women's Open.

These days, Thompson is on track to be the elder stateswoman for the United States in its quest to wrest back the Solheim Cup following consecutive losses and a 14-14 tie last year in Spain that allowed Europe to retain the title. The United States has not won the Solheim Cup since 2017, the longest American drought since the tournament's inception in 1990.

“Definitely one where I feel like I can tell her anything, and it's not going to affect how she plays,” U.S. captain Stacy Lewis said of Thompson. “She's not going to be worried about things, and you can definitely tell that she tends to — she kind of bonds more with the captains than she does even with some of the players just because she's used to being around us so much. She's just one I can ask her opinion, and she's going to give me an honest opinion, and she knows it stays between us, but it helps me make decisions.”

With a handful of events left until the qualifying period concludes, Thompson is not among the current automatic qualifiers. But Lewis has made it clear that Thompson's lengthy track record at the Solheim Cup, plus her recent upswing, make her an invaluable addition.

Two players already have qualified mathematically for the United States: world No. 1 Nelly Korda and No. 2 Lilia Vu. The top seven in the U.S. Solheim Cup standings and the two highest-ranked players in the world rankings who haven't otherwise qualified earn automatic bids.



LINDSEY WASSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Lexi Thompson is seeking a seventh appearance at the Solheim Cup, set for September in Gainesville.

The final three players are captain's selections revealed after the Women's British Open in August.

“I'm selfishly glad she's sticking around for one more,” said Lewis, who played a round with Thompson on Sunday at Robert Trent Jones. “I keep harping on it, but what she did last year in Spain,

from the way she was playing and how she worked on her game and got it ready and went out there and played some unbelievable golf in Spain, there's nobody else on the team that could have done that, so her leadership — she's not the one that's going to give the rah-rah speech, but she leads by

the way she does things, the way she prepares and the way she handles the fans and the moments.”

Thompson went 3-1 at last year's Solheim, highlighted by a 2-and-1 victory over Denmark's Emily Pedersen in the final pairing during Sunday singles. She has participated in 23 career

matches, the seventh most for an American, with a 2-1-3 record in singles.

Thompson also was at the center of a tense exchange with media members in Spain after being asked about a mis-hit at the 18th in Friday fourball that led to a point for Europe. A little more than eight months later, in May, Thompson again was facing cameras a day before the U.S. Women's Open with a stunning announcement that she would be retiring from a full-time schedule at the end of the year.

In remarks during which she wiped away tears, Thompson revealed her decision had to do partly with the demands of playing professionally since she was 16. She cited mental health as a contributing factor, particularly in the age of social media.

Thompson missed the cut at the U.S. Women's Open and in her next three events but finished tied for third and tied for 16th in two of her three most recent starts. She said she has played with a less cluttered head since her declaration regarding her future on the LPGA Tour.

“It's been a lot, but all for the good,” said Thompson, who is ranked No. 33 in the world with a career high of No. 2. “I've had 100 percent support from players, friends and family, and that's all I could ask for. Didn't really know what to expect, but at the same time it's something that had been on my mind for a little bit of time now, so a sense of relief of just not having to go out there and do it week in and week out, just retiring from a full-time schedule, give myself the time to have a life outside of the golf course.”

RETROPOLIS

New home run king Aaron wanted a shot at another title: First Black manager

AARON FROM D1

as a candidate for the Braves' vacancy. When asked about the younger Aaron, Atlanta General Manager Eddie Robinson said, “Tommie is involved in a tight pennant race, and we think it would be unfair to take him out of Savannah at this time” — a comment that the New York Times noted became a “target of derision.”

“I'm sure he doesn't want to stay in the minor leagues the rest of his life and rot away,” Henry Aaron said. Tommie Aaron would manage four more years in the Braves' system, including two at Class AAA Richmond. He later became a coach for the Braves but never had an opportunity to manage at the big league level. He died of leukemia in 1984 at 45.

“I'm disappointed that the Braves' front office made the statement that I wasn't interested in managing and Tommie was too valuable in Savannah,” Aaron said. “I felt a little insulted, and I think it was an insult to all Blacks in baseball. ... I don't know what baseball is afraid of. I've heard stories so bad about what front offices think that I wouldn't want to repeat them.”

Aaron also pushed back on the argument that would-be Black managers needed to get experience in the minors.

“I don't recall Ted Williams going to the minors,” he said, referring to the Hall of Fame slugger who got the Washington Senators' gig in 1969 with no managerial experience, “or Eddie Mathews, for that matter.”

Eddie Robinson said he was surprised that Aaron was interested in the manager's job. But then he gave a telling non-answer when asked if the city of Atlanta was ready to accept a Black manager.

“I don't think I want to com-



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hank Aaron was not happy Atlanta bypassed him for its manager job: “I think I deserved to be asked.”

ment on that,” Robinson said.

In a Boston Globe column, Ray Fitzgerald backed up Aaron's criticism.

“Whitey Lockman resigned as manager of the Cubs,” Fitzgerald wrote. “His successor is Jim Marshall — third base coach, white and safe. Not named was Ernie Banks, 20-year superstar and black.” He lumped the Braves' new manager in the same category as Lockman and Marshall, remarking on his “undistinguished” stint as San Francisco Giants manager.

In two years with the Giants, King posted a .534 winning percentage; the Braves would fire him in 1975 after he compiled a .487 winning percentage over parts of two seasons.

When Aaron made his pointed comments, there was growing anger about the lack of opportu-

nities for Black players after their careers were over. The issue got a forceful push in the early 1970s, but Jackie Robinson, who broke baseball's color barrier in 1947, had long championed the cause — albeit with eyes wide open.

“I feel that there is as much resistance on the part of the top brass of baseball to the idea of letting Negroes get to the top as there was in the early forties to allowing Negroes to play,” he wrote in a 1965 column for the Chicago Defender, a Black newspaper, nearly a decade after he retired as a player. Robinson said baseball owners were willing to “exploit the talent of Negro and other colored players,” but after their playing careers were over, they had nowhere to go in the sport. “Because the owners don't have the courage or decency to think in terms of the contribu-

tions these players have made to their fortunes, they just let them go.”

And at the 1972 World Series, just nine days before his death, he used the occasion of a ceremony honoring his historic debut to make a final, poignant plea: “I am extremely proud and pleased to be here this afternoon but must admit I am going to be tremendously more pleased and more proud when I look at that third base coaching line one day and see a Black face managing in baseball.”

The following year, Aaron helped pick up the mantle from Robinson, his lifelong inspiration. Aaron had a reputation as a soft-spoken player, but he became more assertive on civil rights issues as his career progressed.

In a 1973 profile, Time maga-

zine described his evolution from “reticent rookie ballplayer to outspoken social critic” and noted his pessimistic reply when asked for his advice to Black kids about going into sports.

“Until we crack the area of managers, front-office personnel and coaches, there's really no hope for black kids coming into sports. We're giants on the field for 20 years. Then they're finished with us,” he said, echoing Robinson's critique. “What baseball needs to do is to give blacks an opportunity to show their ability to lead in other places than just the field.”

Aaron, who died in 2021, paid homage to Robinson's efforts in a 1999 Time essay titled “Jackie Robinson: The Trailblazer.”

“He campaigned for baseball to hire a black third-base coach, then a black manager,” Aaron wrote. “In 1969 he refused an invitation to play in an old-timers' game at Yankee Stadium to protest the lack of progress along those lines.”

By the time of the 1974 All-Star Game, the lack of Black managers was generating protesters, who held picket signs outside the Hilton hotel where Oakland Athletics superstar Reggie Jackson was honored as the top vote-getter in the all-star balloting. The Rev. Donald McIlvane of the Catholic Interracial Council, one of four groups protesting, told the New York Times that they wanted guests visiting Pittsburgh “to know someone cares.” He said none of the baseball officials stopped to talk to them.

In 1987, at the beginning of his last major league season, Jackson wrote a Sports Illustrated cover story with Peter Gammmons about racism in baseball and society, looking back at the frustrating early 1970s when there were no Black managers.

“Fifteen years ago I heard

black players discuss baseball's closed-door policies with bitterness,” he wrote. “They accepted the fact that they would not have the same opportunities after they retired as white players. ...

“What can be done? To begin with, instead of complaining, blacks should continually mention the people who are qualified for high baseball positions.”

Last month, in an emotional interview with Fox, Jackson recounted in raw detail the racism he experienced as a young minor league player in Birmingham, Ala., site of that night's Negro Leagues tribute game. He credited White teammates such as Rollie Fingers and Joe Rudi for keeping him out of fights with local racists.

“I'd have got killed here because I'd have beat somebody's a--,” Jackson said. “You'd have saw me in an oak tree somewhere.”

Aaron, too, dealt with a torrent of racism — including death threats — especially as he closed in on Ruth's record.

After he broke it in April 1974, he said, “I just thank God it's all over.”

“To some people he was more than a threat to Babe Ruth's record; he was a black man who was about to break a white man's most revered record,” Dave Anderson wrote in a Times column during the 1974 all-star break. “Now,” Anderson added, “quietly but firmly, he has assumed a new role involving his blackness, the willingness to be the major league's first black manager — if the Atlanta Braves management affords him the opportunity.”

Frederic J. Frommer, a writer and historian, is the author of several books, including “You Gotta Have Heart: Washington Baseball from Walter Johnson to the 2019 World Series Champion Nationals.”

As the national team’s youth movement arrives, so does the Spirit’s Bethune

BETHUNE FROM D1

player in as many matches to make her senior debut. Seventeen of the 22 available players saw the field against Mexico, with similar rotations expected for Tuesday's final send-off game against Costa Rica at Audi Field.

This U.S. team wants to win in France — it has not claimed Olympic gold since 2012 and is eager to move past the disappointments of recent major tournaments — but Hayes also sees a chance to use these Games as a proving ground.

The 18-player squad is the Americans' youngest for an Olympics in 16 years, with an average age of 27 — nearly four years younger than the Tokyo roster in 2021. The difference in average appearances (calculated before the send-off games) is even starker: 60.5 for 2024, significantly

lower than the 2021 average of 96.3. Including the four alternates, who can temporarily replace injured players during the Olympic tournament, the average falls to 49.9.

“Part of my job is to prepare them properly but also give them the opportunities. And I've said it many, many times: You can't do that if you don't play them,” Hayes said. “I don't want to waste time. I want to progress this group, and I genuinely believe this country has so many top players. ... So I need to get about developing them and see how they cope at the highest level.”

In recent years, the U.S. team leaned on veterans when crafting rosters and tournament strategies. The results didn't match the expectations: The Americans finished with a bronze medal at the Tokyo Games and fell in the round



SETH WENIG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

New U.S. coach Emma Hayes has prioritized developing young players as the program reboots after a difficult 2023 World Cup.

of 16 at the 2023 World Cup before Hayes was brought in to revamp the program.

Hayes' Olympic squad is not inexperienced — 11 players were on the World Cup team, and four

have more than 100 appearances. (A sign of the times: Rose Lavelle, 29, and Emily Sonnett, 30, were the veterans in charge of organizing a pretournament dinner in New York, taking the torch from Rapinoe and Alex Morgan.)

But the larger U.S. squad training last week in New Jersey illustrated the coach's intent to integrate young players into the national team.

Forward Jaedyn Shaw, 19, and left back Jenna Nighswonger, 23, both of whom debuted after the World Cup, are on the full roster; Bethune and Hal Hershfelt, 21, are alternates; defender Kate Wiessner, 23, and forward Alyssa Thompson, 19, joined as training players.

“It's fresh. It's good that we have that experience, but we also have that new insight coming in,” said Naomi Girma, a 24-year-old cen-

ter back who started all four World Cup games in 2023. “There's some that's familiar for some and some that's new for everyone.”

When the Americans begin their Olympic tournament July 25 against Zambia, Bethune probably will be watching from the stands at Stade de Nice alongside her fellow alternates. Her guiding motto this summer is “stay ready so you don't have to get ready” — and each opportunity in this environment is keeping her ready for the future.

“For me, [it's] understanding my role and being the best at it,” Bethune said. “Yeah, I'm an alternate, but everyone has been telling me that I'm still a part of the team just as much. Just being ready for the moment.”

Steven Goff contributed to this report.



CHRISTOPHER PIKE/GETTY IMAGES

The Americans — including Anthony Davis and Tyrese Haliburton — had their hands full with Dante Exum's Australia on Monday.

JERRY BREWER

Dreamy team must focus on the challenges ahead

BREWER FROM D1

between a lack of interest and enthusiasm about competing, the more relevant story is the world.

For those who bark about going back to the days of college players, the perspective is too provincial. Team USA would rarely medal now if the roster didn't include NBA players. Consider how much has changed: Before NBA players, the United States went 85-2 in Olympic play, with both losses coming against the Soviet Union, in 1972 and 1988, the first of which was perhaps the most controversial ending in basketball history.

From a U.S. perspective, the country didn't lose fairly until it settled for bronze in the 1988 Seoul Games. USA Basketball reacted by unleashing the Dream Team in 1992, and in the NBA era of FIBA basketball, nothing inspires superstar motivation and engagement better than a redemption mission.

The dominance of a team headlined by Michael Jordan, Magic Johnson and Larry Bird inspired the rest of the world as much as it demoralized the competition. Only 12 years later, the Americans were taking disappointed pictures with bronze medals again in 2004.

That led to the Redeem Team in 2008 and an even more potent squad in 2012. Although the United States also captured gold in 2016 and 2021, it has had to overcome a lack of interest and a few superstar injuries to triumph without several of the game's elite players. But after a lackluster fourth-place showing at the 2023 World Cup with an undersized "C" team full of young stars, the very best players are eager to reclaim American basketball superiority.

It's cool to be on Team USA again, so cool that frustrated NBA Finals MVP Jaylen Brown sits at home hinting at conspiracy, so cool that premature debate rages about the theoretical greatness of this team. It makes for fun discussion, but through two exhibition games we've all seen the challenging path ahead.

This isn't about a bunch of big names chasing gold and the clout that comes with it. This isn't about putting on a show. This is about a group of elite talents and high-caliber role players defying time to come together as a team. In their first 10 days together, the promise and potential struggles of this squad have been on display.

During a 98-92 victory over Australia on Monday in Abu

Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, the U.S. team looked fantastic while building a 22-point lead, and then the Americans almost lost that cushion amid a rash of turnovers and poor defense.

More time and familiarity will cure some of the turnovers. But Australia scored 68 points in the paint, exposing the Americans' defensive difficulties staying in front of players driving to the basket. In terms of rim protection, Anthony Davis continued to be a force. In addition to his great post defense, he finished with 17 points and 14 rebounds in 18 minutes. Bam Adebayo had a few moments defensively. The starting center, Joel Embiid, has yet to make a defensive impact.

In many Olympics, the great differentiator for Team USA has been ball-hawking defenders who pressure guards at the point of attack. To be so gifted, this team isn't as equipped to play that way as past versions. It is better than the World Cup team from a year ago, which finished fourth because it couldn't harass opponents on defense and didn't have enough size.

Team USA managing director Grant Hill and Coach Steve Kerr have addressed the size issue, assuming Embiid gets in better shape over the next two weeks. But even with the late addition of Boston Celtics guard Derrick White, who replaced a laboring Kawhi Leonard, the team remains at least one high-level perimeter defender shy of being truly disruptive.

Over the next few weeks, maybe someone sacrifices offense to become that defensive playmaker. Or maybe this is a team that has to win with extraordinary offensive efficiency, which is a challenge with so little time to prepare. To be that dangerous, the availability of Kevin Durant, who is recovering from a calf strain, looms large.

Despite all the talent, it already seems certain that Team USA won't be the most dominant American team to take the court. It doesn't make this group lesser, though. The assumption of dominance is no longer a luxury, not even with an A-list roster. If you're looking for someone to blame, look at France, Canada, Germany, Serbia, Australia and other medal contenders. It could turn out to be the greatest 12-team basketball tournament the Olympics has ever seen.

For a good run, USA Basketball doesn't need to bring the Dream Team back to life. Surviving host France and the rest of the field would be plenty significant.

PRO BASKETBALL

WNBA

EAST	W	L	Pct	GB
New York.....	20	4	.833	—
Connecticut.....	18	5	.783	1½
Indiana.....	11	14	.440	9½
Chicago.....	9	14	.391	10½
Atlanta.....	7	18	.304	12½
Washington.....	6	18	.250	14

WEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Las Vegas.....	16	7	.696	½
Minnesota.....	16	8	.667	½
Seattle.....	16	8	.667	½
Phoenix.....	12	12	.500	4½
Los Angeles.....	6	17	.261	10
Dallas.....	5	19	.208	11½

SUNDAY'S RESULTS

Las Vegas 89, at Washington 77
at Connecticut 96, Phoenix 69
Indiana 81, at Minnesota 76
at Seattle 81, Atlanta 70

MONDAY'S RESULTS

No games scheduled.

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

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES

Atlanta at Minnesota, 1
Indiana at Dallas, 7:30

NBA Summer League

AT LAS VEGAS

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Washington 94, Atlanta 88
Orlando 106, Cleveland 79
Minnesota 81, New Orleans 74
Memphis 103, Sacramento 83
Houston 99, L.A. Lakers 80
Brooklyn 97, Indiana 95
L.A. Clippers 88, Denver 78

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

Chicago 96, Milwaukee 89
Charlotte 94, New York 90
Miami 119, Boston 114
Philadelphia 94, Detroit 81
Toronto 94, Oklahoma City 69
San Antonio 83, Portland 77
Utah 90, Dallas 89
Golden State 90, Phoenix Suns 73

SUNDAY'S RESULTS

Houston 109, Washington 91
Cleveland 112, Milwaukee 81
L.A. Clippers 87, Brooklyn 78
Minnesota 105, Indiana 94
Orlando 91, New Orleans 86
San Antonio 79, Atlanta 76
Toronto 84, Denver 81
Golden State 92, Chicago 82

MONDAY'S RESULTS

Miami 102, Oklahoma City 73
Detroit 87, Houston 73
Memphis 108, Dallas 88
Portland 97, Philadelphia 95
Utah vs. Sacramento, late
Boston vs. L.A. Lakers, late

TUESDAY'S GAMES

Washington vs. Portland, 8:30
Indiana vs. Phoenix, 4
New York vs. Brooklyn, 4:30
Charlotte vs. Denver, 6
Chicago vs. Detroit, 6:30
Philadelphia vs. Minnesota, 8
L.A. Clippers vs. Milwaukee, 10
New Orleans vs. San Antonio, 10:30

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES

Miami vs. Dallas, 3
Sacramento vs. New York, 3:30
Toronto vs. Utah, 5
Boston vs. Charlotte, 5:30
Memphis vs. Orlando, 7
Phoenix vs. Oklahoma City, 8
L.A. Lakers vs. Atlanta, 8:30
Golden State vs. Cleveland, 10

THURSDAY'S GAMES

Washington vs. Sacramento, 7
Boston vs. Denver, 4:30
Memphis vs. New Orleans, 6
Orlando vs. Brooklyn, 8
L.A. Lakers vs. Cleveland, 9
L.A. Clippers vs. Utah, 9
Minnesota vs. Houston, 11

FRIDAY'S GAMES

Milwaukee vs. Phoenix, 4
Dallas vs. Boston, 4:30
Atlanta vs. Chicago, 6
New York vs. Detroit, 7
Philadelphia vs. San Antonio, 8:30
Toronto vs. Miami, 9
Golden State vs. Oklahoma City, 10:30
Portland vs. Charlotte, 11

GOLF

PGA Tour

FEDEX CUP STANDINGS

Through Sunday.

	Points	Money
1.....	Scottie Scheffler	\$27,696,858
2.....	Xander Schauffele	\$2,577,128,336,380
3.....	Rory McIlroy	\$2,445,10,034,669
4.....	Collin Morikawa	\$2,241,57,509,252
5.....	Wyndham Clark	\$2,088,57,728,975
6.....	Ludvig Åberg	\$1,992,57,830,998
7.....	Hideto Matsuyama	\$1,893,57,597,331
8.....	Sahithi Theegala	\$1,845,57,562,685
9.....	Patrick Cantlay	\$1,717,57,406,237
10.....	Byeong Hun An	\$1,620,57,175,436
11.....	Akshay Bhatia	\$1,606,57,042,490
12.....	Shane Lowry	\$1,592,57,093,520
13.....	Tony Finau	\$1,579,57,081,060
14.....	Matthew Pavon	\$1,558,57,032,808
15.....	Sungjae Im	\$1,558,57,473,972
16.....	Sepp Straka	\$1,413,57,062,901
17.....	Justin Thomas	\$1,412,57,130,661
18.....	Tom Hoge	\$1,406,57,188,593
19.....	Russell Henning	\$1,371,57,016,969
20.....	Christiaan Bezuidenhout	\$1,370,57,461,538
21.....	Brian Harman	\$1,362,57,731,373
22.....	Davis Thompson	\$1,318,57,730,873
23.....	Chris Kirk	\$1,290,57,906,310
24.....	Jason Day	\$1,210,57,573,685
25.....	Stephan Jaeger	\$1,207,57,669,034
26.....	Tommy Fleetwood	\$1,203,57,648,118
27.....	Eric Cole	\$1,162,57,464,707
28.....	Sam Burns	\$1,181,57,680,980
29.....	Max Homa	\$1,175,57,550,666
30.....	Thomas Detry	\$1,173,57,342,119
31.....	Camilo Triguero	\$1,162,57,745,346
32.....	Taylor Pendith	\$1,152,57,772,893
33.....	Adam Hadwin	\$1,133,57,779,658
34.....	Si Woo Kim	\$1,123,57,354,133
35.....	Corey Conners	\$1,121,57,301,242
36.....	Matt Fitzpatrick	\$1,049,57,295,359
37.....	Keegan Bradley	\$1,030,57,133,530
38.....	Denny McCarthy	\$1,024,57,156,124
39.....	Robert MacIntyre	\$1,023,57,135,346
40.....	Will Zalatoris	\$1,019,57,790,799
41.....	Tom Kim	\$1,001,57,946,918
42.....	Cameron Davis	\$979,57,061,884
43.....	Nick Taylor	\$964,57,087,555
44.....	Austin Ederost	\$963,57,295,359
45.....	Jake Knapp	\$948,57,012,213
46.....	Harris English	\$938,57,680,160
47.....	Billy Horschel	\$927,57,225,686
48.....	Alex Moren	\$866,57,097,213
49.....	Patrick Rodgers	\$853,57,378,482
50.....	Viktor Hovland	\$846,57,647,858
51.....	Mackenzie Hughes	\$832,57,526,005
52.....	Victor Perez	\$821,57,494,463
53.....	Grayson Murray	\$802,57,471,532
54.....	Erik Van Rooyen	\$799,57,360,499
55.....	Peter Malnati	\$791,57,467,368
56.....	Min Woo Lee	\$780,57,235,686
57.....	Aaron Rai	\$776,57,418,465
58.....	Ben Griffin	\$773,57,449,332
59.....	Taylor Moore	\$741,57,216,051
60.....	Jordan Spieth	\$719,57,257,374
61.....	Mark Hubbard	\$708,57,033,030
62.....	Seamus Power	\$655,57,187,679
63.....	Maverick McNealy	\$636,57,016,021
64.....	Emiliano Grillo	\$623,57,952,469
65.....	Brendon Todd	\$621,57,969,231
66.....	Davis Riley	\$621,57,061,209
67.....	Luke List	\$601,57,444,305
68.....	Lucas Glover	\$596,57,165,331
69.....	Lee Hodges	\$588,57,768,538
70.....	Adam Schenk	\$578,57,789,247
71.....	Adam Scott	\$576,57,676,806
72.....	Victor Perez	\$568,57,178,802
73.....	Andrew Putnam	\$556,57,729,344
74.....	Keith Mitchell	\$538,57,586,067
75.....	Nicolai Hojgaard	\$511,57,656,266
76.....	Justin Rose	\$506,57,439,683

LPGA Tour

VARE TROPHY STANDINGS

Through Sunday.

1.	Ayaka Furue	69,887
2.	Nelly Korda	69,976
3.	Lilia Vu	70,111
4.	Hannah Green	70,302
5.	Patty Tavatanakit	70,525
6.	Brooke M. Henderson	70,589
7.	Min Young Ko	70,595
8.	Sei Young Kim	70,614
9.	Ally Ewing	70,617
10.	Atthaya Thitikul	70,704
11.	Mac Saigó	70,756
12.	Xiyu Lin	70,76
13.	Lauren Coughlin	70,788
14.	Jin Hee Im	70,865
15.	Rose Zhang	70,909

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
Columbus.....	12	3	6	42	45	19
New York.....	9	4	10	37	37	28
New York City FC.....	11	9	3	36	33	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.....	7	11	7	22	28	40
Philadelphia.....	4	10	9	21	37	41

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Los Angeles FC.....	13	5	4	43	44	29
Real Salt Lake.....	12	4	7	43	48	30
LA Galaxy.....	12	5	7	43	44	32
Colorado.....	11	8	5	38	45	38
Portland.....	8	8	3	36	48	39
Vancouver.....	10	7	5	35	38	30
Seattle.....	9	7	7	34	32	26
Houston.....	8	7	7	31	30	27
Minnesota United.....	8	9	6	30	36	38
Austin FC.....	8	9	6	30	25	32
FC Dallas.....	7	11	5	26	34	37
Sporting KC.....	6	13	5	23	39	49
St. Louis City SC.....	4	9	10	22	31	43
San Jose.....	4	17	2	14	31	58

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

at C.C. United, 2, Nashville 1
Charlotte FC, 2, 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
Minnesota 1, at Houston 1
Vancouver 4, at St. Louis City SC 1
New York 1, at Colorado 1
at Portland 3, Real Salt Lake 0
Columbus 5, at Los Angeles FC 1
Sporting KC 2, at San Jose 1

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

SATURDAY'S MATCHES

Columbus at Atlanta, 7:30
Chicago at Miami, 7:30
Toronto FC at CF Montreal, 7:30
FC Dallas at New England, 7:30
Cincinnati at New York, 7:30
New York City FC at Orlando City, 7:30
Nashville at Philadelphia, 7:30
Charlotte FC at Austin FC, 8:30
St. Louis City SC at Sporting KC, 8:30
San Jose at Minnesota, 8:30
Real Salt Lake at Colorado, 9:30
Houston at Vancouver, 10:30
Los Angeles FC at Seattle, 10:30
Portland at LA Galaxy, 10:45

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.....	5	9	5	27	20	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.....	6	7	8	21	15	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

SATURDAY, JULY 6

Washington 3, at Bay FC 0
at Chicago 1, Houston 0
Orlando 2, at Kansas City 1
Gotham FC 2, at Angel City 1

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

SATURDAY, AUG. 24

Portland at Gotham FC, 2
Angel City at San Diego, 4
Chicago at Louisville, 7:30

USL Championship

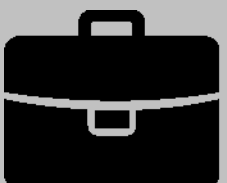
EASTERN CONFERENCE

Tampa Bay.....	9	4	5	32	31	18
Indy.....	9	5	4	31	31	26
Birmingham.....	8	7	3	27	20	24
Detroit City FC.....	8	5	3	27	24	19
Loudoun.....	7	6	5	26	27	21
North Carolina.....	5	6	7	22	24	21
Rhode Island FC.....	4	4	10	22	27	28
Pittsburgh.....	4	9	6	18	16	20
Hartford.....	5	10	2	17	15	30
Miami.....	2	15	2	8	20	45

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TUESDAY, JULY 16, 2024

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840

Trustees Sale - DC

840

Trustees Sale - DC

TRUSTEE'S SALE
Of Valuable Real Estate located in the
District of Columbia
known as
1535 – 1545 New Jersey Avenue NW,
Washington, DC 20001
(the "Property")

By virtue of a certain Deed of Trust, Assignment of Rents,
and Security Agreement duly recorded in the land records
of the District of Columbia on September 9, 2013 as
Instrument No. 2013104689 (the "Deed of Trust") and in
accordance with the Notice of Foreclosure Sale recorded
June 12, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024054824, Public
law 90-566, an Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage
Foreclosure, and at the request of the party secured by the
Deed of Trust, the Trustee will sell at public auction at the
office of HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS INC., 5335 WISCONSIN
AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 440, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20015, on **July
23, 2024 at 11:00 a.m.**, the Property described in the Deed
of Trust, including certain land and premises, situate in the
District of Columbia, and being now known as

All of Square East of Square numbered Five Hundred Ten
(510) in the District of Columbia.

NOTE: Said property now known for purposes of assessment
and taxation as Lot 800 in the square East of Square 510.

**Property Address:1535-1545 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.,
Washington, DC 20001**

TAX ID: Square 0510-E, Lot 0800

Terms of Sale
The Property will be sold "WHERE IS" and in "AS IS"
condition and the purchaser shall assume the risk of loss
or damage to the property after the time of the foreclosure
sale. Neither the Trustee, the party secured by the Deed of
Trust, the auctioneer, nor any of their respective agents,
successors or assigns (collectively, the "Selling Parties")
make any representation or warranties, express or implied,
with respect to the Property, or any tenancies or parties in
possession, including without limitation, the description,
use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction,
extent of construction, workmanship, materials, habitability,
marketability, or insurability (hazard or title), subdivision,
zoning, environmental condition, compliance with building
codes or other laws (such as Americans with Disabilities
Act), ordinances or regulations, fitness for a particular
purpose, or merchantability of all or any part of the Property.
The purchaser waives and releases the Selling Parties
from any and all claims the purchaser or the purchaser's
successors or assigns may have now or may have in the
future relating to the sale or the condition of the Property.
The Property will be sold subject to rights of parties in
possession, any building or housing violations, easements,
agreements, restrictions, terms, rights of way, covenants,
conditions, rights of redemption, other encumbrances,
statutes, if any, affecting the Property, whether or not of
record and all statutes, ordinances or court rules, to the
extent such things have priority over the Deed of Trust and
to the extent such things survive the foreclosure sale. The
Property is also sold subject to a post-sale audit of the
status of the loan. All interested bidders are specifically
encouraged to review all federal, state and local statutes,
ordinances, and court rules concerning the Property and
to contact the appropriate governmental authorities prior
to the sale date regarding the Property, including without
limitation, encumbrances, liens, violations, permitted uses
and the requirements, if any, for registration, obtaining
possession, cure of violations, construction, completion,
or development. The Trustee will not deliver possession to
the purchaser, who shall be solely responsible for obtaining
possession of the Property.

A deposit of \$50,000.00 will be required at the time of
sale, such deposit to be in the form of a cashier's check
or certified check, or in such other form as the Trustee may
determine in his sole discretion. Whenever the purchaser is
also the party secured by the Deed of Trust, payment of the
required Deposit and purchase price is made by crediting
the amount thereof to the indebtedness. The balance of
the purchase price with interest thereon at 10% per annum
from the date of sale to the date of settlement shall be paid
within thirty (30) days after the date of sale unless such
time is extended at the sole discretion of the Trustee. There
will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser if
settlement is delayed for any reason whatsoever. The party
secured by the Deed of Trust shall not be obligated to pay
interest if it is the purchaser. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR
THE PURCHASER.

Real property taxes, water charges, condominium fees
and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/
assessments payable on an annual basis, including
sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if
applicable, to be adjusted for the current year to date of
sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. All costs
incident to the settlement and conveyancing including,
without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing,
all recodation taxes and charges, all transfer taxes and
charges, title insurance premiums, notary fees, settlement
fees and all other costs incident to settlement shall be at
the cost of the purchaser. Conveyance of the Property shall
be by Trustee's Deed, without covenant or warranty,
express or implied, specifically including marketability or
insurability as to hazard or title. The Trustee will not sign
any loan or settlement document which makes or implies
any warranty with regard to the Property. In the event the
Trustee is unable for any reason to convey marketable title,
the purchaser's sole remedy at law or in equity shall be to
request and receive a return of the Deposit, after which
this sale shall be void and of no effect and the purchaser
shall have no further claim against the Trustee, the Selling
Parties, or the Property.

In the event of a default by the purchaser, the deposit
shall be forfeited to the Trustee and all expenses of the
sale, including attorney fees and full commission on the
gross sales price, shall be charged against and paid from
the forfeited deposit. The Trustee or secured party shall be
entitled to avail themselves of any legal or equitable rights
against the defaulting purchaser. Any resale shall be at
the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser and shall
include any attorney's fees or costs in connection with all
litigation, including appeals, involving the Property or the
proceeds of a resale; or contesting the right to conduct a
resale; or seeking to invalidate this sale or any resale. The
defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus
proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the Property
regardless of any improvements made. This advertisement,
as amended or supplemented by any oral announcements
during the conduct of the sale, constitutes the entire terms
upon which the Property shall be offered for sale.

Patricia Sweeney, Sole Acting Trustee.

FOR INFORMATION CONTACT:
David Shames at 240-687-3382


5335 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 440
Washington, DC 20015
www.harvestoauctions.com

Jul 9,12,16,19,22,24 2024 0012463865

840

Trustees Sale - DC

840

Trustees Sale - DC

BARNES & THORNBURG LLP
555 12TH STREET, NW
SUITE 1200
WASHINGTON, DC 20004
202-371-6351

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE
NEWLY CONSTRUCTED 20-UNIT APARTMENT BUILDING
WITH A FIRST FLOOR COMMERCIAL UNIT
KNOWN AS
"THE V AT GEORGIA AVENUE"
3557 – 3559 GEORGIA AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20010

By virtue of a certain Construction Deed of Trust, Security Agreement, Assignment of Rents
and Fixture Filing (the "Deed of Trust"), duly recorded February 28, 2020 as Instrument No.
2020028612 among the Land Records of the District of Columbia (the "Land Records"),
which Deed of Trust also constitutes a security agreement and creates a security interest in
all fixtures and personal property described in the Deed of Trust, a default having occurred in
the payment of the indebtedness secured thereby and the covenants contained therein,
and at the request of the party secured thereby (the "Noteholder"), and following mailing
of a Notice of Foreclosure Sale recorded with the Recorder on June 21, 2024 as Instrument
No. 2024057994 and Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure recorded with the
Recorder on November 15, 2022 as Instrument No. 2022112965, and the recordation of
a Deed of Removal of Substitute Trustee and Appointment of New Substitute Trustee
recorded with the Recorder on June 21, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024057994 and at the
request of the party secured thereby (the "Noteholder"), the undersigned Substitute Trustee,
will sell, at public auction, within the office of ALEX COOPER AUCTIONEERS, INC., 4910
MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 100, WASHINGTON, D.C. on

THURSDAY, JULY 25, 2024 AT 12:15 PM

All that certain lot or parcel of land located and being in the City of Washington in the
District of Columbia and being more particularly described as follows:

Lot numbered Eighty-nine (0089) in Square numbered Three Thousand Thirty-Three (3033)
in the subdivision made by Miriam E. Ochoa and Rafael Rodriguez, Jr. as per plat recorded in
the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia in Book 196 at page 107.

Property description: The property is improved by a newly constructed 6-story corner building
containing 10 one-bedroom and 10 two-bedroom units. The first floor has a commercial
unit. There is storage in the lower level.

TOGETHER WITH any and all buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances
now erected on the above-described land, including, without limitation, all equipment,
apparatus, machinery and fixtures of any kind or character forming a part of said buildings,
structures, improvements or appurtenances, and any furniture, furnishings, equipment,
machinery and other personal property owned and located in, upon or about the above-
described land and any buildings thereon all as more particularly described in the aforesaid
Deed of Trust (collectively, the "Property").

**TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE PROPERTY
PERSONAL PROPERTY**

Pursuant to the Construction Deed of Trust, Security Agreement, Assignment of Rents and
Fixture Filing as evidenced by UCC Financing Statement duly recorded February 27, 2020
as U.C.C. Initial Filing No: 2020 1421132, Service Request No: 20201609227 among the
Delaware Department of State and upon occurrence of a default thereunder, the Noteholder,
Parkview Financial REIT, LP as the holder of a security interest and lien on all of the tangible
and intangible assets of the Debtor, will sell at public auction on the same date and at the
same time and place, ALL OF THE FIXTURES and TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE PROPERTY, ETC.
of the Debtor located on or about the Real Estate (that is subject to the security interest and
lien of Parkview Financial REIT, LP and not owned by any third party.)

TERMS OF SALE: ALL CASH. The Property will be offered as an entirety only. The bid which
yields the highest price for the Property will be accepted by the Substitute Trustee (unless
the sale is postponed or cancelled) and all bids will be provisional until acceptance.
Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Substitute Trustee absolutely reserves the right to
postpone the sale and/or cancel the sale at any time until the auctioneer announces that
the Property is "sold" and the deposit in the required amount and form is received by the
Substitute Trustee. A deposit in the amount of **\$100,000** in the form of a cashier's check or
certified check will be required as a condition to bidding. The deposit must be increased to
10% of the purchase price within two (2) business days after the sale, which increased
deposit must be in the form of a cashier's check or certified check and delivered to the
office of the Substitute Trustee. The Noteholder secured by the Deed of Trust (or any related
party) shall be exempted by the Substitute Trustee from submitting any bidding deposit.
The Substitute Trustee will, as a condition of the sale, require all potential bidders except
the Noteholder to show their deposit before any bidding begins. The retained deposit of
the successful purchaser shall be applied, without interest, to the successful purchaser's
credit at settlement; provided, however, that in the event the successful purchaser fails to
conclude the purchase in accordance with the terms of sale as herein provided, such
deposit, at the option of the Substitute Trustee, will be forfeited. The terms of sale must
be complied with and settlement consummated thereon within 45 days from day of sale unless
extended at the sole discretion of the Substitute Trustee. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. The
balance of the purchase price over and above the retained deposit, with interest thereon at
the note rate then being charged from the date of sale through the date of receipt of the
balance of the purchase price, will be due at settlement in certified funds; and if not so paid,
the Substitute Trustee reserves the right to retain the deposit and resell the Property at the
risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser, after such advertisement and on such terms as
the Substitute Trustee may deem proper, and to avail themselves and the Noteholder of any
legal or equitable rights against the defaulting purchaser.

The Property is sold subject to the rights, if any, of parties in possession, if such rights
have priority over the Deed of Trust, and to any and all covenants, conditions, restrictions,
easements, rights of way, and limitations of record. The Property will be sold "WHERE IS"
and in "AS IS" condition without any warranty as to condition, express or implied, and
without any representation or warranty as to the accuracy of the information furnished
to prospective bidders by the Substitute Trustee or any other party and without any other
representations or warranty of any nature. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing,
the Property will be sold without representation or warranty as to (i) title to the Property, (ii)
the nature, condition, structural integrity, or fitness for a particular use of any improvements,
fixtures or personal property included within the Property, (iii) the environmental condition
of the Property or the compliance of the Property with federal, state and local laws and
regulations concerning the presence or disposal of hazardous substances, (iv) compliance
of the Property with the Americans with Disabilities Act or any similar law, or (v) compliance
of the Property with any zoning laws or ordinances and any and all applicable safety codes,
and acceptance of the Deed to the Property by the successful purchaser shall constitute a waiver
of any claims against the Substitute Trustee or the Noteholder concerning any of the foregoing matters.
The successful purchaser recognizes that any investigation, examination or inspection of the
Property and not within the control of the Substitute Trustee or the Noteholder.

Conveyance shall be by Substitute Trustee's Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or
implied. The risk of loss or damage by fire or other casualty to the Property from and after
the date of sale will be upon the successful purchaser. Sold subject to all taxes, ground
rents, public charges, assessments, sewer, water, drainage and other public improvements
whether assessments have been levied or not. The Noteholder and Substitute Trustee
assume no liability for fuel, gas, electricity, utilities and other operating charges accrued
before or after the sale and all such charges shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser
from the date of sale. All costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including,
without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing, all recodation taxes and charges, all
transfer taxes and charges, title insurance premiums, notary fees, settlement fees and all
other costs incident to settlement shall be at the cost of the successful purchaser. If the
Substitute Trustee cannot convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy is a return of deposit.
Further particulars may be announced at the time of sale. For further information, please
contact James E. Van Horn 202-371-6351.

James E. Van Horn
Substitute Trustee


4910 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. • Suite 100
Washington, DC 20016 • 202.364.0306
www.alexcooper.com

Jul 9,12,16,19,22,24 2024 0012465621

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Trustees Sale - DC

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Trustees Sale - DC

Martin Law Group
8065 Leesburg Pike Suite 750
Vienna, VA 22182
703.834.5550

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE

2404 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20007

CURRENTLY USED AS A RESTAURANT

(Square 1300, Lot 0333)

In execution of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust and Security Agreement
dated as of September 30, 2021 and recorded on November 1, 2021 as Instrument No.
2021144471 with the District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds (the "Recorder") in the
original principal amount of \$2,300,000.00 (the "Deed of Trust"), which Deed of Trust
also constitutes a security agreement and creates a security interest in all fixtures and
personal property described in the Deed of Trust, a default having occurred in the payment
of the indebtedness secured thereby and the covenants contained therein, and at the
request of the party secured thereby (the "Noteholder"), and following mailing of a Notice
of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property or Condominium Unit which was recorded on June 13,
2024 as Instrument No. 2024054878 and Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure,
which was recorded with the Recorder on June 4, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024052193, and
the recordation of a Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustee (Trustee) with the Recorder
as Instrument No. 2024052192, the undersigned Trustee will sell, at public auction, within
the office of ALEX COOPER AUCTIONEERS, INC., 4910 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., SUITE
100, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 on **July 17, 2024 at 1:00 PM** that certain land and premises
commonly described as 2404 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007, which has
the following legal description as set forth in the Deed of Trust:

Lot 333 in Square 1300 in a subdivision made by Elie Fabre, as per plat recorded in Liber No.
39 at folio 48 in the Office of The Surveyor for the District of Columbia.

Pursuant to the Deed of Trust and the UCC Financing Statements recorded in Land Records
as Instrument Nos. 202114473 and 202114474, the Beneficiary holds a security interest and
lien on all of the tangible and intangible assets of Borrower and will sell at public auction on
the same date and at the same time and place, ALL OF THE FIXTURES of Borrower located on
or about the Real Estate that is subject to the security interest and lien of Beneficiary and
not owned by any third party.

TOGETHER WITH any and all buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances
now erected on the above-described land, including, without limitation, all equipment,
apparatus, machinery and fixtures of any kind or character forming a part of said buildings,
structures, improvements or appurtenances, and any furniture, furnishings, equipment,
machinery and other personal property owned and located in, upon or about the above-
described land and any buildings thereon all as more particularly described in the aforesaid
Deed of Trust (the "Property"). Pursuant to Section 28.9-604 of the D.C. Code, the Trustee
is proceeding against both the real property and the personal property described in the
Deed of Trust.

TERMS OF SALE: ALL CASH. The bid which yields the highest price for the Property will
be accepted by the Trustee (unless the sale is postponed or cancelled) and all bids will be
provisional until acceptance. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Trustee absolutely
reserves the right to postpone the sale and/or cancel the sale at any time until the auctioneer
announces that the Property is "sold" and the deposit in the required amount and form is
received by the Trustee. A deposit in the amount of \$75,000.00 will be required at the time
of sale. Such deposit must be by cashier's check or certified check or in such other form as
the Trustee may determine in his sole discretion. The deposit must be increased to 10% of
the winning bid amount and delivered to the Trustee within two (2) business days after the
consummation of the sale in the same form of funds as the initial deposit. Failure to timely
tender the deposit or increased deposit shall constitute a material default by the purchaser.
The Noteholder (or any related party) shall be exempted by the Trustee from submitting any
bidding deposit. The Trustee will, as a condition of the sale, require all potential bidders
except the Noteholder (or any related party) to show their deposit before any bidding begins.
The retained deposit of the successful purchaser shall be applied, without interest, to the
successful purchaser's credit at settlement; provided, however, that in the event the
successful purchaser fails to consummate the purchase in accordance with the terms of
sale as herein provided, such deposit, at the option of the Trustee, will be forfeited. The
terms of sale must be complied with and settlement consummated thereon within thirty
(30) days from day of sale unless extended at the sole discretion of the Trustee. TIME IS
OF THE ESSENCE. The balance of the purchase price, over and above the retained deposit,
with interest thereon at the current interest rate contained in the Note from the date of sale
through the date of receipt of the balance of the purchase price, will be due at settlement
in cash or certified funds; and if not so paid, the Trustee reserves the right to retain the
deposit and resell the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser, after such
advertisement and on such terms as the Trustee may deem proper, and to avail himself and
the Noteholder of any legal or equitable rights against the defaulting purchaser, including,
without limitation, the recovery of all of Noteholder's costs, expenses and reasonable
attorneys' fees to conduct both sales, plus any deficiency resulting from such subsequent
sale and the cost of collecting same.

The Property is sold subject to the rights, if any, of any parties in possession, if such rights
have priority over the Deed of Trust, and to any and all covenants, conditions, restrictions,
easements, rights of way, and limitations of record. The Property will be sold "WHERE IS"
and in "AS IS" condition without any warranty as to condition, express or implied, and
without any representation or warranty as to the accuracy of the information furnished to
prospective bidders by the Trustee or any other party and without any other representations
or warranty of any nature. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the Property
will be sold without representation or warranty as to (i) title to the Property, (ii) the nature,
condition, structural integrity, or fitness for a particular use of any improvements, fixtures
or personal property included within the Property, (iii) the environmental condition of the
Property or the compliance of the Property with federal, state and local laws and regulations
concerning the presence or disposal of hazardous substances, (iv) compliance of the
Property with the Americans with Disabilities Act or any similar law, or (v) compliance of the
Property with any zoning laws or ordinances and any and all applicable safety codes, and
acceptance of the Deed to the Property by the successful purchaser shall constitute a waiver
of any claims against the Trustee or the Noteholder concerning any of the foregoing matters.
The successful purchaser recognizes that any investigation, examination or inspection of the
Property is within the control of the owner or other parties in possession of the Property
and not within the control of the Trustee or the Noteholder.

Conveyance shall be by Substitute Trustee's Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or
implied. The risk of loss or damage by fire or other casualty to the Property from and after
the date of sale will be upon the successful purchaser. Adjustment of all taxes, ground rents,
public charges, assessments, sewer, water, drainage and other public improvements will be
made as of the date of sale and are to be assumed and paid thereafter by the successful
purchaser, whether assessments have been levied or not. The Noteholder and Trustee
assume no liability for fuel, gas, electricity, utilities and other operating charges accrued
before or after the sale and all such charges shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser
from the date of sale. All costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including,
without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing, all recodation taxes and charges,
all transfer taxes and charges, title insurance premiums, notary fees, settlement fees and
all other costs incident to settlement shall be at the cost of the successful purchaser. If
the Trustee cannot convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy is a return of deposit. Further
particulars may be announced at the time of sale. For further information, please contact
John E. Reid, Esquire at 703-834-5550.

Jeffery T. Martin, Jr.
Substitute Trustee


4910 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. • Suite 100
Washington, DC 20016 • 202.364.0306
www.alexcooper.com

Jul 8,10,12,15,16 2024 0012465474

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Trustees Sale - DC

840

Trustees Sale - DC

8065 Leesburg Pike Suite 1103
Vienna, VA 22182
410-769-9797

HARVEY WEST
AUCTIONEERS, LLC

Jul 9,16,23 2024 0012465459

1447

Autos Wanted

1447

Autos Wanted

DONATE YOUR CAR/TRUCK/RV
Lutheran Mission Society of MD
Compassion Place ministries
help local families with food,
clothing, counseling, tax deductible.
MVA licensed #W1044.
Borrower in 202-828-8437
www.CompassionPlace.org

8159 Legal Notices

All medical records retained by
Laura Primackoff, P.D. will be
destroyed after September 3,
2024. Clients can obtain their
records or have them trans-
ferred by contacting Dr. Pri-
mackoff at drprimackoff@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

All medical records retained by
Dana O'Brien, P.D. will be
destroyed after September 5,
2024. Clients can obtain their
records or have them trans-
ferred by contacting Dr. O'Brien
at drdanobrien@gmail.com
calling 3014934320, or coming
to 11119 Rockville Pike, #200,
Rockville, MD on Sept. 5 be-
tween 9:00 and 11:00 AM.

Public Notice
Notice is hereby issued this
Tuesday, July 09, 2024 that the
sale of the property in the pro-
ceedings mentioned, made and
reported by Mark D. Meyer Sub-
stitute Trustee BE RATIFIED AND
CONFIRMED, unless cause to the
contrary thereof be shown on or
before the 8th day of August
2024 next provided, a copy of
this Notice be inserted in some
newspaper published in Anne
Arundel County, once in each of
three successive weeks before
the 8th day of August 2024
next. The report states that the
amount of sale of the property
at 3406 OLD CROWN DRIVE,
PASADENA, MD 21122 to be
\$324,000.00.

Scott A. Poyer
Circuit Court for
Anne Arundel County, MD.
At 16,23,30,2024 0012465483

850

Montgomery County

850

Montgomery County

Brock and Scott, PLLC
5431 Oleander Drive
Wilmington NC, 28403

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE OF
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
KNOWN AS
12908 Neola Rd
Silver Spring, MD 20906

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a
certain Deed of Trust to ANDREW VALENTINE, Trustee(s),
dated October 7, 2005, and recorded among the Land
Records of MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber
31374, folio 245, the holder of the indebtedness secured
by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned
Substitute Trustee(s), by instrument duly recorded among
the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred
under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party
secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will
offer for sale at public auction at THE MONTGOMERY
COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 50 MARYLAND AVENUE,
ROCKVILLE, MD 20850 ON.

JULY 24, 2024 at 11:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements
thereon situated in MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD and
described as follows:

BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NUMBERED
TWENTY-FOUR (24) IN BLOCK LETTERED AND NUMBERED
A-9 IN THE SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "CONNECTICUT AVENUE
PARK" AS PER PLAT THEREOF DULY RECORDED AMONG THE
LAND RECORDS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND
IN PLAT BOOK 46 AT PLAT NO. 3477, THE IMPROVEMENTS
THEREON BEING KNOWN AS 12908 NEOLA ROAD, SILVER
SPRING, MARYLAND 20906. TAX ID# 13-01285898

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS"
condition without either express or implied warranty or
representation, including but not limited to the description,
fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity,
physical condition, construction, extent of construction,
workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision,
environmental condition, merchantability, compliance
with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances
or regulations, or other similar matters, subject to
easements, agreements and restrictions of record which
affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to
all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record
affecting same including any condominium and of HOA
assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$28,000.00 payable in
certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from
purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available
funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of
MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at
the rate of 2% on unpaid purchase money from date of
sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a
bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party
purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to
complete full settlement of the purchase of the property
within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the
sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit
shall be forfeited and the property will be resold at the risk
and expense of the defaulting purchaser. All other public
charges and private charges or assessments, including
water/sewer charges, ground rent taxes, if any, to be
adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and
transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement
shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium
and/or homeowner association dues and assessments will
be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not
ratified for any reason, including post sale lender audit, or
the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title
or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser(s)
sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of
the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser waives all rights
and claims against the Substitute Trustee(s) whether known
or unknown. These provisions shall survive settlement Upon
refund of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect,
and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the
Substitute Trustee(s). The sale is subject to post-sale review
of the status of the loan and that if any agreement to cancel
the sale was entered into by the lender and borrower prior
to the sale then the sale is void and the purchaser's deposit
shall be refunded without interest. Additional terms and
conditions, if applicable, maybe announced at the time
and date of sale. Sale is subject to the attestation by the
Borrower in accordance with Section 5.5A of the Governor's
order of 10.16.2020. File No. (23-28131)

BRENNAN FERGUSON, JOHN C. HANRAHAN,
JEREMY B. WILKINS, AMANDA DRISCOLE,
ROBERT OLIVERI, PAUL HEINMULLER,
Substitute Trustees


300 New York Ave.
Harrison Plaza • Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21201
410-769-9797

0012465459

850

Montgomery County

850

Montgomery County

8065 Leesburg Pike Suite 1103
Vienna, VA 22182
410-769-9797

HARVEY WEST
AUCTIONEERS, LLC

Jul 9,16,23 2024 0012465459

1447

Autos Wanted

1447

Autos Wanted

DONATE YOUR CAR/TRUCK/RV
Lutheran Mission Society of MD
Compassion Place ministries
help local families with food,
clothing, counseling, tax deductible.
MVA licensed #W1044.
Borrower in 202-828-8437
www.CompassionPlace.org

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ferred by contacting Dr. Pri-
mackoff at drprimackoff@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

All medical records retained by
Dana O'Brien, P.D. will be
destroyed after September 5,
2024. Clients can obtain their
records or have them trans-
ferred by contacting Dr. O'Brien
at drdanobrien@gmail.com
calling 3014934320, or coming
to 11119 Rockville Pike, #200,
Rockville, MD on Sept. 5 be-
tween 9:00 and 11:00 AM.

Public Notice
Notice is hereby issued this
Tuesday, July 09, 2024 that the
sale of the property in the pro-
ceedings mentioned, made and
reported by Mark D. Meyer Sub-
stitute Trustee BE RATIFIED AND
CONFIRMED, unless cause to the
contrary thereof be shown on or
before the 8th day of August
2024 next provided, a copy of
this Notice be inserted in some
newspaper published in Anne
Arundel County, once in each of
three successive weeks before
the 8th day of August 2024
next. The report states that the
amount of sale of the property
at 3406 OLD CROWN DRIVE,
PASADENA, MD 21122 to be
\$324,000.00.

Scott A. Poyer
Circuit Court for
Anne Arundel County, MD.
At 16,23,30,2024 0012465483

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Montgomery County

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Montgomery County

Brock and Scott, PLLC
5431 Oleander Drive
Wilmington NC, 28403

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE OF
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
KNOWN AS
12908 Neola Rd
Silver Spring, MD 20906

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a
certain Deed of Trust to ANDREW VALENTINE, Trustee(s),
dated October 7, 2005, and recorded among the Land
Records of MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber
31374, folio 245, the holder of the indebtedness secured
by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned
Substitute Trustee(s), by instrument duly recorded among
the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred
under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party
secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will
offer for sale at public auction at THE MONTGOMERY
COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 50 MARYLAND AVENUE,
ROCKVILLE, MD 20850 ON.

JULY 24, 2024 at 11:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements
thereon situated in MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD and
described as follows:

BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NUMBERED
TWENTY-FOUR (24) IN BLOCK LETTERED AND NUMBERED
A-9 IN THE SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "CONNECTICUT AVENUE
PARK" AS PER PLAT THEREOF DULY RECORDED AMONG THE
LAND RECORDS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND
IN PLAT BOOK 46 AT PLAT NO. 3477, THE IMPROVEMENTS
THEREON BEING KNOWN AS 12908 NEOLA ROAD, SILVER
SPRING, MARYLAND 20906. TAX ID# 13-01285898

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS"
condition without either express or implied warranty or
representation, including but not limited to the description,
fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity,
physical condition, construction, extent of construction,
workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision,
environmental condition, merchantability, compliance
with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances
or regulations, or other similar matters, subject to
easements, agreements and restrictions of record which
affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to
all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record
affecting same including any condominium and of HOA
assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$28,000.00 payable in
certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from
purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available
funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of
MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at
the rate of 2% on unpaid purchase money from date of
sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a
bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party
purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to
complete full settlement of the purchase of the property
within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the
sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit
shall be forfeited and the property will be resold at the risk
and expense of the defaulting purchaser. All other public
charges and private charges or assessments, including
water/sewer charges, ground rent taxes, if any, to be
adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and
transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement
shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium
and/or homeowner association dues and assessments will
be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not
ratified for any reason, including post sale lender audit, or
the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title
or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser(s)
sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of
the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser waives all rights
and claims against the Substitute Trustee(s) whether known
or unknown. These provisions shall survive settlement Upon
refund of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect,
and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the
Substitute Trustee(s). The sale is subject to post-sale review
of the status of the loan and that if any agreement to cancel
the sale was entered into by the lender and borrower prior
to the sale then the sale is void and the purchaser's deposit
shall be refunded without interest. Additional terms and
conditions, if applicable, maybe announced at the time
and date of sale. Sale is subject to the attestation by the
Borrower in accordance with Section 5.5A of the Governor's
order of 10.16.2020. File No. (23-28131)

BRENNAN FERGUSON, JOHN C. HANRAHAN,
JEREMY B. WILKINS, AMANDA DRISCOLE,
ROBERT OLIVERI, PAUL HEINMULLER,
Substitute Trustees


300 New York Ave.
Harrison Plaza

TUESDAY, JULY 16, 2024

EZ

8501Montgomery County8501Montgomery County

Rosenberg & Associates, LLC
4340 East West Highway, Suite 600
Bethesda, MD 20814
(301) 907-8000
www.rosenberg-associ.com

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

20052 APPLIEDOWRE CIRCLE, UNIT #255
GERMANTOWN, MD 20876

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Tracy Alfonso dated May 1, 2007 and recorded in Liber 34290, folio 570 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JULY 26, 2024 AT 3:48 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with the buildings and improvements thereon situated in Montgomery County, MD and described as Unit 255 in Greenfields at Brandermill Condominium and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. Tax ID #09-02482401. The property, which is improved by a dwelling, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$24,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for Montgomery County. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received in the office of the Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. There will be no reduction of interest due to overpayment of deposit. Adjustment of all real property taxes (excluding recapture of previously reduced or exempt taxes) and any other public charges or assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer charges, and ground rent to be adjusted to date of sale and paid at execution of the deed, except where the secured party is the purchaser, and thereafter assumed by the purchaser. All due and/or unpaid private utility, water and sewer facilities charges, condo/HOA assessments and Columbia Assoc. assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, are payable by the purchaser without adjustment. Cost of all documentary stamps, transfer taxes, recaptured taxes (including but not limited to agricultural taxes), and settlement expenses shall be borne by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. Additional terms to be announced at the time of sale. If the Trustees are unable to convey good and marketable title, the purchaser's sole remedy in law and equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit without interest. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement, the deposit shall be forfeited, to the Trustees for application against all expenses, attorney's fees and the full commission on the sale price of the above-scheduled foreclosure sale. In the event of default, all expenses of this sale (including attorney's fees and the full commission on the gross sale price of this sale) shall be charged against and paid out of the forfeited deposit. The Trustees may then re-advertise and resell the property at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser or may avail themselves of any legal or equitable remedies against the defaulting purchaser without reselling the property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive the surplus, if any, even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulting purchaser and the defaulting purchaser shall be liable to the Trustees and secured party for reasonable attorney's fees and expenses incurred in connection with all litigation involving the Property or the proceeds of the resale. Defaulting purchaser waives personal service of any document filed in connection with such a motion on him/ herself and/or any principal or corporate designee, and expressly agrees to accept service of any such document by regular mail directed to the address provided by said purchaser at the time of the foreclosure auction. Trustees' file number 22-001615-MD-F-1.

Diane S. Rosenberg, Mark D. Meyer, et al., Trustees

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www.alexcooper.com

Jul 9,16,23 20240012465195

8501Montgomery County8501Montgomery County

Pardo & Drazin, LLC
Russell S. Drazin, Attorney
4400 Jenifer Street, NW, Suite 2
Washington, DC 20015
202-223-7900

TRUSTEE'S SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY
19117 N. Kindly Court
Montgomery Village, MD 20886
Account ID 09-00797654

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust ("Deed of Trust") dated April 19, 2022 and recorded on April 21, 2022 in Book 65632 at Page 198 from EXQUISITE QUARTERS LLC ("Borrower"), as grantor, to RUSSELL S. DRAZIN ("Trustee"), as trustee, for the benefit of WCP FUND, LLC ("Lender"), as beneficiary, securing that certain Commercial Deed of Trust Note ("Note") dated April 19, 2022 in the principal amount of \$272,880.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, Trustee will sell at public auction at the front entrance of the Circuit Court for Montgomery County located at 50 Maryland Avenue, Rockville, Maryland, on

JULY 25, 2024 AT 10:30 AM

ALL THAT FEE-SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON situated in Montgomery County, Maryland, commonly known as 19117 N. Kindly Court, Montgomery Village, MD 20886, and more fully described in the Deed of Trust, as well as ALL PERSONAL PROPERTY encumbered by the Deed of Trust (collectively, "Property").

The Property will be sold in an "AS IS" condition and subject to recorded covenants, conditions, restrictions, agreements, and senior liens, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$30,000.00 by cashier's check will be required of the purchaser at the time and place of sale. The balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash or certified funds within ten (10) days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court for Montgomery County. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate in effect under the debt instrument secured by the Deed of Trust from the date of sale to the date of settlement. Secured Party, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit or to pay interest.

Purchaser shall settle within ten (10) days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court for Montgomery County. TIME SHALL BE OF THE ESSENCE WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENT BY PURCHASER. Cost of all documentary stamps (recording taxes), transfer taxes and settlement expenses shall be borne by purchaser. Taxes, ground rent, water, and sewer, if applicable, are to be adjusted for the current year to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by purchaser.

In the event purchaser does not settle as required for any reason, purchaser shall be in default. Upon such default, Trustee may file a motion to resell the Property at the risk and expense of defaulting purchaser. Purchaser hereby consents to entry of such resale Order without further notice. Defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the Property, and the deposit shall be forfeited to the Trustee and all of the expenses of this sale (including attorneys' fees and full commission on the gross sale price) shall be charged against and paid out of the forfeited deposit. Purchaser shall pay all attorneys' fees and costs, and all other damages of any kind or nature, incurred by Trustee and the secured party, and their respective agents, employees, successors and assigns, in connection with any such default.

If Trustee is unable to convey title, purchaser's sole remedy at law and in equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit and the sale shall be considered null and void and of no effect.

Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the Property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the Property from the date of sale forward.

Additional terms may be announced at the sale. Purchaser will be required to execute and deliver to Trustee a contract of the sale at the conclusion of the bidding.

Russell S. Drazin, Trustee

HARVEY KALLES
AUCTIONEERS, LLC
900 E. Joppa Road
Hampden Pointe, Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-766-9716

Jul 9,16,23 20240012465452

The Washington Post

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BWW Law Group, LLC
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101
Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND
ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

10716 DOUGLAS AVENUE
SILVER SPRING, MD 20902

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated September 8, 2006, recorded in Liber 33247, Folio 442 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$100,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

AUGUST 2, 2024 AT 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind. The property will be sold subject to a prior mortgage, the amount to be announced at the time of sale, if made available to the Substitute Trustees.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$7,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 345321-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,
Substitute Trustees

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www.alexcooper.com

Jul 16,23,30 20240012465679

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Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND
ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

16913 HARBOUR TOWN DRIVE
SILVER SPRING, MD 20905

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated May 3, 2005, recorded in Liber 30054, Folio 407 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$1,000,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JULY 19, 2024 AT 12:49 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$114,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 67920-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,
Substitute Trustees

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Jul 2,9,16 20240012464720

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8501Montgomery County8501Montgomery County

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Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND
ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

13500 DERRY GLEN COURT, UNIT #104 & PS #341
GERMANTOWN, MD 20874

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated August 20, 2019, recorded in Liber 58537, Folio 7 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$170,126.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

AUGUST 2, 2024 AT 2:32 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and described as Unit 13500-104, as shown on a plat of Condominium subdivision entitled "Ashmore at Germantown Condominium III, Phase 1" and Parking Unit 341 as shown on a plat of Condominium subdivision entitled "Ashmore at Germantown Site Condominium" and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. Tax ID #02-03537663 & #02-03526807. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$16,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 365764-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,
Substitute Trustees

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Jul 16,23,30 20240012465680

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Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND
ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

160 TALBOTT STREET, UNIT #160-104
ROCKVILLE, MD 20852

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated October 29, 2007, recorded in Liber 35242, Folio 524 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$223,250.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JULY 26, 2024 AT 3:43 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and described as Unit Number 160-104 in a Plan of Condominium Subdivision styled "Condominium Plat - Woodmont Spring Condominium" and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$19,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 137961-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,
Substitute Trustees

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Jul 9,16,23 20240012465198

8501Montgomery County8501Montgomery County

BWW Law Group, LLC
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101
Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND
ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

19169 BROOKE GROVE COURT
MONTGOMERY VILLAGE, MD 20886

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated February 22, 2010, recorded in Liber 39138, Folio 356 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$765,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JULY 19, 2024 AT 12:47 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$28,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 322249-2)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,
Substitute Trustees

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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

5325 SARATOGA AVENUE
CHEVY CHASE, MD 20815

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from John E. Donahoe and Sheila B. Donahoe, dated March 27, 2006 and recorded in Liber 32127, folio 51 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, default having occurred under the terms thereof and at the request of the parties secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustees will offer for sale at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

JULY 19, 2024 AT 12:40 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND AND THE IMPROVEMENTS THEREON situated in Montgomery County, Maryland and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property is improved by a dwelling. The property, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions, easements, encumbrances and agreements of record affecting the subject property, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit in the form of cashier's or certified check, or in such other form as the Substitute Trustees may determine, at their sole discretion, for \$7,000 at the time of sale. If the noteholder and/or servicer is the successful bidder, the deposit requirement is waived. Balance of the purchase price is to be paid within ten (10) days of the final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, Maryland. Interest is to be paid on the unpaid purchase price at the rate of 8.49% per annum from date of sale to the date the funds are received in the office of the Substitute Trustees, if the property is purchased by an entity other than the noteholder and/or servicer. If payment of the balance does not occur within ten (10) days of ratification, the deposit will be forfeited as liquidated damages. The purchaser agrees that the property may be resold pursuant to an order of court, waives personal service upon themselves and/or any principal or corporate designee of any documents filed regarding the failure to pay the purchase price within ten (10) days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail of said documents at the address provided by the purchaser in the Memorandum of Sale. The purchaser will not be entitled to any surplus or profits arising from the resale even if they are the result of improvements made by the purchaser. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event settlement is delayed for any reason. Taxes, water rent, and all other public charges and assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges to be adjusted for the current year to the date of sale, and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Cost of all documentary stamps, transfer taxes (including agricultural transfer taxes, if applicable), and all settlement charges shall be borne by the purchaser. The sale is subject to a post sale audit of the loan, including but not limited to an analysis of whether the borrower entered into a loan modification agreement, filed bankruptcy, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. The Substitute Trustees will convey either insurable or marketable title. If the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey insurable or marketable title or, the post sale audit concludes that the sale should not have occurred, or the sale is not ratified by the court for any reason, the purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the deposit without interest even if the purchaser has made improvements to the property. Upon refund of the deposit, the sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Substitute Trustees. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. The purchaser at the foreclosure sale shall assume the risk of loss for the property immediately after the sale. (Matter #24-600190).

Laura H. G. O'Sullivan, et al., Substitute Trustees

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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

4311 LANGREEN STREET
ROCKVILLE, MD 20853

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Luchy Betances Nunez dated January 31, 2007 and recorded in Liber 33813, folio 445 and re-recorded in Liber 43874, folio 295 among the Land Records of Montgomery County, MD, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, at the Court House Door, 50 Maryland Ave., Rockville, MD 20850, on

AUGUST 2, 2024 AT 2:25 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with the buildings and improvements thereon situated in Montgomery County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. Tax ID #13-01280046. The property, which is improved by a dwelling, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$57,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for Montgomery County. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received in the office of the Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. There will be no reduction of interest due to overpayment of deposit. Adjustment of all real property taxes (excluding recapture of previously reduced or exempt taxes) and any other public charges or assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer charges, and ground rent to be adjusted to date of sale and paid at execution of the deed, except where the secured party is the purchaser, and thereafter assumed by the purchaser. All due and/or unpaid private utility, water and sewer facilities charges, condo/HOA assessments and Columbia Assoc. assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, are payable by the purchaser without adjustment. Cost of all documentary stamps, transfer taxes, recaptured taxes (including but not limited to agricultural taxes), and settlement expenses shall be borne by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. Additional terms to be announced at the time of sale. If the Trustees are unable to convey good and marketable title, the purchaser's sole remedy in law and equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit without interest. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement, the deposit shall be forfeited, to the Trustees for application against all expenses, attorney's fees and the full commission on the sale price of the above-scheduled foreclosure sale. In the event of default, all expenses of this sale (including attorney's fees and the full commission on the gross sale price of this sale) shall be charged against and paid out of the forfeited deposit. The Trustees may then re-advertise and resell the property at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser or may avail themselves of any legal or equitable remedies against the defaulting purchaser without reselling the property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive the surplus, if any, even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulting purchaser and the defaulting purchaser shall be liable to the Trustees and secured party for reasonable attorney's fees and expenses incurred in connection with all litigation involving the Property or the proceeds of the resale. Defaulting purchaser waives personal service of any document filed in connection with such a motion on him/ herself and/or any principal or corporate designee, and expressly agrees to accept service of any such document by regular mail directed to the address provided by said purchaser at the time of the foreclosure auction. Trustees' file number 22-000757-MD-F-1.

Diane S. Rosenberg, Mark D. Meyer, et al., Trustees



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Samuel I. White, P.C.
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VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS 4633 Eastern Ave Mount Rainier, MD 20712

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to MICHAEL LYON, Trustee(s), dated June 26, 2017, and recorded among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 39826, folio 449, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, LOCATED AT FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 ON,

AUGUST 1, 2024 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

LAND SITUATED IN THE COUNTY OF PRINCE GEORGES IN THE STATE OF MD LOT NUMBERED SIX (6) IN THE SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "NORTH WOODRIDGE" AS PER PLAT RECORDS IN PLAT BOOK 4 FOLIO 17: ONE OF THE LAND RECORDS OF SAID PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 4.625% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest for any reason. Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. There will be no abatement of taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments for any reason. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited, and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser and the purchaser agrees to pay reasonable attorneys' fees for the Substitute trustees, plus all cost incurred, if the Substitute Trustee's have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. The purchasers waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with such a motion and expressly agrees to The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit.

The sale is subject to post-sale confirmation and audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into a repayment agreement, reinstated, or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sol remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Trustee's File No. (82169)

Robert A. Jones, et al SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



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Jul 16,23,30 2024

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Samuel I. White, P.C.
448 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 350
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS 12709 Prospect Knolls Drive Bowie, MD 20720

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to C. PEREZ AND JEFF. ROBINSON, Trustee(s), dated July 6, 2007, and recorded among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 28579, folio 194, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, LOCATED AT FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 ON,

AUGUST 1, 2024 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

ALL THAT CERTAIN PARCEL OF LAND IN ELECTION DISTRICT NO. 14, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, STATE OF MD, AS MORE FULLY DESCRIBED IN PLAT BOOK 17 PAGE 81 DWH1681188(14), BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NO. 12, BLOCK 6 SECTION 3, PROSPECT KNOLLS, FILED IN PLAT BOOK WWW 65 AT PAGE 31.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 4.33% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest for any reason. Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. There will be no abatement of taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments for any reason. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited, and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser and the purchaser agrees to pay reasonable attorneys' fees for the Substitute trustees, plus all cost incurred, if the Substitute Trustee's have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. The purchasers waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with such a motion and expressly agrees to The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit.

The sale is subject to post-sale confirmation and audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into a repayment agreement, reinstated, or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sol remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Trustee's File No. (77858)

Robert A. Jones, et al SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



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Jul 16,23,30 2024

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Samuel I. White, P.C.
448 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 350
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS 7536 Abbinghton Drive Oxon Hill, MD 20745

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to EQUITABLE LAND TITLE GROUP, LLC, Trustee(s), dated January 19, 2007, and recorded among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 27390, folio 462, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, LOCATED AT FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 ON,

AUGUST 1, 2024 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

LOT NUMBERED 14, IN BLOCK LETTERED "A", IN THE SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "BLOCKS B AND C AND PARTS OF BLOCKS A, D, H, AND I, RIVER RIDGE ESTATES", AS PER PLAT THEREOF DULY RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND, IN PLAT BOOK WWW 27, AT PLAT 88. (12TH ELECTION DISTRICT)

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 4.33% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest for any reason. Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. There will be no abatement of taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments for any reason. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited, and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser and the purchaser agrees to pay reasonable attorneys' fees for the Substitute trustees, plus all cost incurred, if the Substitute Trustee's have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. The purchasers waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with such a motion and expressly agrees to The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit.

The sale is subject to post-sale confirmation and audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into a repayment agreement, reinstated, or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sol remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Trustee's File No. (82580)

Robert A. Jones, et al SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



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410-769-9797

Jul 16,23,30 2024

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Prince Georges County

Samuel I. White, P.C.
448 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 350
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS 4307 23rd Place Temple Hills, MD 20748

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to RGS TITLE , Trustee(s), dated February 22, 2008, and recorded among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 29520, folio 410, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, LOCATED AT FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 ON,

JULY 18, 2024 at 10:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NUMBERED FOUR (4) IN BLOCK LETTERED "C" IN THE SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "MARLOW HEIGHTS", IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND, AS PER PLAT THEREOF RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK WWW 23 AT PLAT NO. 40, ONE OF THE LAND RECORDS OF SAID PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND. (6TH ELECTION DISTRICT).

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 5.81% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest for any reason. Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. There will be no abatement of taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments for any reason. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited, and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser and the purchaser agrees to pay reasonable attorneys' fees for the Substitute trustees, plus all cost incurred, if the Substitute Trustee's have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. The purchasers waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with such a motion and expressly agrees to The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit.

The sale is subject to post-sale confirmation and audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into a repayment agreement, reinstated, or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sol remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Trustee's File No. (82581)

Robert A. Jones, et al SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



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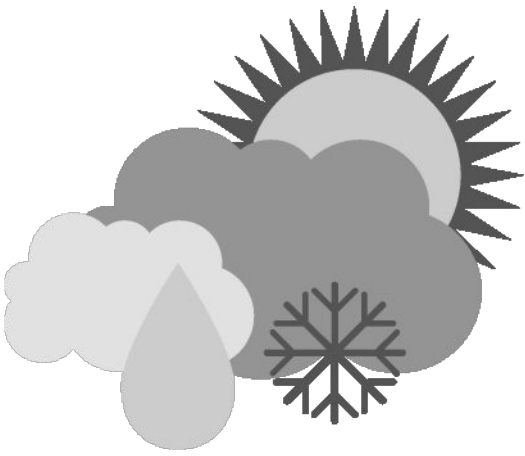
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Samuel I. White, P.C.
448 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 350
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
KNOWN AS
12211 Kingsford Court
Mitchellville, MD 20721

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to JOHN BURSON, Trustee(s), dated February 8, 2005, and recorded among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 21685, folio 413, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, LOCATED AT FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 ON,

JULY 18, 2024 at 10:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

THE LAND REFERRED TO IS SITUATED IN THE CITY OF MITCHELLVILLE, COUNTY OF PRINCE GEORGES, STATE OF MARYLAND, IS DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS: LOT NUMBERED TWENTY-THREE (23) IN BLOCK NUMBERED SIXTYSEVEN (67) IN THE SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "PLAT NO. 43, KETTERING", AS PER PLAT RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK WWW 89 AT PLAT NO. 2, AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND. BEING IN THE 7TH ELECTION DISTRICT OF SAID COUNTY

THE PROPERTY IS SUBJECT TO A PRIOR MORTGAGE. IF AVAILABLE THE AMOUNT WILL BE ANNOUNCED AT THE TIME OF THE SALE

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 3.75% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest for any reason. Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. There will be no abatement of taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments for any reason. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited, and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser and the purchaser agrees to pay reasonable attorneys' fees for the Substitute trustees, plus all cost incurred, if the Substitute Trustee's have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. The purchasers waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with such a motion and expressly agrees to The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit.

The sale is subject to post-sale confirmation and audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into a repayment agreement, reinstated, or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Trustee's File No. (83009)

Robert A. Jones, et al SUBSTITUE TRUSTEES

HARVEY W
E
A
S
T
AUCTIONEERS, LLC

300 E. Joppa Road
Hagerston Plaza, Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-769-9797

Jul 2,9,16,2024

0012463260

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Charles County

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Charles County

Samuel I. White, P.C.
6100 EXECUTIVE BLVD, SUITE 400
ROCKVILLE, MARYLAND 20852

PUBLIC AUCTION SALE
A cooperative housing corporation, entitling the owner thereof to possession of a dwelling unit
KNOWN AS
30 GREENWOOD PLACE, INDIAN HEAD, MD 20640

SALE AUGUST 1, 2024 at 12:30 PM

By virtue of the power and authority contained in Security Agreement from Virginia G Horstkamp, Debtor to PNC Bank, National Association, dated December 19, 2006, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, by its undersigned attorney will sale at public auction at Charles County Circuit Court, 200 Charles Street (breezeway between circuit and district courts)

All the membership shares described in said Security Agreement being shares of Potomac Heights Mutual Home Owners Association, Inc. allocated to 30 Greenwood Place, Indian Head, MD 20640, together with all rights, duties and obligations under the terms of a certain Occupancy Agreement between Virginia G Horstkamp, and Potomac Heights Mutual Home Owners Association, Inc. Subject to the terms, provisions and conditions contained in the Articles of Incorporation, By-Laws, Occupancy Agreement and House Rules of Potomac Heights Mutual Home Owners Association, Inc.

The membership shares will be sold subject to their proportionate share of certain underlying purchase money mortgages, the exact amount due thereon will be announced at time of sale and subject to all conditions, liens restrictions and agreements of record affecting same, and subject to any assessments.

TERMS OF SALE: A cash deposit, certified check or cashier's check in the amount of \$20,000.00 will be required of the purchaser at the time and place of sale, except that the Secured Party will not be required to give a deposit. Balance to be paid in cash 30 days following sale. Interest to be charged at the rate of 6.75% per annum on the unpaid purchase price from date of sale to date of settlement. All costs incident to the transfer of membership shares shall be borne by the purchaser. All adjustments of cooperative fees and assessments will be made as to date of sale, and to be assumed by thereafter by the purchaser. In the event that the purchaser fails to go to settlement as required, the property shall be re-sold at purchaser's risk and expense and the deposit is forfeited. If secured convey, purchaser's sole remedy is return of the deposit. Additional Sale terms announced at the sale. Trustee's File No. 64582

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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

4 JEFFREY LANE
BRUNSWICK, MD 21758

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated December 5, 2019, recorded in Liber 13450, Folio 298 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$374,612.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

AUGUST 2, 2024 AT 10:42 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$37,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 363887-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,
Substitute Trustees

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6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101
Rockville, MD 20852
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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

55 FOX ROCK DRIVE
MYERSVILLE, MD 21773

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated September 14, 2012, recorded in Liber 9114, Folio 138 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$90,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

AUGUST 2, 2024 AT 10:40 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$5,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 367628-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,
Substitute Trustees

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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

5447 LYNDALE WAY
FREDERICK, MD 21703

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated November 1, 2019, recorded in Liber 13329, Folio 382 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$254,578.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

JULY 19, 2024 AT 10:47 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$24,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 364126-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,
Substitute Trustees

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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

900 BLUEFAE COURT, UNIT #9-3A A/R/T/A UNIT J
FREDERICK, MD 21701

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated November 17, 2017, recorded in Liber 12147, Folio 118 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$129,600.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

JULY 19, 2024 AT 10:45 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and described as Unit Numbered and Lettered Nine-Three A (9-3A), Phase Nine (9), in Building Numbered Nine (9), in a Condominium Regime known as "Monocacy Overlook Garden Condominium, Fredericktowne Village, PNC Section 13" and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$12,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 358814-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,
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SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF REAL PROPERTY AND ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON

5447 LYNDALE WAY
FREDERICK, MD 21703

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated November 1, 2019, recorded in Liber 13329, Folio 382 among the Land Records of Frederick County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$254,578.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Frederick County, at the Court House Door, 100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701, on

JULY 19, 2024 AT 10:47 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Frederick County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$24,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 364126-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et. al.,
Substitute Trustees

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Jul 2,9,16,2024

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Frederick County

Brock and Scott, PLLC
5431 Olander Drive
Wilmington NC, 28403

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
KNOWN AS
5318 Wye Creek Dr
Frederick, MD 21703

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to DAVID E. WATERS AND ANTHONY B. OLMERT SR, Trustee(s), dated December 27, 2017, and recorded among the Land Records of FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 12271, folio 415, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE FREDERICK COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 100 W. PATRICK ST, FREDERICK, MD 21701 ON,

JULY 24, 2024 at 9:30 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in FREDERICK COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

ALL THAT LOT OR PARCEL OF LAND SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN BALLENGER ELECTION DISTRICT, FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND, BEING LOT 14 ON THE PLAT OF WYE CREEK SUBDIVISION SECTION TWO PREPARED BY SUTOLIFFE AND ASSOCIATES, INC. AND RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 13, FOLIO 62, ONE OF THE PLAT RECORDS IN THE OFFICE OF THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND, CONTAINING 1.336 ACRES OF MORE OR LESS. PARCEL IDENTIFICATION NUMBER: 23-438429

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$31,500.00 payable in certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at the rate of 4.25 % on unpaid purchase money from date of sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to complete full settlement of the purchase of the property within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit shall be forfeited and the property will be sold at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes if any, to be adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey insurable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser waives all rights and claims against the Substitute Trustees whether known or unknown. These provisions shall survive settlement upon refund of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Substitute Trustees. The sale is subject to post-sale review of the status of the loan and that if any agreement to cancel the sale was entered into by the lender and borrower prior to the sale then the sale is void and the purchaser's deposit shall be refunded without interest. Additional terms and conditions, if applicable, maybe announced at the time and date of sale. Sale is subject to the attestation by the Borrower in accordance with Section 5.A of the Governor's order of 10.16.2020. File No. (22-02358)

JOHN ANSELL, JEREMY B. WILKINS, ROBERT A. OLIVERI, AMANDA DRISCOLE, PAUL HEINMULLER, Substitute Trustees

HARVEY W
E
A
S
T
AUCTIONEERS, LLC

300 E. Joppa Road
Hagerston Plaza, Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-769-9797

Jul 9,16,23,2024

0012464564

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Fauquier County

Trustee's Sale
4048 Rock Run Lane
Goldvein, Virginia 22720
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Default having been made in the terms of a certain Deed of Trust dated February 27, 2019, in the original principal amount of \$39,600.00 and recorded in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of the County of Fauquier, Virginia in deed book 1592, page 1643, the undersigned Substitute Trustees will sell at public auction on **August 29, 2024, at 12:00 PM** in front of the building housing the Fauquier County Circuit Court, 40 Culpeper Street, Warrenton, VA 20156, the property designated as Lot 16, Black Wood Forest, as the same is duly plat-ed and recorded in deed book 281, page 513, of the land records of Fauquier County, Virginia. Said plot is emitted division of the property of Northern Virginia Properties, Inc. Sale is subject to all prior liens, easements, restrictions, covenants, and conditions, any of record or other matters which would be disclosed by an accurate survey or inspection of the premises.

TERMS: CASH. A deposit of \$4,000.00 or 10% of the sale price, whichever is lower, will be required of the successful bidder at time of sale. Prior to the sale, interested bidders will be required to register with and must present a bid deposit which may be held during the sale by the trustee. The bid deposit must be certified funds and/or cash, but no more than \$9,900.00 of cash will be accepted. The successful bidder's deposit will be retained at the sale and applied to the sale price, if held by the trustee, all other bid deposits will be returned to the unsuccessful bidder. The Settlement is to be made within 15 calendar days. The successful bidder will be responsible for obtaining possession of the property, and for all costs and fees related to recording the Trustee's Deed, including the grantors tax. The successful bidder will be required to execute a Memorandum of Trustee's Sale, available for review on the Fore-closure Sales page of www.glasserlaw.com, outlining additional terms of sale and settlement. A Trustee's Deed will be prepared by Trustee's attorney at high bidder's expense.

This is a communication from a debt collector, Glasser and Glasser, P.L.C., on behalf of Atlantic Trustee Services, L.L.C., and NIREO Solutions, LLC, and/or NIREO-VA LLC, Substitute Trustees, Crown Center Building, Suite 600, 580 East Main Street, Norfolk, VA 23510, File No. 2347663-01, Tel: (757) 321-6465, between 10:00 a.m. & 12:00 noon only.

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MEDICAL MYSTERIES

Like an ice pick was stabbing her brain

A woman’s piercing headaches and the dull pain that followed upended her life for years

BY SANDRA G. BOODMAN

More than 25 years after it occurred, Patti Glover remembers the first episode in vivid detail. Glover, then in her mid-30s, was standing in front of a bathroom mirror fixing her hair while getting ready for work as a craps dealer at a Las Vegas casino when she was struck by pain that felt like an ice pick piercing the right side of the top of her head. The pain was so intense she staggered backward and hit a closet door before sinking to her knees, clutching her head. After about 10 rapid-fire bursts, each lasting several seconds, the pain subsided, replaced by a slight dull ache that lingered for several hours. Glover was terrified by what the sudden pain might portend. The beloved grandfather who had been her protector and caretaker had died suddenly of a ruptured brain aneurysm when she was 14. His death remained a particularly traumatic event for Glover, whose chaotic, violence-scarred childhood had left her with post-traumatic stress disorder. For more than a year she told no one about the ice pick episodes that occurred every few months. “I figured if I died, I died,” she remembered rationalizing to herself, although it was a bravado she didn’t actually feel. Glover said she feared doctors would discover that she too had an aneurysm, a bulge in a weak spot in an

SEE MEDICAL MYSTERY ON E4



ILLUSTRATION BY BIANCA BAGNARELLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

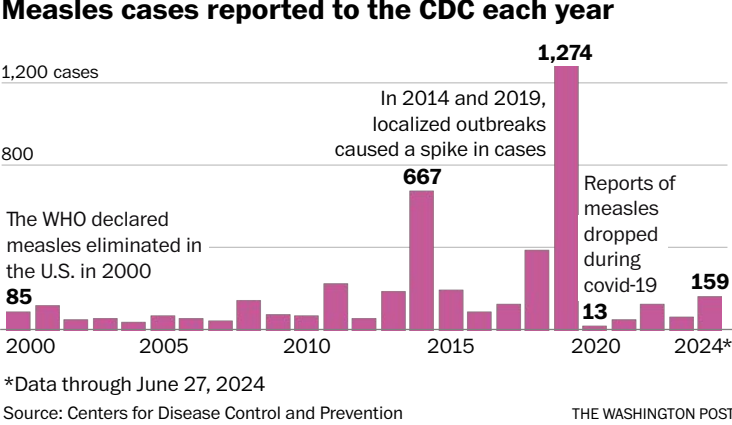
Isolation, fatigue, misery: What it’s like to have measles

BY LENA H. SUN

These days, most Americans don’t think about measles because vaccination had largely eliminated the scourge from the United States in 2000. Many doctors cannot even diagnose measles because they have not seen it in practice. But measles outbreaks are back amid falling vaccination rates. There have been more cases this year than in each of the past two years. The measles virus is one of the most contagious on Earth; it can live for up to two hours in the air after an infected person

coughs or sneezes. Up to 9 out of 10 people who are not protected will become infected if they breathe the contaminated air or touch a surface that has been infected. Measles is especially deadly for babies and young children who are not vaccinated. In the decade before a vaccine became available in 1963, more than 3 million people contracted measles every year in the United States; 48,000 were hospitalized, and about 400 to 500 died (many of them children), according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Many people who survived measles as

children — before a vaccine existed — never forgot how sick they were. They wanted to share their stories so others could understand what it was like to have measles and its long-term consequences. They remember being confined in dark rooms to lessen the risk of blindness, a serious complication. They remember classmates and family members who died of other severe complications, such as dehydration or pneumonia, or swelling of the brain. Here are their memories of surviving measles, in their words, edited for clarity. SEE MEASLES ON E5



PHOTOS BY HANNAH BEIER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Michael Tidwell, 68, holds a stuffed bear he had given to his late sister. In 1961, when he was a kindergartner, he passed measles on to his pregnant mother, who passed them on to his baby sister. Dianna was born with visual problems and experienced other health issues.



A photograph of Tidwell’s mother, Geraldine, and sister. Tidwell, of D.C., described Dianna, who died at 33, as “the glue of our family.”

BRAIN

Science has answers about why we like to groove to music. E2

911

What to do in different scenarios that require quick medical answers. E3

AGING

Getting older doesn’t have to mean living with fatigue. There are ways to boost energy. E6

CLIMATE SOLUTIONS

Your clothes are so not cool

Dressing for heat isn’t about how little you wear but what you wear: Think fabric, fit and color

BY NICOLÁS RIVERO

When the temperature rises, many people feel the urge to shed as much clothing as possible to stay cool. While it’s true that losing layers will trap less heat, scientists and stylists say dressing for the summer isn’t that simple.

Exposing more skin makes it easier for the sun to radiate heat directly into your body — and raises your risk of sunburn. “So not wearing anything isn’t good. I wouldn’t recommend it,” said Larissa Marie Shepherd, an assistant professor of fiber science at Cornell University.

And stylists say stripping down may not fit with everyone’s sense of style or their level of comfort.

“There’s a summer move of just wearing no clothes — like, it’s just too hot for clothes and we’re just wearing our tiniest shorts and our tiniest tops,” said Heather Newberger, a stylist who wrote the book “How to Date Your Wardrobe.” “But I don’t think the majority of America feels comfortable that way.”

Instead, the scientists and stylists agree, it’s about making thoughtful choices about fabrics, fit and colors.

Fabrics

Scientists such as Shepherd who study fibers and fabrics at the molecular level say linen is the coolest choice for summer heat. The natural fiber breathes well, pulls sweat away from your skin and allows it to evaporate easily. But the stylists we spoke to are split.

Stylist Denise Caldwell says linen is a great option. Newberger says she never recommends it unless a client specifically asks for it.

“Linen is going to keep you real cool — however, it’s going to look like a paper bag in five seconds,” said Newberger, referring to linen’s tendency to wrinkle. But, she added, “there are people who are very confident in linen, so if you’re comfortable with that look, then go for it.”

Newberger prefers lyocell, a fabric made from wood chips that often goes by the brand name Tencel, which she says stays cool like linen without the wrinkles. She also recommends plissé, a pleated cotton fabric that is often thin and breathable.

“There’s already a built-in texture there which really adds dimension to your outfit,” she said.



JESSE DITTMAR FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Linen is a great option for staying cool, but it has a downside: It wrinkles easily. Alternative choices include plissé, above, a pleated cotton fabric; and lyocell, which often goes by the brand name Tencel.

In the summer, a light, textured fabric can “bring back that layering effect that can create so much dynamism in the winter, when you have all this flexibility where you can have sweaters, button-downs, jackets, vests, and you can bring them all together.”

Caldwell, the other stylist, suggested choosing natural fibers, particularly bamboo, which stays cool in a similar way to linen. She also advised looking for alternatives to heavy fabrics like denim.

“Chambray is lightweight and sophisticated, so it’s a good alternative for those who like denim or jeans during the summer,” she said.

Looser fit

Looser-fitting clothing allows more air to circulate over your skin, which can cool you down and make you feel less clammy, according to scientists.

“You don’t want something that’s clinging to your body. You want something that’s lightweight and kind of breezy,” said Shepherd. “If I’m just hanging out, I would probably recommend something like a long-sleeve, linen, loose-fitting shirt.”

The good news, stylists say, is that baggy clothes are in — regardless of your age or gender.

“We’re in a great space right now

where oversized is king. The coolest looks out there tend to be things that are more oversized,” said Newberger. “It’s a great time to try new things because there’s really less pushback when it comes to that kind of look.”

She recommends, for instance, “an oversized shirt made with organic fibers and a wide-legged pant that moves the air through you and offers sun protection as well.”

Caldwell stressed that loose doesn’t mean ill-fitting. “It’s not about going up in size or getting something that’s extra large,” she said. “You can still get things that are tailored to your size.” She pointed to different sleeve shapes that are wider than traditional cuts, such as billow sleeves, balloon sleeves and flutter sleeves.

She also recommends flowy garments such as a maxi dress or a fit-and-flare dress. “The great thing is it cinches your waist but it actually flows around so that it’s not too clingy to the body, because you want fabrics that are not going to stick to the skin but are actually going to move with the body.”

Colors

Darker clothes absorb more heat from the sun than lighter clothes, scientists say. That’s why stylists recommend switching to lighter colors in the summer.

“As a New Yorker, it’s a real bummer because the number one color we use is black,” said Newberger. “But summer is made for cream.”

Caldwell suggested choosing light pastels. “And then your white, nude, taupe or bone type of colors go well with different skin tones, but they’re still in the light color frame,” she said.

She also recommends cool blues but advises against fiery reds, which she says can make you feel psychologically hotter — a fashion tip supported by some scientific research on the links between color and temperature perception.

The bottom line, stylists and scientists say, is that people need to choose a summer wardrobe that makes them feel comfortable in the heat and in their own skin. That might mean trying out a new type of fabric or a garment with a looser fit, but it doesn’t mean you have to wear something that feels unnatural to you.

“People feel like they’re forced into making decisions that they’re not confident with because of seasonal dressing,” Newberger said. “At the end of the day, it’s not necessarily about doing what you think you should, and instead taking the time to figure out what you want.”

Does music make you move? Why our brain loves to groove.



Brain Matters

RICHARD SIMA

We enjoy music not just through our ears, but also the rest of our body.

When the music hits just right, we tap our feet, snap our fingers and begin to move — impulses that are near irresistible.

This pleasurable urge to move to music is what scientists call groove. Researchers have reported that even 3-month-old infants move to the music when they hear “Everybody” by the Backstreet Boys.

“We think that it’s near-universal,” said Takahide Etani, a medical resident at Japanese Red Cross Ashikaga Hospital who co-wrote a 2024 review on neuroscience and psychological research into groove.

Psychological and neuroscience research suggests that the phenomenon of groove reveals something fundamental about how our brains work: We enjoy trying to predict how the music will go, and we move to help us make that prediction.

When the musical rhythm is not completely predictable, it invites us to move and “fill in the beat,” said Maria Witek, an associate professor of music at Britain’s University of Birmingham who researches music cognition. “The music requires us to move to be complete, in a sense.”

The power of groove is that “it makes music this distributed process that we actively take part in and kind of blurs the boundary between music and body and mind,” she said.

The term “groove” was historically tied to music of the African American and Cuban diaspora, said Tomas Matthews, a postdoctoral researcher of clinical medicine at Aarhus University’s Center for Music in the Brain. Musicians also use groove in a larger context, such as describing a rhythmic part or feeling interlocked as a group

when playing. Scientists, though, use the term more narrowly to mean the pleasurable urge to move to music.

Research has consistently reported an inverted-U relationship between subjective reports of groove and syncope — interruptions of the music’s regular time signature, and an element of rhythmic complexity. People tend to find music that is moderately complex in rhythm elicits more feelings of groove than music with a low- or high-complexity rhythm.

There seems to be a Goldilocks zone for music’s predictability and complexity: Too little complexity, and it is boring — no need to predict anything. Too much complexity, and it is too difficult — we can’t make sense of what we are listening to, let alone predict what comes next.

“We need some regularity in order to be able to move along, but if it’s too irregular, then we’re not able to even predict where the beat is,” Witek said.

Researchers theorize that one of the brain’s main functions is to predict what the world will throw at us and compare it with what actually happens.

If something does not align with the brain’s prediction, such as unexpected syncope in a song, we get a prediction error.

“The idea is that we have this sort of fundamental drive to minimize prediction errors,” Matthews said. Being able to make accurate predictions of the world increases survival, he said.

The reason we tend to groove to music instead of, say, the sounds of a babbling brook or a lecture, is that music has more predictable patterns than the sounds of nature or human speech. Music has a time signature that we can predict, but the notes in the song may deviate from it, adding to its complexity and difficulty in predicting.

Moving to music — whether it’s clapping our hands, bobbing our head or dancing — is a way of adding a new sensory input that can minimize the prediction error



ILLUSTRATION BY GEORGE WYLESOL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

by reinforcing the underlying musical time signature. But with just the right amount of complexity, trying to figure out what comes next becomes enjoyable.

“We’re drawn to something that is challenging and isn’t just perfectly regular,” said Matthews, who theorizes in a recent paper that the process of minimizing prediction errors in music is intrinsically rewarding.

Sounds that are groove-y cause the brain to respond differently. In a 2020 neuroimaging study, Matthews, Witek and their colleagues had 54 subjects listen to musical sequences of piano chords of medium or high rhythmic complexity and looked at how brain activity changed.

The subjects reported experiencing stronger sensations of groove to medium complexity. In the brain scans, how pleasurable the subjects rated the sounds was correlated to activity in the ventral striatum, which receives dopamine and is important for reward and motivation-related behavior.

The researchers also found more neural activity in areas of the brain involved with movement or movement timing, including the premotor area, basal ganglia and supplementary motor area. Notably, these brain areas still lit up under the brain scanner even without the subjects moving and were related to their self-reported urge to move.

There’s a “privileged connection” between the brain’s auditory system and motor

system for controlling movement for timing, Matthews said.

In a 2018 study, Etani and his colleagues reported that the optimal tempo for eliciting groove is around 107 to 126 beats per minute. Interestingly, this tempo is similar to what DJs tend to play at musical events and is akin to our preferred walking speed of about two steps a second, Etani said.

Intriguingly, the vestibular system, which is what senses balance, may also be crucial to groove. One 2022 study monitored people attending an electronic music concert. During the show, the researchers would periodically switch on a very low-frequency bass sound that people cannot consciously hear but can be processed by the vestibular system. They found evidence that the deep bass in dance music may be a key to making people, well, dance: When the low frequency bass was on, participants moved on average 11.8 percent more.

Groove may help us synchronize not only our brains and bodies to the music, but also to one another. “I think the social bonding effect of music is related to the sensation or experience of groove,” Etani said.

If we are all moving to the same drummer, that boundary between “you and the music and the people around you gets blurred,” Witek said.

Do you have a question about human behavior or neuroscience? Email BrainMatters@washpost.com and we may answer it in a future column.

SCIENCE NEWS

Inside a galaxy swallowed by the Milky Way eons ago, researchers made a striking discovery

BY WILL DUNHAM

Astronomers have scrutinized a cluster of stars that is the apparent remnant core of a relatively small galaxy that was swallowed by the sprawling Milky Way 8 to 10 billion years ago. What lurks at the center of this cluster has them excited.

The researchers said the unusual motion of seven stars in this cluster provides compelling evidence for the presence of an elusive midsize black hole at its heart. These are bigger than the class of ordinary black holes formed in the implosion of a single star but smaller than the behemoths residing at the nucleus of most galaxies.

The cluster, called Omega Centauri, contains about 10 million stars. The black hole within it is at least 8,200 times as massive as our sun, the researchers said.

The supermassive black hole called Sagittarius A* at the center of the Milky Way possesses 4 million times the mass of the sun. And that is dwarfed by supermassive black holes billions of times the mass of the sun in other galaxies.

“There has been a long debate whether intermediate-mass black holes exist in general, and specifically in Omega Centauri, and our detection might help to resolve that debate,” said astronomer Maximilian Häberle of the Max Planck Institute for Astronomy in Germany, lead author of the study published in the journal Nature on Wednesday.

This black hole is located about 17,700 light-years from Earth. A light-year is the distance light travels in a year, 5.9 trillion miles. The Milky Way’s only larger known black hole is Sagittarius A*, located about 26,700 light-years from Earth.

Black holes are extraordinarily dense objects with gravity so strong not even light can escape, making it difficult to spot them. This one was detected based on how its gravitational pull influences the velocity of seven fast-moving stars in its vicinity, documented in two decades of Hubble Space Telescope observations.

The researchers believe the smaller galaxy, which had been perhaps 10 percent the Milky

Way’s size, harbored a black hole that, if left undisturbed, would have become supermassive as it fed off gas and other nearby material drawn by its gravitational pull. But the galactic merger, which occurred when the Milky Way was about a quarter or third its current age, left the black hole frozen in time.

“In this merger process, the galaxy lost all of its gas, and hence the growth of its central black hole got interrupted, leaving it in an intermediate-mass state,” said study co-author Nadine Neumayer, an astronomer at the Max Planck Institute for Astronomy.

The merger stripped away most of the smaller galaxy’s stars, leaving just the central batch — now the Omega Centauri star cluster.

“Intermediate-mass black holes have been suspected in the centers of low-mass galaxies or also in the center of certain star clusters. However, they have been very challenging to detect. Due to their lower mass with respect to supermassive black holes, their region of influence is small,” Häberle said.

Other candidates for midsize black holes have been identified in previous research.

Black holes that are the mass of a single star form when large stars explode at the end of their life cycle and the core collapses in on itself.

“The most likely scenario for the formation of the intermediate-mass black hole at the center of Omega Centauri is the collision and merging of very massive stars very early on during the formation of the star cluster. These stars get very close to each other, collide and form even more massive stars that evolve to black holes fairly rapidly. The intermediate-mass black hole can grow via the merger of several of these black holes,” Neumayer said.

These midsize black holes may be the key to understanding the formation of the supermassive ones.

“Intermediate-mass black holes are likely very common, especially in the early evolution of the universe,” Neumayer said. “They are thought to be the seeds for supermassive black holes.”

— Reuters

SCIENCE SCAN

POLLUTION

Ocean garbage is a problem that’s only getting worse, but satellites may soon be able to help

BY ERIN BLAKEMORE

Satellites can now track ocean garbage from space, marking a potential “game changer” for tracking the vexing problem of marine litter, new research suggests.

The study, published in Nature Communications, suggests that even satellites that haven’t been specially designed to detect floating trash may be useful in the battle against a rising tide of ocean pollution.

Thirty million metric tons of plastic pollution have already accumulated in the world’s oceans, research suggests, with the number projected to rise in coming years. But tracking litter as it floats on the sea surface has historically proved difficult for scientists because the trash covers a relatively small fraction of Earth’s surface, making it almost impossible to accurately monitor from space.

In a bid to find another way to track ocean trash, an international group of researchers analyzed 300,000 images of the Mediterranean Sea collected by the Copernicus Sentinel-2 mission, a European Space Agency-sponsored satellite mission that takes multispectral images of Earth’s surface from orbit. They were on the hunt for litter windrows — long, ephemeral clusters of floating trash that, researchers suspected, might be a good indicator of litter density in a given ocean area.

Between July 2015 and September 2021, the satellites captured images of 14,374 litter windrows covering about 36 square miles of sea surface. The longest were up to 14.3 miles.

The researchers used the imagery to calculate the density of the litter in windrow areas, identifying hot spots near Algeria,

Proof of concept for a new sensor to monitor marine litter from space

Nature Communications

Libya, southwest Italy and the northern Adriatic Sea. Areas with denser populations had higher nearby litter densities, they found.

The analysis suggests “much of the litter remains near its land-based source,” the researchers write, though ocean currents and winds affect the litter, and floods and rainstorms in particular pushed the litter farther out to sea. These “pulses” of litter caused densities to peak in the spring and autumn and decline during winter.

Thirty million metric tons of plastic pollution have accumulated in the world’s oceans, research suggests.

Though the satellites weren’t designed to track trash, they helped identify the location and magnitude of waste while “opening new prospects” for litter tracking and considering litter windrows’ potential roles as habitats for marine life, the researchers write.

The researchers propose that future satellite missions include litter-specific tracking devices. More accurate plastic tracking capabilities could also improve ship navigation, search-and-rescue operations or lost cargo searches, they write.

HEALTH & SCIENCE

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BIG NUMBER

7 percent

About 7 percent of U.S. adults — nearly 18 million people — had suffered from long covid as of early last year, according to a recent report in JAMA Data Brief. The paper, published in June, drew on 2023 data gathered in the Medical Expenditure Panel Survey (MEPS), an analysis sponsored by the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality. The household survey of the U.S. civilian non-institutionalized population used a nationally representative sample of about 17,000 adults age 18 and older. Of those, 8,275 adults reported having had covid-19, with some 1,200 indicating that they suffered from long covid symptoms. The MEPS survey also asked participants about their covid-19 vaccination and booster shot history. Just 6 percent of the vaccinated and boosted respondents reported long covid symptoms vs. 8 percent of those who weren't vaccinated. The findings suggest "booster shots may enhance protection against long covid, possibly because booster shots reduce the risk of severe covid-19," the researchers wrote. Long covid is defined as a condition with symptoms lasting three months or longer after an initial covid-19 infection, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Long covid occurs more frequently in those who had severe covid-19, the CDC says. The study also found significant differences in reported long covid symptoms between men and women, with women more likely to report symptoms in every age group — 9 percent of women vs. 5 percent of men. Respondents with underlying health conditions such as emphysema, chronic bronchitis and asthma were also more likely to report having long covid, as were White and Hispanic survey respondents. Long covid can include a wide range of symptoms — including fatigue, brain fog, post-exertional malaise, coughing, fever and difficulty breathing. The CDC also notes that there isn't a laboratory test that can definitively diagnose if symptoms are caused by long covid.

— Ian McMahon

HEALTH NEWS

Chronic disease research has gender gap, panel says, and better diagnostic tools could help fix it

BY SABRINA MALHI

Research into chronic conditions affecting women is significantly lacking, and the National Institutes of Health and other agencies should do more to investigate issues that lead to worse medical treatment for women, a new report from the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine says.

Women are disproportionately affected by chronic illnesses, including Alzheimer's disease and depression, according to the study published July 10.

But inadequate research in women's health "hinders a comprehensive understanding of the impact on women" of these and other chronic illnesses, the report's authors write. Further research is needed, particularly for Black women, who are more likely to die of a chronic illness than White women, the study says.

The 500-page report calls for focused efforts, led by NIH, to enhance diagnostic tools for female-specific conditions such as endometriosis and to distinguish between overlapping symptoms of various chronic conditions.

Farida Sohrabji, one of the report's authors, said she hopes the paper will guide urgent research priorities. "One of the biggest frustrations is how often we [saw] examples where women were not incorporated into research, where women's experiences and symp-

toms were undermined or not given enough attention," said Sohrabji, the director of women's health in the neuroscience program at Texas A&M University. "One of the things that comes up quite often is that [women] are aware that their health is sometimes not given appropriate consideration and their experience of pain is minimized."

Emphasizing the importance of addressing racial, ethnic and socio-economic disparities, Sohrabji said the experiences of White women and women of color vary drastically but are not addressed adequately in research. The report underscores the impact of biology and social factors in the diagnosis and management of chronic conditions while calling attention to the research deficiencies concerning female-specific and gynecologic conditions and the influence of social determinants of health on chronic conditions.

The experts highlight the necessity for improved diagnostic tools tailored for chronic conditions in women, noting differences in symptom presentation for women and men, such as heart disease and diabetes. Experts say women's diseases may present uniquely, potentially leading to misdiagnosis when using tools primarily designed for male patients.

A 2019 research letter published in JAMA found that NIH gives more research money to first-time male grantees than their female peers.

FROM CONSUMER REPORTS

When you need medical answers fast

BY HALLIE LEVINE

Mild discomfort in your chest in the very early hours of the morning. A high fever that hits on Saturday morning and doesn't respond to over-the-counter pain relievers. A fall that's left you a bit dizzy. In such situations, should you call your doctor's practice, visit a nearby urgent care clinic or get to an emergency room?

Sometimes it can be hard to tell. And "going to the ER can be time-consuming and stressful," says Kevin Biese, director of the division of geriatric emergency medicine at the University of North Carolina School of Medicine in Chapel Hill. But it's always better to be safe than sorry, he says. The expert advice here can guide you on the steps to take in some key situations.

Call 911 immediately. For some problems, you want to get to an ER as fast as possible and by ambulance, according to Biese.

"If you call an ambulance, they can begin lifesaving care while you're on the way to the emergency room," he says. Plus, the emergency medical technicians in the ambulance can communicate with the hospital, so staff can be ready for you when you arrive. In some cases, EMTs can help determine where to take you for the best care.

For instance, if they suspect a stroke, they'll take you to the nearest specialized stroke center. That's because it's important to receive clot-busting drugs within one to three hours after a stroke, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (In some cases, it may be up to 4½ hours.) Below are some examples of when to call 911 right away.

- Chest pain.
- Shortness of breath (feeling breathless, gasping for air or, in severe cases, feeling as if you're suffocating).
- Facial drooping on one side. This means that if you try to smile, it will be lopsided, according to Biese.
- Arm weakness on one side. If you raise both arms, one drifts downward.
- Speech difficulty. You're unable to speak, or speech is slurred and unclear.
- A head injury followed by confusion, fainting or falling unconscious.
- Choking or a breathing stoppage.



ISTOCK

If you experience chest pain, you should call 911 immediately.

- A spine or neck injury.
- A severe burn.
- A seizure.
- An electric shock or being struck by lightning.

Go to the ER. In the instances below, going to an emergency department is usually the right step. "Either have someone drive you or call 911," says Saket Saxena, co-director of the geriatric emergency department at the Cleveland Clinic. You may also want to make your doctor's office aware. Act if:

- You have respiratory symptoms (such as coughing, a runny nose or throat pain) plus shortness of breath. This could be a sign that you're low on oxygen or you're developing complications such as pneumonia, says Cameron Gettel, an assistant professor of emergency medicine at the Yale School of Medicine in New Haven, Conn.
- You fall and hit your head but are alert and/or think you may have broken a bone. (If you use blood-thinning meds, consider going to an ER after even a minor fall.) You'll need to be evaluated for a concussion and internal bleeding, Biese says. If X-rays reveal a broken bone, timely care will ease pain and can prevent complications like permanent muscle damage.
- You have a deep cut that doesn't stop bleeding after 10 minutes. While an urgent care clinic may be able to take care of a minor cut, a deep gash that may require stitches is best handled at an ER, Gettel says.
- You experience sudden, intense vomiting that lasts for more than an hour or two. You may need IV fluids. In addition, such vomit-

ing can indicate a life-threatening condition, such as an intestinal blockage.

Call your regular doctor. In most other less obviously urgent — but uncomfortable — situations, such as a painful pulled muscle, first call your doctor's office. Many primary care practices set aside time for people who need to be seen the same day, Saxena says.

If your regular doctor or another physician in the practice isn't available, ask to see an advanced practice provider, such as a nurse practitioner or physician assistant, says Terry Fulmer, a registered nurse and president of the John A. Hartford Foundation in New York, which is dedicated to improving health care for older adults. They will have quick access to your medical records and may already be familiar with you.

If your provider's practice is completely booked but is affiliated with a nearby medical center, check the center's website to see whether it offers same-day appointments with other doctors in its system. Or consider looking for an opening with another local doctor on Zocdoc, Fulmer says. The online service searches for appointment slots filtering by medical specialty, location and insurance plan. "A lot of physician practices use it because it's a way to fill last-minute cancellations," she says.

On evenings and weekends, Saxena suggests phoning your doctor's practice. There's usually a provider on call who can advise you on whether you can wait to be seen when the practice reopens or if you need to go to an urgent care

clinic or emergency room.

Consider urgent care. For illnesses and injuries that don't have the potential to be life-threatening, urgent care clinics — which are often open in the evenings and on weekends — might be an option.

"If you tripped and think you sprained your ankle, and it's after normal business hours, it makes sense to head to the urgent care clinic for an X-ray to make sure, and to get bandaged up," Gettel says. The clinic can also, for instance, test for the flu and covid-19, check your heart rate and blood pressure, listen to your lungs, and, if you're experiencing painful urination, check your urine and prescribe antibiotics if you have a urinary tract infection.

Urgent care facilities are usually run by doctors, nurse practitioners or physician assistants. "That's different from an emergency room, which is staffed with board-certified emergency medicine physicians," Biese says. "As a result, there may be a difference in experience and skill set."

They're best if your symptoms are straightforward. "Most urgent care centers don't have the wide array of tests needed to try to figure a more complex situation out," Biese says. And people with serious chronic health conditions, like heart failure, should probably go to an ER outside of their doctor's office hours.

Another get-seen-fast possibility for simpler problems: pharmacy walk-in clinics at major retailers such as CVS, Target, Walgreens and Walmart, which may be open in the evenings and on weekends. These are a good option for ailments like strep throat, ear infections and urinary tract infections, Fulmer says. They can also treat minor sprains, cuts that don't require stitches and rashes caused by poison ivy.



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WELL+BEING

Best practices for reaping aloe vera's skin-care benefits

BY KARLA MARIE SANFORD

On social media, aloe vera is acclaimed as a "miracle plant," especially for skin care.

In videos that have gone viral, people rub halved aloe vera leaf on their face, freeze its gel in facial rollers and even ingest its juice — despite a Food and Drug Administration ban on the use of over-the-counter aloe vera as a laxative — to improve their skin. One TikTok says aloe vera is good for moisturizing, sunburn relief, acne treatment, scar reduction and skin brightening.

"On TikTok, everybody talks about, 'Oh, it's great for me,'" said Lacy Gill, the assistant director of the Institute of Cosmetology, Esthetics and Massage, in Houston. "I just want to say, 'Yeah, maybe good for you. But it's not necessarily good for the other person.'"

Aloe vera has been used for medicinal purposes for thousands of years; however, societal emphasis on a "healthy lifestyle" has spurred the plant's modern popularity, one review said.

The global aloe vera extract market was valued at \$1.6 billion in 2018 and was expected to expand at a compound aggregate growth rate of 7.6 percent till 2025, according to Grand View Research, a market forecaster.

"Anytime you have something that doesn't require a prescription that in some way comes out of the ground and is perceived to be natural, people will want to try it," said David Leffell, section chief of dermatologic surgery and cutaneous oncology at Yale School of Medicine.

While dermatologists and other skin-care experts say aloe vera is generally safe for topical use, it may not be the solution for everyone.

And there are best practices — beyond those claimed on social media — that users should abide by to reap the desired effects.

Aloe vera is a succulent plant native to Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It is 96 percent water.

Studies have identified over 75 compounds, including polysaccharides, vitamins, minerals, en-

zymes and seven essential amino acids, in the remaining 4 percent, as well as its anti-inflammatory, anti-viral and antiseptic effects.

Research has shown that many benefits stem from the polysaccharides in the clear gel found inside the aloe vera leaves.

Nevertheless, there has been a lack of rigorous clinical trials to ascertain the exact mechanism behind aloe vera's effects, said Oliver Grundmann, a clinical professor in medicinal chemistry at the University of Florida College of Pharmacy.

This is partially because formulations of aloe vera gel do not need approval from the FDA, since they are sold as cosmetics. Also, isolated natural products are mostly exempt from patentability. Researchers are thereby unincentivized to dedicate financial resources to understanding how aloe vera works, several experts said.

When there have been clinical trials on aloe vera, many were completed in vitro or on rodents, added Joseph F. Fowler Jr., a clinical professor of dermatology at the University of Louisville School of Medicine.

What scientists do know, Grundmann said, is that aloe vera gel contains glucomannan, a carbohydrate that covers the skin, attenuating an inflammatory response. When used on unbroken skin that doesn't show signs of deep redness and peeling, aloe vera gel is safe to use topically, he said.

Is store-bought gel as good as gel from the plant?

There isn't a huge risk associated with store-bought gel, dermatologists said.

But store-bought aloe vera gel does lack standardization, Leffell said. Consumers are left in the dark about how their gel was extracted and which excipients, or inactive substances, are in it, he added.

Store-bought gel may be more practical for those hoping to use it in their everyday skin-care routines, Gill said. (This is because aloe vera's high evaporation rate

means a cut leaf does not hold well.) In these cases, buy clear gel (as the gel appears in nature) since others tend to contain additives, Gill said. And avoid aloe vera gel sold with the local anesthetic lidocaine; it has limited ability to penetrate intact skin, Grundmann said.

How do you harvest raw gel?

When harvesting gel from the aloe vera leaf, choose a mature leaf that is plump and fleshy, said Missy Gable, the director of the University of California Master Gardener program. Cut as close to the base of the leaf without disrupting the roots. Then clean the leaf with soap and water.

Drain out the latex, which is the foul-smelling yellow sap beneath the skin of the leaf, said Allison Keeney, the assistant director of the University of California at Los Angeles Mathias Botanical Garden.

Research has shown that the aloe vera latex contains anthraquinones, which have strong laxative effects and may be harmful, including promoting phototoxicity. "If you get the straight latex onto your skin, it could be an irritant," Keeney said.

Let the latex gradually drip out or, even better, soak the leaf in water, since aloe vera dries out very quickly, Keeney said.

Afterward, place the leaf on a flat surface, round side up, Gable said. Cut thin strips from the margins of the leaf, removing its spikes.

Finally, use a knife or your thumb to peel off the leaf's outer layers, leaving only the clear or slightly cloudy gelatinous substance. Refrigerate it in a glass container for no longer than a week, or freeze the gel for up to a year, Keeney said.

Fridge storage is also preferred, Grundmann said, because glucomannan may break down when exposed to sunlight over time.

Is aloe vera good for sunburn?

Aloe vera cannot protect against a sunburn, said Shari Lipner, a dermatologist at Weill Cornell Medicine. Only sunscreen can do that, she said.

However, if a sunburn has already occurred, aloe vera can attenuate the inflammatory response, which occurs in the body in response to UV radiation,

Grundmann said. "Inflammation basically causes the skin to get warmer because the body wants to break down any invading agent, for example bacteria," he said.

To relieve inflammation, first apply a cold wet towel to the affected area. The water evaporates off the skin, which helps reduce the inflammation. Then apply chilled aloe vera gel.

Aloe vera gel is more effective than aloe vera cream products because of the gel's high water content, he said. Cream "might be able to stick a little bit longer, but the evaporation of the [gel] fluid also leads to cooling the skin," Grundmann said.

Is aloe vera good for skin care?

Aloe vera has anti-inflammatory, exfoliating and hydrating effects, Gill said, which makes it a good "food" for the skin. Specifically, aloe vera gel is good for acne treatment, she said. It can also help to repair the skin barrier and soothe the itching of individuals with eczema, Fowler said.

Aloe vera can be used as an occasional face mask or as part of a daily skin-care routine, Gill said.

As a face mask, apply aloe vera gel as a thick layer to clean skin. After waiting 20 minutes, or until the mask dries, scrape off the excess before rinsing the face with water — not a cleanser — she said.

Aloe vera gel also integrates well into a multistep skin-care regimen. Cleanse and tone your skin. Then apply a thin layer of the gel before heavier serums, moisturizer and sunscreen, Gill said. Only a small amount is needed to penetrate the skin, and press rather than rub the gel in, lest it pill on the skin, she added.

In contrast to cooled aloe for sunburns, room-temperature aloe is best for daily use.

"You want the skin warmer, so the product will penetrate and the follicles are expanded," Gill said. "And when you make it cold, you contract the follicles, so you're not going to get the same kind of penetration."

Only use aloe vera gel if it works for you, dermatologists and aestheticians said. But if aloe vera treatment does not improve or worsens the skin condition, it's best to see a board-certified dermatologist, experts said.

The headaches, sudden and searing, weren’t migraines, despite doctors’ insistence

MEDICAL MYSTERY FROM E1

artery that can be treated surgically but is often fatal if it bursts.

After the episodes became more frequent, Glover finally sought treatment, launching a nearly decade-long search that involved tests ordered by multiple neurologists who found nothing alarming. The consensus appeared to be that Glover, now 61, was suffering from migraines, even though her symptoms didn’t seem to match that diagnosis, and migraine medicine didn’t help.

It wasn’t until a new headache specialist, the seventh neurologist she saw, asked new key questions that Glover learned what was causing the excruciating episodes.

“I finally found someone who’s not calling it a migraine,” Glover said she remembers thinking when he told her what he suspected. “I thought ‘Oh, my God, this is it!’”

Episode at the craps table

In 2000, roughly a year after the first episode, Glover experienced an attack at work and had to brace herself against the edge of a gaming table until it passed.

A close friend in whom she confided chided her for being “selfish” by not seeing a doctor. He urged her to consider how “people who loved me would feel if I didn’t do something when I could have,” she said.

In 2001, after a particularly severe attack left her with a dull headache that lingered and did not respond to over-the-counter painkillers, Glover went to an after-hours urgent care center. She was transferred to a hospital after telling a nurse her headache had lasted several days and that her grandfather had died of an aneurysm, which can sometimes run in families.

An MRI and a CT scan showed

no sign of a serious brain abnormality. Doctors did find a benign cyst in her parietal lobe, a part of the brain involved in sensation and perception. Glover spent a night in the hospital, where she was given injections of a painkiller. The headache disappeared.

Doctors decided that the cyst did not need treatment and that it was probably unrelated to the attacks, which gradually became more numerous. Over the next few years Glover saw several neurologists and a neuropsychologist who ruled out epilepsy, multiple sclerosis and dementia. One doctor told her “a headache is a psychosomatic expression.”

Glover discovered much later that he wrote in a referral to another doctor that she might be somatizing — displaying symptoms that had an emotional but not a physical cause — and possibly malingering — exaggerating or inventing symptoms for attention or another purpose.

“I felt let down and disappointed,” she said. “You trust these doctors with personal information and experiences, and they accuse you of lying.”

But as doctors were unable to explain her unusual headaches, Glover said she “did wonder if I was bringing this pain on. And then one of the attacks hit and I thought, ‘No way am I doing this to myself.’” Other doctors seemed to agree.

A consensus emerged that Glover was suffering from migraines, although she never experienced nausea, an aura, sensitivity to sound or light or a throbbing sensation, which are characteristics of migraines. She took the migraine medicine she was prescribed sporadically because it didn’t seem to make a difference.

In 2009, Glover was referred to a neurologist whom she described as “very compassionate.” He seemed determined to figure out what was wrong and ordered

blood tests for a host of diseases including arsenic and lead poisoning. All were negative.

Stumped, he referred Glover to a headache specialist, a neurologist with advanced training in the diagnosis and treatment of headaches, whom he respected. “I hope he can figure it out,” the neurologist told Glover. So did she.

A key question

After listening to Glover’s description of her attacks, the headache specialist, the first she had seen, ran through a list of familiar questions. Then he added two new ones: Did her eye tear after the pain started and had she suffered a head injury? Glover replied yes to both. Her right eye always teared during an attack and sometimes looked bloodshot. And she had suffered a traumatic brain injury after being hit by a car when she was 7.

The doctor reached into a file cabinet, pulled out a fact sheet and handed it to Glover. This, he told her, is what he suspected was wrong — and it wasn’t migraines.

Glover was exhibiting telltale signs of SUNCT: short-lasting, unilateral neuralgiform headache attacks with conjunctival injection and tearing. A rare form of headache that affects one side of the head and is characterized by bursts of piercing pain often described as excruciating, SUNCT headaches last between five seconds and four minutes per episode and usually occur in the daytime. Five to six rapid fire attacks per hour are common; as many as 600 attacks per day have been reported.

Unlike migraines and many other types of headache, SUNCT is distinguished by an unusual symptom: involuntary tearing or bloodshot eyes, known as conjunctival injection. (Some patients, Glover among them, also develop a runny nose.) Triggers



PATTI GLOVER

Patti Glover worried her headaches might prove to be lethal.

include touching the face or head, moving the neck and coughing. Often the cause is unknown, although head trauma has been linked to SUNCT.

SUNCT headaches are believed to originate in the trigeminal nerve, which sends sensory messages from the face to the brain. Treatment is focused on preventing attacks. Medication to treat epilepsy or nerve pain are sometimes prescribed. In severe cases, injections of lidocaine, a local anesthetic, may be helpful.

They “can be very difficult to treat,” said neurologist Hope O’Brien, a Cincinnati headache specialist and board member of the National Headache Foundation, a resource and advocacy group. It’s important to rule out a cyst or tumor as a cause of unusual head pain, she added.

Although headaches are among the most common ailments, SUNCT headaches are so rare many neurologists have never seen a case. Headaches, O’Brien noted, constitute a small part of neurology training.

“I figured if I died, I died,” Glover remembered rationalizing to herself, although it was a bravado she didn’t actually feel.

WELL+BEING

What to know about six popular home tests for allergies, cancer and more

BY ANDREA ATKINS

The 95-year-old patient was sure she had colon cancer. After noticing some rectal bleeding, she used an at-home colon cancer screening test. The results were positive. She feared her life was ending.

Her physician, Mark B. Pochapin, the director of the division of gastroenterology and hepatology at NYU Langone Medical Center in New York, examined her. “She did not have cancer,” he said. “She had hemorrhoids.”

Too often, at-home medical tests produce false positives. Yet these tests are appealing for their ease and convenience. Want to avoid a colonoscopy or check if you have thyroid disease or high blood sugar? From the comfort of home, you can swab, stick, poop and pee your way to important health information. But you may not be able to interpret the results or get reliable readings, physicians say.

Still, many Americans are using them, especially older Americans. The National Poll on Healthy Aging at the University of Michigan recently found that 3 in 4 adults age 50 to 80 believed at-home tests are more convenient than going to a physician or health-care provider.

Many people became comfortable with at-home testing during the pandemic as they tested for the coronavirus, said Matthew Weissman, professor of internal medicine and pediatrics at the Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai in New York. But screening for other conditions is often more complicated.

“It’s great in the sense that it saves in-office visits,” Weissman said. “Mostly, though, it still requires doctor intervention,” whether to prescribe medication or to help you interpret data.

At-home tests may be especially useful to the thousands of Americans who cannot get to a doctor, said Michael Hochman, an internal medicine physician in Long Beach, Calif.

Whether via telemedicine or not, at-home testing is most effective when you do it with your physician’s knowledge, Pochapin said. “You should tell your doctor, ‘I’m thinking of doing this test. Is it appropriate?’” he added.

But that may not be happening. According to Jeffrey T. Kullgren, physician and director of

the National Poll on Healthy Aging at the University of Michigan, just 55 percent of those who bought and used an at-home test for infection shared the results with their primary care provider. “This suggests older adults are using these tests as substitutes for a doctor visit,” Kullgren said.

You can purchase most at-home tests online or at your local drugstore. Few are covered by insurance. We asked physicians about the efficacy of some commonly available tests:

1. Urinary tract infection:

Method: You urinate on a strip (or in a cup and dip a strip into the urine).

Cost: Around \$11 (not covered by insurance).

What to know: “They basically test for things that are associated with UTIs like nitrates and leukocyte esterase, which are two things frequently seen with UTIs,” said Ivan Grunberger, director of urologic strategic initiatives at Lenox Hill Hospital in New York. But it is not the same thing as getting your urine cultured to determine which antibiotic will best fight your infection.

Whom it’s best for: “It’s not a bad thing for people who have frequent infections, who kind of know their symptoms, and have responded to antibiotics previously to test at home and then reach out to their physician.”

At-home testing is “great in the sense that it saves in-office visits,” but “it still requires doctor intervention.”

Matthew Weissman, professor at Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai

2. Menopause:

Method: Urinate on a test strip for five consecutive days, report your results to an app, which will collect other data from you. Log in to receive results.

Cost: About \$20 (not covered by insurance).

What to know: Menopause tests promise to tell users if they are in perimenopause, a stage just before menopause. Manufacturers claim the product pro-



ISTOCK

vides communication between user and doctor, but most physicians say there is no relationship between urine hormone levels and symptoms.

Whom it’s best for: Many doctors say the tests aren’t useful for most women. “This single test will not diagnose you,” said Asima Ahmad, chief medical officer and co-founder of Carrot Fertility, a global fertility benefits platform. “It’s very important to look at all the factors and then review these results with a menopause specialist or someone who takes care of women in menopause.”

3. Colon cancer

Method: Collect a stool sample. For the stool DNA test called Cologuard, which looks for DNA changes and small amounts of blood shed into the stool, you’ll need to send it to a lab. Results take about two weeks. A fecal immunochemical test (FIT), such as Second Generation, looks for hidden blood in the stool. It requires you to collect a stool sample and add a solution to it, and you have results in minutes.

Cost: A FIT test may cost anywhere from \$30 to \$120 and is sometimes covered by insurance. Cologuard’s \$500 test is covered by most insurance but must be prescribed by your physician and may require a co-pay or deductible. Some private insurance will

cover both at-home tests, but if you have a positive result, your follow-up colonoscopy might not be covered since insurance considers at-home tests a screening procedure.

“You should tell your doctor, ‘I’m thinking of doing this test. Is it appropriate?’”

Mark B. Pochapin of NYU Langone Medical Center

What to know: “When patients want to do these tests, I explain to them there’s a possibility this could be falsely positive,” Pochapin said, adding that the tests detect blood in the stool, which could be caused by conditions other than cancer. “So, if it turns positive, this does not mean you have cancer.”

Whom it’s best for: Pochapin added that the tests are meant for healthy individuals who show no symptoms. If you have rectal bleeding, do not use an at-home test; instead consult your physician immediately, he said.

4. A1C blood sugar:

Method: Prick your finger to

collect blood and mail to a lab for results, which take about two weeks.

Cost: From \$49 to \$150. Some insurance plans will pay.

What to know: The accuracy of the tests may not be as reliable as those you’d get in your doctor’s office. And the results need to be interpreted properly. “A1C is a three-month average of blood sugar — and if someone is checking it, say every week or every month or every day and not realizing that those incremental changes are actually not something that you should be using to guide your management, it could be harmful or potentially fatal,” said Michael B. Natter, an endocrinologist at NYU Grossman School of Medicine.

Whom it’s best for: If you have diabetes, this can be a helpful tool for tracking your blood sugar, but you should not change your insulin or diabetes regimen without consulting a physician.

5. Allergies

Method: Depending on the kit you purchase, you may go to a lab for a blood draw and then get electronic results through an app or you may prick your finger and collect blood that you send to a lab.

Cost: \$50 to \$500 depending on how many allergens you’re measuring for. Insurance typical-

O’Brien estimates that she has treated two or three SUNCT patients in the past 15 years. Migraines, by contrast, are estimated to affect 40 million Americans. And some people have more than one type of headache (there are more than 100), further complicating diagnosis.

O’Brien advises that people keep a log detailing their headache symptoms along with the frequency, duration and location of the pain to help doctors narrow the possibilities.

‘I know it will pass’

Glover remembers feeling giddy and relieved by the SUNCT diagnosis. “I said, ‘This is me. I’m not going to die.’”

But living with the condition has been difficult, and effective treatment has proved elusive. The cocktail of potent anti-seizure drugs she took for several years, Glover said, turned her into a “zombie.”

A decade ago, Glover says she received treatment for complex PTSD, a form of the disorder that results from trauma that occurred over an extended period rather than from a single event. Treatment has enabled her to better cope with her headaches, she said, and other life stresses.

Through trial and error, Glover and her doctors discovered that naratriptan, a drug used to treat migraines, is somewhat effective at preventing attacks, which were occurring more or less weekly until recently.

In April, Glover underwent surgery to remove a malfunctioning gallbladder. Since then, much to her delight, Glover has experienced only two episodes. She jokes that she wishes her gallbladder had been removed years ago and plans to ask her neurologist about a possible link between SUNCT and gallbladder disease.

Glover said she is deeply grateful to the headache specialist who ultimately identified the reason for the ice pick attacks that had plagued her physically and emotionally for years.

“I’m not a nervous wreck anymore,” she said. “I know what it is, and I know it will pass.”

Send your solved medical mystery to sandra.boodman@washpost.com. No unsolved cases, please. Read previous mysteries at wapo.st/medicalmysteries.

ly does not pay.

What to know: “Allergy tests have high rates of false positive results,” said Eric M. Macy, fellow of the American Academy of Allergy, Asthma and Immunology and allergist at Kaiser Permanente Southern California. “One would then waste time, effort and money trying to avoid irrelevant allergens.”

Whom it’s best for: You could use the test for a specific allergen such as cat hair, Macy said. But, he added, “You could also figure out easily, and less expensively and more accurately, that you are allergic to cats by petting your cat and then rubbing your eyes or nose, because the cat allergen is on the fur and one of the sources is cat saliva.”

6. Thyroid

Method: Prick your finger to send blood to a lab for results in about a week. Most of these tests examine several biomarkers connected with thyroid disease.

Cost: From about \$21 to \$235. Not typically covered by insurance.

What to know: “I don’t know if I would trust it,” Natter said. “I think it’s a little premature. It does open the door a little bit to potential harm if patients feel emboldened to manage themselves, and that could lead to more misuse of medications and miscare.”

Whom it’s best for: “If you really don’t know what your biochemical status is, in terms of your TSH or your free T4, then having that access to it at home could be beneficial,” said Natter. “But it needs to be in tandem with a health-care provider to make the next management decisions based on that data.”

The FDA has created a list of reliable at-home medical tests, but doctors still advise caution. While home testing can be helpful and convenient, it’s important to remember that a number of variables, including the lab that does the testing, can affect the quality of the results, said Donald Karcher, president of the College of American Pathologists and professor of pathology at George Washington University Medical Center.

It’s important to follow the instructions exactly as they are written and to make sure you’ve collected the sample correctly, he said. “Not every at-home test is created equal,” Karcher said.

Five survivors of measles recount the disease’s horrors

MEASLES FROM E1

Elizabeth Wilde

69 • Asheville, N.C.

Wilde, a retired teacher for the visually impaired, was in second grade in 1963. The measles vaccine was already available, but she remembers her mother telling her years later that it was not yet in widespread use.

I just remember being very sick. I remember lying on the couch in the living room and being very hot, like I was under the sun. My parents were arguing about what to do. They seemed to be millions of miles away. I felt very detached. My fever was very, very high, and I was not responding to them when they were speaking to me.

They were afraid to call an ambulance because they weren’t sure if I was well enough to be taken to the hospital. They called the pediatrician. The next thing I remember, he was patting my face and I could see his nose hairs and feel his breath. He was calling my name and trying to rouse me. He said, “We’ve got to bring the fever down,” and told my mother to run cold water in the bathtub. He was concerned about

brain swelling.

They stripped me down, wrapped me in a cotton sheet and put me in the bathtub. I remember I felt like I was screaming with every bit of strength in my body.

My mother told me later, “You sounded like a dying kitten.”

I was in the back bedroom — in the dark — for several weeks to protect my vision. Gradually I got better. But I remember my eyes aching and me squinting. There are a lot of photos of me holding up a hand to shield my eyes.

Even now, when I get outside, my eyes ache. I also see little sparkles of light when I am in the dark. I know that is part of aging, but I still suspect if I had not had a severe bout of measles, I would have come through with far fewer vision problems.



TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



TRAVIS DOVE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

LEFT: Elizabeth Wilde had measles in second grade and suspects it permanently affected her vision. ABOVE: A photo of Wilde from her elementary school years.

Tim

30s • Midwest

Tim, a software engineer, spoke to The Washington Post on the condition that only his middle name be used because his family has been harassed for not vaccinating him as a child. He became infected as an adult in 2016 after attending a crowded school event and was hospitalized.

I attended a family member’s school ceremony in a large auditorium. That same evening, I flew out to Las Vegas for a conference. About three or four days after I got home, I started to get sick.

I had a fever up to about 104. And I started to get this terrible headache that felt like the worst flu I had ever had combined with the worst hangover that I had ever had. A day or two after, I got out of bed to use the bathroom and I just collapsed in the hallway.

My partner drove me to an urgent care facility. They tested me for strep throat. They ruled out meningitis. They didn’t get a positive diagnosis of strep. But they prescribed me some antibiotics and sent me home. I took the antibiotics for a couple of days, but I just kept getting worse. And I woke up one morning and my body was just covered in red spots.

I ended up going back to the ER. Somebody asked me if I’ve

been vaccinated against measles. This is when I realized that I wasn’t actually sure. I got confirmation from my mom that I had not been. They ran more tests and confirmed that I did, in fact, have measles.

They admitted me to the hospital into an isolation room. It was a teaching hospital, and it was the most surreal experience because no one had seen measles before.

They would bring in an army of doctors, and I had people asking, “Can I take a picture with you?”

I start getting calls from our health department. They want to track down what happened. It turns out, at the graduation I went to, someone flew in from out of the country and had measles. I must have somehow walked past them. I didn’t interact with anyone. I didn’t shake anyone’s hands. I didn’t have any conversations with anyone that was not my family. A little bit of errant air coming my way — that was all it took.

I was in the hospital three or four days. They sent me home under pretty strict guidelines not to go anywhere. This kind of started a whole new chapter of challenges. I lost about 20 to 25 pounds in the process. Walking upstairs, I would just be completely winded.

I ended up with immune amnesia, where it basically resets the body’s immune system. Everything that I would get exposed to — I would get sick. And every time I would get sick, I would get the worst version of being sick. Like, one of the bad colds I got turned into this full-on bronchitis where I just had no ability to talk. It totally changed the trajectory of my life for more than half a year.

I was recently diagnosed with an autoimmune disease, and I don’t necessarily know that it’s linked to measles. But I’ve kind of come to look at all of these things, at least in some way, as connect-



STEEL BROOKS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Tim contracted measles in 2016 at age 30 and found out his parents had chosen not to vaccinate him when he was younger. Contracting measles “totally changed the trajectory of my life,” Tim says.

Florence McGregor-Foxcroft

73 • Victoria, B.C.

McGregor-Foxcroft, a retired fingerprint technician, was in first grade in 1956. The measles vaccine was not yet available. Her older siblings had already had measles, as did many of her classmates.

I was 5 or 6. I had to be confined to a dark room, which was pure torture because I was just so bored. I couldn’t join the family for dinner. I couldn’t watch TV or any of that stuff. I couldn’t read.

I did something very naughty. I wrote a note on a piece of paper. It said, “Help, I’m being held prisoner.” And I pitched it out my bedroom window. And a neighbor showed it to my mother. And she just about had kittens.

She handed it to my dad and said, “The poor child is going crazy.”

Another week after that, I was allowed to read or write for an hour in the morning and an hour in the afternoon.

When I went back to school, I didn’t have the energy to walk home for lunch. It was probably three-quarters of a mile. Sometimes the neighbor would just drive me home. They knew how tired I got.



JOVELLE TAMAYO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



JOVELLE TAMAYO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

LEFT: Florence McGregor-Foxcroft contracted measles in first grade in 1956, before a vaccine was available. ABOVE: Photos of McGregor-Foxcroft as a child.

Michael Tidwell

68 • D.C.

Tidwell, a retired attorney for the U.S. Postal Service, got sick as a kindergartner in 1961, before the first vaccine was available. He infected his pregnant mother, who passed it on to his baby sister.

My father was in the U.S. Army. We lived on an Army base in Wertheim, Germany. Everyone in my kindergarten class had measles. I got measles. I had bumps; I had the itching. As a young boy, you almost wanted whatever was going around. You didn’t think of it as potentially deadly. It was sort of a badge of honor.

My mother got them from me during the course of her pregnancy.

After my sister Dianna was born in March 1962, early tests showed she had some sort of visual problems. Doctors tried to correct them with surgery. The surgery got botched. Then, at

some point, it became evident she was going to be developmentally challenged.

My father was transferred to Fort Sam, Tex., and that’s when [my sister] experienced her first epileptic seizure. Over time, she began to develop a swallowing disorder. She lived with the family for as long as my parents were able to take care of her. Then, over time, she began to lose motor control; she lost the ability to walk. She had recurring bouts of pneumonia, and recovery always left her at a lower plateau.

She died in October 1995. She was 33.

Dianna was the glue of our

family. She never stopped believing in Santa Claus, which allowed the rest of us to take joy in playing along for a lot longer than most families get a chance to. Though she could never read, Dianna knew that the stories she liked were in books, and she liked making us read to her. Sometimes, she’d hand me two socks and insist on a puppet show. Nothing cracked her up more than when two puppets got into a fight. Keeping Dianna amused bonded us and taught me a lot about improvisation and flexibility that would serve me well throughout my life.

SEE MEASLES ON E6



HANNAH BEIER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Michael Tidwell holds the bear he’d given to his sister. “Keeping Dianna amused bonded us and taught me a lot about improvisation and flexibility that would serve me well throughout my life,” he wrote.

MEASLES FROM E5

Barbara Leonhard

72 • Columbia, Mo.

Leonhard, a retired teacher of English as a second language, was 6 in 1958. The first vaccine was not yet available. She was in a coma and unable to walk for a period.

I was 6 years old when I got measles. It was 1958. That summer my brother and sister and I got it. I remember being feverish and feeling miserable. I remember my mom sending me upstairs to get something off the dresser. I ran upstairs and all of a sudden my legs gave out and I couldn't walk. I couldn't move my arms. I remember it was too hard to carry me up and down the stairs, so they finally made a bed for me in the living room on the couch. My mom made a tent of blankets and put me in there and had me breathe steam and spit out phlegm because I guess they were concerned about pneumonia starting.

One night, I remember being swept up and taken to the hospital. I went into a coma on the way there. The last thing I remember was getting in the car. Everything went black. We went to the same hospital where my grandfather was dying. I thought when my parents put me in the car I was going to see Granddaddy. I remember talking to him. I remember saying to the people standing around the bed, "I want to go with him." And they said, "No, you can't go with him. You need to go back to your room." The next memory I

have I woke up from the coma. That was like seconds to me, but I was in a coma for 30 days. I could talk, but I couldn't walk. The doctor was saying, "Say, 'The bear went over the mountain.'" And I said it.

And he said, "She's okay. But she'll never walk again."

But I taught myself how to walk. While my parents were gone to close up the family home, I remember pulling myself from one piece of furniture to another, dragging my body and just willing myself to walk. I didn't want to be in that wheelchair. When they came home, I ran up to them, "Look, I can walk!"

Mom told me that before I had encephalitis [a complication from measles], I could hear a story once and repeat it word for word. After that, I had a hard time learning. I had problems focusing in school. I lost my confidence. It was hard to learn and hard to relate to people. I worked really hard, graduated high school with honors. I have a master's in English literature.

But I'm going to be seeing a neurologist because I'm experiencing some nerve things. I don't know if it's related to encephalitis.



PHOTOS BY LISA KRANTZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



LEFT: Barbara Leonhard practices tai chi at home. ABOVE: A photo of Leonhard as a child. After measles and encephalitis, "I lost my confidence," she wrote. "It was hard to learn and hard to relate to people."

WELL+BEING

Heat really can trigger headaches. Here's how to avoid and ease them.

BY SARAH RAZA AND KARLA MARIE SANFORD

Audrey Pachuta was afflicted by her first heat headache when she was 9. During a softball tournament that summer, her home state of New Jersey was sweltering, leaving the players on the field in heat topping 90 degrees.

Severe pain, she recalled, pulsed behind her eyes after each game.

"I can't see!" she cried to her dad after a particularly hot game.

Pachuta, 19, now realizes that the vision issues she experienced were the result of migraines, triggered by the heat.

Since then, heat waves have become more frequent and lengthy worldwide, because of climate change. An estimated 39 million Americans live with migraine, according to the American Migraine Foundation. Half of those with migraine report the weather as one of their headache triggers, according to Elizabeth Loder, chief of the Brigham and Women's Hospital Headache Division.

Here's what to know about heat headaches and how to

avoid them.

Does heat really cause headaches?

Heat can be a major factor, experts agreed, though the onset of a headache is often a mix of compounding environmental factors.

High temperatures are frequently accompanied by changes in barometric pressure, direct sun exposure and humidity, and these environment changes can trigger a headache for those who have migraine.

"Migraine brain does not like variability," said Jessica Ailani, neurologist and director of the Headache Center at MedStar Georgetown. "It wants you to sleep at the same time, eat the same thing. So big shifts in temperature and weather don't do well with migraine."

Experts are unsure of the precise mechanism by which heat can trigger a headache, though heat can lead to processes that are known to cause headache. Extreme dehydration can cause your brain to shrink and pull on the blood vessels lining the brain, which can lead to physical pain, Loder said.

In extreme cases, heat can

affect the function of brain neurons, according to Mayo Clinic neurologist Narayan Kissoon. Altered cell function leads to an increase in activity in the pain centers of the brain, he said.

What's the difference between a headache and a migraine?

A headache is a common symptom of many illnesses, said Loder, whereas migraine is a neurological disorder that causes headaches.

"It's like the difference between sneezing (possibly an allergy) and a cold (which is a specific viral disease)," Cherubino Di Lorenzo, the neurology chair at Sapienza University of Rome, said in an email.

People diagnosed with migraine experience headaches because of a variety of factors, including stress, dehydration, a lack of sleep — and, yes, heat, experts said. Women suffer from migraine more than men. Migraine usually comes with other symptoms, such as nausea, fatigue, dizziness and hypersensitivity to light or sound.

Pachuta finds relief from a heat-induced migraine by lying in a dark room with her eyes closed until the pain behind her eyes subsides. She can catch a migraine attack early if a mild headache is accompanied by a general feeling of being "off."

But heat is unlikely to trigger a headache in those who aren't typically afflicted with them, Loder said.

In these cases, a headache induced by high temperatures can be the sign of a more severe

related heat-illness, such as heat exhaustion or heat stroke, Loder said. It's important to recognize these symptoms early, rehydrate and find a place to cool down.

Is it just dehydration?

Dehydration can certainly worsen your body's ability to deal with the heat, but it's not necessarily the cause of heat-induced headache, experts agreed.

Extreme heat can lead to electrolyte imbalance, as the body loses sodium through sweating, meaning it's important to replenish yourself with electrolytes as well as water.

An estimated 39 million Americans live with migraine, according to the American Migraine Foundation.

"Dehydration is closely tied to electrolyte imbalances as water follows salt," Kissoon said. "With loss of salt, the body is less able to hold on to water."

Nevertheless, heat headaches can occur even when someone is well hydrated.

Patrick Cortesi, 55, is a landscaper for his local school district in Bloomington, Ill. Because his job requires him to be outside 40 hours per week, Cortesi wears sun-protective gear, drinks plenty of water, and takes breaks in the air conditioning

throughout the warmer days of the year. Even so, Cortesi suffers multiple headaches during the week in a region known for its seasonally muggy conditions, which can create corn sweat.

"It's not just dehydration," Ailani said. "You have to take better care of yourself anytime the heat index gets to this point ... you can't just drink this away."

What can you do to alleviate symptoms?

Don't just brush it off, experts said.

A heat-induced headache, especially if you don't suffer from migraine, is a sign that things could get worse. Get out of the heat and try to cool yourself down with a cold drink or an ice pack. Seek air conditioning indoors and take advantage of cooling centers during a heat wave.

Drink water and electrolyte drinks to help your body replenish itself. Add electrolytes to your water by sprinkling in some salt or lemon juice, Ailani said.

Then you can use the strategies that typically help you manage a headache, Loder said, such as lying in a dark room with your eyes closed.

Avoid known food triggers and cut down on alcohol, which can contribute to dehydration, Kissoon said. Sugary drinks can also lead to dehydration, Di Lorenzo said.

Another seemingly obvious suggestion? Avoid outdoor workouts during high temperatures.

"It seems a trivial advice, but almost all the cases reported in

the literature of heat stroke headache have happened in those who did not follow this rule of common sense," Di Lorenzo said.

If you do need to be outside, sunglasses can be a helpful preventive measure, he added.

There are several tried-and-true over-the-counter medications for headache, such as aspirin and Tylenol. Doctors can also prescribe triptans, which work by binding to serotonin receptors and preventing the release of substances that stimulate nerve activity, Loder said.

Migraine treatments recently approved by the Food and Drug Administration include CGRP antagonists, which target the molecule that plays a role in headaches. Lasmiditan, which functions similarly to triptans, can be safer for migraine patients with a history of vascular disease, Kissoon said.

Additionally, preventive treatments such as CGRP monoclonal antibodies block the action of CGRP and are taken by a person with migraine regardless of whether they have a headache.

"We recommend that a person with migraine who has six or more days per month of any sort of headache be on a preventive medication to reduce the days that they have a headache," Kissoon said.

For those who are struggling with headache, it's important to touch base with your health-care provider.

"It's not a hopeless thing," Ailani said. "There's lots of treatments to help get through these hard months."

WELL+BEING

How to keep your energy levels up as you get older



Ask A Doctor

TRISHA PASRICHA

Q: As I grow older, I feel like I'm more often tired and needing naps. How can I keep my energy up?

A: Feeling constantly exhausted is not normal, regardless of your age. It's a myth

that as we age, fatigue becomes par for the course, though it is a common symptom: One study found that 29 percent of 70-year-olds and 68 percent of 85-year-olds experienced fatigue. In one study, among older adults, low energy was more often cited as the reason it's hard to get out of bed than even chronic joint or back pain.

Fatigue may not bode well. A study of almost 1,000 adults, age 75, living in Norway and Finland, found that those who reported feeling tired in their daily activities had more than twice the odds of becoming disabled within the next five years than those who did not. People who experience fatigue are also more likely to experience loneliness and have higher mortality rates.

Talk through your symptoms of low energy with your physician, who can help tease out the nuances, which may lead to a

specific diagnosis. For example, are you feeling more physically depleted, inert or sleepy? What baseline are you comparing your current symptoms to? Such questions are an important part of the initial evaluation with someone who knows your full medical history.

Ways to boost energy for older adults

Our energy level is determined by many factors, and we can increase it in different ways.

Add more protein to your diet and cut down on ultra-processed foods and snacks. Issues with nutrition can be a big part of why we feel fatigued. Some of it is directly related to the foods we're eating. A balanced diet for older adults should include about 0.6 g of protein per pound of body weight (a 150-pound person should aim for 90 grams of protein daily). Foods that drag us down include refined carbs and ultra-processed foods that may offer short bursts of energy but leave us feeling sluggish and unfulfilled. But there can also be problems with appetite and swallowing, commonly related to diminished saliva production (which affects one-third of older adults) or dental issues.

Take care of your oral health.



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

Would it surprise you to learn that having fewer teeth predicts fatigue in older age? Tooth loss often results from oral infections related to poor oral health. Studies have found unhealthy dietary choices, such as eating fewer fruits and vegetables that are harder to chew, go hand-in-hand with tooth loss and increasing age.

Start strength training. Decreased muscle mass contributes significantly to why older adults feel fatigued. As early as in our 40s, we lose muscle mass, also known as sarcopenia, which can diminish our stamina. I advise patients to check their grip strength as an indicator of overall muscle quality and work on weightlifting.

We don't have to bulk up like Arnold Schwarzenegger, but we can build muscle well into our 80s and 90s. It's never too early

or too late to start incorporating weights into our exercise routines. Studies have found that resistance training can improve older adults' independence in daily activities and enhance energy. One old but good randomized controlled trial published in the New England Journal of Medicine in 1994 found that high-intensity resistance training was "feasible and effective" in reducing physical frailty among nursing home residents whose average age was 87.

Not sure where to start? Try these six basic moves once a week for 15 minutes.

Check for underlying diseases such as anemia. A randomized controlled trial published last year on the effect of low-dose aspirin and anemia among older adults had an unexpected finding: About 1 in 5 older adults who *didn't* get

aspirin and were just on a placebo developed anemia within five years of enrolling in the study. This means many older adults are at risk of experiencing low red blood cell counts over time, which can cause significant fatigue unless addressed. Besides anemia, hypothyroidism can make people feel constantly tired. As we age, hypothyroidism steadily becomes more common, especially among women. It affects less than 2 percent of people in their 20s but more than 10 percent of people in their 70s and 80s.

Other diseases associated with fatigue and older age include Parkinson's disease, heart failure, kidney disease and cancer. Chat with your physician about your symptoms in depth and decide if you should pursue more testing.

Change your sleep patterns and bedroom temperature. As many as 50 percent of older Americans experience insomnia and other sleep disorders. Our circadian rhythm tends to shift with age, telling us to sleep and rise earlier in the day. While older adults still need to aim for 7 to 8 hours a night, according to the National Sleep Foundation, give yourself permission to nap. A systematic review from 2022 found that indulging in a little daytime siesta didn't compromise how long older adults slept at night but did improve daytime fatigue. The American Geriatrics Society does not recommend many sleep aids, especially for older adults, who are more sensitive to medications such as Ambien or Lunesta, because they may increase

drowsiness to the point of raising the risk of car accidents, falls and other dangers.

How do you set your thermostat or room fans? Some evidence suggests that older Americans sleep best between 70 and 74 degrees Fahrenheit, which is especially important during the summer months. There are also several disorders such as sleep apnea that can contribute to fatigue symptoms and are worth exploring with your physician.

Rethink your medications. At your next primary-care visit, talk about your medications and whether they are all necessary in the doses you're taking them. Many common prescriptions — from blood pressure medications to anti-depressants — can zap our energy levels. Furthermore, *too many* medications in general interacting with each other is also correlated with fatigue.

What I want my patients to know

There are so many voices telling us that aging means slowing down. If we internalize those messages, we can mistakenly normalize the idea that feeling constantly fatigued is a part of that process. One important masquerader of fatigue that often gets discussed, and for good reason, is depression. Depression can lead to feelings of boredom, difficulty sleeping and exhaustion. If you're experiencing these symptoms, talk to someone you trust, such as a health-care provider or family member, about how to get the help you need.