



T-storm 84/74 • Tomorrow: Shower, t-storm 85/71 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 2024 • \$3

U.S., allies see hope for Gaza cease-fire

Latest plan has closed some gaps, but escalation remains a key concern

This article is by John Hudson, Frances Vinall, Victoria Bisset, Hazem Balousha and Missy Ryan

JERUSALEM — The United States and its allies said Friday they have presented a “bridging” proposal to Hamas and Israel for a cease-fire and hostage deal, potentially bringing within reach by the end of next week an agreement that officials hope can put an end to 10 months of fighting in the shattered Gaza Strip.

The United States, Qatar and Egypt, in a joint statement after two days of talks in the Qatari capital, Doha, expressed hope that months of fitful negotiations would finally yield an agreement to end a conflict that has killed tens of thousands and plunged the Middle East into a renewed cycle of violence and instability.

“We’re much, much closer than we were three days ago,” President Joe Biden told reporters in the Oval Office. “I don’t want to jinx anything,” he added, but said, “We’re close.”

The joint statement from the mediating nations said their proposal “bridges remaining gaps” between Israel and Hamas and would allow “a swift implementation of the deal.”

SEE CEASE-FIRE ON A9

ELECTION 2024

Fights with health-care giants went only so far

Records of Harris, Walz show wavering desire to take on corporate power

BY DAN DIAMOND AND LAUREN WEBER

Before he was Minnesota governor — and long before he was tapped as Vice President Kamala Harris’s running mate — Tim Walz was a congressman willing to defy political wisdom: He got into a public spat with the largest employer in his district.

The world-famous Mayo Clinic had acquired and then shut down services at small hospitals across the region, angering Walz, who said he was worried about the impact on patients “blindsided” by the moves. “It’s just hubris,” Walz said in 2017. “These big consolidations of health care, [we’re] going to have to deal with this across the country.”

Seven years later, politicians in both parties increasingly agree: It’s time to take on the health-care conglomerates they say are contributing to higher prices and reduced access. The Biden administration has ramped up antitrust scrutiny of the health industry, and some lawmakers and experts

Polling: Harris has opened up a second path to victory. A4

McDonald’s: Harris touts her time working at the fast-food chain. C1



PHOTOS BY ED RAM FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Many POWs are raw recruits

‘They’re children’: Ukraine’s capture of so many young men poses a significant test for Putin

BY SIOBHÁN O’GRADY, TETIANA BURIANOVA, MARY ILYUSHINA AND SERHIY MORGUNOV

In the basement of a prison in northeastern Ukraine, dozens of Russian soldiers — some wounded, most barely adults — sat huddled on metal bunk beds Friday, dressed in mismatched T-shirts and flip flops. In one tile-floored cell secured with a heavy metal door, “Garfield” played on a TV in the corner.

The prisoners of war are not seasoned fighters who were caught in battle in Ukraine, but Russian soldiers captured at home after a surprise Ukrainian incursion into Russia last week. Many are among Russia’s youngest men: conscripts fulfilling

their year-long mandatory military service who were never supposed to see combat, let alone enter Ukraine.

The capture of so many unprepared young men poses a significant challenge for the Kremlin. It also serves as a test case for Ukraine on how to handle such a large number of Russian POWs who could be seen as especially valuable bargaining chips in future negotiations or exchanges.

Conscription service is a politically explosive subject in Russia, where all men must serve in the military once they turn 18. After Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin promised concerned mothers that conscripts

SEE UKRAINE ON A10



Captured Russian soldiers including 20-year-olds Denis, left, and Nikita are shown in a cell in a Ukrainian prison on Friday. Several wounded soldiers interviewed by The Post explained how they suffered injuries in battle before capture.

Tehran wooing 2 firms in China

EFFORT TO IMPROVE SURVEILLANCE

West worried about military use of satellites

BY JOBY WARRICK AND SOUAD MEKHENNET

Iran is pursuing partnerships with two Chinese satellite companies, Western security officials say, as it seeks to expand its capability for remote surveillance and intelligence gathering, potentially including high-resolution images of military targets in Israel and across the Middle East.

The outreach has included multiple exchanges of delegations in recent months between Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) and the Chinese companies, both of which manufacture and operate remote-sensing satellites with sophisticated cameras, according to U.S., European and Middle Eastern officials privy to intelligence reports describing the meetings.

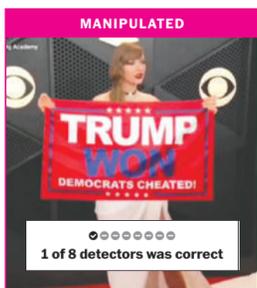
Iran’s courtship of the two companies is being watched closely amid concerns that any deal that emerges could allow Iran to dramatically improve its ability to spy on U.S. and Israeli military installations as well as those of Arab rivals in the Persian Gulf, said the officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive intelligence. The two companies offer a line of satellites with optical equipment that is at least twice as sensitive as the most advanced satellites operated by Iran.

The visits are occurring against a backdrop of closer ties between Beijing and Tehran in the wake of a 25-year political and economic cooperation pact signed by the foreign ministers of both countries three years ago.

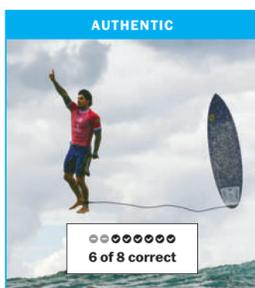
SEE IRAN ON A9

We put these images through eight popular deepfake detection tools. They struggled to tell what was real.

These images are fake. But they tricked people into thinking they were real and went viral.



These photographs are real. But they raised suspicions and went viral.



See why AI detection tools can fail to catch election deepfakes. STORY, A14

D.C. man is found guilty in killing of 13-year-old

Manslaughter conviction in predawn shooting over suspected car break-ins

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER

A D.C. Superior Court jury found a former parks and recreation employee guilty Friday of manslaughter in the fatal shooting of an unarmed 13-year-old last year, rejecting a more serious second-degree murder charge while still determining that he bore some criminal responsibility in the killing.

The jury spent less than a day deliberating in the case against 42-year-old Jason Lewis, who prosecutors said fatally shot Karon Desean Blake in the predawn dark after he saw the teen with others appearing to break into cars in his Brookland neighborhood.

Karon’s death sparked outrage in the District, drawing comparisons to the 2012 shooting of Trayvon Martin as he walked through a Florida neighborhood. Prosecutors repeatedly played the teen’s dying words, captured

on surveillance video, for the jury: “I’m sorry. I’m sorry. I’m just a kid. I was just playing, man.”

Lewis called the deadly encounter “devastating” this week in his first public comments on the killing, emphasizing in court testimony that he had spent his career working to keep District youth out of trouble. He argued that he had acted in self-defense, believing to have heard a gunshot that night; prosecutors countered that the evidence did not support that.

Manslaughter, according to District laws, is not murder. It is defined as an unlawful killing of a person, voluntary or involuntary, without the intent to kill. Lewis faces up to 45 years in prison. Had he been convicted of second-degree murder of a minor, he would have faced a maximum of 60 years, according to District sentencing guidelines.

Judge Anthony C. Epstein, over prosecutors’ objections, allowed Lewis to remain on home confinement and GPS monitoring until sentencing in October.

The jury also found Lewis guilty of three counts of possession of a firearm during a crime of violence and two charges of

SEE VERDICT ON A2

IN THE NEWS

New coronavirus vaccines Treatments to summer variants are slated for approval next week, but overall demand remains low. A7

Tennis pro’s debut Applause and adversity followed 18-year-old Clervie Ngounoue into the DC Open, five minutes from where she grew up. B1

THE NATION The FDA authorized the first at-home syphilis test as infections hit a 70-year high. A3
Illegal crossings at the border dropped in July to the lowest level in nearly four years. A7

THE WORLD After Venezuela’s disputed presidential vote, some in the opposition say the only choice is to stand firm and reject proposals for a new election. Others aren’t so sure. A8

THE ECONOMY As politicians debate the meaning of “pro-family,” people must reconcile economic factors in deciding whether to have kids. A11
Biden promised to end drilling on federal land, but the United States is producing more oil than ever. A12

THE REGION Virginia released draft guidance that recommends restricting cell-phone use from “bell to bell” in schools. B1
A teen was sentenced to 25 years for attempted murder after repeatedly firing at another teen on a school bus in Maryland. B1

STYLE An author who found a Project 2025 duffel bag ended up with more than he bargained for when a police officer knocked on his door. C1

SPORTS Sports Illustrated celebrated its unlikely journey to its 70th anniversary this week. D1

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Good-government group pushes a better public service agenda for candidates



Federal Insider

JOE DAVIDSON

With so much attention focused on the presidential horse race, it's easy to forget that the endgame of politics is government.

The Partnership for Public Service, a nonpartisan not-for-profit group founded in 2001, reminds us of that with a set of proposals that outline the organization's vision for better government.

While numerous organizations issue campaign wish lists to candidates, the influential Partnership has long been immersed in ways to improve federal agencies, the federal workforce and federal services to the public. Annually, it publishes the Best Places to Work in the Federal Government and sponsors the Service to America Medals (a.k.a. Sammys), honoring federal employees' accomplishments. In addition to consulting with agencies, the Partnership's Center for Presidential Transition helps candidates prepare for a new administration, and "Rebuilding Trust in Government" is an ongoing program.

The five-point agenda

includes:

- Developing better government leaders.
- Facilitating the hiring and retention of "great public servants."
- Holding poor performers accountable.
- Unleashing "the power of data and tech to achieve better public outcomes."
- Providing "efficient, customer-friendly services to the people."

While strictly nonpartisan, the Partnership does not shy away from criticizing plans its leadership believes could thwart good government. That's clear from the third paragraph of the nine-page document, which blasts Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump's intention to reinstate Schedule F, a federal employment category that would allow political appointees to replace some career civil servants. Trump created the category by executive order late in his administration, but it was quickly rescinded by President Joe Biden early in his.

"Unfortunately, proposals by former President Donald Trump and his political allies would give a president and political appointees the power to arbitrarily fire thousands of professional, nonpartisan civil

servants who are afforded due process rights and replace them with individuals considered loyal to the White House," the agenda says.

"The plans would undermine our government's ability to deliver fair and responsive services. A federal workforce filled with employees hired for their political beliefs rather than their skills and qualifications would move us further away from the type of government the public deserves. It would strip federal agencies of expertise and hamper their ability to provide good service to everyone, not just to those who support the president of the day."

Yet, as this space reported last month, Trump, who ridicules feds as deep-state actors and Washington swamp dwellers in his official campaign policy document, called Agenda47, has declared his intention to reissue Schedule F and "wield that power very aggressively," despite widespread criticism. His running mate, Sen. JD Vance (R-Ohio), has demonstrated how fully in sync he is with attacking the civil service while boosting political operatives in key government roles.

If Vance were to offer Trump "one piece of advice," he said during a 2021 podcast

appearance when he was running for the Senate, it would be "fire every single mid-level bureaucrat, every civil servant in the administrative state. Replace them with our people."

In response to sentiments like those, the Partnership wrote: "Our government is not perfect, but we need to modernize it rather than burn it down."

Federal union leaders who support Vice President Kamala Harris's Democratic presidential candidacy might have trouble with the Partnership's proposal to expedite the federal employee disciplinary process. "In fiscal year 2023, it took agencies an average of 102 days to process an employee's initial appeal" of disciplinary actions, the Partnership says. It blames much of that, however, on supervisors who do not "effectively use probationary periods to evaluate employees" and are reluctant to engage slackers, adding that managers should be held accountable for employees' performance.

Citing a 2023 government survey, the Partnership's road map for politicians said over 40 percent of feds "reported that poor performers usually remain in their work unit and continue to underperform." Notably, the Partnership did not call for an

overhaul of the civil service system, as it has in the past.

Marcus Hill, president of the federal Senior Executives Association, agrees with the agenda and emphasized the importance of agency leaders. "It is a national imperative to ensure the government is preparing and supporting our leaders and managers so they can effectively lead people and manage organizations," he said. "For too long, leaders across government have been too unintentional about developing and nurturing a strong cadre of public service executives. This has to be a top priority." The American Federation of Government Employees and the Harris and Trump campaigns did not respond to requests for comment.

Leaders are critical, but there can be too many whose main qualifications are political. One way to improve government, the Partnership suggests, is to have fewer politically appointed posts. New presidents have over 4,000 political slots to fill, including more than 1,300 that require Senate confirmation, "making it difficult for a new president to get a full team in place quickly."

Referring to Government Accountability Office findings, the Partnership hits the government for being "behind on

emerging tech" and spending 80 percent of its IT budget on existing investments, "including old and outdated systems, not on new investments in leading-edge technologies." The solution? The Partnership recommends investing in modern technology and using AI "thoughtfully."

Citing its own research and the "crisis of public trust in government," the Partnership found just 23 percent of Americans say federal services are easy to navigate and only 35 percent agree Washington serves their communities. Among the recommended solutions is funding customer experience teams.

If Jenny Mattingley, the Partnership's vice president of government affairs, had to pick just one priority for a new president and Congress, it would be improving customer service. Doing that incorporates all the agenda items.

"How do we make government work for the people" is the foundational issue, she said in an interview. "What is it that makes it easier, simpler and more transparent for them to get the services that they're trying to receive from government? ... If we take that lens, I think that feeds into so many of the other reforms that need to happen."

The Washington Post

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CORRECTIONS

• An Aug. 15 Style section article about Zyn nicotine pouches incorrectly said that Juul e-cigarettes initially skirted regulations by using synthetic nicotine. Juul uses nicotine salts derived from tobacco, not synthetic nicotine, and therefore did not skirt such regulations. In addition, Zyn uses nicotine salts derived from tobacco, not synthetic nicotine.

• Because of a production error, a paragraph was dropped from a review of the movie "Alien: Romulus" in the Aug. 16 Weekend section. The following should have appeared after the paragraph that ends with the sentence, "If only there were new ideas, too": Correction: There are two new ideas, one of which is problematic enough to be worth spoiling and the other of which doesn't work at all. The first — again, spoiler alert! — is the appearance of actor Ian Holm in a variation of his villainous android Ash from the first "Alien." This time he's called Rook, and if you're confused by the fact that Sir Ian died in 2020, don't be: He has been resurrected through the combined miracles of artificial intelligence, digital jiggery-pokery, voice work and a nod to the late actor's estate.

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

Email: corrections@washpost.com.
Call: 202-334-6000, and ask to be connected to the desk involved — National, Foreign, Metro, Style, Sports, Business or any of the weekly sections.

Body of 'doomsday' oarfish emerges off San Diego coast

In modern folklore, rare surfacing of creature is sign of impending quake

BY ADELA SULIMAN

The body of a rare deep-sea-dwelling fish measuring 12 feet was found in waters off the San Diego coast last week, exciting marine experts.

Oarfish are the longest recorded bony fish in the world and this silvery specimen was discovered by "some lucky kayakers and snorkelers" near La Jolla Cove, the Scripps Institution of Oceanography said in a statement posted on X.

"To give you an idea of how rare this encounter is, only 20 oarfish have washed up in California since 1901!" it added.

The fish was found dead and floating on the ocean's surface by the group members, who worked with lifeguards to transport it to a nearby National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration facility where scientists are due to "perform a necropsy to determine the cause of death," the statement from Scripps said.

The fish will eventually be placed in the Scripps Marine Vertebrate Collection, "where scientists will be able to further study this mysterious species," Scripps added.

Oarfish, known scientifically as *Regalecus glesne*, are strikingly long and have a "ribbon-shaped body," according to the environmental nonprofit Ocean Conser-



MICHAEL WANG/SCRIPPS INSTITUTION OF OCEANOGRAPHY/AP

A dead oarfish is recovered last week near La Jolla Cove in Southern California. The rarely seen silvery specimen was then transported to a nearby facility for a necropsy.

vancy, which allows them to swim vertically in the deep sea where they live off krill, plankton and small crustaceans. They have large bulging eyes and can grow to more than 30 feet, the nonprofit added, describing them as "one of the longest and most odd-looking fish in the sea."

The species also gained an ominous reputation in modern folklore amid concerns that their sightings are a harbinger of earth-

quakes — causing it to be nicknamed the "doomsday" fish. There were reports that 20 oarfish were seen in Japan in the months ahead of its devastating 2011 earthquake and tsunami that killed at least 18,000 people.

However, a 2019 study by Japanese researchers found there was no correlation between the sightings and earthquakes, and called the folklore linking the two "a superstition."

"Oarfish are quite a sight to behold" and "may be one of the sources of sea serpent folklore," said Meredith Moore, director of the Fish Conservation Program at Ocean Conservancy.

"They've also been nicknamed the doomsday fish, as in some places they are viewed as harbingers of bad news, such as natural disasters like earthquakes," she added. "Despite the legends, if an oarfish is spotted close to the sur-

face, it typically indicates that the creature is sick, dying, or at least disoriented."

Ben Fable, a manager of the Marine Vertebrate Collection at Scripps, said Friday in an email that oarfish are "special" because of their size and unique appearance.

"It really is not like most animals we interact with on a more regular basis," he said. It's rare to find them in California, he added, but slightly more common in places like Taiwan and Japan.

Each fish discovered, however, "can provide valuable insight into the biology and life history of this species," Fable said.

He discounted any connection between oarfish and natural disasters, saying the "doomsday" nickname had arisen from Japanese folklore.

"The myth is that they wash up just before a major earthquake," he said, noting that scientific studies had "found no correlation." "It's more likely they wash up when they are injured, dying or disoriented," he said in his email. "Their long ribbon like body is not well suited for swimming in surface or near shore currents so it's easily swept towards shore."

The scaleless fish is a possible source of "sea monster legends," according to the Florida Museum of Natural History, due to its length and appearance.

It is "widely distributed in the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean and from Topanga Beach in southern California south to Chile in the eastern Pacific Ocean," it said, adding it has been found living at depths of more than 3,000 feet.

Former D.C. employee guilty in death of unarmed teen

VERDICT FROM A1

assault with a dangerous weapon.

Brian McDaniel, a lawyer for Karon's family, said the teen's relatives were "disappointed" the jury did not convict Lewis of the more serious charges, but grateful to the jurors for their work and hopeful that "the tragedy of Karon's loss is reflected in the sentence he receives."

Prosecutors at trial argued Lewis should have called police about the concerns that prompted him to grab a gun, walk out of his home and confront Karon and two others he found tampering with vehicles parked on the street. Instead, he shot the teen twice and fired at the others as they sped away in a stolen Kia, leaving Karon behind.

"You can't kill someone for breaking into a car," Assistant U.S. Attorney Jeffrey Wojcik told jurors.

Karon's mother in an interview last year described her son as an enthusiastic kid who played running back for a youth football team, cheered for the Washington Commanders and faithfully listened to Louisiana rapper NBA YoungBoy. But he began to sneak out of the house after the coronavirus pandemic upended his life, she said, prompting her to call police or youth services officials on him a half-dozen times.

Karon was the oldest of Lon-

den Blake's four children; his own father, Sean Perry, was fatally shot before he was born, Blake said.

Tensions flared in the city as police initially withheld the identity of the person they suspected of killing an unarmed Black youth, fueling suspicions the shooter was White or a D.C. police officer. Fearing the city could face an uprising similar to the eruption in Ferguson, Mo. after the 2014 fatal shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown, then-D.C. Police Chief Robert J. Contee III held a news conference attempting to tamp down concerns, angrily denouncing the misinformation swirling about who had pulled the trigger.

In the days and weeks after Karon's death, demonstrators gathered on Quincy Street in Northeast Washington taping up signs with his picture and demands for justice. Protesters marched through the neighborhood chanting, "Justice for Karon." District residents yelled in frustration at a community meeting as authorities urged patience and calm.

Lewis is neither White nor a police officer, as some demonstrators hypothesized, but he is the son of two retired Washington police officers, according to a D.C. police spokesman. A graduate of DeMatha Catholic High School, Lewis, his friends and co-workers have said in inter-



ALLISON ROBERT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Prosecutors said Jason Lewis fatally shot Karon Desean Blake last January after he saw the teen appearing to break into cars.

views, spent his life trying to help teens like Karon with the late-night and summer programs he helped build for city youths, hoping to offer them positive outlets for entertainment and get them off the streets.

On the stand, Lewis said he thought Karon was charging at him when he came outside to investigate a sound and opened fire. The teen had been running to catch up with his friends in a nearby car, prosecutors determined from security videos.

Prosecutors argued that Lewis fired his weapon because he was frustrated that teens were break-

ing into cars in his neighborhood, one of Lewis's attorneys, Edward Ungvarsky, told jurors a day before the verdict was reached.

Ungvarsky repeatedly told jurors that his client was not motivated to shoot over a frustration with juvenile crime.

"That is simply not true. This isn't a plot from some Michael Douglas movie where he was acting as a vigilante. No. Mr. Lewis was in fear for his life. He was in fear for his family's safety," Ungvarsky said.

"It was devastating," said Lewis, who once helped run pro-

grams for the city's parks and recreations department aimed at keeping D.C. youths out of trouble. "I spent close to 20 years of my career working with young people, making sure they were safe and that they had opportunities."

Lewis spoke in a low voice as he recounted the moments before Karon's killing to the jury this week: rising from the bed where his fiancée and their toddler daughter were sleeping, unlocking the gun box in the closet, removing his licensed firearm and stepping outside just before 4 a.m. There, he recalled seeing at least three individuals, two of whom were inside a vehicle in the alley near Lewis's house.

He said he thought he heard a gunshot just before he shot. Lewis's Ring security system, prosecutors noted, was sensitive enough to capture his heavy sigh as he walked back into the house that night. But it did not capture any loud sound or flash before Lewis shot Karon. And they said Lewis never claimed to have heard gunfire until last week — more than a year after the shooting.

After firing, Lewis told the jury, he called 911 and worked with the operator to perform CPR on Karon. In court, a D.C. police officer said Lewis was still performing chest compressions on the teen's lifeless body when officers arrived.

POLITICS & THE NATION

ELECTION 2024

Some Jewish voters in Pa. happy Shapiro wasn't picked for VP

Residents say they're pleased with his performance as governor

BY NICOLE MARKUS

MERION STATION, PA. — Donald Trump and JD Vance have suggested that Vice President Kamala Harris's decision to pick a running mate other than Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro, an observant Jew, is evidence of antisemitism in the Democratic Party.

Harris, who is married to a Jewish man, second gentleman Doug Emhoff, gave the VP nod to Tim Walz, the non-Jewish governor of Minnesota.

But here in the Philadelphia suburbs where Shapiro (D) grew up and attended synagogue, many Jewish voters said they were delighted that they'll get to have him as their governor a little longer — and that they expect him to run for president himself down the road.

Harris picked Walz because he is from the Midwest and “will appeal to the whole country,” Susan Neuman, 74, said over breakfast at the packed Jewish deli Hymie's in Merion Station on a recent Wednesday.

Neuman and her friend Ann Zenstein said they are happy Shapiro did not get the nod. Zenstein said she was impressed with Shapiro's handling of the repair of Interstate 95 in Philadelphia, which was reopened last year less than two weeks after a gasoline tanker crash caused a highway bridge to collapse.

Nearly 300,000 Jewish people of voting age live in Pennsylvania, according to research by the American Jewish Population Project. Many of them vote for Democrats: Despite years of Republican attempts to attract more Jewish support, Jewish Americans have voted for Democrats by wide margins for decades. President Joe Biden won the state by slightly more than 80,000 votes.

Now Shapiro, whom Zenstein says she sees as “presidential material,” will get a few more years to serve as governor and get experience under his belt before considering a run for the highest office in the country.

“It was not his time yet,” said Alyne Freed, 90, from the neighboring community of Gladwyne.

Given how beloved Shapiro is in Philadelphia and its surrounding suburbs, some voters felt this too-close-to-call election was not worth the risk.

“Losing vice-presidential candidates typically don't go on to have careers as presidents,” said Jeff Stein, 56, who is not a registered Democrat but said he has been voting that way for a while. “He looks like a really strong presidential candidate for the future.”

Even without Shapiro on the ticket, Judy Erlichman, who lives in Center City and loves the governor — “hard stop” — says she thinks both Harris and Walz are “great.”

“I'm excited for the first time in a long time,” she said. “Instead of dreading the next 80, 90 days, I am wanting to put on the news and see Kamala and Tim. I am wanting to feel their energy and positivity.”

The Democratic Party has been riven in recent months by tensions over Biden's support for Israel in its war in Gaza. Israel invaded the enclave after Hamas's Oct. 7 attack in Israel killed about 1,200 people. More than 40,000 Palestinians have been killed in the conflict.

But Jewish voters' opinions about the war — and Israel — vary widely, according to the Pew Research Center. Jen Stein, 45, Jeff's wife, said that although she loves Israel, it is not the issue she is focusing on “at the moment,” echoing the sentiments of some other voters in the area.

“I have to preserve this country first,” she said. “As much as I want [Harris] to be a supporter of Israel, even if she's not, I have to take that chance.”

Shapiro has faced criticism from some progressives who have called him “Genocide Josh” for likening some pro-Palestinian college protesters to the Ku Klux Klan and writing in his college newspaper that peace “will never come” to the Middle East.

“They are too battle-minded to be able to establish a peaceful homeland of their own,” Shapiro wrote of Palestinians in the college opinion piece. In a news conference in early August, Shapiro said his views have changed in the decades since he wrote that piece.

Shapiro's pro-Israel positions are not drastically different from those of several other running mate contenders, including Walz,



Max Paul and Sandi Paul, parents of one of the owners of Hymie's Deli, eat lunch at the Merion Station, Pa., restaurant. Some Jewish voters in the Philadelphia suburb say they're happy Gov. Josh Shapiro (D) will stay on as the commonwealth's chief executive.



Shapiro said at a rally for the Democratic presidential ticket of Kamala Harris and Tim Walz, “I am going to continue to pour my heart and soul into serving you every single day as your governor.”

who ultimately got the nod. But that fact hasn't stopped Trump from criticizing the decision, saying he finds it “insulting to Jewish people.”

And Trump — who is not Jewish, although his daughter Ivanka and his son-in-law Jared Kushner are — has a history of making comments that play off antisemit-

ic tropes. He has said that he thinks any Jewish person who votes for a Democrat “hates their religion,” is “an absolute fool” and “should be ashamed of themselves.” He faced criticism in 2017 after commenting that there were “very fine people on both sides” of a white-supremacist rally in Charlottesville that included neo-

Nazis.

In the Philadelphia Jewish community in particular, “everyone” has a connection to Shapiro in some way, said Ross M. Levy, director of youth engagement at Main Line Reform Temple in Wynnewood. “Josh is a staple of the community.”

Shapiro himself has not ex-

pressed disappointment about being passed over for the VP nod. When Harris and Walz debuted as running mates at a rally in Philadelphia, he delivered a rousing speech in support of their ticket.

“I want you to know I am going to continue to pour my heart and soul into serving you every single day as your governor,” Shapiro said at the rally. “And I'm going to be working my tail off to make sure we make Kamala Harris and Tim Walz the next leaders of the United States of America.”

Levy, who said his kids played soccer with Shapiro's kids, said he thinks Shapiro will continue to have an important role in ensuring voters in the state vote for Harris and Walz.

“I think Josh should keep doing what he's been doing. He's strong and exciting to both sides of the aisle in Pennsylvania, and we love that,” Levy said. “As governor and surrogate to the Harris-Walz ticket, he will continue to do amazing things for Pennsylvania and continue to expand that out into the rest of the country. I really love that his career is blossoming, and that speaks to our Jewish community in Pennsylvania.”

Jeff Stein said he believes Republicans who attack Harris for picking Walz over Shapiro are “projecting their own antisemitism” onto Democrats.

“Her husband is Jewish, for God's sake,” Jen Stein said.

FDA clears first at-home syphilis test as infections soar to a 70-year high

BY RACHEL ROUBEIN

The Food and Drug Administration on Friday authorized the first at-home syphilis test amid surging cases of the bacterial infection and calls from federal health officials for innovative strategies to detect the disease.

The manufacturer, NowDiagnostics, anticipates the 15-minute test being available in pharmacies, major retail stores and online as early as September. FDA staff hailed the new product as an advancement in testing for sexually transmitted illnesses but noted that an additional test by a health-care provider is needed to confirm a positive result.

Syphilis was nearly eliminated in the 1990s, but rates have since soared to a 70-year high. Between 2018 and 2022, cases rose nearly 80 percent, according to the most recent data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

An at-home test “could allow

more flexibility for people, so that they are able to access health care on their own terms and have more flexibility with how they're being tested,” said Laura Bachmann, chief medical officer for the CDC's Division of STD Prevention.

It's an important tool for improving sexual health and decreasing STI rates, though it isn't a replacement for recommended screenings, Bachmann said.

Company officials and public health advocates are hoping the option to take a test in the privacy of one's home will serve as a critical new tool to boost testing for syphilis, particularly given the ongoing stigma attached to sexually transmitted infections. But getting the test to people most in need will be a challenge for the beleaguered public health system, raising concerns that only the most well-heeled will have easy access.

“The whole idea is to get more

people tested,” Robert Weigle, CEO of NowDiagnostics, said in an interview. For the country to make strides in getting syphilis under control, he estimated tens of millions more people need to be tested.

Syphilis is a bacterial infection that primarily spreads through direct contact with a syphilis sore during vaginal, anal or oral sex. The infection can also be transmitted to a fetus during pregnancy, and cases of what's commonly called congenital syphilis have spiked 183 percent from 2018 to 2022. The Department of Health and Human Services last year created a task force aimed at averting 5 percent of syphilis cases in newborns by next month.

The suggested retail price of the test will be \$29.98. The company says it plans to work with federal agencies and state and local health officials to make the tests available at clinics and health departments at no cost.

for most of the three years she lived in the neighborhood.

During closing arguments, prosecutor Rich Buxman had said there was no evidence that Owens posed an imminent physical threat to Lorincz but came to the defendant's house after her children complained Lorincz had allegedly thrown roller skates and an umbrella at them amid a long-running annoyance at their boisterous play outside. Lorincz did not testify in her own defense, but her interview with detectives was played for jurors.

— Associated Press

WISCONSIN Vance's plane makes emergency landing

The charter plane carrying former president Donald Trump's running mate Sen. JD Vance (R-Ohio) made an emergency landing in Milwaukee after a door seal malfunction, the campaign said Friday.

The plane, a Boeing 737, declared an emergency shortly after it had left the airport in Milwaukee and returned for repairs, campaign spokesperson Taylor Van Kirk said. The issue

was resolved, and the plane continued to Cincinnati, where Vance lives.

The emergency landing comes a week after Trump's plane was diverted as he headed to Montana for a rally last Friday.

Boeing has faced greater scrutiny for its assembly process of the 737 Max — the updated version of the older 737 model used by Vance — after an Alaska Airlines flight in January experienced a midair blowout.

Vance was traveling with his wife, his dog, campaign staff and a traveling pool of reporters.

— Meryl Kornfield

Menendez drops reelection bid as independent: Sen. Bob Menendez (D-N.J.) has ended his independent campaign for reelection as he prepares to resign after his conviction on federal bribery and corruption charges. Menendez filed to run as an independent in June while his trial was underway, looking to keep his options open pending the outcome. He was convicted six weeks later and announced he would resign effective Tuesday. Friday was the deadline for Menendez to withdraw as an independent candidate.

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— Patrick Svitek

DIGEST

FLORIDA Woman convicted in shooting of neighbor

A White Florida woman was convicted Friday of manslaughter in the fatal shooting of a Black neighbor after the jury rejected her claims that she fired through a metal door in self-defense amid an ongoing dispute over children playing outside her home.

The all-White jury in Ocala, Fla., found 60-year-old Susan Lorincz guilty after 2½ hours of deliberation. Lorincz faces up to

30 years in prison at sentencing. Lorincz had claimed self-defense when she fired a single shot with a .380-caliber handgun through her front door on June 2, 2023, killing 35-year-old Ajike “A.J.” Owens.

She told detectives in a videotaped interview that she feared for her life as Owens yelled and pounded on her door.

The confrontation was the latest in a dispute between Lorincz and Owens over the latter's children playing in a grassy area near both of their houses. Lorincz said in the interview she had been harassed

ELECTION 2024

Harris unveils populist policy agenda, with \$6,000 credit for newborns

She also outlines vision on medical debt, home subsidies, 'price gouging'

BY JEFF STEIN,
YASMEEN ABUTALEB
AND DAN DIAMOND

RALEIGH, N.C. — Vice President Kamala Harris on Friday unveiled an aggressively populist economic agenda to an enthusiastic but intimate crowd, providing the most detailed vision yet of her governing priorities since becoming the Democratic Party's presidential nominee.

In a pivot from the raucous rallies that have so far defined Harris's month-old campaign, the vice president instead opted for a smaller setting of about 250 supporters that allowed her to explain a number of economic policies aimed at "lowering costs for American families." The event seemed to signal a new phase in Harris's campaign, one where she will not only hold rallies with thousands of people but also engage more directly with smaller audiences, where she can expound on legislative and executive efforts she would pursue as president.

"Together we will build what I call an opportunity economy," Harris said. "Everyone, regardless of who they are or where they start, has an opportunity to build wealth for themselves and their children."

Some of the economic policies, which Harris's campaign had announced earlier on Friday, went beyond what President Joe Biden had promised. While Harris is building on much of Biden's economic agenda, she is also seeking to roll out policies that are unique to her as she works to define herself to millions of voters who may not have a firm grasp of where she stands on a number of key issues. Some Republicans have criticized Harris's campaign for lacking substance, which she plans to address head on in the coming days and weeks, her advisers said.

"Building up the middle class will be a defining goal of my presidency because I strongly believe when the middle class is strong, America is strong," Harris said. "So in the weeks to come, I will address in greater detail my plans to build an opportunity economy."

The most striking proposals were for the elimination of medical debt for millions of Americans; the "first-ever" ban on price gouging for groceries and food; a cap on prescription drug costs; a \$25,000 subsidy for first-time home buyers; and a child tax credit that would provide \$6,000 per child to families for the first year of a baby's life.

The last item followed a suggestion earlier this month from Sen. JD Vance (Ohio), the GOP vice-presidential nominee, that

the credit be raised from \$2,000 per child to \$5,000. Harris is also calling for restoring the Biden administration's child tax credit that expired at the end of 2021, which raised the benefit for most families from \$2,000 per child to \$3,000.

The flurry of policy positions — released just before the Democratic National Convention in Chicago begins on Monday — represented the clearest articulation yet of how Harris, who has only had a relatively brief time on the national stage, would handle economic policy if elected this fall. Harris has thus far surrounded herself with many former aides to Biden, and her team had made some overtures to business leaders that they hoped reflected a more centrist approach. But the policy positions she embraced Friday suggest she will continue, if not deepen, the party's transformation under Biden, who pushed for more aggressive government intervention in the economy on industrial, labor and antitrust policies.

Before Friday, Harris's campaign stump speeches had largely focused on broader themes about building a better future, arguing that Donald Trump and Republicans were seeking to take the country backward. Harris also spoke about "freedoms," including reproductive rights, same-sex marriage and voting rights, but offered few details about what policies would fall under that umbrella.

Friday's remarks struck a starkly different tone. Harris immediately delved into her newly unveiled economic policies and spoke in personal detail about growing up in a "middle-class household." She spoke of her mother saving up for "well over a decade" to buy a home and working at McDonald's while she was in college to earn spending money.

Harris's policy positions have evolved and changed considerably from when she first sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 2019. At the time — when she was trying to distinguish herself among a crowded field of contenders who often tacked to the left to win primary voters — she embraced a number of progressive policies that she has since rejected, including a single-payer health-care system and banning fracking and offshore drilling. The challenge for Harris now is to maintain the energy and enthusiasm that have powered her run so far and dramatically upended the presidential contest against Trump, while simultaneously rolling out concrete policies to demonstrate her seriousness as a candidate that will be subject to scrutiny and criticism.

During a press call hosted by the RNC and the Trump campaign, Kevin Hassett, former chairman to the Council of Economic Advisers in the Trump administration, called Harris's plan for price gouging "completely preposterous."



Vice President Kamala Harris prepares to speak Friday in Raleigh, N.C., to an enthusiastic but intimate crowd. "Together we will build what I call an opportunity economy," Harris said.

"The proposal is very unfortunate," he said. "It could cause an enormous amount of damage to the economy, and it reveals the desire for the government to take over the economy that I think really does suggest that Harris agrees that the era of believing that if it's good for free enterprise, it's good for America, that that era is over."

In the weeks leading up to this announcement, at least two outside advisers privately suggested to the Harris campaign that she signal a move to the center by backing income tax cuts for middle-class households or a tax break for small businesses, according to the people aware of the matter, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe the private conversations. Those suggestions were not included in the final package, although they may be released at a later date. The plan also alludes to cutting "red tape" and lowering the deficit but provided no specifics.

It's not entirely clear how much Harris's sweeping new proposals would cost. But estimates released Friday by the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget (CRFB) show that, all told, the plan would increase deficits by \$1.7 trillion over a decade. That cost would grow to \$2 trillion if Harris's housing policies — which the campaign says are slated to last only four years — were made permanent.

Roughly \$1.2 trillion of that bill would come from an expansion of the child tax credit, according to the CRFB. Another \$400 billion stems from enhanced health insurance subsidies, and \$150 billion comes from the expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit. Another \$200 billion comes from support for affordable housing and credits to help first-time home buyers.

The campaign says its plan would be paid for through taxes on corporations and some of America's highest earners, along with other revenue raisers in Biden's budget. But there were few other specifics as of Friday, leaving open questions on the final price tag and the risks of more inflation. More housing supply, for example, would in theory help cool prices by loosening up the market. But credits for first-time home buyers could work in the opposite direction by increasing demand.

Harris's policy push was not without its detractors, even within her own party. Policy experts in the Democratic Party lamented her recent endorsement of Trump's plan to eliminate taxes on tips, as well as her promises not to raise taxes on Americans earning under \$400,000 per year — positions they see as incompatible with Democrats' ambitions to approve major new expansions of the nation's safety net. Business leaders who had hoped for a warmer relationship under Harris also balked at being blamed for higher prices in her push against corporate price gouging.

And yet despite these drawbacks, Democrats have become increasingly convinced that embracing populist economics is key to beating Trump — the top priority for the party through November. Concerns about the economy and inflation have ranked as among voters' top issues in the 2024 presidential election, and polling has consistently showed that attacking corporate price gouging is popular.

"Vice President Harris faces a dilemma: On the one hand, America is on a fiscally unsustainable path, and if we're going to embark on some of the more ambitious programs she'd like to pursue we need more revenue," said Daniel Hemel, a tax policy

expert at the New York University School of Law. "On the other hand, democracy is in peril, and that crisis feels — and is — more imminent than the fiscal crisis, and I think she's made the correct calculus that sacrificing on fiscal policy for a few hundred thousand middle-class voters in the battleground states is worth it."

Perhaps Harris's most surprising policy announcement was her plan to ban "price gouging" in grocery and food prices. While details were sparse, the measure would include authorizing the Federal Trade Commission to impose large fines on grocery stores that impose "excessive" price hikes on customers, her campaign said. Grocery prices remain a top concern for voters: Even though the rate of increase leveled off this year, grocery prices have jumped 26 percent since 2019, according to Elizabeth Pancotti, director of special initiatives at the Roosevelt Institute.

Still, even some Democratic economists balked at that idea and expressed hope that it reflected little more than political messaging. Economists typically say mandatory price-setting creates shortages, by reducing incentives for firms to produce supply, and is the kind of measure far less likely to have been backed under the Clinton or Obama administrations. Biden aides have argued some markets have become distorted by consolidation and require government intervention to be rebalanced on behalf of consumers.

On housing, Harris did less to break with the Biden administration but still opted for a more active set of federal proposals than those thus far endorsed by the White House. Harris endorsed a slew of measures to expand housing supply — including an expansion of tax credits to incentivize housing construction

— but also a new \$25,000 in federal down-payment assistance to more than 1 million first-time home buyers. (Biden had previously proposed a more limited measure only for first-generation home buyers.) Critics say this plan would probably bid up housing prices, which have already soared since the pandemic.

Harris also pledged to work with states to cancel medical debt for millions of Americans, building on one of her signature policy issues as vice president. That effort could involve using federal funds to buy and forgive outstanding medical debt from health providers. Harris's office also recently worked with the state of North Carolina on a first-of-its-kind initiative to forgive the medical debt of 2 million state residents by creating financial incentives for hospitals to relieve medical debt or prevent it from accumulating in the first place. That initiative received federal approval last month, and all 99 eligible hospitals in North Carolina have since committed to participate — a potential model for other states.

Harris's health-care proposals also lean into liberal efforts to take on the pharmaceutical industry, building on ideas popularized by Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) and adopted by Biden. The vice president is pledging to expand several provisions contained in the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act, including capping the out-of-pocket cost of insulin at \$35 per month, and capping Americans' annual out-of-pocket spending on prescription drugs at \$2,000. Those two provisions are currently in effect for Medicare beneficiaries. Extending them to all Americans could face resistance from the pharmaceutical industry and Republicans.

During her speech, Harris warned that Trump's economic proposals would translate into higher costs borne by middle- and working-class families. She characterized Trump's plans to impose a tariff of 10 percent on all U.S. imports as a "national sales tax," arguing it would raise prices on everything from food to gas to clothing. Economists say the proposed import duty would raise costs for consumers and domestic producers. The Biden administration, however, has kept most of the tariffs Trump imposed during the first term, although the GOP's nominees plans for a second term would go much further.

"At this moment when everyday prices are too high, he will make them even higher," Harris said. "The crowd broke out into chants of 'We're not going back.'"

Later in her speech, Harris blasted Trump's plan to further cut taxes on the richest Americans. "You know, I think that if you want to know who someone cares about, look who they fight for," Harris said.

Rachel Siegel and Marianne Levine contributed to this report.

Post's polling model shows Harris has opened up a second path to victory

Democrat can win in the Rust Belt or Sun Belt and take the White House

BY LENNY BRONNER

A lot has changed in the presidential race over the last three weeks, according to The Washington Post's polling average.

Since President Joe Biden exited the presidential race on July 21 and passed the baton to Kamala Harris, his vice president, the race has effectively reversed itself. It is no exaggeration to state that Harris would be the favorite to win the White House, according to our polling model, if the presidential contest were held today.

Relative to the day that Biden dropped out, Harris has gained two percentage points nationally and, as of Sunday, leads in our national polling average. In swing states, she has gained an average of 2.1 points since June 21 and leads in 2 of 7 of them.

Harris has taken the lead in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, and has substantially closed the gap in Michigan, where Donald Trump now leads by less than one percentage point (if this trend continues, we'd expect our average to show a tie in that state in the coming days).

According to our polling model, Harris still trails Trump in the electoral college tally if the elec-

tion were held today and every state votes as their polling average currently demonstrates. Nonetheless, she would be the favorite if voters today went to the polls because Harris now has more paths to the presidency than Donald Trump — that is, she is competitive in more states that could add up to 270 votes or an electoral college victory.

Our modeling shows that Harris has two paths to possible success: the Rust Belt states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania and the Sun Belt states of Georgia, Arizona and Nevada as well as North Carolina (she could win in either region and still claim the White House). Meanwhile, Trump must win both the Rust Belt and Sun Belt to triumph.

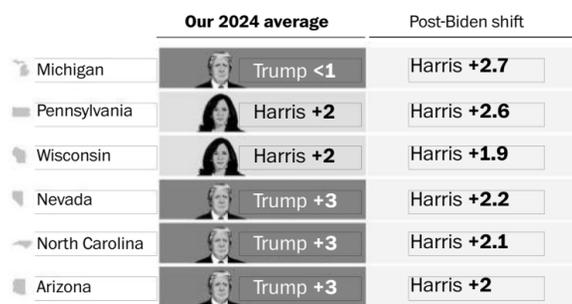
It is, of course, important to remember that there are still three months until Election Day and Harris has just recently become the Democratic presidential nominee. Polls are simply a snapshot in time and a lot can change between now and Election Day.

But there's no question something big happened on July 21.

Before the June 27 debate, the presidential race was pretty easy to describe: Biden was behind, both nationally and in the swing states, but was very slowly clawing his way back into contention. In January of this year, Biden was behind Trump by 1.5 percentage points nationally, according to The Washington Post polling av-

Donald Trump is leading in 5 of the 7 battleground states that are most likely to determine the outcome of the election

WITHIN A NORMAL-SIZED POLLING ERROR



OUTSIDE A NORMAL-SIZED POLLING ERROR



Data as of Aug. 16

LENNY BRONNER, DIANE NAPOLITANO, KATI PERRY AND LUIS MELGAR/THE WASHINGTON POST

erage, which we launched in June but also ran retrospectively. By mid-June, that deficit had shrunk to three-tenths of a percentage point.

What followed the debate were five of the most eventful weeks in recent political history. A catastrophic debate performance, an attempted assassination of a presidential candidate, a vice-presidential pick, the Republican National Convention and, most

critically, Biden dropping out of the presidential election and endorsing Harris.

After the debate, Biden's standing in the polls deteriorated pretty quickly. According to our polling average, Biden dropped by more than one percentage point nationally in just the week following the debate, erasing the progress he had made since the beginning of the year. But more importantly, Biden was behind in every

single swing state.

After the debate, our polling average showed Biden's position in the Sun Belt states deteriorating to the point that Trump was ahead by five percentage points in states like Georgia, Arizona, Nevada and North Carolina. In Michigan, Biden had slipped behind Trump by more than three percentage points.

But after Harris entered the race in late July, the election was effectively reset. Compared to other polling aggregators and models, The Post's model took a bit longer to reflect the changes that came with Harris's candidacy. That's because we have chosen to use only the highest quality polls for our model, and not many polls that were released in the last few weeks met our standard.

According to our model now, Harris has become the slight favorite. Nonetheless, there are some caveats and cautionary notes — our polling model is only a snapshot in time and also, polls can err as we've seen in the last two presidential elections.

On the face of it, Harris's small lead in the national polls and trends in swing states don't look like enough for her to be the favorite in the electoral college. According to our model, Trump continues to lead in a majority of the battleground states — and if you count up the electoral votes and award them to the candidates leading in those states, Trump comes in at 283 and Harris at 255. The first to 270 wins.

The reason Harris is now the favorite is because Harris has closed the gap with Trump in Sun Belt states enough to open a second path to the presidency.

Because the polls underestimated Trump in the last two presidential elections, we often associate polling errors with a potential upside for Republicans. But it's important to remember that polling errors can go either way. And a 2012-sized error (not a cycle we usually associate with an error at all) would now be enough to put Harris over the top.

The other, and more crucial, reason that Harris is favored is that her improvement in the polls has opened up a second path on the presidential battlefield and in the electoral college. The polling suggests that, unlike Biden, she is no longer effectively tied to the Rust Belt — Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin — to hit 270 electoral votes. As of today, Harris is now only a typically sized polling error away from winning key Sun Belt states. Winning all of Arizona, Nevada, North Carolina and Georgia would also be enough to put Harris over the top and she is continuing to improve her position in those states.

Our model shows that for Trump to win the White House, he would need to notch victories in both the Rust Belt and Sun Belt. But crucially for Harris, she would win by taking just one of those two paths.

For now, that is a game changer.

ELECTION 2024

Harris-Walz ticket spurs hopes for lower drug prices

HARRIS FROM A1

said they hope Walz and Harris — who pursued her own investigations into health-care corporations as California attorney general — will go further if elected.

“If you’re a health-care conglomerate that’s using its market power to raise prices, then I would be concerned” about a Harris-Walz administration, said Richard M. Scheffler, a health economist at the University of California at Berkeley who has written about Harris’s health-care focus and favors a crackdown on bad actors in the industry.

While the newly formed Democratic presidential ticket has yet to formally lay out a plan on health-care consolidation, Harris on Friday emphasized her record on health care and vowed to fight corporate power across the economy.

“As attorney general, I took on insurance companies and big pharma and got them to lower their prices,” she said in a speech that sketched out her economic policies.

The Trump campaign did not respond to a request for comment on Trump’s strategy on health-care consolidation, and a spokeswoman at the Republican National Committee referred to Harris’s past support for Medicare-for-all, which would have overhauled the U.S. health system.

“Kamala Harris supports a total healthcare monopoly that would ban private health insurance for 150 million Americans,” Anna Kelly, an RNC spokeswoman, wrote in an email.

Harris has said she no longer supports Medicare-for-all, part of her shift from the progressive positions that defined her short-lived 2019 presidential campaign. And after their early-career battles with health-care corporations, it’s unclear whether Harris and Walz remain as keen to go to war with the industry.

Walz had another showdown with the Mayo Clinic last year, after he became governor and joined his allies in the legislature in a bid to impose new health-care affordability measures and nurse staffing rules on hospitals across the state.

But the Mayo Clinic delivered a warning: The legislation needed to change, or the hospital system would halt planned investments in Rochester, Minn., where their global operations are headquartered.

This time, Walz would end up blindsiding his allies.

“We got word that Mayo made a call to the governor and made a demand ... if those two provisions weren’t taken out of the Health and Human Services bill, they would take billions of dollars in funding out of Minnesota,” state Sen. Erin Murphy (D), who was steering the nursing legislation, said in an interview with The Washington Post last year. While some lawmakers believed that to be an empty threat — Mayo Clinic has been tied to its Rochester headquarters for more than 150 years — Walz treated it as a serious possibility. The governor threw his support to the health system, saying the nursing legislation should include exceptions for the Mayo Clinic — and shocking allies in the legislature.

“There were weeks of negotiation ... but Mayo wouldn’t move, and the governor stuck with them,” Murphy said last year. Her nursing legislation ended up largely gutted after the concessions to Mayo Clinic, as other hospitals demanded similar carve-outs.

In an interview this month, Murphy — now Senate majority leader in Minnesota — said she has since worked productively with Walz and the Mayo Clinic but acknowledged last year’s difficult legislative battle.

“Gov. Walz and I had an honest disagreement over that issue,” Murphy said.

Walz’s office declined to answer questions about his views on corporate power on health care but hailed his relationship with the Mayo Clinic and other organizations.

“Minnesota is one of the best places in the world to receive health care, and that reputation is thanks to institutions like the Mayo Clinic and countless companies working on health care innovation in the state,” Claire Lancaster, a spokeswoman for Walz, wrote in an email, citing a recent analysis by finance company WallStreetHub that ranked Minnesota as

the best state for health care. “The Governor’s administration has always worked to balance the need to work closely with those companies with ensuring quality and affordability for patients.”

A Mayo Clinic spokeswoman declined to comment on last year’s legislative fight or other specific dealings with Walz.

“During his years in Congress and at the State Capitol, we partnered with Governor Walz on issues that were important to the best interest of patients, our three-shield mission [of patients, education and research] and the vitality of the State of Minnesota,” Mayo Clinic spokeswoman Andrea Kalmanovitz wrote in an email.

Larry Levitt, executive vice president for health policy for KFF, a nonpartisan health-care think tank, said Walz’s work with Mayo illustrates the opportunity — and challenge — of wrangling with the health-care industry.

“These big health-care companies are big employers and economic engines in states, so it’s always risky for politicians to take them on,” Levitt said. “And honestly, they don’t always win. ... Walz took on Mayo and blinked to some extent.”

Some activists are worried that national Democrats could blink, too.

Matt Stoller, director of research for the American Economic Liberties Project, a nonprofit organization focused on fighting consolidation, wrote a New York Times op-ed last week warning that a Harris-Walz administration could retreat from Biden’s attempt to crack down on corporate power, noting pressure from donors who have complained about current regulatory efforts.

But in an interview, the anti-monopoly activist highlighted Harris and Walz’s strong records on combating health-care consolidation.

“What I hope for Harris is that she replicates what she did at the California AG’s office on health care,” Stoller said.

A persistent problem

The cost of health care remains a key issue in the 2024 presidential race, with the Democratic and Republican tickets both promising to lower prescription drug prices, provide more affordable coverage and pursue other solutions to improve patient access.

Experts say Trump’s administration was more aggressive on antitrust matters than prior Republican administrations, winning concessions from the largest health-care system in North Carolina and investigating a network of outpatient medical centers. But after Trump campaigned on a message of economic populism in 2016, the former president has said little about health-care corporate power in his current bid for the White House.

Levitt noted how Democrats sought to partner with the industry — rather than battle it — to win support for their 2010 Affordable Care Act. That legislation helped spur more industry consolidation by providing financial rewards for health-care providers that delivered low-cost, high-quality care, prompting mergers between organizations that focused on different parts of the health system.

But the Biden administration has been more aggressive in fighting health-care corporations compared with any administration he could remember, Levitt said, adding that the Harris-Walz ticket had “more depth” and experience in taking on the industry than their predecessors.

Walz’s views on health-care access and cost were honed by his own teenage experience, after his father’s death from cancer left his mother burdened with medical debt. His battle as a congressman with the Mayo Clinic foreshadowed some aspects of his tenure as governor, including his recent effort to block UnitedHealthcare, the nation’s largest health insurer and another major Minnesota employer, from winning a contract in the state’s Medicaid managed care program. And his willingness to wrestle with the health-care industry echoes Harris’s record in California.

“We intervened in the merger of hospitals that could’ve resulted in less competition or increased cost for their patients,” Harris said in remarks last year, emphasizing her 2012 efforts to investigate hospitals’ market power during her tenure as state attorney general.



Vice President Kamala Harris and her running mate, Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz, during a campaign event in Wayne, Mich., on Aug. 8. The newly formed Democratic presidential ticket has yet to formally lay out a plan on health-care consolidation.

The initiative led to a lawsuit against Sutter Health, one of the state’s largest hospital chains, alleging it was engaging in anticompetitive behavior.

Harris also put constraints on a major hospital merger, helping quash the deal, and joined other attorneys general in a bid to block the merger of two health plans.

Harris “was investigating big health-care systems’ consolidation, seeing it through the lens of consumer protection,” said Rob Bonta (D), the current California attorney general. He credited the settlement with Sutter Health as providing a playbook of “best practices for how all mergers, acquisition, consolidation should be evaluated and scrutinized.”

Health and Human Services Secretary Xavier Becerra, who served as California attorney general after Harris and inherited her portfolio, said her work demonstrated that she “understood the power of transparency” in health care and would probably build on those efforts if elected president.

“She was one who was really seeking to have companies fess up on their operations so we could see if, in fact, they were being monopolistic or not,” Becerra said in an interview.

Democrats say Harris and Walz’s work on fighting health-care corporate power goes beyond mergers, pointing to their pressure on the pharmaceutical industry. Walz oversaw legislation that capped out-of-pocket spending on insulin for Minnesotans in 2020 — coming two years before the Biden administration undertook a similar effort that capped out-of-pocket spending on the diabetes medication for Medicare patients.

Resistance and compromise

The deep-pocketed and powerful health-care industry has pushed back on Democrats’ initiatives. UnitedHealthcare sued the Walz administration this month over its policy blocking the insurance giant from participating in the state’s Medicaid managed care plan, saying the rule was pushed through without public input.

“UnitedHealthcare is challenging legislation that limits choice for individuals, families and children in Minnesota,” the company said in a statement.

Some Democratic donors and officials have signaled that a Harris administration could scale back scrutiny of multiple industries under Biden.

LinkedIn founder Reid Hoffman, a major Democratic donor, last month called for Harris to replace Federal Trade Commission chairwoman Lina Khan, saying she had been too aggressive. Industry officials have also complained about crackdowns overseen by Justice Department antitrust chief Jonathan Kanter and Consumer Financial Protection Bureau director Rohit Chopra.

While Harris and Walz have challenged corporate power, politicians do so only because voters are pushing for it, cautioned Vikas Saini, president of the Lown Institute, a health-care think tank.

“The health-care corporations now are mega-regional players. They have huge clout. It would really take much more than a single politician,” Saini said. “It’s going to take a broader movement in the country. ... Maybe we’ll get there as there is a lot of pain.”

Walz’s own path from Mayo Clinic critic to champion shows the power of the industry.

About six months after last year’s fight over Minnesota’s

health-care bills — which resulted in a watered-down version of the affordability legislation — the governor made the 80-mile drive to Mayo Clinic headquarters, as the health system’s leaders unveiled \$5 billion in pledged infrastructure investments in Rochester.

“It’s not lost on myself, our administration, or the people of Minnesota, you choose to make that investment in Rochester, Minnesota,” Walz said at the announcement, before turning to Mayo Clinic CEO Gianrico Farrugia and making a pledge. “You have our commitment from the state: Your belief in Minnesota is echoed in our belief in the Mayo Clinic. ... Making sure we stand with you. Making sure the investments are there.”

Isaac Stanley-Becker contributed to this report.

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Vikas Saini, president of the Lown Institute, a health-care think tank

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ELECTION 2024



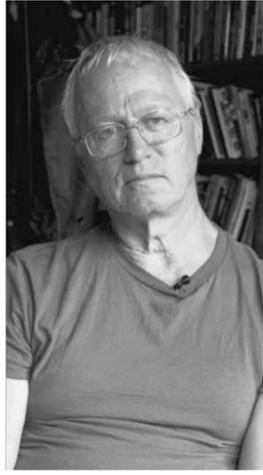
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Hatem Abudayyeh, chair of the U.S. Palestinian Community Network



"I'm glad that Joe Biden has decided to step down. And Vice President Harris has generated enthusiasm. Her election would be historic. But she needs to show us her issues align with us."

Alderman Byron Sigcho-Lopez, who represents the city's 25th Ward in the northwest side



"Are we going to continue to demand change from these politicians regardless of who wins in November? That is the critical question. And I've been through enough election cycles to know that when Democrats get into power, everyone thinks they can go home now."

Andy Thayer, Bodies Outside of Unjust Laws



"We're not expecting one protest to change everything. But every protest matters and every protest is going to build up into something that is going to give us justice."

Kobi Guillory, an activist with the Freedom Road Socialist Organization



"It's important that we be within sight and sound of the DNC, because the DNC is where some of the richest and most powerful people in the country converge. We the people will not be taken for granted."

Faayani Aboma Mijana, spokesperson for the March on the DNC and member of the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression

The protesters planning to make their voices heard in Chicago

BY JORGE RIBAS AND MICHAEL CADENHEAD

It was never just about Joe Biden. ¶ "We're not changing a thing. Everything is still full steam ahead," said Hatem Abudayyeh, chair of the U.S. Palestinian Community Network, who is pledging to protest at the Democratic National Convention that begins Aug. 19 in Chicago, despite President Joe Biden's name no longer appearing on the Democratic ballot. ¶ The threat of protest has hung over Chicago — scene of the notorious 1968 demonstrations — since the city was first selected as the site of the 2024 convention, but it was supercharged by the Oct. 7 attack by Hamas on Israel and the ensuing war in Gaza. ¶ The elevation of Vice President Kamala Harris to the top of the ticket is not deterring Abudayyeh or others planning to march. Nor has it softened his inflammatory language towards whoever the Democratic candidate is, previously referring to President Biden as "Genocide Joe." ¶ "It's still about ending the genocide," he said. "Our target is the Democratic Party and the leadership of the party and 'Killer Kamala' is one of them."

Abudayyeh justifies the monikers for Biden and Harris, saying, "we feel that their administration is responsible for this ongoing war and genocide. We just couldn't think of a name for Antony Blinken."

Israel denies that it is carrying out genocide in Gaza. A case brought before the International Court of Justice by South Africa alleges that Israel is violating international law by committing and not preventing genocidal acts. The court has ordered Israel to do more to prevent the deaths of civilians.

Harris has sought to distance herself from Biden, focusing on Palestinian suffering in the administration's response to Israel's war in Gaza and pressing for Israel to allow more aid in the territory. During a rally in Arizona last week, she said, "Now is the time to get a cease-fire deal and get the hostage deal done."

The U.S.-Palestinian Community Network is part of the Coalition to March on the DNC, an alliance of groups and activists that started planning demonstrations as soon as Chicago was picked to host the Democratic convention in April 2023.

After nationwide protests erupted across college campuses earlier this year in response to the Israel-Gaza war, Chicago city officials took what activist groups said were unconstitutional steps in rejecting protest permits.

The city's Department of Transportation, which handles the application process, said in a statement that when permits are denied, "the applicant is given an alternative route per the requirements of city ordinance that allows the parade to proceed while accounting for police resources, security, safety, and other additional factors."

"The political affiliation of a group is not a factor when reviewing permit application," officials said.

While thousands nationwide have marched peacefully, tensions at some protests have escalated. In July, during a visit to D.C. by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, pro-Palestinian protesters set an American flag ablaze, along with an effigy of Netanyahu, and spray-painted statues around Union Station with messages like "Free Gaza," "All Zionists are bastards" and "Free Palestine."

Law enforcement leaders said the city is prepared. "We want to make sure that everyone in this city is protected and everyone's rights are protected," said Chicago Police Superintendent Larry Snelling. "What we're not going to allow are for people to converge upon this city and commit acts of violence or vandalism."

The protesters

Some of those planning to march are local government officials and others are longtime activists, with a history of protest-related arrests. They are united under one goal: that inside the convention center, their voices will be heard.

'October 7 changed everything'

"Our coalition was going to rally around a number of issues, like stopping police crimes, the immigrant rights movement, legalization for all, defending the right to unionize and strike," said Faayani Aboma Mijana, spokesperson for the March on the DNC and member of the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (CAARPR).

"But October 7 changed everything," Mijana added. "We as a coalition decided that we were going to center the demand of ending the genocide, of ending U.S. aid to Israel and then relating our own struggles and our respective areas to what's happening in Palestine."

On Oct. 7, Hamas militants stormed through the Israel-Gaza border, killing 1,200 people and taking some 250 hostages. In the months of war, more than 40,000 Palestinians have been killed by Israel's assault, according to the Gaza Health Ministry, which does not distinguish between civilians and combatants.

"We're not expecting one protest to change everything," said Kobi Guillory, an activist with the Freedom Road Socialist Organization. "But every protest matters and every protest is going to build up into something that is going to give us justice."

Within sight and sound

The Coalition to March on the DNC first requested a permit in August 2023, but the city responded that it was too early to grant their request. When the group filed for march permits in January 2024, the city said they could gather in Grant Park, nearly four miles from the United Center.

For the ACLU of Illinois's Ed Yohnka, who represents Bodies Outside of Unjust Laws, a reproductive and LGBTQ rights group that also planned to protest, the distance was unacceptable. "Sight and sound is really critical because ... if you think of it just as a communications device, it is only effective if you reach the intended audience."

"We applied on the very first day legally that we could, which was January 2 of this year, giving the city eight and a half months to prepare," said Andy Thayer of Bodies Outside of Unjust Laws, adding that their permit was rejected. Thayer is a longtime and well-known activist in Chicago with a



IMAGES FROM WASHINGTON POST VIDEOS

Union Park, in the foreground, will be the start for a protest led by the Coalition to March on the DNC. The permitted route takes the coalition up to the perimeter of the security zone at United Center.

history of being arrested at protests. "I find it outrageous that a mayor who postures himself as being for the people ... would be rejecting every single permit application to march."

The mayor's office told The Washington Post that throughout the permitting process "we have maintained our commitment to ensuring that all demonstrations can happen in the safest way possible."

It was only after the ACLU filed a federal lawsuit on their behalf that Bodies Outside of Unjust Laws was allowed to march on Michigan Avenue on Sunday before the first day of the convention.

Abudayyeh's organization also filed a federal lawsuit in March.

"It's important that we be within sight and sound of the DNC, because the DNC is where some of the richest and most powerful people in the country converge," Mijana said. "We the people will not be taken for granted."

In July, the city decided to allow the coalition to march within a few blocks of the United Center and the Democratic convention. Their starting point will be in Union Park — a half mile from the arena — and their permitted route takes them up to the perimeter of the security zone.

Abudayyeh remains unhappy with the city's plan, however, telling The Post that the approved route is too short and narrow for the number of protesters they're expecting, which he said could be in the tens of thousands. On Aug. 13, U.S. District Court Judge Andrea Wood ruled against the coalition's request for a longer route, saying the city met its legal burden by allowing protesters to demonstrate within sight and sound of the United Center.

'We are not in the 1960s'

A city with deep Democratic roots. An unpopular war. Student protests, and most recently, an incumbent president deciding not to run again.

But that, says Alderman Byron Sigcho-Lopez, is where the parallels end. "We are not in the 1960s. We have a progressive mayor." The elected official, who represents the city's 25th Ward in the northwest side, was recently criticized for speaking at a rally where an American flag was burned. Sigcho-Lopez said this was done by a U.S. veteran protesting the war in Gaza, but that he "was not aware that an American flag had been burned before I arrived to the rally."

Sigcho-Lopez said he hasn't committed to attending events either at the Democratic National Convention or at any planned rallies and protests outside, but will do so "as long as these issues align with mine and my constituents."

In 1968, thousands of anti-Vietnam War protesters marched to the Democratic convention's headquarters at the Conrad Hilton Hotel. On Michigan Avenue, in the heart of the city's downtown, they were met by police wielding batons and tear gas. As the violent scene unfolded on televisions across the nation, the protesters shouted "the whole world is watching."

"We believe that Mayor Johnson is doing everything he can to continue the line of communication with the organizers of peaceful demonstrations using the due process," Sigcho-Lopez said, "to avoid any violence during the convention."

In a statement emailed to The Post, Mayor Brandon Johnson said, "Chicago has a proud history of organizing and advocacy. As mayor, I am committed to ensuring that

everyone has the opportunity to exercise their First Amendment rights peacefully."

"At the same time," he continued, "the safety of our residents, visitors and communities is my top priority. We are working closely with organizers, law enforcement and community leaders to ensure that during the DNC, all voices can be heard while protecting the sanctity of our great city."

Concerns about violence, rhetoric

With tens of thousands of people expected in the city across multiple days and locations, the Coalition to March on the DNC insists it is committed to peaceful, family-friendly protests.

"It's going to be diverse. There's going to be seniors, there's going to be children," Abudayyeh said. "There's going to be people of all abilities, people of all genders, all nationalities, ethnicities and races. We want everybody to feel comfortable to be able to express their viewpoint."

Jewish groups and leaders in Chicago have raised concerns about the marches, and what they say is an increase in antisemitic rhetoric and violence surrounding them.

"When you think about peaceful protests, the burning of American flags and burning of effigies don't happen at peaceful protests," said David Goldenberg of the Midwest chapter of the Anti-Defamation League.

He said the ADL was determined to make sure city leaders and law enforcement hold those who break the law accountable. "We're concerned that the past is prologue on what could happen next week."

Chicago police insist they are ready. "We've seen protests. We've been dealing with them all year," Snelling said, adding that the department is much more prepared for large-scale gatherings and protests than it was in 1968. "We've seen over 100 protests this year, and we've dealt with every one of them. None of them turned into riots."

Regarding any other non-permitted protests that may take place next week, Snelling said, "We can still keep that controlled. Do we want this to turn into a situation now where we're trying to arrest thousands of people? That's not the focus. The focus is to keep it as peaceful as possible. Keep it within boundaries."

Can the Democrats win back their vote?

In July, as the Republican Party gathered in Milwaukee to host their own convention, both Abudayyeh and Guillory were there as part of the Coalition to March on

the DNC. On the first day of the convention, fewer than a thousand protesters marched a one-mile loop from Red Arrow Park in the city's Juneau Town neighborhood to within earshot of Fiserv Forum, where Republicans would gather later that evening. The peaceful protest was smaller than expected but Abudayyeh wasn't fazed, saying "The DNC is the summer's main event."

That's because for Guillory, it's the Democrats who have failed to follow through on their promises. "Republicans will openly, to our face, tell us that they are enacting all these bigoted pieces of legislation and all these policies," he said. "Whereas the Democrats will do those exact same policies, but then tell us to our face that they're operating in our interests."

Mijana says it's not up to them to say how Harris wins back their vote, only that their group wants to see Democrats support "legalization for all, stopping police crimes, defending the right to strike and unionize, defending LGBTQIA+ rights, defending women's rights."

"These are all areas that the Democrats have squandered and have sought to use against us as a political bargaining chip," Mijana added. "But when it comes time for them to take office, they do nothing about."

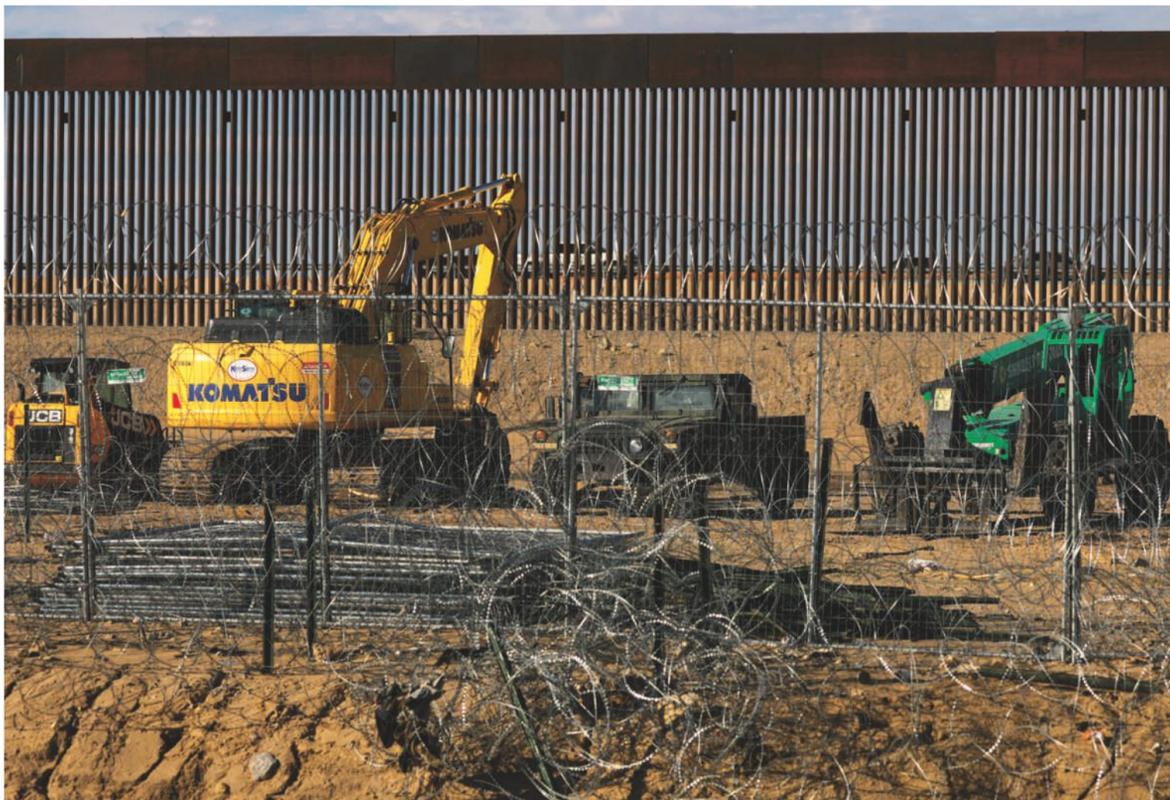
"It's not even just a feeling of betrayal," Guillory emphasized. "It's an actual betrayal."

Thayer, who also protested at the DNC, said it's up to activists like him to keep holding Democrats to account — on Gaza and other issues. "Are we going to continue to demand change from these politicians regardless of who wins in November? That is the critical question," he said. "And I've been through enough election cycles to know that when Democrats get into power, everyone thinks they can go home now."

Still, some are hopeful that the vice president and her running mate, Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz, could relieve some of the voter displeasure that's been building among liberals for some time.

"I'm glad that Joe Biden has decided to step down," Sigcho-Lopez said. "And Vice President Harris has generated enthusiasm. Her election would be historic. But she needs to show us her issues align with us."

He's hopeful that Harris can help unify the party leaders with working-class people and liberal voters, especially in calling for a cease fire in Gaza and on issues like immigration and climate change. "This is a fight that must include all of us. I want to see action, not just words," he said, adding, "I'm optimistic that could happen, but I'm not saying she will."



JOSE LUIS GONZALEZ/REUTERS

At the U.S.-Mexico border, seen here on Wednesday from Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, agents tallied 56,408 illegal crossings in July, the lowest level in nearly four years and a 32 percent drop from June. After a peak in December, illegal crossings have fallen for five straight months.

Illegal border crossings hit 4-year low in July

BY MARIA SACCHETTI
AND NICK MIROFF

Illegal crossings at the U.S.-Mexico border dropped in July to the lowest levels in nearly four years, the latest indication that the Biden administration's sweeping restrictions on asylum are reshaping migration trends, according to federal enforcement data released Friday.

Border agents tallied 56,408 illegal crossings in July, a 32 percent decline from June and the fifth straight month that the figure has fallen, U.S. Customs and Border Protection data shows.

U.S. border officials attribute the change to executive actions Biden announced this spring that effectively shut off access to the U.S. asylum system for migrants who enter illegally. The Mexican government has also tightened enforcement this year at the Biden administration's behest, arresting record numbers of migrants attempting to transit the country en route to the U.S. border.

The July border numbers were released as immigration remains a central issue in the presidential election, which is less than three months away.

On the campaign trail, Vice President Kamala Harris, the Democratic nominee, has assailed former president and Republican nominee Donald Trump's immigration record and criticized Republicans for walking away from a bipartisan bill this year that

would have invested billions in immigration and border enforcement.

Republicans have tried to label Harris a "border czar" and hold her responsible for the record numbers of apprehensions at the border under the Biden administration. She held a narrower role that sought to improve conditions in northern Central America so that would-be migrants would stay home.

Border apprehensions averaged more than 2 million per year during Biden's first three years in office. In December, U.S. agents tallied 249,740 crossings, an all-time high for a single month.

But since then, monthly crossings have plunged 77 percent, CBP data shows.

On Friday, the White House cheered the significant decline in illegal entries and said the latest numbers showed the administration's policies were working even without the GOP's help.

White House spokesperson Angelo Fernández Hernández said Republican lawmakers "are more interested in cynically playing politics than securing the border."

"The Biden-Harris Administration has taken effective action, and Republicans continue to do nothing," he said in a statement.

In early June, Biden announced new measures to block migrants' access to the U.S. asylum system when illegal border crossings are at emergency levels — above an average of 2,500 a day — and the restrictions took effect immedi-

ately. Since then, federal agents have deported more than 92,000 people to more than 130 countries and sharply reduced the number of people who are released pending a court hearing. Officials say the declines spanned all demographics, including families, unaccompanied minors and adults traveling on their own.

Border crossings have historically declined during summer months, but in recent years, migration trends have been tied more closely to changes in U.S. enforcement policies. Some of the busiest months at the border during Biden's term have occurred during peak summer heat, CBP data shows.

The Biden administration says it has sought to restore order on the southern border by punishing illegal crossings while expanding programs, known as "parole," that have allowed hundreds of thousands of people to seek to enter the United States legally on commercial flights. Once here, migrants can work legally and apply for asylum or another way to stay in the United States.

Republicans have accused the Biden administration of abusing the parole authority to admit migrants who might otherwise attempt to enter illegally, making the apprehension numbers appear lower.

Critics say many of the migrants arriving on parole are unlikely to be deported if they cannot find a way to stay permanently.

Rep. Mark Green (R-Tenn.), chairman of the House Committee on Homeland Security, said the July numbers are misleading because the administration is directing would-be border crossers to parole programs that allow them to travel to the United States as long as they have a U.S. sponsor.

One of the largest programs, for Venezuelans, Cubans, Haitians and Nicaraguans, was paused this summer amid reports of fraud, including claims that U.S. sponsors were applying to bring in migrants using fake or stolen Social Security numbers.

"This administration is orchestrating a massive shell game, encouraging otherwise-inadmissible aliens to cross at ports of entry instead of between them — thereby creating a facade of improved optics for the administration, but in reality imposing a growing burden on our communities," Green said in a statement.

Biden administration officials also have granted some opportunities to undocumented immigrants who have lived in the United States for years.

On Monday, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services will begin taking applications for residency from the undocumented spouses of U.S. citizens who have lived in the United States for a decade or more, and their immigrant children. An estimated 500,000 immigrants and 50,000 stepchildren of U.S. citizens are expected to be eligible to apply for the new program.

Coronavirus vaccines for new variants slated for approval next week

Timing misses beginning of the summer wave, but demand remains low

BY FENIT NIRAPPIL
AND LENA H. SUN

Federal authorities are preparing to approve updated coronavirus vaccines targeting the latest virus variants late next week, a move that could make shots available before Labor Day, according to a federal health official and a person familiar with the plans who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a confidential process.

The mRNA shots manufactured by Pfizer-BioNTech and Moderna designed to target the KP.2 variant can hit the market within days of approval by the Food and Drug Administration. A third protein-based vaccine made by Novavax, preferred by people who are cautious about mRNA vaccines or who have had bad reactions to them, will probably take longer to be approved and will be distributed in subsequent weeks, according to the federal health official.

Consumers should be able to start getting shots at pharmacies within a week after approval and at doctor's offices soon after.

FDA spokespeople said the agency is prohibited from disclosing the timing of a regulatory action. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention recommends updated shots for everyone 6 months and older.

The arrival of new vaccines comes three months after the start of a summer covid wave that is receding in some places.

The timing of the release is too late for Americans who were looking to shore up their immunity before summer travel and the return of the school year, or for those who face heightened risk because of their age or underlying conditions. In recent weeks, some people weighed whether to get an outdated vaccine for partial protection more quickly or to hang on for the updated version. And those who didn't want to wait discovered existing shots were no longer easy to find.

"That's simply unfortunate timing, given the high levels of covid-19 circulating now and the large number of vulnerable people due for vaccination who didn't get it months ago and are now motivated and anxious," Kelly Moore, president and CEO of Immunize.org, an organization that educates clinicians about vaccines, said in an email.

Coronavirus levels in wastewater, the best measure of prevalence, have been rapidly rising and reached high or very high levels in nearly every state, according to the CDC. Levels began declining in the South and Midwest, and the increases are slowing elsewhere, according to new data released Friday.

The complications raised by summer covid waves illustrate the downsides of releasing updated coronavirus vaccines alongside annual flu shots. Because demand for coronavirus vaccines has become low, federal officials regard that approach as a practical way to boost coverage and ensure Americans are protected by setting a predictable and familiar schedule, while making a second dose available in the spring for older and immunocompromised Americans.

But the decision to update the vaccine for the fall leaves Americans with weakened defenses against a virus that has shifted into new forms by summer. The existing vaccine targets XBB variants no longer in circulation and is not as effective against the latest variants, lab studies show. Experts say the older vaccines should still protect people against severe disease and hospitalization.

Manufacturers have stopped shipping existing coronavirus vaccines. A CDC vaccine finder website to help people locate pharmacies with coronavirus vaccines is down until newly formulated vaccines become widely available. Some CVS stores have run out while others have supplies, the company said. Walgreens is not offering coronavirus vaccines until the new versions arrive.

"The strategy of emptying the refrigerator between seasons works fine for influenza, but not for covid," Moore said.

As of last year, the federal government no longer covers the costs and distribution of coronavirus vaccines, meaning doctors and pharmacies buy them based on anticipated demand, and free shots are no longer widely accessible. Some locations offering shots

may not be covered by insurance plans. A federal program providing free shots to uninsured and underinsured people expires at the end of August.

Ron Miller, of Lake Oswego, Ore., and his daughter got covid last summer after he accompanied her to begin her education at McGill University in Montreal, disrupting the start of her college adventures. As a fairly healthy 57-year-old, he said he's not scared of covid, but he hoped to avoid another infection this month when he drops off his second daughter to start college in British Columbia.

But he couldn't find a coronavirus vaccine at Rite Aid, Walgreens or Walmart before giving up.

"I tried all over the place, and I can't find anything," Miller said. "It does seem like it would be nice to have it done before the school year started because that seems like a big spreader event when kids come and mix."

Scott Orshan, a 67-year-old high school teacher in New Jersey, wondered whether the protection he received from his fall shot had faded away as he heard about friends and relatives getting covid this summer. The new school year looms after Labor Day. But Walgreens was out of stock when he checked.

He's waiting for the new vaccine but questions why it's being updated on the same timeline as a flu shot.

"Covid mutates when it mutates, and you should address it when you need it and not on a yearly basis," Orshan said.

Coronavirus evolves into new variants that outcompete other forms to become dominant.

Maria Sundaram, an infectious-diseases epidemiologist, said otherwise healthy young Americans who take the existing vaccine would get limited, short-lasting protection against infection from the current variants. The shots could be more beneficial for older and immunocompromised patients, helping to fortify their defenses against severe cases if they get sick.

"The bottom line really is to not rely only on vaccines to avoid getting covid," said Sundaram, an associate editor for the Infectious Diseases Society of America's information sharing network about covid-19.

Sterling Ransone Jr., a family physician in Deltaville, Va., has been advising vulnerable patients to take other precautions including masking and avoiding crowded situations. Extra shots are no longer an option since local pharmacies no longer stock them, and his office ran out several months ago once distributors stopped providing them.

"When people are curious and call, asking, 'Can I get a vaccine now?' well, really the vaccine should have been given months ago to help protect you from the current wave coming through," Ransone said.

William Schaffner, a professor of preventive medicine and infectious diseases at Vanderbilt University, said most Americans should have waited for the new vaccine unless they fall into a high-risk group and are about to undertake high-risk activities, such as extensive travel.

Jamie Loehr, a family physician in Ithaca, N.Y., said the decision to take an outdated shot must be weighed against the risk of having to wait several months to receive an updated vaccine. Coronavirus waves in the winter tend to be worse than the ones in the summer.

"I'm more worried about the winter surge than I am about your high-risk situation, but it's also about how high risk is that situation," said Loehr, who still has some vaccine in stock.

The sliver of Americans torn about vaccine timing are a small group as interest in coronavirus vaccine has plunged. According to CDC estimates, 22 percent of U.S. adults and 15 percent of children have received the latest vaccine. Among adults 65 and older, 37 percent received at least one dose and 25 percent received two doses.

"If that was an 80 percent uptake of the vaccines as they become available, it would be easier for the vaccine manufacturers to put all the resources in to develop more routine updates," said Matthew J. Binnicker, director of clinical virology at Mayo Clinic in Minnesota.

That's why federal officials and some vaccine experts think it makes sense to treat a coronavirus shot like a flu shot, even though the viruses act differently.

"We can't expect people to come and get vaccinated twice a year or three times a year for the most part, so let's do it once," Schaffner said.

Ruling keeps block on Biden's new Title IX rules

10 states are challenging provisions that deal with bias over gender identity

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL
AND LAURA MECKLER

A divided Supreme Court refused to require some states to enforce new rules on how schools should handle complaints of sexual harassment and discrimination, leaving in place a ban on the provisions while lower-court battles continue.

The Education Department had asked the court to lift the preliminary injunctions on enforcing the rules, arguing that the decisions by federal courts in Louisiana and Kentucky to block the entirety of Title IX regulations in a number of states were overly broad. States requested the injunctions based on objections to provisions within the regulations that deal with discrimination based on gender identity.

Friday's decision leaves in place a messy status quo, where the regulations are in effect in about half of U.S. states. Justice Neil M. Gorsuch joined the court's three liberals in dissenting from the majority in the emergency order.

The regulations, issued in April, represent the Biden administration's interpretation of Title IX, a half-century-old law that bars sex-based discrimination in schools and applies to K-12 schools, colleges and universities that accept federal funding.

They took effect Aug. 1 in the

states not covered by the injunctions. For the first time, the regulations say that discrimination based on sex includes conduct related to a person's gender identity. The rules could require, for instance, schools to allow transgender students to use bathrooms and locker rooms that align with their gender identity and to use trans students' pronouns.

But the bulk of the regulation deals with other matters, notably how schools must handle complaints of sexual assault and harassment on campus.

An Education Department spokeswoman decried the court's new action, as did Shiwali Patel, senior director of Safe and Inclusive Schools at the National Women's Law Center. "We are disappointed in the Supreme Court's decision that creates significant harm to students across the country who are in need of the critical protections the new Title IX rule offers and clarifies," Patel said in a statement.

In issuing the rules, Biden administration officials pointed to a 2020 Supreme Court ruling in *Bostock v. Clayton County*, which found that sex discrimination in employment includes discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation. The same logic applies to Title IX, they said.

Gender identity has become a major political flash point in recent years, particularly in education. At least a dozen states across the country have rules limiting transgender access to the bathrooms and facilities that match their gender identity, according to tracking by the Movement Advancement Project. Some

school boards bar students from changing their names or pronouns without parental permission or prohibit teachers from using pronouns that don't match the sex assigned to the student at birth.

Twenty-six states, working in groups, filed seven separate lawsuits seeking to block the new Title IX regulations from going into effect. Six of the suits were successful at the district court level and the seventh group won at the appellate court. As a result, the regulation took effect as scheduled in 24 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, but is on hold in the 26 states that are party to the challenges.

The challengers argued that the Biden administration exceeded its authority in crafting the rules and said the regulations violate state laws that limit the rights of transgender students.

The requests denied by the Supreme Court only dealt with two of the lawsuits and therefore only affect the 10 states that are party to those suits. Jonathan Scruggs of Alliance Defending Freedom, a legal group involved in one of the lawsuits, applauded the court's decision.

"The Biden-Harris administration's radical redefinition of sex turns back the clock on equal opportunity for women, undermines fairness, and threatens student safety and privacy," Scruggs said in a statement. "This administration is ignoring biological reality, science, and common sense."

Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana and Idaho challenged the Title IX regulations in May. In

June, a federal district court judge in Louisiana granted the states a preliminary injunction blocking the implementation of the entire set of regulations, not just those related to gender identity.

Six states — Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia and West Virginia — won a similar stay from a federal district court judge in Kentucky.

Courts of appeal in both circuits denied requests by the Biden administration to temporarily enforce the Title IX regulations while legal challenges continue.

In her filings with the Supreme Court seeking to lift the injunctions, U.S. Solicitor General Elizabeth B. Prelogar said Title IX was an omnibus rule and most of its provisions did not deal with transgender issues. She also wrote that the rules were intended to stand alone, so there was no reason to block Title IX in its entirety.

"Respondents have not challenged the vast majority of those changes," Prelogar wrote. "Instead, they object to three discrete provisions."

Twelve other states also won injunctions against the Title IX rules in four other separate cases, but they are not part of the current litigation before the Supreme Court.

In a separate action, the Supreme Court has agreed to review during the coming term a Tennessee law that bans gender-affirming care for people younger than 18. It will be the first time the court has explored the issue. More than 20 states have passed similar bans since 2021.

THE WORLD

For Venezuela's opposition, the risk of another split

After disputed presidential vote, leading Maduro foes say the only choice is to stand firm. Others in the movement aren't so sure.

BY SAMANTHA SCHMIDT
AND MARINA DIAS

Venezuela's main opposition leaders are rejecting calls by two Latin American presidents that the country hold new elections — this time with more democratic safeguards — and are insisting that their candidate, Edmundo González, be endorsed as the winner of the presidential vote last month.

Opposition leaders say González beat Venezuela's autocratic president, Nicolás Maduro, in a landslide victory recognized by the United States and other countries. But with Maduro refusing to release official results and carrying out mass arrests targeting the opposition, he appears increasingly unlikely to cede power before the January inauguration.

Facing this scenario, a pair of Latin American presidents with close ties to Maduro are calling for a different solution to the crisis. On Thursday, Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva suggested that Venezuela hold new elections with improved conditions. Colombia's Gustavo Petro also floated the idea, along with the possibility of a transitional shared government, a total lifting of sanctions against Venezuela, and "general national and international amnesty." Lula and Petro have been leading U.S.-backed efforts to negotiate with Maduro.

The Maduro government, as well as the opposition, has rejected the idea of new elections. "This is nonsense, not to mention stupid," Diosdado Cabello, a close Maduro ally, said in televised remarks. "We are not going to repeat elections because Nicolás Maduro won here."

María Corina Machado, the country's most popular politician and the driving force of the opposition campaign, also said the proposal is a non-starter. She described it as a "lack of respect for the Venezuelans who gave everything."

The only option, according to Machado and González, is to continue pressing the Maduro government to allow a transition of power in January.

"Popular sovereignty is not negotiable," Machado told The Washington Post on Thursday. "We are now at the stage where the regime has to recognize the result of July 28 and accept the terms of a negotiated transition."

But in private conversations, some leaders within the country's opposition movement are eager to weigh other possible solutions, even if these mean Maduro does not hand over the presidential sash to González next year. There is a growing willingness among some opposition members to consider options including some type of power-sharing agreement or institutional changes for future elections.

These differing viewpoints could lead to divisions within the opposition movement or to disputes with Latin American leaders about the best way forward.

"There isn't a plan. There isn't a road map," said one person close to the opposition, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive matters. The person said it is not enough to promise people hope, adding that "international actors are understanding that the negotiation can't focus on Maduro agreeing to leave, because he has already decided to stay."

There has been little organized discussion within the opposition about alternative next steps, said



PHOTOS BY MATIAS DELACROIX/AP

President Nicolás Maduro speaks to reporters last week. Opposition leaders say their candidate beat the president by a landslide in the July 28 election, but with Maduro refusing to release official results and ordering arrests, he appears unlikely to give up power.



Opposition leader María Corina Machado talks to candidate Edmundo González at a news conference the day after the vote. Both have rejected calls from two Latin American presidents for an election rerun, saying the only option is to keep pressing Maduro.

the person, who argued that negotiations could focus on overhauling the country's electoral council and improving conditions for future elections.

"We are in a lose-lose scenario," the person said. "So how does the country lose the least?"

On Thursday afternoon, confusion spread among Latin American governments after reports that President Joe Biden replied "I do" when asked if he supports new elections in Venezuela. A National Security Council spokesperson later clarified that he "was speaking to the absurdity of Maduro and his representatives not coming clean about the July 28 elections."

"It is abundantly clear that Edmundo González Urrutia won the

"International actors are understanding that the negotiation can't focus on Maduro agreeing to leave, because he has already decided to stay."

A person close to the opposition

most votes." National Security Council spokesperson Sean Savett said in a post on X. "We call for the will of the people to be respected & for discussions to begin on a transition back to democratic norms."

Brazil has yet to prepare a concrete proposal for repeat elections to present to Maduro, and there is no scheduled date for a meeting between Maduro and Lula, according to a Brazilian diplomatic official who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to publicly discuss the talks.

"It's an idea, not an easy one, and we know that we cannot repeat the election in the same way it already happened," the Brazilian diplomatic official said. "Our idea

is to do it with international observers, with the U.S. at the table, with the end of sanctions, with amnesty for political prisoners and ending the repression. This is an idea that we are building up."

Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who has been involved in talks with Brazil and Colombia about Venezuela's political crisis, said he did not consider it "prudent" to call for new elections.

Machado's strategy aims to build international and domestic pressure that would force Maduro to negotiate an exit. She has called on Venezuelans to rally Saturday in cities across the country and the world demanding that the election results be respected and rati-

fied. Never before has the opposition claimed such a resounding electoral victory, with thousands of voting receipts showing that González received more than twice as many votes as Maduro.

Large-scale protests, global isolation and maximum-pressure sanctions have previously failed to oust Maduro. After thousands of arrests over the past three weeks and the deaths of at least two dozen demonstrators, Venezuelans may not be willing to wage a sustained protest movement.

González, a diplomat with negotiating experience, could be privately open to alternative approaches. But it is unclear whether he can play a more influential role in directing the opposition.

Although González was the opposition's candidate in the presidential election, the most vocal leader is Machado, who swept the country's primaries with 92 percent of the vote but was banned by Maduro's Supreme Court from running. González stepped in as a last-minute substitute, with Machado remaining the most prominent face of the campaign.

Some close to the opposition say Maduro would be more likely to negotiate with González than Machado, a longtime foe of the country's socialist government.

In response to questions from The Post, González said his "leading role is clear."

"I obtained 67 percent of the votes, and we are working as a team," he said. "This is a negotiation based on respect for the popular will and on granting guarantees and incentives for all."

David Smilde, a Tulane University professor specializing in Venezuela, said the opposition runs the risk of again being divided between those who are willing to negotiate and those advocating a more hard-line approach — a split that Maduro could exploit.

He also argued that new elections shouldn't be ruled out by the opposition, as long as they are part of a broader negotiated agreement including a new electoral council and a large presence of election observers. He pointed to the precedent set in gubernatorial elections in 2021 in the state of Barinas, where a repeat election led the opposition to take power in the home state of Hugo Chávez, the founder of the socialist state. New elections could also give the Maduro government time to negotiate an exit, he said. "I wouldn't shut the door on that discussion," he said.

Francisco Rodríguez, a Venezuelan economist at the University of Denver, argued that new elections would not address the structural issues at the core of Venezuela's political crisis. Instead, he has argued for a power-sharing agreement, similar to those in Poland, Kenya, Lebanon and other countries that have resolved similar crises.

In his discussions with opposition leaders about power-sharing, he said, "I see much more receptiveness and willingness to discuss it" than in years past.

Ivan Simonovis, a former police commissioner who fled Venezuela, said work is being done behind closed doors to advance negotiations.

"I estimate that this is going to take a few months and desperation is not going to bring anything," he said. "We are in the best position we have ever been in the last 25 years."

Karen DeYoung contributed to this report.

DIGEST

INDIA

Thousands protest woman's rape, killing

Thousands of people marched through Indian cities Friday to protest the rape and killing of a trainee doctor at a government hospital, demanding justice and better security at medical campuses and hospitals.

Demonstrators held signs calling for accountability for the woman's death as they gathered near Parliament in New Delhi. Similar protests were held in the eastern city of Kolkata — the capital of West Bengal state, where the killing took place — and other Indian cities, such as Mumbai and Hyderabad.

The protests began Aug. 9 when police discovered the bloodied body of the 31-year-old trainee doctor at the state-run R.G. Kar Medical College and

Hospital's seminar hall in Kolkata. An autopsy confirmed sexual assault, and a police volunteer was detained in the crime. The family of the victim called it a case of gang rape and said more people were involved.

State government officers who began investigating the case have been accused of mishandling it. Police later handed the case to federal investigators after a court order. Sexual violence against women is a widespread problem in India. In 2022, police recorded 31,516 reports of rape — a 20 percent increase from 2021.

— Associated Press

TURKEY

Lawmakers brawl in debate over colleague

A brawl broke out among Turkish lawmakers Friday

during a debate over an opposition delegate in jail on what are widely considered to be politically motivated charges.

Televised footage showed Ahmet Sik, a delegate from the same party as the imprisoned lawmaker, attacked by a delegate from President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's ruling party while speaking at the chamber's podium. Sik had just called members of the ruling party a "terrorist organization."

In a subsequent scuffle involving dozens of deputies, another lawmaker was struck, leaving drops of blood on steps leading to the speaker's lectern. Another opposition member was also reportedly injured.

The session of the Turkish Grand National Assembly was called to debate the case of Can Atalay, who was elected from prison last year as a parliamentary deputy for the

Workers' Party of Turkey. He had been sentenced last year to 18 years in prison for his role in anti-government protests in 2013 challenging the rule of Erdogan, then Turkey's prime minister.

Atalay has been fighting to take his seat in parliament, which comes with immunity from prosecution that could release him from prison. He has said he would return to prison once his term ends.

— Associated Press

BELARUS

Lukashenko pardons 30 jailed protesters

Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko has pardoned 30 people convicted of taking part in protests, state media reported Friday.

The country's exiled opposition welcomed the move,

saying it would free some prisoners who were seriously ill, but adding that none of Lukashenko's most prominent critics were on the list.

Lukashenko, an ally of Russian President Vladimir Putin, has been in power for three decades. In 2020 he used his security forces to crush mass protests after a presidential election that the opposition and the West accused him of rigging.

State news agency Belta said 14 women and 16 men were pardoned. It did not name them.

— Reuters

At least 20 students traveling for a convention were abducted

by gunmen in Nigeria's north-central state of Benue, police said Friday, the latest in a spate of abductions in Africa's most populous country. Armed gangs have been causing havoc in northern Nigeria, where they

kidnap villagers, students and motorists for ransom, with security forces unable to end the practice. A Benue police spokeswoman said that the incident occurred Thursday and that an investigation is underway. The victims, who were medical and dental students, were headed to the southeastern state of Enugu, police said.

Irish police said Friday they were investigating a potential terrorism motive in an attack on a chaplain outside an army barracks in County Galway. Police said the chaplain was approached by a person who stabbed him several times Thursday night. The priest, in his 50s, was treated for serious but not life-threatening injuries. The Defense Forces said personnel fired shots, and a male teenager was detained at the scene.

— From news services



HAITHAM IMAD/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Displaced Palestinians move away from areas that were declared unsafe amid Israeli shelling Friday in Khan Younis, in the Southern Gaza Strip, which had earlier been designated as a humanitarian area.

U.S., allies hope for cease-fire accord by end of next week

CEASE-FIRE FROM A1

But the fate of the Biden administration's latest effort to end the war — and, officials hope, avert an Iranian attack on Israel over a spate of assassinations on militant leaders — remained uncertain, as Hamas accused Israel of seeking to prolong the war and mediators stopped short of affirming that ongoing points of disagreement had been resolved.

The past two days of talks in Doha — which U.S. officials said were more productive than months of previous discussions — focused largely on details of the exchange of hostages in Gaza for Palestinian prisoners in Israel. In coming days, lower-level officials will seek to hammer out those particulars and other issues and will work to establish an "implementation cell" to oversee execution of a possible agreement, including provisions to alleviate dire humanitarian conditions in Gaza and monitor compliance of parts of the deal.

Before the end of next week, senior officials will reconvene in Cairo "with the aim to conclude the deal under the terms put forward today," the mediators' statement said. Biden also spoke Friday with the leaders of Qatar

and Egypt.

Secretary of State Antony Blinken will travel to Israel on Sunday, seeking to usher things toward a conclusion.

The on-again, off-again talks are "now in the end game," a senior U.S. official told reporters after the talks. "There's really a new spirit here to drive this to a conclusion." The official, like others in this article, spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the negotiations.

The office of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu referred to an earlier framework that had been embraced by the Biden administration in May. "Israel's fundamental principles are well known to the mediators and the U.S.," the office said. "Israel hopes that their pressure will lead Hamas to accept the principles of May 27, so that the details of the agreement can be implemented."

Senior Hamas officials, who did not take direct part in the talks in Doha, said the outline they were briefed on did not align with frameworks to which they had agreed. Ghazi Hamad, a member of Hamas's political bureau, said the Israeli leader had introduced new conditions and was "practicing deception."

"Netanyahu sets new conditions and undermines what was previously agreed upon," he told al Mayadeen, an Arab television channel. "His goal is to continue the war."

But Washington wasn't alone in expressing optimism about the latest round of negotiations, with some Arab officials crediting Biden's sense of urgency with moving things along.

"I am more hopeful compared to any other time before," said a former senior Egyptian official with knowledge of the negotiations. "They are the ones who most want to get it over and done with more than anyone else."

After the first day of talks Thursday, Qatar's prime minister assessed that progress was being made and implored Iran's leaders to hold off on an expected assault on Israel, to avoid scuttling an emerging deal, according to two diplomats familiar with the conversation.

The phone call from Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani to Iran underscored the stakes of the negotiations, which included Israel.

Mohammed "encouraged Iran to de-escalate and stressed the need for calm" during the call, one of the diplomats said. The second diplomat said the Qatari

prime minister warned Iran to consider the grave consequences of waging an assault at the very moment there are signs of diplomatic progress.

An Israeli official also said progress had been made in the first day of talks, justifying Netanyahu's decision to keep his negotiators in Doha overnight.

The official and the two diplomats declined to specify where Israeli officials may have adjusted their position on the proposed deal, which includes a six-week cease-fire, the release of scores of hostages and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from major population centers in Gaza. Israel previously insisted on additions to a framework announced by Biden in May.

For weeks, Iran and the Lebanese militant group Hezbollah have threatened to retaliate against Israel for the assassinations of Hamas political leader Ismail Haniyeh in Tehran and Hezbollah senior commander Fuad Shukur in Lebanon. Israel has neither confirmed nor denied its role in Haniyeh's killing — though it privately told U.S. officials that it was responsible.

The Israel Defense Forces has been on high alert, and the White House warned Thursday that a strike could happen imminently

and without notice.

"We have information ... that an attack could come with little or no warning, and certainly could come in coming days, and we have to be ready for it," National Security Council spokesman John Kirby said in a phone briefing.

In the Doha talks, the United States was represented by CIA Director William J. Burns and White House Middle East coordinator Brett McGurk. Egypt was represented by its intelligence chief, Abbas Kamel, and Israel by Mossad head David Barnea as well as Shin Bet chief Ronen Bar and Maj. Gen. Nitzan Alon. Mohammed was in attendance for Qatar.

Husam Badran, a member of Hamas's political bureau, said Thursday on social media that "any agreement must achieve a comprehensive cease-fire, a complete withdrawal from Gaza, the return of the displaced and the reconstruction, in addition to a prisoner exchange deal."

During previous rounds of talks, Israel put forward additions to the framework announced by Biden, including its military retaining indefinite control of the Philadelphi Corridor, a buffer zone between Gaza and Egypt, according to officials fa-

miliar with the process. It also insisted on setting up checkpoints to process Palestinians returning to their homes in northern Gaza. Hamas had appeared to meet the conditions in the proposal announced by Biden, U.S. officials said.

An Israeli official said Thursday that Netanyahu is adamant that the IDF remain in the Philadelphi Corridor.

Israeli media, which first reported on the Qatari prime minister's conversation with Iran's leaders, said a breakthrough in the talks is related to the Netzarim Corridor, a four-mile road just south of Gaza City that runs east to west, from the Israeli border to the Mediterranean Sea. Hamas has made Israel's withdrawal from the area a central demand in cease-fire negotiations.

The U.S. official did not specify whether mediators' latest proposal includes those demands. He acknowledged that any agreement would not fully meet the aspirations of either side.

"If you continue to negotiate for months and months and try to get a perfect deal for every last drop of blood from the stone, you risk having no hostages," he said. "That is not acceptable to us. I think it's not acceptable to anybody."

Iran seeks help from China on satellites

IRAN FROM A1

Iran has previously sought help from Russia in developing a network of Iranian-controlled surveillance satellites, assistance that has expanded as Russia has grown reliant on Iran as a supplier of attack drones used in its war against Ukraine.

A confidential assessment seen by The Washington Post warns that a deal with China could supply Iran with enhanced targeting capability for its arsenal of ballistic missiles as well as early-warning systems to detect impending attacks. Iran might then be in a position to supply satellite-derived intelligence to allies such as Yemen's Houthi rebels, who have launched missile attacks on commercial shipping in the Red Sea, or to Syrian and Iraqi militias responsible for drone and rocket attacks on U.S. military bases in the region. Iran has previously provided such groups with satellite imagery purchased from China, the document said.

While there were no reports of



IRANIAN STATE TV/AP

This image taken from video footage aired by Iranian state TV on Nov. 5, 2022, shows the launch of a satellite carrier rocket by Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corps from an undisclosed desert location.

a formal agreement yet, the assessment described a flourishing relationship between Tehran and one of the companies, Chang Guang Satellite Technology Co., with several exchanges of delegations and long stays by IRGC operatives and officials in China. Chang Guang, based in Changchun in China's northeastern Jilin province, makes small, low-cost "cubesat" satellites with optical equipment still capable of producing images with a resolution as fine as 30 centimeters, a capability comparable with that of the most sophisticated U.S. and European commercial satellite companies. Iran's Khayyam satel-

lite produces images with a resolution of about one meter.

Iranian officials also were seeking a business arrangement with the Beijing-based MinoSpace Technology Co., which makes the Taijing-series remote sensing satellites, and participated in an exchange of delegations with it, the assessment said.

Neither of the Chinese companies is under U.S. or international economic sanctions. The IRGC's Quds Force, an elite unit that conducts overseas operations, faces multiple U.S. sanctions for alleged support of terrorist operations.

Chang Guang and MinoSpace

did not respond to emails requesting comment. Iran's mission to the United Nations in New York did not reply to a request for information about the reported contacts with the Chinese firms.

Chang Guang was embroiled in controversy last year after reports that it supplied satellite services and imagery to Russia's Wagner mercenary group. The reports linked the company to a \$30 million agreement signed by Wagner officials in November 2022, nine months after the start of Russia's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine.

China, one of Iran's most important military partners histori-

cally, suspended most of its weapons sales to Tehran around 2005, as Western countries were tightening sanctions over Iran's rapidly expanding nuclear program. Relations with Beijing gradually improved over the past decade, starting with a 2015 Chinese agreement to supply Iran with satellite-based navigation technology that allowed Tehran to improve the accuracy of its missiles and drones.

Many electronic components for Iranian aircraft originate in China. Under the 2021 agreement, the two countries have committed to training exercises and joint development of fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters.

China is now Iran's biggest customer for petroleum products, and trade between the two countries has flourished, climbing to \$32 billion last year. But that figure is dwarfed by China's trade with Iran's biggest gulf rivals: Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

While Beijing has moved to upgrade its alliance with Tehran, Chinese officials have remained cautious about providing the kind of military aid that might inflame tensions with Iran's neighbors or trigger international sanctions against Chinese companies. China also has appeared wary of contributing to an escalation in the Middle East that could shut down vital gulf waterways for oil tankers.

Since the Oct. 7 Hamas attack on Israel, China has repeatedly criticized the United States for its

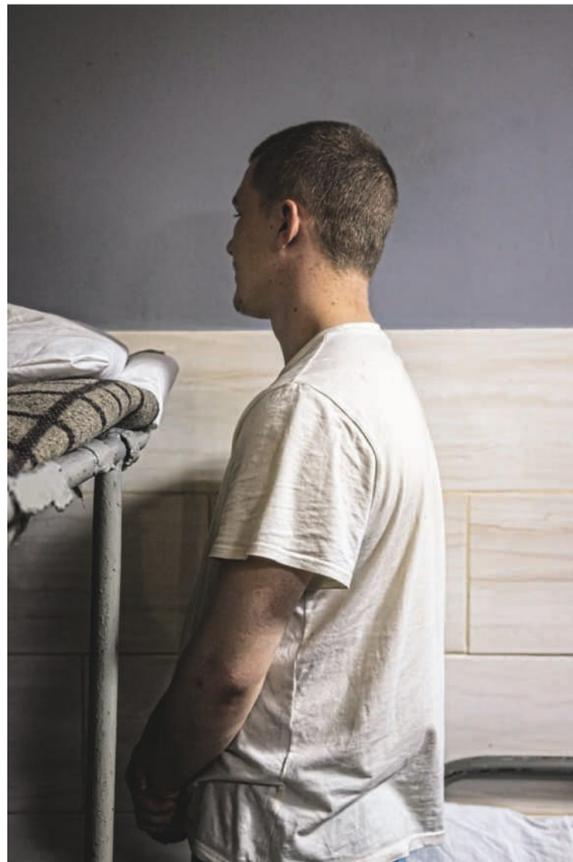
role in the region while calling on all sides to end the violence. It has not publicly condemned Hamas, a group heavily supported by Iran.

Analysts said China may believe it has a legitimate civilian cover for assisting Iran's space program, since surveillance satellites have many nonmilitary uses, such as environmental monitoring and disaster response.

"It is certainly plausible that Chinese companies would be working with Iran on surveillance technology, since it's not the same as providing weapons, from the Chinese viewpoint," said Gary Samore, a former top adviser on arms control to the Clinton and Obama administrations who serves as director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University. "The Chinese try to stay out of politics. The Middle East is a source of oil and gas, and they don't want to compromise their relationships with the Saudis and the Emiratis."

Moscow, meanwhile, remains the biggest booster of Iran's burgeoning space program. Russia has launched at least two Iranian surveillance satellites into orbit since 2022, including the Pars-1 remote sensing satellite, which was dispatched into space in February aboard a Russian Soyuz-2 rocket. Iran claimed to have successfully launched four satellites in January using its own rockets. Three were communications satellites, and the fourth was a remote-sensing orbiter operated by the IRGC.

WAR IN UKRAINE



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Kirill, 20, said a Ukrainian soldier let him call his mother in Russia. Pavel, 20, said he was still stunned to be in Ukrainian custody. “We didn’t think this can happen,” he said. “We are just conscripts.” The vast majority of the prisoners in the northeast Ukraine prison were uninjured. Those injured were provided medical attention. Post journalists witnessed several prisoners joking with Ukrainian prison guards.

PHOTOS BY ED RAM FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Ukrainian prison cells full of young conscripts pose challenge to Putin’s vows

UKRAINE FROM A1

would not be involved in any fighting. Putin largely stuck to this promise, although some still wound up in Ukraine amid the chaos of the first year of the invasion or were pressured into signing contracts by their officers.

Most, though, have been stationed along Russia’s expansive Western border to patch up personnel shortages and with the expectation they would never face an attack. Inside Ukraine, Russia has relied on a haphazard force made up of convicts, mercenaries, mobilized and contract soldiers to bear the brunt of the war, with the state continuously increasing their salaries.

But when Ukraine launched a surprise incursion into Kursk last week, these young, untrained conscripts from cities, towns and villages across Russia found themselves on the new front line — and unprepared to defend it. The men in the Ukrainian prison came from as far away as the northwestern port city of St. Petersburg and a rural village in Penza, southeast of Moscow.

“We did not want to fight in any way,” said Nikolai, 22, who is from the city of Chelyabinsk, some 1,200 miles east of Moscow. “We were promised that we would not take part in hostilities at all. But something went wrong.”

When asked who promised this, he replied: “President Vladi-

mir Putin.”

Ukraine’s Ministry of Defense granted a small group of journalists, including a team of Washington Post reporters, access to a prison where Russian troops are being held Friday under the condition that its location was kept secret. Ukrainian prison guards were present in the cells during the interviews but did not closely monitor the conversations, interject or review material before publication.

Post reporters identified themselves as journalists, explained that the material would be published and asked each prisoner they interviewed if they were willing to speak or were being forced to do so. Some prisoners declined to participate. Others confirmed they were doing so willingly. The prisoners spoke on the condition that only their first names be used to speak openly about their experiences.

The vast majority of the prisoners were uninjured. Several wounded soldiers interviewed by The Post explained how they suffered injuries in battle before capture, including one who said he injured himself with his own grenade in hopes he would die and not be taken prisoner. Ukrainian soldiers provided him first aid, he said, and then evacuated him to a clinic where he was X-rayed and had surgery to remove shrapnel from his wounds.

The soldiers said they were being well-treated and had been provided medical attention.

Their bandages appeared clean and they said they were fed three times per day, including soup, salad and porridge. (One said with a laugh that his mother’s borscht was better than the prison chef’s.) The men said they were allowed showers and had not been mistreated. Post journalists witnessed several joking around with Ukrainian prison guards. Red Cross officials were inside the prison meeting detainees at the same time as journalists.

The head of the prison, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to ensure the prison location would not be revealed, said 320 Russians have passed through the facility in the past 10 days on their way to other prison camps in Ukraine. The vast majority are young conscripts, the official said, with only around 20 percent identifying as contract fighters or otherwise mobilized soldiers. Some of the young men were “very scared” when they first arrived, the official said, but have since adjusted.

Nikolai and fellow prisoner Sergey, 19, said Ukraine attacked their military headquarters on Aug. 6 and their commanders left without giving instructions on what to do next. Fearing they would be killed if they stayed, the young men walked for three days through forests and swamps and “slept on the cold ground,” Nikolai said. While searching for safety, they came across a group of vehicles decorated with triangles — a symbol Ukraine has

printed or taped on all its vehicles crossing into Russia in recent days. “I was trying to remember whether the triangle was our identification sign or not,” Nikolai said. Soon they were surrounded.

Ukrainian soldiers grabbed them by the scruff of the neck, he said, checked them for weapons and then gave them food, water and cigarettes. “They came, chatted, told their stories, listened to ours,” he said. Then they tied their hands and covered their eyes and sent them over the border into Ukraine.

Kirill, 20, who was wearing a Star Wars T-shirt, said his radio was switched off when the Ukrainian incursion began and he missed messages calling for troops to evacuate. He hid at his trench position but was soon surrounded by Ukrainian forces.

“At first, I was scared, I was very much surprised. Then they told me, ‘Surrender and you will live,’” he recalled. He surrendered immediately, and they tied his hands and covered his eyes, then put him in an armored vehicle and drove away. When they stopped driving, a Ukrainian soldier offered to let him call his mom, who works at a grocery store in Russia, he said.

The others said they had not been allowed to make calls, but were given paper to send letters to relatives at home.

Two days after the Ukrainian incursion, Nikita, 20, said commanders evacuated him and fellow soldiers away from the bor-

der to abandoned Russian positions in a village house. They rested and ate bread there, and then an RPG smashed through the window. The commanders decided to surrender, he said, and he was transferred over the border to Ukraine. He wrote a letter to his parents on Wednesday, he said, telling them: “I’m alive, I’m in prison — don’t worry too much, I will come back.”

Earlier this week, family members of conscripts captured in Kursk launched a petition addressed to Putin, urging him to exchange the soldiers as soon as possible. The petition also accused Chechnya’s Akhmat special forces, who are fighting in Kursk, of abandoning young soldiers, some of whom haven’t finished the mandatory four-months long military training.

Chatrooms sprung up on Telegram and Vkontakte, with relatives trying to identify captured Russian soldiers in photos and videos shared by Ukrainian military bloggers. The Post reviewed dozens of messages posted by family members of soldiers who were stationed at the Kursk border. Most said they lost contact with the conscripts in the first days of the Ukrainian offensive toward Sudzha, between Aug. 5 and Aug. 8.

“We called the defense ministry, but they did not give us any information, just said that he is not listed as killed or captured,” said Aleksandra, a relative of one of the conscripts who went missing on Aug. 6. “But we recog-

nized him in a photo.”

Denis, 20, said the first Ukrainian troops he encountered after the incursion told him he had 2 minutes to run. He fled through a swamp and evaded capture until Aug. 9. He said he feared that he would be tortured in Ukrainian prison. Upon arrival, he said, “I completely changed my mind.”

Pavel, 20, said he was still stunned to be in Ukrainian custody.

“We didn’t think this can happen,” he said. “We are just conscripts.”

In one cell in the prison filled with older soldiers, the mood was more somber. They included border guards and contract soldiers. All the men said the Ukrainian incursion was their first time experiencing combat and that they had not previously deployed to Ukraine, except for one marine — Askerkahn, 33, who remained silent.

With a bandaged arm, he was among several in the room who were wounded. Out of 60 men he fought alongside to try to repel the Ukrainian incursion, only four or five survived. The rest refused to surrender and were killed in fighting with Ukrainian troops, he said. He knew he might stay in prison indefinitely but hoped Russia would find a way to quickly return the young conscripts home.

“They were not ready at all for war or captivity,” he said. “They’re children.”

Ilyushina reported from Berlin.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

On some phones sold by Google, a hidden feature that could allow spying

Intelligence contractor stopped issuing Android devices after discovery

BY JOSEPH MENN

SAN FRANCISCO — Google's master software for some Android phones includes a hidden feature that is insecure and could be activated to allow remote control or spying on users, according to a security company that found it inside phones at a U.S. intelligence contractor.

The feature appears intended to give employees at stores selling Pixel phones and other models deep access to the devices so they can demonstrate how they

work, according to researchers at iVerify who shared their findings with The Washington Post.

The discovery and Google's lack of explanation alarmed the intelligence contractor, data analysis platform vendor Palantir Technologies, to the extent that it has stopped issuing Android phones to employees, Palantir told The Post.

"Mobile security is a very real concern for us, given where we're operating and who we're serving," Palantir Chief Information Security Officer Dane Stuckey said. "This was very deleterious of trust, to have third-party, unvetted insecure software on it. We have no idea how it got there, so we made the decision to effectively ban Androids internally."

The security company said it

contacted Google about its findings more than 90 days ago and that the tech giant has not indicated whether it would remove or fix the application.

On Wednesday, Google told The Post that it would issue an update to remove the application. "Out of an abundance of precaution, we will be removing this from all supported in-market Pixel devices with an upcoming Pixel software update," company spokesperson Ed Fernandez said.

He said distributors of other Android phones would also be notified.

The application, called Showcase.apk, is normally dormant. But iVerify was able to enable it on a device in its possession, and the company believes skilled hackers could also enable it from

afar. It cannot be removed from phones through the normal un-install process.

When active, the application downloads instructions from a site hosted on Amazon Web Services. But it tries to connect to an insecure web address beginning with "http" instead of the more secure "https," so that those calls could be intercepted and the site could be impersonated, with malicious spying instructions sent instead. Http sites are so risky that Google's Chrome browser warns visitors that they are not secure.

"The application downloads a configuration file over an unsecure connection and can be manipulated to execute code at the system level," iVerify wrote in a summary report that was published Thursday. The full 40-

page analysis was aided by Palantir and Trail of Bits, an established security company affiliated with iVerify.

"The app vulnerability leaves millions of Android Pixel devices susceptible to man-in-the-middle attacks, giving cybercriminals the ability to inject malicious code and dangerous spyware," iVerify wrote.

The researchers said the automatic installation of the Showcase app raised similar questions to those presented by the global failure of Windows computers running CrowdStrike security software last month. Like other security programs, CrowdStrike is embedded deep within Windows, so that a programming or configuration mistake can cause much greater damage than just a crash of CrowdStrike's program

itself.

Google's Fernandez said the company had not seen any hacking through Showcase and suggested it would be unlikely.

The software was made "for Verizon in-store demo devices and is no longer being used," he said. "Exploitation of this application on a user phone requires both physical access to the device and the user's password."

Stuckey said he was especially bothered that Showcase is included in the Google-made Pixel phones. Android models manufactured by Samsung and other phone companies sometimes lag behind when it comes to installing security updates issued by Google.

Since Google has direct control of Pixels, it installs such updates immediately.

Vance says he's 'pro-family.' Many say economy isn't.

Cost increasingly affects decisions on having kids

BY RACHEL SIEGEL

Rebecca Frame had it all planned out: Buy a house with her husband and start a family soon after. But the pandemic, layoffs for her and him and drawn-down savings got in the way — leaving her determined to feel financially secure again.

For now, that means working toward an emergency fund of up to \$120,000 and buying a car that's more family-friendly than her Prius C. And it means putting off getting pregnant to "give my children what I had and more, in an economy where I didn't think that was going to be possible."

"It just makes sense to, yet again, bide our time basically in hopes of having more stability in the future," said Frame, 29, who lives in northern Colorado. "Especially during covid, and still, I feel like my choice was taken away from me."

The decision to have children never involves just one consideration. But for millions like Frame, the economic and financial toll of raising a family increasingly weighs on the choice. Between 2018 and 2023, there was a sharp rise — from 37 percent to 47 percent — in the share of U.S. adults under 50 who don't have kids and are unlikely to, according to a July Pew Research Center survey. Of those, 36 percent said they can't afford children.

That demographic shift is now colliding with a growing political message from the right: Americans should be having more kids. Broadly speaking, this ideology is rooted in concerns over a declining native birth rate, which could later spiral into a shrinking labor force, aging population and smaller tax base. Immigration is not considered a solution by conservatives who tout this idea.

Such calls haven't always been part of mainstream Republican politics. But they have been elevated by former president Donald Trump's running mate, Sen. JD Vance (R-Ohio), who is pushing for policies he describes as "pro-family," like cutting childbirth costs and expanding the child tax credit. Vance has been pressed to clarify his views about children and families, especially because of a viral 2021 interview in which he chided women without children as

"childless cat ladies." He focused his criticism then on top Democratic politicians like Vice President Kamala Harris, who is a stepmother, asking how it made "sense that we've turned our country over to people who don't really have a direct stake in it?"

At other times, he has drawn inspiration from far-right leaders like Hungary's Viktor Orban, whose government gave loans to couples who got married and forgave those payments if they had children.

"Why can't we do that here?" Vance asked in a 2021 speech. "Why can't we give resources to parents who tell us the only reason they're not having kids is because they can't afford it? This is a civilizational crisis."

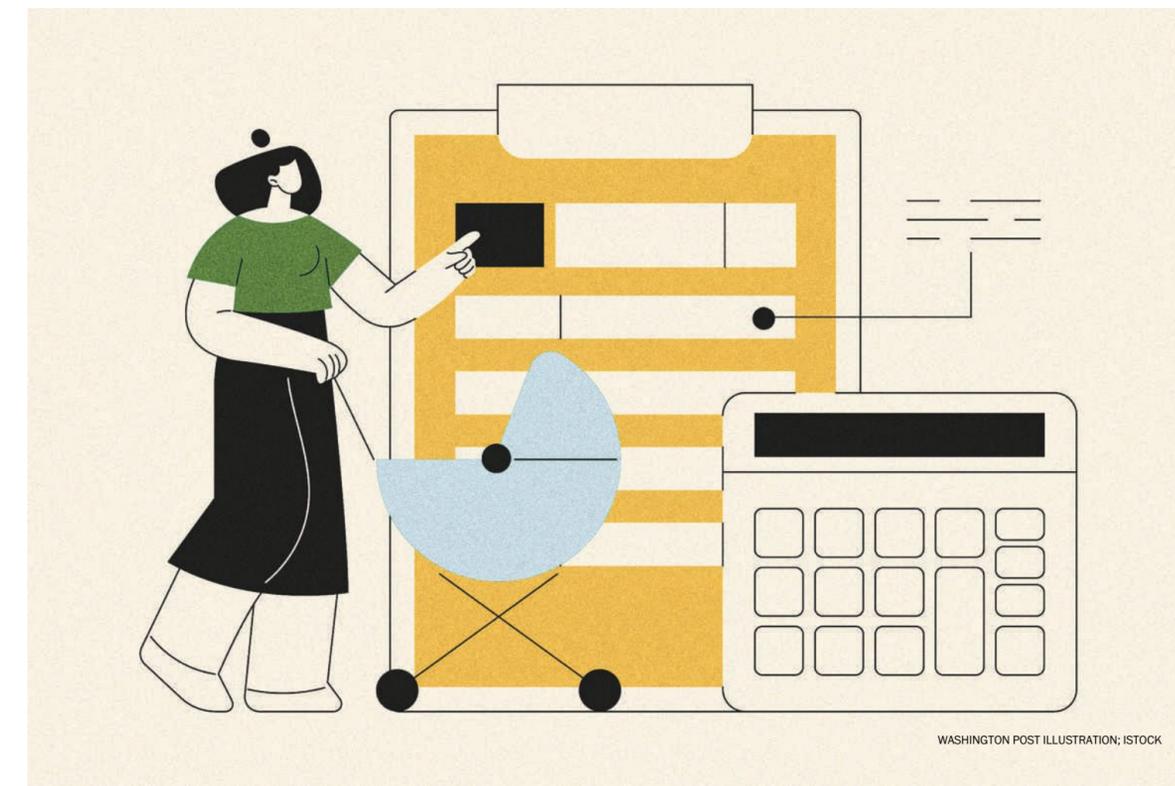
In a string of interviews last weekend, he slammed Democrats for being "anti-family." He talked about letting states decide their own abortion policies, contrasting with Harris's support for federal protections. And he falsely said vice-presidential nominee Tim Walz has proposed legislation that would take children from their parents if those parents don't consent to gender-affirming care.

"Sometimes family doesn't work out for people, and that's okay," Vance said Sunday on ABC News's "This Week." "But I do think that Kamala Harris herself has pursued some anti-family policies, and that is a problem and something we ought to push back against."

But for many women, the challenge is not a "civilizational crisis." Instead, it's about reconciling a slew of major economic factors — inflation, job security, child care — with one of the most personal life decisions.

Runjini Murthy, 41, thought she would have children with a long-time boyfriend. But when that relationship ended in her late 30s, she thought through her own finances. Adding up the costs of college, health care, a savings plan and everything else that comes with raising a family, she couldn't see how the math would work. Murthy, who lives in Oakland, also worried that if she did have kids and stayed home for a few years, she would have a hard time returning to the workforce.

She described Vance's comments, and the broader pressure



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

for women to do it all, as "a worldview, not a one-off."

"I'm old enough that a lot of what we were told is, 'You have to get married and have kids, and if you haven't by a certain time, you're this weird anomaly,'" Murthy said. "It hits a tender spot."

The pandemic and its aftermath have put particular focus on the "care economy," including affordable child care and benefits like paid family leave. Generally, Republicans tout lowering taxes as a way to help give the middle class more breathing room. Vance often talks about the surprise bills he and his wife received after having their second child and how that kind of financial toll discourages others from having kids. (More recently, as he was being considered as Trump's running mate, Vance broke off talks on bipartisan legislation to cut some childbirth costs.) Earlier this month, Vance also suggested the child tax credit be raised from \$2,000 per child to \$5,000.

In a statement, Vance campaign spokesperson Taylor Van Kirk said that the GOP vice-presidential nominee "knows what it's like to struggle financially" and that families are being "crushed" by high inflation.

"JD is committed to making it easier to start a family and raise children in this country," Van Kirk said. "The affordability crisis that exploded on Kamala Harris's watch was easily preventable, and it can be easily reversed by electing

President Trump and Senator Vance this November."

In an interview with Fox News this month, Vance's wife, Usha Vance, said that the point is to encourage policies that make it easier to be a parent, and that her husband never intended to hurt people who want children and struggle to have them. "There are a lot of other reasons people may choose not to have families, and many of those reasons are very good," she said.

Meanwhile, Harris has promised to revive parts of President Joe Biden's agenda — including on the care economy — that didn't become law because of concerns from Republicans and centrist Democrats over the price tag and inflation. On Friday, Harris unveiled a populist string of proposals, including a tax credit that would provide \$6,000 per child to families for the first year of a baby's life. She is also calling to restore a Biden administration credit that expired at the end of 2021, which raised the benefit for most families from \$2,000 per child to \$3,000.

Her campaign is also pushing to expand paid family leave, housing assistance, child care and elder care. That message is being amplified by Walz, who as Minnesota governor signed a paid family and medical leave bill into law, along with a state child tax credit.

In a statement, Harris campaign spokesman Joseph Costello said the Democratic nominee has cen-

tered her vision on working- and middle-class families, contrasting that approach with the Trump team's.

"Their dangerous plans will hurt the very families Vice President Harris fights for every day: gutting child care, dismantling public education, and raising costs on the middle class. As the Vice President says, we cannot go back," Costello said.

Ultimately, experts say state policies have enormous influence over what the care economy looks like. Among wealthy nations, the United States is an outlier in not having a federal policy for paid family leave; only 13 states and D.C. have passed their own laws. Fifteen states have their own form of a child tax credit, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. (This month, Senate Republicans blocked an expansion of the federal child tax credit for the lowest-income families.)

Six states and D.C. have implemented universal preschool for 4-year-olds, with D.C. and Vermont providing access to 3-year-olds, according to the National Women's Law Center. And in 39 states and D.C., the average annual price of child care for an infant in a center exceeded annual in-state university tuition.

"If you look at the structural environment families are operating in, 73 percent of people don't have paid family leave through their jobs in this country," said

Melissa Boteach, an expert on child care and income security at the NWLC. "The cost of child care is more than in-state college tuition in most states. We are not a family-friendly country despite all these claims to put family first."

Those who do not have children often feel that they reap economic benefits: About 8 in 10 people under 50 unlikely to have children said it was easier for them to afford the things they want; 75 percent said they could more easily save for the future, according to the Pew study. About 6 in 10 said it was easier to be successful in their careers.

Stephanie Reneau, 45, never wanted children but said that "the financial aspects were like a bonus." She spent her 20s road-tripping across the country and now has the freedom to buy a new car or splurge on a vacation.

Reneau grew up in Ohio in what she described as a Christian nationalist household. Women were taught to abstain from sex until they got married. At 16, Reneau said, she was raped at a party. Her mother blamed her and said Reneau better not get pregnant because her mother didn't want to take care of the baby. Abortion was not an option.

Reneau said she sees clear overlap with the way she was raised and the larger political message encouraging people to have children.

"That's the most anti-family thing I've ever heard," she said.

DIGEST

STOCK MARKET

Wall Street closes strong week with gains

U.S. stocks drifted higher as Wall Street coasted to the close of its best week since November. The S&P 500 rose 0.2 percent Friday, extending its winning streak to a seventh day.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average rose 0.2 percent, and the Nasdaq composite gained 0.2 percent. Treasury yields eased a bit after a couple of mixed reports on the U.S. economy. The yield on the 10-year Treasury fell to 3.88 percent.

Friday's relative calm caps a manic week in which strong data helped right Wall Street after a scary run. The S&P 500 is back within 1.9 percent of its all-time

set last month after falling close to 10 percent below it last week, when stocks reeled worldwide on a range of worries.

— Associated Press

ENTERTAINMENT

Judge blocks plans for sports streaming deal

The launch of Venu Sports will be delayed after a federal judge granted FuboTV's motion for a preliminary injunction against the planned sports streaming venture by ESPN, Fox and Warner Bros. Discovery.

U.S. District Judge Margaret M. Gannett in the Southern District of New York said in her 69-page ruling that Fubo was likely to be successful in proving that the joint venture would

violate antitrust laws and that Fubo and consumers would "face irreparable harm in the absence of an injunction."

Fubo TV filed the lawsuit two weeks after ESPN, Fox, Warner Bros. Discovery and Hulu announced plans to offer a sports streaming service Feb. 6.

— Associated Press

AEROSPACE

Rocket-launch firm ULA may be sold

Boeing and Lockheed Martin are in talks to sell their rocket-launching joint venture United Launch Alliance to Sierra Space, two people familiar with the discussions said.

A deal could value ULA at around \$2 billion to \$3 billion,

the sources said.

A deal to sell ULA, a major provider of launch services to the U.S. government and a top rival to Elon Musk's SpaceX, would mark a significant shift in the U.S. space launch industry as ULA separates from two of the largest defense contractors to a smaller, privately held firm.

The potential sale comes after years of speculation about ULA's future and failed attempts to divest the joint venture over the past decade.

Jeff Bezos' Blue Origin and Cerberus Capital Management had placed bids in early 2023 for the company, according to people familiar with the negotiations. Rocket Lab had also expressed interest, two people said.

— Reuters

ALSO IN BUSINESS

Massachusetts Gov. Maura Healey announced Friday that deals have been reached in principle to transition operations at four hospitals operated by Steward Health Care to new operators.

The Healey administration will take control of a fifth hospital through eminent domain to help transition it to a new owner. The Dallas-based company announced its bankruptcy May 6. Two other Steward-operated hospitals are still set to close by the end of the month. New operators have been found for Saint Anne's Hospital in Fall River, Good Samaritan Medical Center in Brockton, the Holy Family Hospitals in Methuen and Haverhill, and Morton Hospital in Taunton, Healey said.

A spokesperson for Steward Health Care declined to comment.

Chick-fil-A has named a new president and a new chief operating officer, expanding its leadership team after the retirement of one of its top executives last year.

Susannah Frost, who is executive vice president of restaurant development and field operations for College Park, Ga.-based Chick-fil-A, will step into the role of president Oct. 1. Chick-fil-A CEO Andrew Cathy, grandson of founder Truett Cathy, will continue in the chief executive role. Cliff Robinson, the company's current chief people officer, will become COO.

— From news services

On an eroding Malibu beach, an MLB owner is accused of stealing sand

BY MARÍA LUISA PAUL

For decades, Broad Beach, Calif., has lured the likes of Frank Sinatra, Steven Spielberg, Goldie Hawn and Pierce Brosnan to its secluded 1.1-mile stretch of killer views and pristine water. But in recent years, sea-level rise and erosion have washed away nearly all of the dunes in this Malibu neighborhood — turning sand into a premium commodity and a source of conflict between neighbors.

Now, the Milwaukee Brewers baseball team's principal owner, multimillionaire Mark Attanasio, is up to bat in the dispute. His neighbor accused him in court last week of stealing the neighborhood's scarce public sand and using it for an ongoing construction project at his home.

"This case is about a private property owner using a public beach as their own personal sandbox," states the lawsuit filed last Thursday in the Los Angeles County Superior Court by Attanasio's next-door neighbor, financier James Kohlberg.

Kohlberg claims that the MLB owner's limited liability company, 2XMD Partners — and the construction team he contracted — have violated their permits by digging into off-limits tidal zones with large excavators, leaking fuel into the water and ultimately damaging a public beach that has long been a flash point of California's sand depletion concerns.



MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES

Pumpjacks in the Belridge oil field near McKittrick, Calif., in November 2021.

Attanasio's attorney, Kenneth A. Ehrlich, said in a statement to The Washington Post that his client has "acted in 100% compliance" with the construction permits. Attanasio and his company have owned property on the beach for decades, Ehrlich said, "and have served as stewards for beach restoration and preservation of natural resources."

"2XMD is in the midst of a fully-permitted emergency repair of the property to protect it from ocean forces," Ehrlich wrote. "It

has secured all permits necessary for the repairs from the City of Malibu and LA County as well as thoroughly vetted all contractors and subcontractors involved in the project."

According to the lawsuit, the spat between the wealthy neighbors began after Attanasio in March obtained permits to repair the damaged sea wall at one of his parcels east of Broad Beach's Lechuza Point — a cliff-hugging enclave filled with waterfront houses worth millions of dollars.

Attanasio first bought a \$23 million home in 2007 and a decade later purchased a neighboring, empty lot for \$6.6 million, according to property records.

Between June and July, the suit alleges, construction machinery descended into the neighborhood — and "at times restricted public access to the entirety of Broad Beach." The "enormous excavators" transferred large amounts of sand from the beach's tidal zone to Attanasio's property, leaving traces of gasoline residue in the

water and sand, the lawsuit states.

Under California law, the beach is public between the shoreline and the "mean-high-tide line," or the average of where the water rides up the beach during high tide over the course of the year. As a general rule, that means the areas of wet sand at the beach are considered public.

Videos included in the lawsuit show excavators riding over areas where the sand is wet, with waves sloshing against the tracked construction equipment. The suit alleges that while Attanasio has permits for the construction work, none of them allowed heavy machinery to operate in tidal zones or remove sand from the public beach.

The California Coastal Commission launched an investigation after Kohlberg complained, according to the complaint. A spokesperson for the agency confirmed to The Post that it was looking over the allegations but declined to provide further comment.

This is not the first time sand has been at the heart of a dispute in Broad Beach. According to a research article published in the Pacific Historical Review in 2023, the high tide line in Broad Beach began moving landward about two feet each year starting in 1974 — resulting in "a loss of sixty-five feet of beach by the start of the twenty-first century."

Over the years, the ongoing erosion has driven residents to

resort to various desperate measures in a bid to keep their homes from sliding into the water — efforts that have, at times, put them at odds with government officials and environmental activists.

In 2005, Broad Beach homeowners attempted to stop the erosion by illegally using bulldozers to push sand from the shore closer to their homes to create a makeshift berm — damaging dunes and harming wildlife, the Santa Monica Mirror reported. Five years later, storm damage prompted the residents to pour \$4 million into building a 36,000-ton rock sea wall in front of their homes along most of the beach.

In 2015, a star-studded crew, including Dustin Hoffman, Ray Romano and Pierce Brosnan, committed to a \$31-million restoration project to bolster the beach through sand nourishment, a method of placing additional sand onto the shoreline. The measure proved controversial among homeowners and stalled in court after a group of residents sued to stop the project and won.

In the latest recent dispute, Kohlberg's attorneys have asked the court to fine Attanasio up to \$30,000 — plus \$15,000 for each day the violation continues — and be prevented from taking any more sand from Broad Beach. Kohlberg is also asking the court to order Attanasio to replace the sand he removed and repair any damage he caused to the beach.

Biden's promise to slash fossil fuel drilling has faced major obstacles

BY MAXINE JOSELOW

As he campaigned for president in 2020, Joe Biden made a bold promise at a New Hampshire town hall, adding repetition for emphasis: "No more drilling on federal lands. Period. Period. Period. Period."

Four years later, it appears that Biden may have overpromised.

The Biden administration has now outpaced the Trump administration in approving permits for drilling on public lands, and the United States is producing more oil than any country ever has. The unplanned fossil fuel boom reflects an uncomfortable truth for Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris: It is difficult for any president to stop the spigot of U.S. oil production, a leading driver of both the economy and climate change.

"If you were to show someone who came from Mars the line of U.S. oil and gas production over the last 15 years, they probably would not be able to tell whether a Republican or Democrat was in the White House," said Jason Bordoff, founding director of the Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University.

Oil drilling continues to be a core issue in Donald Trump's quest to retake the White House. Trump and his supporters argue that Biden and Harris have waged "a war on energy." The former president has pledged to "drill, baby, drill" and to restore America's "energy dominance."

The reality is the United States is already dominant. The country is expected to produce 13.2 million barrels of oil per day on average this year — millions of barrels more than Saudi Arabia or Russia. Biden's signature 2022 climate law, the Inflation Reduction Act, has also helped boost production of solar, wind and other forms of renewable energy. On Friday — the two-year anniversary of the law — the Environmental Protection Agency announced that it has awarded \$27 billion worth of grants for clean-energy projects nationwide.

Yet Biden has struggled to significantly wean the U.S. economy from fossil fuels because of legal obligations, political challenges and market demand, according to interviews with a dozen current and former administration officials, energy analysts, climate activists and others who have worked closely with the White House.

In June 2021, a federal judge struck down Biden's pause on oil and gas leasing on federal lands, delivering a win to Republican-led states that had challenged the policy. Then in February 2022, Russia's invasion of Ukraine roiled global energy markets, fueling high prices at the pump and record profits for big oil companies.

Harris could face similar obstacles if she beats Trump in November. But some former administration officials say Harris could avoid what they see as Biden's missteps on fossil fuels.

Biden's pledge of no more drilling "was an early strategic mistake because it set expectations in a way that was not going to be achievable legally and politically," said one former administration



MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES

Pumpjacks in the Belridge oil field near McKittrick, Calif. Biden pledged to end drilling on federal land during his presidential campaign.

official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to be candid. "I think there are some encouraging signs that maybe the Harris campaign has learned lessons from that experience."

John D. Podesta, senior adviser to the president for international climate policy, defended Biden's record on fossil fuels during an event on Tuesday hosted by Third Way, a center-left think tank. He said that record U.S. oil production is a "market-driven phenomenon" that has economic benefits in the short term, even as the country transitions away from fossil fuels in the long term.

"On the gas side, I think it is important that we could supply our friends and allies in Europe after the illegal invasion of Ukraine and cutoff of Russian sources of supply," Podesta said. "On the oil side, we continue to benefit from production and the effect that it has on stabilizing prices around the world. We're seeing gas prices that are about 40 cents lower this summer than they were a year ago. But we also have to transition."

Anne Bradbury, CEO of the American Exploration and Production Council, a trade group representing independent oil and gas companies, declined to give Biden credit for the current drilling bonanza.

"A lot of the record production we're seeing today is because of policies of past administrations, both Republican and Democrat," Bradbury said.

Yet on the campaign trail, Trump has depicted the boost in U.S. oil production as a Democrat Party ploy meant to lower gasoline prices before the November election.

"Now [Biden's] drilling like crazy," Trump said at a March rally in Dayton, Ohio. "He went back to my policy. You know why? Because

it was up to \$6, \$7, \$8 a gallon. ... They allowed them to continue drilling, but the day after the election, it's over."

Court challenges

Any administration can only control drilling on federal lands and waters. It cannot control drilling on private or state lands, which are home to some of the nation's largest shale deposits, such as vast swaths of the Permian Basin in west Texas.

On federal lands, there is a two-step process for oil and gas production. First, an administration must decide whether to auction off new lands for leases. Then it must issue permits for the actual drilling to begin.

The administration has wanted to stem such new leases on public lands, but courts have sharply limited its ability to do so. Biden's plan to pause leasing is a prime example.

Early discussions over the pause exposed divisions within the administration, according to three former administration officials with direct knowledge of the matter, some of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private conversations. Ron Klain, the former White House chief of staff, felt strongly that Biden should follow through on his campaign pledge of no new leasing, the three former officials said.

"It had been a hard-fought issue in the campaign," Klain said in an interview. "The president had articulated that as a position, and I always believe we should follow through on our campaign promises."

Gina McCarthy, the former White House national climate adviser, and Ali Zaidi, her former deputy, agreed with Klain's position, the former officials said. But some Interior Department lawyers warned that the leasing pause

might not survive legal challenges, since the Mineral Leasing Act states that the agency "shall" hold lease sales on public lands quarterly, or every three months.

Biden forged ahead anyway. A week after taking office, he signed an executive order directing agencies across the federal government to prioritize climate action at home and abroad. The order instructed Interior to suspend its leasing program pending a "comprehensive review" of its climate impacts.

Five months later, U.S. District Judge Terry A. Doughty, a Trump appointee, issued a preliminary injunction to block the policy. Doughty found that the administration could not stop leasing without congressional approval and that the Republican-led states that sued to challenge the pause had "demonstrated a substantial threat of irreparable injury."

McCarthy declined an interview request through a spokeswoman. A White House spokesman did not respond to a request for comment.

Since the court ruling, Interior has resumed quarterly lease sales, holding 15 in the past year and planning four others over the next two months. "We continue to responsibly implement the federal oil and gas program," Interior spokeswoman Melissa Schwartz said in an email.

Still, Interior's Bureau of Land Management has used its discretion under the law to auction off fewer acres overall. During Biden's first three years in office, BLM leased 232,630 acres, compared with more than 5 million acres during Trump's first three years in office.

Aaron Weiss, deputy director of the advocacy group Center for Western Priorities, credited the steep decline to a provision in Biden's signature climate law. For

the first time, the law instituted a \$5-per-acre fee for oil companies to nominate tracts for leasing, among other changes.

However, Interior cannot legally reject an oil company's application for a permit to drill on public lands after it has already won those acres in an auction. As a result, permitting statistics are less flattering to the president's climate goals than leasing figures: During his first three years in office, Biden oversaw the approval of 178 more drilling permits than Trump did.

"The fact is that President Biden has followed the rule of law in this country, and the rule of law says that if you have already given a lease to a fossil fuel company, you have to give a permit," said Leah Stokes, an associate professor of environmental politics at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

A political tightrope

The prospect of high gas prices is a political nightmare that haunts all presidents, and Biden is no exception. Each time gas prices have shot upward, Biden has taken steps to relieve the pain at the pump — even if those steps were seemingly in conflict with his climate goals.

Gas prices were a personal obsession for Klain, the former White House chief of staff. Each morning at 3:30 a.m., Klain checked the average national gas price on AAA.com, The Washington Post previously reported. A few hours later, he checked the listed prices at each of the nine gas stations he passed on his morning commute.

In late 2021, Klain and other officials saw a troubling trend: Gas prices had risen above \$3.30 a gallon nationwide as oil demand recovered from a pandemic-related downturn. In response, Biden

did something once unthinkable: He urged major oil-producing countries to ramp up production.

Biden and his aides stressed that the push to curb gas prices in the near term would not undermine his lofty climate targets. But some energy analysts argued that the messaging was inconsistent.

"If you think about Biden's 2020 campaign and fossil fuels, it was really about 'keep it in the ground,'" said Bob McNally, president of Rapidan Energy Group and an energy adviser in the George W. Bush administration. "In 2021, all of a sudden oil prices started to go up, and the administration was calling around asking if oil production could increase."

The White House was walking a political tightrope that would only get narrower. A week after Russian forces invaded Ukraine, Biden announced that he was releasing 30 million barrels of oil from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. The president also vowed to supply the European Union with at least 15 billion cubic meters of natural gas in 2022 — equivalent to roughly half the natural gas burned by Spain annually — as the bloc curbed its dependence on Russian supplies.

"Biden campaigned on the greenest presidential platform in U.S. history, but campaigning is one thing and governing is another — and low energy prices are necessary to maintain public support for greening," said Kevin Book, managing director at ClearView Energy Partners, a research firm.

Harris's mandate

If she wins in November, Harris would have a daunting climate mandate: weaning the nation off fossil fuels in a way that Biden could not.

One former administration official said the Harris campaign appears to have learned not to make climate promises that aren't politically palatable or legally possible. The official noted that after Trump and other Republicans attacked Harris for supporting a ban on fracking in 2019, her campaign clarified that she would not seek to ban fracking if elected president.

Spokespeople for the Harris campaign did not respond to a request for comment.

Experts said the impact of Biden's climate policies may become clearer in the coming years if Harris succeeds Biden and continues on a similar path. For instance, prolonging the Biden administration's strict limits on emissions from cars and trucks would encourage more sales of electric vehicles that don't run on gasoline or diesel.

Washington Gov. Jay Inslee (D), whose ambitious climate proposals during his 2020 presidential campaign influenced Biden's climate policies, said a Harris administration could also focus on ramping up renewable energy, which would gradually curb the country's thirst for fossil fuels.

"This is not an instant transition," Inslee said. "We don't flip a switch and totally eliminate fossil fuels. It's a thermostat. And to turn down that thermostat, you need to have as aggressive a development of non-fossil-based sources as possible."

TECH FRIEND

Fortnite's mobile return presages the gloriously messy app store revolution

BY SHIRA OVIDE

The popular game Fortnite, which was kicked out of the Apple and Google smartphone app stores four years ago over a business dispute, is available again for your phone.

Sort of.

If you want to play Fortnite games on an iPhone ... well, you need to live in the European Union. There, starting Friday, you can download Fortnite from several non-Apple mini app stores that exist under a new European law trying to spark more alternatives to Big Tech.

Android phone owners anywhere in the world can get Fortnite through a new backdoor app store, though that process is complicated.

This sort-of official return of Fortnite mobile games defies the blacklisting by Apple and Google. It's also a glimpse at the messy, uncertain, possibly bad but potentially thrilling changes underway to smartphone apps as you've known them for 15 years.

Here's why we're in an unruly mobile app revolution, and its connection to a big, knotty question in Washington and in your life: What does it take to undo illegal corporate behavior? And is



LIONEL BONAVENTURE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The logo for the video game Fortnite, whose games will be available in the United States through an app store on Android phones.

the cure better or worse for you than the disease?

The problems with apps

Apps are just fine the way they are, you might be thinking. And maybe they are!

But after writing about and obsessing over this topic for six years, I've come to believe it's worth trying to shake up the mobile app status quo.

Apple and Google have had

nearly unchecked power over mobile apps in ways that raise prices for some of what you buy, block you from trying clever ideas, push app makers to do scuzzy things to make money, and impose Apple's and Google's wishes on all of us.

Executives from Texas Monthly told me last year that it cost time and money waiting for Apple and Google to clear changes to the news organization's apps. (The companies generally mandate ap-

provals for new or updated apps.) Executives said that approval delayed upgrades for readers that they could make quickly to Texas Monthly's website.

Patreon, which lets you financially support creative professionals like musicians or podcasters, said this week that users of its iPhone app will soon have to pay 30 percent more for each payment, or artists would have to take 30 percent less.

That's because Apple is requiring Patreon to adhere to rules requiring in-app digital payments to route through Apple's payment system, from which Apple takes a 30 percent commission. You won't be able to pay with a credit card or PayPal anymore.

Apple didn't comment about the Patreon changes, but broadly says its app store and digital payment system provide a good value and experience for app makers and iPhone users.

Plenty of other app companies are fine with Apple and Google and aren't itching for change. For you, Apple and Google make it easy to find apps, have confidence they're secure (in most cases) and buy digital stuff with an Apple or Google payment account that's connected to your phone.

But the doubters of the Apple and Google app dictatorship are growing louder and emboldened by courts and new regulations.

The Fortnite vision for a new app reality

Epic Games, the creator of Fortnite, has been the chief complainer about apps as we know them and a key architect of what's starting to look like the biggest changes ever to smartphone apps.

A jury last year agreed with Epic that Google broke monopoly laws in how it runs its Google Play mobile app store. A judge will decide soon how Google will have to "tear the barriers down," as U.S. District Judge James Donato said in court this week.

Epic mostly lost a 2021 court case that accused Apple of similar monopoly abuses, but the judge in that case is now figuring out how Apple must undo what she ruled were Apple's anti-competitive restrictions on how you buy digital stuff from iPhone apps like Patreon and Spotify.

Epic has proposed changes that may give you the choice on your iPhone or Android phone of cheaper subscriptions for Spotify and Netflix, depending on how you pay, or better rewards if you

buy a game from an Epic app store and not from Google's.

A judge must decide on Epic's idea to let you download an Android app however you like. Maybe you'd get it from Google's Android app store, or maybe from an alternative app store that's tailored to teens or to video game fans.

Google has said Epic's proposed changes to Google Play would hurt "the privacy, security, and overall experience of consumers, developers, and device manufacturers."

Versions of these changes have started to happen, haltingly and unevenly, under an E.U. law. Fortnite wouldn't be returning to iPhones at all without those new checks on Big Tech's power.

Maybe all these app changes sound confusing or bad. They could be. Change is uncertain.

But Epic CEO Tim Sweeney says the downsides of the current app system hurt you and suppress innovation — often without you noticing. "A lot of people can't even imagine a better world," he said in a news conference this week.

That's what all this app drama is about: dreaming up an alternative path and shaping it to be better than reality.

X is a haven for unchecked speech — and misleading AI images

The Grok chatbot on Musk's platform appears to have few guardrails

BY TRISHA THADANI, PRANSHU VERMA AND NITASHA TIKU

SAN FRANCISCO — A flurry of provocative artificial intelligence-generated content has spread across Elon Musk's social media platform X, including fake images of Vice President Kamala Harris suggestively eating fruit, former president Donald Trump cradling a pregnant Harris's stomach and hyper-realistic images of chisel-jawed men brandishing Nazi signs.

The images stem from new tools on the site that allow users to quickly create photorealistic visuals using a built-in chatbot called Grok, which Musk touted in a post this week as the "most fun AI in the world!" Unlike rival AI image generators, X's technology appears to have few guardrails to limit the production of offensive or misleading depictions of real people, trademarked characters or violence, according to user comments and tests by The Washington Post.

The AI image free-for-all was the second example this week of Musk dragging X into uncharted territory for a major social platform, raising concerns that it could have a disruptive effect on this year's contentious presidential election. On Monday, the billionaire entrepreneur used X to live-stream a chummy two-hour conversation with Trump, giving the Republican candidate whom Musk endorsed last month a massive platform to air his positions and a string of falsehoods.

The two moves illuminate how X has transformed under Musk, diverging from other major social media platforms by courting partisan associations and rejecting conventional rules used to constrain users' online conduct.

"It's a good thing we live in a country where people can invent things that mock political candidates, that's free expression at its finest," said Daniel Kreiss, a principal researcher at the University of North Carolina's Center for Information, Technology, and Public Life. "[But] with the proliferation of AI and the removal of guardrails, there's a possibility for things to be fragmented in politically dangerous ways."

X did not respond to a request for comment. In a post this week on X, Musk said his goal is to make the platform "the free speech public square for all views, not just right-biased."

For users like Petr Švec, a 36-year-old from the Czech Republic, this freewheeling environment makes X more appealing. "It's more important whether people are able to express themselves freely and without worry," he said in messages with The Post sent via X.

In the hours after the image generation feature was announced, Švec posted an AI-generated photo of President Joe Biden kissing Harris, and then another of Musk wearing a bra and underwear.

Švec said he was surprised at

what X's AI tool readily permitted him to create, seemingly free from the limitations of other AI image-generation services he's used. "The lack of content filters is by far the best thing in my opinion," Švec said. "I think it's a breath of fresh air."

The Harris and Trump campaigns both declined to comment on the bizarre images depicting the candidates circulating on X on Wednesday. A Harris campaign official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive campaign matters, said the campaign has an interdepartmental team to prepare for the potential effects of AI this election, including the threat of malicious deep fakes. The team — originally created under the Biden campaign — has been active and growing since September 2023, and has a "wide variety of tools" at its disposal to address issues should any come up, the person said.

Some X users reported that Grok would preface responses to requests for images featuring presidential candidates with a note directing them to the federal voting information webpage for "accurate and up-to-date information about the 2024 U.S. Presidential Election."

After Musk's acquisition of Twitter in late 2022, he made deep cuts to the platform's content moderation team and loosened rules on disinformation. He also began posting less about Tesla and his other companies and more about his political views, a Post analysis of his feed found. Since endorsing Trump, Musk has used X to fervently advocate for the former president and repeatedly attacked Harris, including by boosting a video that used manipulated audio to show the candidate disparaging her own competence.

That hyperpartisan approach comes in sharp contrast to leaders past and present of other social media platforms. Figures such as Meta CEO Mark Zuckerberg and Twitter co-founder Jack Dorsey have at times been open about certain political beliefs and supported policies and causes that seemed to align with their personal views, such as those on same-sex marriage or immigration. But they have also generally tried to position their platforms as neutral venues for political debate.

Ryan Gravatt, CEO and founder of Raconteur Media Co., which works on digital strategy with Republican campaigns, said that he still finds X to be a "fair platform," and has not noticed any preferential treatment for his clients.

"This is just a way for Musk and other folks in his circle to use the [platform] to remind people where they stand politically and what the stakes are in an election," said Gravatt, whose company until recently worked with America PAC, an independent expenditure committee that Musk helped form to support Trump.

Linda Yaccarino, CEO of X, claimed this week in a post that its U.S. users comprise roughly equal numbers of Democrats, Republicans and "swing voters," without providing details of how that data was compiled.

Some elected Democrats, however, have raised questions sug-



AI-GENERATED FAKE PHOTO

OBTAINED BY THE WASHINGTON POST VIA X

AI-GENERATED IMAGE: A fake photo created by Elon Musk's Grok AI image generator, on the social media platform X.



AI-GENERATED FAKE PHOTO

OBTAINED BY THE WASHINGTON POST VIA X

AI-GENERATED IMAGE: The image generator on X, unlike other AI products, doesn't appear to limit production of misleading images using real people or trademarked property.

gesting that Musk's platform may be biased. Rep. Jerry Nadler (D-N.Y.) sent a letter Monday calling on House Judiciary Committee Chair Jim Jordan (R-Ohio) to investigate allegations of political censorship on X.

"I hope that we can at least agree that enforcement on a major platform like X should be fair to both sides," he wrote.

AI researchers and misinformation experts told The Post that they worry that the sometimes disturbing AI images now circulating on X indicate that Musk's commitment to free expression may have gone too far.

Those concerns arose after X announced that paid subscribers could use the Grok chatbot developed by Musk's AI venture xAI to create images from text prompts and publish them directly to the platform, similar to tools offered by OpenAI, Meta and other tech companies.

"This is just a way for Musk and other folks in his circle to use the [platform] to remind people where they stand politically and what the stakes are in an election."

Ryan Gravatt, CEO and founder of Raconteur Media Co., which works on digital strategy with Republican campaigns.

A Tuesday blog post from X announcing Grok updates said it had become "more intuitive, steerable, and versatile" than its predecessor, but the post made no mention of limitations on the technology's ability to create violent, hateful or misleading content. The new image capability is powered by an image AI system called FLUX from the tech start-up Black Forest Labs, X's blog post said. (Black Forest Labs did not immediately return a request for comment.)

But since the update, X has been flooded with sometimes disturbing images that users asked the tool to generate, with many seeming to intentionally play with sexualized stereotypes of women or attempting to inflame the political discourse.

Some of the noxious content users said was made by Grok included fake images of Harris and Trump giving a thumbs up as

they piloted an airplane toward the twin towers and the pair sitting on a beach in bathing suits eating ice cream. Other images made and shared by X users show Mickey Mouse holding a machine gun while standing over slaughtered child dolls, and Taylor Swift kissing Trump. None of the images carried labels to indicate that they were AI-generated or contained sensitive content.

X did not respond to a request for comment on what kind of content it prohibits and why it doesn't have more filters in place, though users reported some limitations, such as requests for nude images.

When The Post attempted to use competing AI tools to re-create several AI images shared on X as examples of Grok's output, the tools often refused. OpenAI's DALL-E and start-ups Midjourney and Stability AI all have had a two-year head start on Musk in deploying AI image generation, and have implemented various restrictions around public figures, violent or sexual content or hate speech, although determined users can find workarounds.

DALL-E would not create images of Harris or Trump, and responded with a message that said requests "not based on reality, particularly when they involve public figures in sensitive or inappropriate contexts" would not be accepted.

Midjourney offered a more democratic justification, with a pop-up stating that "the community voted to prevent using 'JD Vance' and 'Kamala Harris' during election season." The tool initially blocked requests for an image depicting a Nazi, but relented after "historical image" was added to the prompt. Stability AI would create most of the provocative requests tested, but its output looked more like illustrations than real images.

Google "temporarily paused" image generation in its Gemini chatbot in February after a backlash over its creation of ahistorical scenes, and it will still not produce images of people. In response to requests of images showing Harris, the bot responded: "I can't help with that right now. I'm trained to be as accurate as possible but I can make mistakes sometimes. While I work on perfecting how I can discuss elections and politics, you can try Google Search."

Hany Farid, a computer science professor at the University of California at Berkeley, said that X's AI initiative risks undercutting wider efforts by social media platforms to create safe spaces online as well as further inflaming the public discourse ahead of the election.

"This is not a free-speech issue," he said, adding that the protection should not allow for people to create violent or politically misleading images.

A lack of AI controls could deepen Musk's conflict with advertisers, some of whom have expressed concern about unsavory content on X. It could also lure in some users. Švec said he may use X's AI service more because Grok's image generation is relatively unregulated. He approves of Musk's imprint on the site: "Less guardrails is what was needed," he said. "It's a good thing."

Here's why AI detection tools can struggle to catch election deepfakes

BY KEVIN SCHUL, PRANSHU VERMA AND CAT ZAKRZEWSKI

Artificial intelligence-created content is flooding the web and making it less clear than ever what's real this election. From former president Donald Trump falsely claiming images from a Vice President Kamala Harris rally were AI-generated to a spoofed robocall of President Joe Biden telling voters not to cast their ballot, the rise of AI is fueling rampant misinformation. ¶ Deepfake detectors have been marketed as a silver bullet for identifying AI fakes, or "deepfakes." Social media giants use them to label fake content on their platforms. Government officials are pressuring the private sector to pour millions into building the software, fearing deepfakes could disrupt elections or allow foreign adversaries to incite domestic turmoil. ¶ But the science of detecting manipulated content is in its early stages. An April study by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism found that many deepfake detector tools can be easily duped with simple software tricks or editing techniques. ¶ Meanwhile, deepfakes and manipulated video are proliferating.

A video of Harris (see still image below) resurfaced on X the day Biden dropped out of the race, quickly gaining over 2 million views. In the clip, she seems to ramble incoherently. But it's digitally altered. How can you know for sure? The Washington Post talked with AI experts, computer scientists and representatives from deepfake detection companies to find out how the technology works — and where it falls short.

Here are several key techniques deepfake detectors use to analyze content.



Original

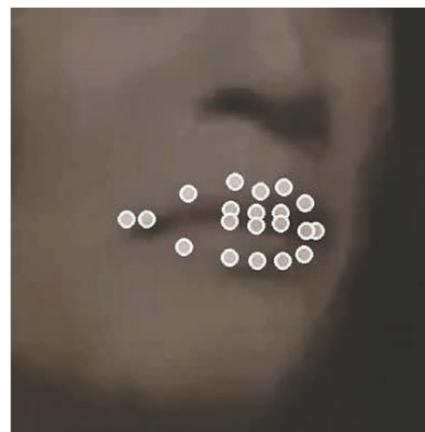
First, a video clip, sound bite or image is uploaded into a deepfake detection tool. There, the content is judged by a panel of expert algorithms trained to look for indicators of authenticity.



Face outline

One algorithm inspects the area around the face, looking for evidence that it was swapped onto another person's body.

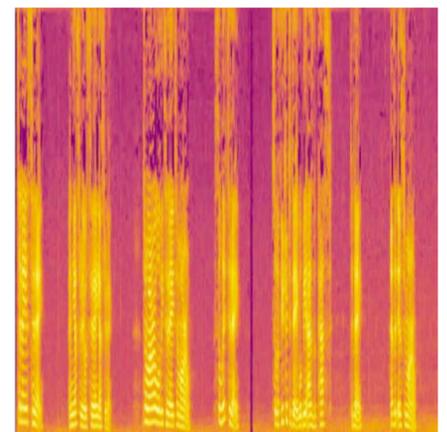
Result: This clip of Harris did not use a face swap, so the outline is not particularly suspicious.



Lips

Another tracks the lips for abnormal movements and unrealistic positioning.

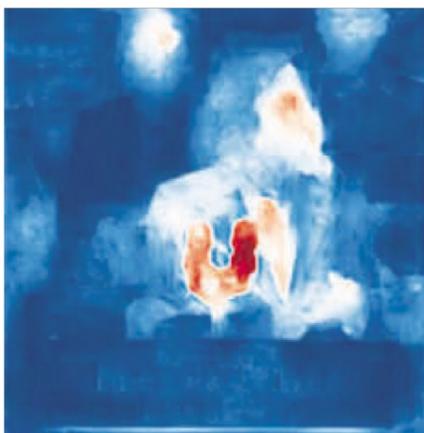
Result: Some frames in this clip show unnatural lip movements.



Audio

A third algorithm analyzes the sound, scanning for unusual vocal frequencies, pauses and stutters.

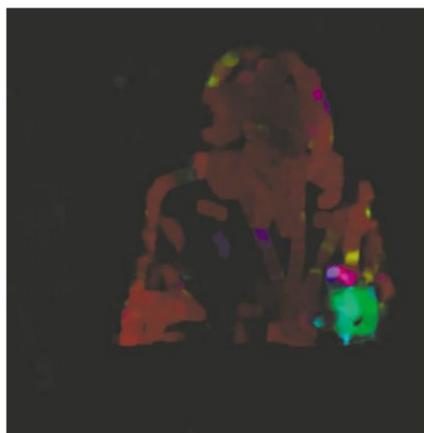
Result: This clip has some strange audio elements.



Pixel-level anomalies

Moving down to the pixel level, an algorithm examines imagery for patterns of visual "noise" that deviate from other areas.

Result: The red indicates suspicious visual "noise" in Harris's face and hands.



Optical flow

The next algorithm compares how pixels move between video frames, looking for subtle cues like unnatural jumps or the absence of motion blur present in authentic videos.

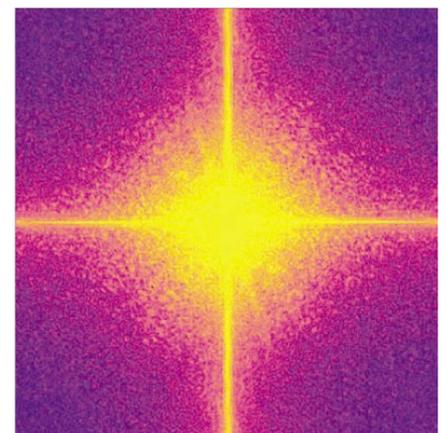
Result: This analysis of her movements is inconclusive.



Signatures of diffusion

Then an algorithm tries to remake the image using the diffusion technique that powers today's AI. The resulting image shows what diffusion was not able to reconstruct.

Result: Much of the original Harris clip can be seen in this output, meaning the visuals probably were not wholly generated by AI.



Signatures of GANs

Finally, the last algorithm looks for a checkerboard pattern in the pixel distribution, a hallmark of GAN, an older image generation technique.

Result: No checkerboard here means the older generative technique was not used.

Each algorithm's verdict is then combined by the detection tool into a final decision on whether the content is likely to be real or fake.

Result: This video was deemed highly suspicious.

If deepfake detection tools functioned properly, they could provide real-time fact-checking on platforms like Instagram, TikTok and X, eradicating AI-generated fake political ads, deceptive marketing ploys and misinformation before they take hold.

Policymakers from Washington to Brussels have grown increasingly concerned about the impact of deepfakes and are rallying around detectors as a solution. Europe's landmark AI legislation attempts to stem the impact of fake imagery through mandates that would help the public identify deepfakes, including through detection technology. The White House and top E.U. officials have been pressuring the tech industry to invest in new ways to detect AI-generated content in an effort to create online labels.

But deepfake detectors have significant flaws. Last year, researchers from universities and companies in the United States, Australia and India analyzed detection techniques and found their accuracy ranged from 82 percent to just 25 percent. That means detectors often misidentify fake or manipulated clips as

real — and flag real clips as fake.

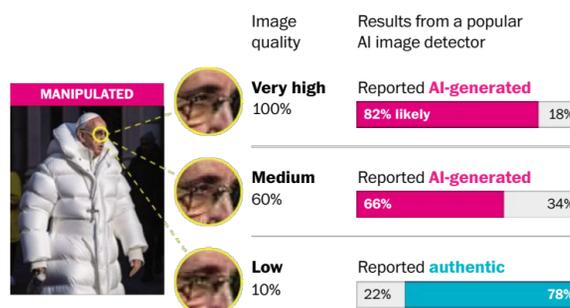
Hany Farid, a computer science professor at the University of California at Berkeley, said the algorithms that fuel deepfake detectors are only as good as the data they train on. The datasets are largely composed of deepfakes created in a lab environment and don't accurately mimic the characteristics of deepfakes that show up on social media. Detectors are also poor at spotting abnormal patterns in the physics of lighting or body movement, Farid said.

Detectors are better at spotting images that are common in their training data, researchers at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism said. That means detectors may accurately flag deepfakes of Russian President Vladimir Putin while struggling with images of Estonian President Alar Karis, for example.

They also are less accurate when images contain dark-skinned people. And if people manipulate AI-generated photos using Photoshop techniques such as blurring or file compression, they can fool the tools. Deepfakes are also adept at creating images that are one step ahead of

A simple trick to fool deepfake detectors: Lower the image quality

At its highest quality, the fake image of the pope in a puffer jacket is correctly categorized as AI-generated. But if the image is re-saved as a lower-quality JPEG, the same detector falsely says it's authentic.



detection technology, AI experts said.

Since detectors are far from perfect, humans can employ old-school methods to spot fake images and video online, experts said. Zooming in on photos and videos allows people to check for abnormal artifacts, such as disfigured hands or odd shapes in back-

ground details, such as floor tiles or walls. In fake audio, the absence of pauses and vocal inflections can make a person sound robotic.

It's also crucial to analyze suspected deepfakes for contextual clues. In the Harris video, for example, the lectern sign reads "Ramble Rants," which is the ac-

count name of the deepfaker.

Dozens of companies in Silicon Valley have dedicated themselves to spotting AI deepfakes, but most methods have fallen short.

Until now, the industry's biggest hope was watermarking, a process that embeds images with an invisible mark that only computers can detect. But watermarks can be easily tampered with or duplicated, confusing the software meant to read them.

Last year, leading companies including OpenAI, Google, Microsoft and Meta signed a voluntary pledge that requires them to develop tools to help the public detect AI-generated images. But tech executives are skeptical about the project.

"I received mixed answers from Big Tech," Vera Jourová, a top European Union official, told The Post at an Atlantic Council event. "Some platforms told me this was impossible."

The inability to detect AI-generated images can have real-world consequences. In late July, an image of a Sikh man urinating into a cup at a Canadian gas station went viral on X, fueling anti-immigrant rhetoric. But according to a post on X, the owner

of the gas station claimed the incident never happened.

The Post uploaded the image into a popular deepfake detection tool from the nonprofit AI company TrueMedia. The image was labeled as having "little evidence of manipulation," indicating it may be real.

Later, The Post received an email saying a human analyst at the company had found "substantial evidence of manipulation." Oren Etzioni, founder of TrueMedia, said its AI detectors are "not 100 percent accurate" and rely on human analysts to review results. Corrected results are used to "further train the AI detectors and improve performance," he said.

Farid said such inconsistent results are dangerous because people are "weaponizing" them to alter society's concept of reality. "It's making it so that we don't trust or believe anything or anybody," he said. "It's a free-for-all now."

The Post used the following deepfake detectors on manipulated and authentic media: TrueMedia, AI or Not, AI Image Detector, Was It AI, Illuminary, Hive Moderation, Content at Scale and Sight Engine.

FREE FOR ALL

Readers are attacking The Post's clickbait headlines. Here's the truth.

A recent newsletter featured the teaser "Fact Checker: Republicans are attacking Walz's military record. Here's the truth."

Where? Almost always, intro emails linking to full fact-checking articles mislead in their effort not to give the game away. The teaser above leaves the impression that there's actually something to question about Tim Walz's military record. There isn't.

Because many people don't have the time or interest to read an entire article on most subjects, the intro needs to give more than a non-suggestion of what the fact-finding shows. Otherwise, you are providing very non-neutral neutrality just to get people to read another article.

Fact-finding should reveal the truth, not hide it under a blanket of blandness.

Gail Goldey, Santa Fe, N.M.

Two too many

Regarding the Aug. 7 online headline "Too many D.C. Metro trains are run by exhausted (or drunk) drivers":

"Too many" implies there is a "many" at which the number of exhausted or drunk train drivers is acceptable. It would also seem that a critical public service charged with protecting lives would tolerate not many, or too many, but none at all.

That phrasing echoed the carelessness in the July 30 online headline "Too many children are drowning. These changes can help." This is The Post, not some junior high weekly.

Lyndon Dodds, San Antonio

Too, too few

The Aug. 9 front-page article "Activists weigh a stand at the polls" highlighted two Jewish women who are pushing for the United States to stop supplying arms to Israel.

Where is the front-page treatment for Palestinians or Arab Americans who are pressuring Hamas to release its hostages and end the war? Go deeper into the Arab community.

Wendy Leibowitz, Bethesda



The Aug. 4 Arts & Style cover

A 2 on the Giger counter

The full-page illustration on the Aug. 4 Arts & Style cover was insane. And I don't mean that in a good way.

Those who read the print edition are a different demographic from the social-media-absorbed/gaming-obsessed demographic The Post chases.

Reading online, one generally has a choice whether to click on a dark and disturbing image — and that image is usually minuscule compared with the one that arrived uninvited on our breakfast table.

Mary Kiraly, Bethesda

Democrat — ick! — politicians

The July 31 Style article "White Dudes for Harris' abide — and raise over \$4 million" said a fundraiser featured "a host of Democrat politicians." My understanding is that those who use "Democrat" as an adjective are Republicans trying to annoy Democrats.

Is the author a Republican trying to annoy Democrats?

Priscilla Holberton, Silver Spring

We apologize for almost everything on that page

At first, I found the little headlines before each letter in the Aug. 10 Free for All distracting and somewhat nonsensical. What, for example, did "Zip it, costumers" have to do with the reader's comment about The Post giving little coverage to the arts?

Then I got to "Slander, then slaughter" and "Slaughter, then slamming" and was appalled. These were two very serious letters about tragic events, and your cutesy headlines were disrespectful and tone-deaf. If you must add your own headlines to letters, please make them appropriate to the content.

Ava Chappell, Aurora, Colo.

We apologize for almost everything on this page

I suggest a low ceiling on items about national politicians in the Free for All section. They already dominate the paper and the regular letters section. We don't need them here, too.

Thomas Burket, Potomac



Vice President Kamala Harris during a campaign event in Wayne, Mich., on Aug. 8.

Sexist straw-manning is pretty ugly

In her Aug. 11 op-ed, "News flash: Kamala Harris is not a remake of Barack Obama," Kathleen Parker wrote, "Without her beauty, Harris might be joining Biden in retirement." News flash, Ms. Parker: Vice President Kamala Harris is successful because she is smart and competent and has a working moral compass.

Ms. Parker, you're an attractive woman yourself. Is that how you got your plum Post position?

I'll take smart, competent, moral, beautiful Harris over "not intellectually agile" Donald Trump's "childish impulses" any day — and most especially on Nov. 5.

Jean M. Falvey, Arlington

Kathleen Parker's claim that Democrats are touting Vice President Kamala Harris as the second coming of Barack Obama was news to me.

I was not a fan of Harris in 2020. However, she has grown into a candidate with mature, slightly left-leaning political positions. And since she was endorsed by

President Joe Biden and nominated by her party, I have seen a presidential-acting individual. Yet Parker addressed her appearance.

If Donald Trump is elected, I totally agree with Parker's closing words: "Good luck, America."

Howard Pedolsky, Rockville

Mentioning how Barack Obama described Kamala Harris as very good-looking is something I would expect from a tone-deaf politician such as Donald Trump, not a supposedly aware female columnist for The Post.

Kathleen Parker went on to dismiss genuine excitement about a new political leader by making comparisons with Obama. Who cares about him and his comments about Harris's physical attributes? She has become a worthy political force in her own right. Just goes to show that women can harbor the worst sexism.

Dorothy Gudgel, Herndon

The common (sense) touch

The Aug. 7 editorial, "Ms. Harris chose left. Now she needs to look center," on Vice President Kamala Harris's announcement of her running mate, called attention to Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz's work enacting a child tax credit, securing free meals for K-12 students and channeling billions of dollars to affordable housing. The Editorial Board fretted that Walz's record could give the impression that the ticket is in thrall to "out-of-touch liberalism."

Making it more affordable to have children, ensuring that those children have enough to eat and providing housing for people who can't afford it is common-sense good governance. How "out of touch" must the Editorial Board be to think that middle-of-the-road voters will be put off by policies that provide basic amenities for families and the working poor?

Truman Capps, Los Angeles

'Always Ready, Always There!' — the National Guard (and critics everywhere)

I was disappointed in the Aug. 8 news article "Walz's Guard service and departure face new scrutiny," about Tim Walz's 24-year military service.

As a retired Marine Corps Reserve officer who served 28 years and made multiple combat deployments, I know that Army National Guard units can be rife with internal politics because of the nature of the promotion process. In many cases, a soldier must leave through retirement or other means for another soldier to be promoted. Not all soldiers are great people. Giving a few critics in his unit a platform without fully understanding the dynamics of what was happening in that unit was unseemly and displayed a lack of judgment.

Michael Kies, Newport, N.C.



A former student points out football coach Tim Walz in a photo taken in 1999 in Mankato, Minn.

Tim Walz's true colors

Thank you for giving front-page placement to the beautiful, important article "Walz was an LGBTQ ally in a difficult era" on Aug. 10.

By interviewing both straight and gay former students of Tim Walz in the 1990s and early 2000s, The Post has expanded and added depth to our knowledge of the Minnesota governor. The former students' heartfelt quotes provide details of the

scope and sincerity of the support, comfort and sense of security Walz has offered the LGBTQ+ community. Their stories overflow with love, trust and friendship.

This comprehensive article has strengthened my admiration and just plain old liking of this decent man — and his equally exemplary wife, Gwen.

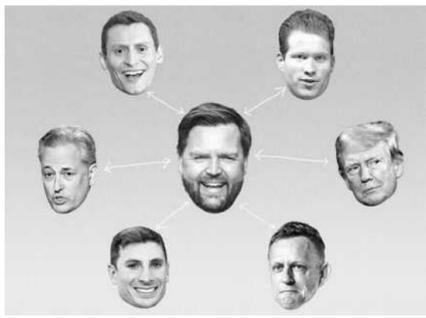
Barbara Morris, Falls Church

Fifty shades, and we just had to choose 49 and 50?

The Post is becoming increasingly estranged from the "paper" part of "newspaper." See the Aug. 3 news article "Poll finds rise in Americans' concerns about immigration." The online graphs illustrating Republicans' and Democrats' divergent views featured easily distinguished red and blue

dots. However, in the print version, these dots are virtually identical shades of dark gray. Clearly, the colors were chosen for the web version and then just dumped into the print version without any consideration of how they would look.

David Vandembroucke, Alexandria



Clockwise from lower right, JD Vance allies Peter Thiel, Jacob Helberg, David Sacks, Blake Masters, Joe Lonsdale and — well, we were unable to identify this last guy, but he has the look of a very stable tech genius.

So that's who the Five Guys are

The Post continues to present news stories with creative visual approaches that can engage readers, and The Post continues to confound rather than compel readers. How? By not identifying the people in the photographs that are part of illustrations.

The illustration accompanying the July 29 front-page article "Vance rose in politics on wings of tech elites" showed the faces of seven men. However, no caption informed readers about the men's identities. True, many probably recognize former president Donald Trump and his running mate, JD Vance. But not everybody recognizes faces that might be familiar in newsrooms but not in living rooms.

J. Ford Huffman, Washington



Oops! ... We did it again.

Top five answers on the board: Name a nicer word for 'wackadoodle'

The Aug. 1 Style article on the Murdoch "Family feud" tipped me past my tolerance for hearing people called "conservative" without any further clarification. My brain cannot put Rupert Murdoch (or Fox News darling Donald Trump) in the same category as Mitt Romney, Liz Cheney and Susan Collins. To my mind, mischief lies in generalizations that become so taken for granted that dishonorable aspects linguistically taint the honorable ones. Media outlets have tried using "far right," which seems to be a euphemism for people who regularly and knowingly spread lies and conspiracy theories. I wish I could think of something to suggest that's more dignified than "wackadoodle." Perhaps, since they mean to bring more heat than light to an issue, we could revert to an old online trope: "flamethrowers."

Nancy Chek, Silver Spring

Who (other than Cliff Clavin) knew barflies could be so interesting?

The July 29 news article "When it comes to sniffing out food, fruit flies have a system" took me back to my genetics class at Southern Methodist University in the mid-'70s. I spent hours working with Punnett squares attempting to determine *Drosophila melanogaster* sex, wing type and eye color, and they would not hold still until a whiff of chloroform.

Several weeks ago, I was sitting at the bar at my favorite adult watering hole in Plano, Tex. The bartender had accidentally left the fruit-slice tray open, and it was drawing swarms of fruit flies. Their aerobatics were like a Navy pilot approaching an aircraft carrier, I guess with smaller wing flaps and no rudders, but all had their landing gear down when they plopped onto the fruit slices. I did not have the heart to tell the bartender, who was busy serving customers and making tips, that the flies lay eggs on the fruit that will become maggots, then pupae, then adults — an entire life cycle in motion on her bar. These Plano fruit flies might be a new subspecies, *Drosophila melanogaster Texana*.

Jim Sherrard, Plano, Tex.

In hindsight ...

On June 10, the Style section featured a New York proctologist who specializes in cosmetic surgery on anuses ["The 'bottom whisperer' will see you now. Back there?"]. On Aug. 9, the Style section reprised its south-of-the-border fascination with a lively discussion of full-body deodorants' effectiveness in our sex-defining areas ["Do we really need deodorant 'down there?']."

Such articles belong in the Health & Science section or, better yet, the outhouse (along with a Sears-Roebuck catalogue). The judgment and taste in including such material in Style are way "down there."

Neil Shawen, Falls Church

OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

For Ms. Harris, political calculations add up to bad economics

VICE PRESIDENT KAMALA HARRIS'S speech Friday was an opportunity to get specific with voters about how a Harris presidency would manage an economy that many feel is not working well for them.

Americans are clearly still anxious and angry about the high cost of groceries, housing and even \$5.29 Big Macs. Though the inflation rate has cooled substantially since the 2022 peak, an ostensible Biden-Harris administration accomplishment, prices remain elevated relative to the Trump years.

Never mind that many stores are currently slashing prices in response to renewed consumer bargain-hunting. Ms. Harris says she'll target companies that make "excessive" profits, whatever that means.

Ms. Harris's housing plan is built on a slightly firmer foundation. In urging construction of 3 million new homes over the next four years, she puts her finger on the essence of the housing-affordability problem: insufficient supply.

Ms. Harris is on firmest ground when she advocates increasing the child tax credit from the current level of \$2,000 per kid up to \$3,600 per kid for middle-class and low-income families, and for making it easier for those lower on the income scale to access the benefit.

Voters are still anxious and angry about the high cost of groceries and housing. The vice president decided not to level with them.

above the poverty line. Assuming it's designed with appropriate work incentives, the child tax credit can be highly effective anti-poverty policy.

health insurance on the Affordable Care Act marketplaces; those tax breaks are part of the reason more than 92 percent of Americans have health insurance now.

Her ideas would cost money, yet she insisted in her speech that she would hold to President Joe Biden's pledge not to raise taxes on any household earning \$400,000 or less annually.

To be sure, every campaign makes expensive promises that will never come to pass, especially with a divided Congress.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Noah Lyles showed us the covid-19 pandemic is over — or did he?

In his Aug. 8 online sports column, "On the night Noah Lyles was to become a legend, he became a reminder," Jerry Brewer wrote that Mr. Lyles's collapse on the track at the Stade de France was a testament to the covid-19 pandemic's devastating legacy.

Dino Drudi, Alexandria

Regarding Candace Buckner's Aug. 10 Sports column, "At a career moment, Lyles thought only of himself. Been there."

As a physician who served on the front lines of the coronavirus pandemic, I already knew that countless people decided to put their own interests ahead of the health and the very lives of others when it came to spreading covid-19.

"Human nature," Ms. Buckner called the urge to put yourself first — but who had the luxury of indulging their human nature during the pandemic, and who did not?

One of the worst parts of the pandemic for me was knowing I was risking my life to care for strangers who would refuse to care for me, or anyone, if it got in the way of their own self-interest.

But, hey, at least health-care workers finally learned to put themselves first — just as Noah Lyles did.

Amy Fraser, Ottawa, Ontario

I believe that Noah Lyles should be stripped of his bronze medal for knowingly exposing the athletes he competed against — and, by extension, their teammates, families and friends — to covid-19.

Jerry Herst, Evanston, Ill.

The value of disappointment

I have really enjoyed watching and reading about our athletes who have done so well in the Olympics. However, there have been disappointments, among them: Swimmer Caeleb Dressel, who has won multiple gold medals in the past, did not win any individual medals this time.

DRAWING BOARD



DANA SUMMERS/TRIBUNE CONTENT AGENCY



MATT DAVIES/NEWSDAY

medley relay), and sprinter Noah Lyles did not win the 200-meter final.

But disappointments can be a good thing if taken with the right frame of mind. Though they are very painful, if we pause and think about it, they help us realize what is most important in life and be thankful for all the good things we do have.

Paul Coppola, Washington

An appealing fix

As Sally Jenkins noted in her Aug. 14 column, "Chiles loses her medal, and it all smells foul," the Court of Arbitration for Sport turned down Jordan Chiles's appeal to reconsider the revocation of her Olympic bronze medal.

error and award bronze medals to both Ms. Chiles and Romania's Ana Barbosu. Everyone wins, and we go back to celebrating all the joy and inspiration that these Games produced.

Jim McDaniel, Springfield

Remember the Paralympics

If we really cared about the remarkable heroes known as Paralympians, why not intersperse their events with the other Olympic events? Imagine the impact of watching a gold-medal swimming final immediately followed by a Paralympic swimming event, blind football or a wheelchair basketball game.

NBC told us at the end of the Closing Ceremonies that the Olympics had ended. But in my mind, since the Paralympic Games begin on Aug. 28 and continue until Sept. 8, the Olympics are only halfway through.

Glenn Easton, Chevy Chase

A greater Games

Regarding The Post's Aug. 13 editorial, "A new measure of global progress: the Olympics":

For all the success of the Paris Olympics, and the diversity of its medalists, the Olympic movement finds itself at a crossroads. The International

Olympic Committee wants to modernize — it wants "youthful Games" — and has added events such as surfing, breakdancing and sport climbing. At the same time, much of the Games' appeal is tied to their classical roots.

Medalists at this year's Olympics represented many countries, but the reality of the Olympics remains the same: The Olympics are less a gathering of the best athletes in the world than of the best athletes from rich countries.

The participation numbers have grown worse since 2016, when the wealthiest countries accounted for "only" 48 percent of athletes. GDP per capita remains the best predictor of Olympic success, and the IOC's flirtation with so-called youthful sports only makes the problem worse.

Rather than merely seeking relevance among the younger generations from rich countries, the IOC would find a more meaningful path forward by returning to three simple words once uttered by its founder: "Sport for all."

The goal of sport for all would be to significantly increase participation from countries in the developing world. The IOC has the resources: According to its most recent annual report, the IOC brought in \$7.6 billion in revenue from the 2017-2021 Olympic cycle alone.

The IOC can't waltz into developing countries and create Olympians, nor can it simply fund sports programs and expect to make a significant difference. Instead, it must harness the power of sport for larger development goals.

Given the IOC's reputation for elitism, graft and general dishonesty, it might seem like an unlikely agent of development. But the IOC has taken steps in a better direction, sponsoring an international Olympic Refugee Team at all Games since 2016.

Working with the United Nations, the IOC could invest in programs that would bring meaningful change to developing countries and build their sports programs at the same time.

Stephen Lane, Concord, Mass.

Guest opinion submissions

The Washington Post accepts opinion articles on any topic. Submit a guest opinion at oped@washpost.com or read our guide to writing an opinion article at wapo.st/guestopinion.

Letter submissions

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.

OPINION

EDITH PRITCHETT



EDITH

COLBERT I. KING

My prayer for Donald Trump — and the rest of us

At the conclusion of services at my church Sunday, a visitor and I got into a discussion about a Washington National Cathedral forum on reclaiming civility in public life held earlier this year. The name “Donald Trump” came up, and we found ourselves struggling to find the right words to describe him while standing on such hallowed ground. I have faced that dilemma before.

For four years, I followed that often-preached prescription to pray for those in positions of public trust. Thus, I prayed Sunday after Sunday that Trump would have the wisdom and discernment to faithfully carry out the duties of the president of the United States. I firmly believe that God answers prayers. But, as I’ve come to realize, it’s done in God’s way and in God’s own time.

Because for four years, the same Trump who brutally savaged his opponents in the 2016 Republican primaries went on to bully, ridicule, threaten and lie during his presidency. My prayers were not answered, at least not in accordance with my desires and timetable.

Yes, we prayed for a wise and just leader. Even as we had on our hands a president who craved adulation and lived to vanquish opponents, and whose single-minded focus was on himself. Four years of praying about and living with an arrogant, loudmouthed, lightweight president and his insufferable grandiosity.

Nothing about Trump has changed since his eviction from the White House by the 2020 voters. He continues to polarize the country, sowing bitter-

ness, division and fear. And armed with his dreadful narcissism, Trump seems to be beyond anyone’s counsel.

Thus, here we are again, confronted with the reality that Trump is going all out to regain access to the Oval Office — America’s pinnacle of civil authority.

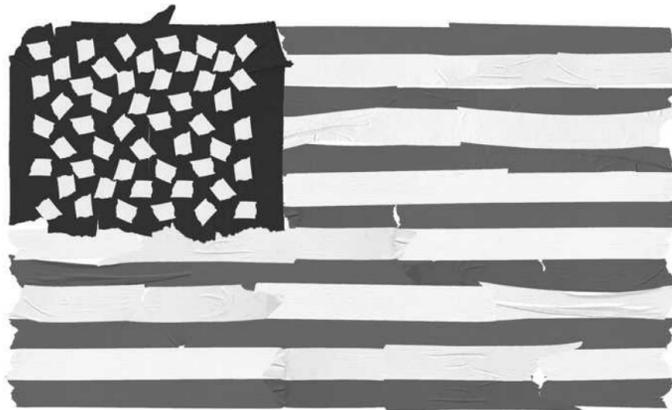
My thoughts return to the theme of Washington National Cathedral’s forum, “With Malice Toward None, With Charity for All: Reclaiming Civility in American Politics.” How does the nation spend the next three months until Election Day?

At the beginning of the forum, cathedral Dean Randy Hollerith said, “I can think of few topics more important than civility and the need for civil discourse in order for our democracy to thrive.” And he set a high bar. He said the focus of the cathedral’s programs is to “remind people that even our worst enemies, political or otherwise, are the beloved children of God and should be treated as such.”

How does the nation spend the next three months until Election Day?

Keeping that in mind as we encounter Trump on the campaign trail is asking a lot. But it is the correct challenge. The presidential campaign of Vice President Kamala Harris, in response to Trump’s reach for the jugular, shouldn’t go low. It shouldn’t give in to contempt and hate or speak about Trump and his supporters in dehumanizing ways. The Harris team should be bent on bringing civility to this election year. They should lean into healing this country, not tearing it apart.

That is my election year prayer. Oh, yes, and I fervently pray that Donald Trump gets help.



THE WASHINGTON POST

A recipe for cooling down American politics

BY JOHN PAUL LEDERACH

As a practitioner engaged with peace processes around the world for the past four decades, I am asked with increasing frequency an unsettling question: Are we headed toward civil war here in these United States?

Such a question isn’t preposterous. In other places I have worked, deliberate toxic polarization — exclusion, political control and the dehumanizing of adversaries — has contributed to repeating cycles of armed conflict. Once unleashed, wars become very hard to end.

We are not exempt. The divisions in our country are not new. But in recent years, we have witnessed a significant fraying of our social fabric. Public officials and their families have come under assault, as have civil servants and even ordinary people. Indeed, a survey in May found that nearly half of Americans think a civil war in our country is either likely or very likely.

But not all the news is bad. Research published in late July confirms an important finding: Across partisan divides, Americans greatly overestimate the willingness of their adversaries to use violence. That means we have a rare opportunity to de-escalate.

Local leaders in dozens of war-torn countries have shown how to do it.

I especially recall a meeting in 2019 in Valledupar, in northern Colombia, that defied logic given 50 years of armed conflict in that country. People from all sides of the political, ethnic and cultural divides — every one of them personally affected by violence — sat around a table. Two of them had family members who had been extradited and imprisoned in the United States: one the son of a prominent paramilitary leader and, on the opposite side, the brother of a FARC guerrilla commander. Yet there they were together, talking and listening. Learning. Eating. Even laughing. They rarely agreed; in fact, they argued with passion. But they kept on talking to pursue a shared conviction: Despite their deep differences, the violence had to stop.

They called their ongoing conversation the “Improbable Dialogues.” For me, who had worked with victims in this same region at the height of violence 20 years earlier, the gathering left an indelible impression.

But Colombia is not the only place I have seen this kind of courage. I saw it in the cross-community work over decades in Northern Ireland, and in the remarkable work of the “women of Wajir” in the border areas of Kenya and Somalia, who brought about the end of widespread warfare between clan-based militias.

It can work here, too. With our current divides, many people feel forced into choosing sides. We pull back from relationships where even a hint of political difference exists. We consider *who* said something and *whom* they associate with to judge the merit of *what* they said. We talk a lot *about* those we don’t like. We rarely talk *with* them. To feel safer, we engage only with people who agree with us.

Places like Valledupar offer examples of people who had to navigate historic harm, poisonous poli-

tics and open violence. Their willingness to engage and think innovatively made the difference. Indeed, achieving and sustaining an end to armed conflict requires a web of people who, despite their differences, are willing to confront the forces of violence where they live. They suggest a way forward for us.

First, we need to reach beyond our isolated bubbles. In other places, reaching out frequently started with a few people who had the imagination to take a small risk: They dared to open a conversation with their perceived enemies in their own community. This small step was the start of a meaningful journey.

Second, we have to rehumanize our adversaries. We must have the courage to confront dehumanizing language and behavior, especially when it comes from within our closest circles. For many, like the Improbables in Valledupar, these became guiding daily practices: Refuse to belittle others. Stay curious about their lives. Speak about your own deeply held convictions without blame, retreat or demonization.

Finally, we need to stick with it. We can’t just pull away when difficult issues emerge. We must engage on policy but also acknowledge deep-seated fears, historic wrongs and identity differences. People who learn to stay the course know that politics without violence is possible only when we stay connected. It’s hard, but not nearly as difficult as stopping a war.

The very notion of the Improbables suggests the unexpected can have transformative power. When former enemies jointly propose ideas, it shocks the system of toxicity. People can no longer react instinctively; they must stop and look twice. Even a short pause of curiosity opens potential for a more meaningful conversation.

Our country could use a good pause. Thankfully, we have many such efforts already underway.

The Bridging Divides Initiative, the Citizen Connect platform and the Weave Community have developed national maps where local people are engaging across divides throughout our nation. StoryCorps’ One Small Step initiative shows the potential and power of one-on-one conversation among highly diverse people and in places we would least expect a meaningful dialogue.

The One America Movement, joining up with religious communities, has reached more than 1.3 million people who constructively confront toxic polarization over political, religious and racial divides. Or take the Sustained Dialogue Institute: Informed by deep international experience, it has supported campus-based programs at nearly 100 universities in the United States. Its approach encourages students to begin enduring conversations about the volatile issues that matter most on their campuses.

The best way to end a civil war is to stop it before it happens.

Will Americans have the courage to nurture these initiatives demonstrating that politics — honest partisan politics — can thrive without violence? I believe we can, and we must.

John Paul Lederach is professor emeritus of international peacebuilding at the University of Notre Dame, senior fellow at Humanity United and author of “The Pocket Guide for Facing Down a Civil War.”

The Washington Post | LIVE

Upcoming Programs



WED. AUG. 21 AT 1:00 P.M.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

Rep. James E. Clyburn (D-S.C.)

Clyburn joins from the Democratic National Convention in Chicago to talk about the Harris-Walz campaign strategy, the Black vote and the prospects for Democrats regaining control of the House of Representatives.



THURS. AUG. 22 AT 11:00 A.M.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

Sen. Chris Murphy (D-Conn.)

Murphy joins from the Democratic National Convention in Chicago to discuss the stakes for the 2024 election, the Democrats' policy priorities and U.S. support for Israel.



FRI. AUG. 23 AT 9:00 A.M.

SUBSCRIBER EXCLUSIVE FIRST LOOK

The Post's Jonathan Capehart, Ruth Marcus and Ramesh Ponnuru

Washington Post Live's "First Look" offers a smart, inside take on the day's politics. Jonathan Capehart hosts a reporter debrief followed by a roundtable discussion with Washington Post columnists.



WED. SEPT. 4 AT 2:00 P.M.

MAX BOOT

Author, "Reagan: His Life and Legend"

Boot discusses his new memoir chronicling Reagan's journey from Tampico, Illinois to Hollywood to the White House.



TUES. SEPT. 10 AT 4:00 P.M.

HONORING PUBLIC SERVICE: THE UNTOLD STORIES

Michael Lewis and W. Kamau Bell

Lewis and Bell profile government workers whose essential work is often an untold story.



WED. SEPT. 11 AT 1:30 P.M.

WORLD STAGE: A CONVERSATION WITH MATTHEW G. OLSEN

Assistant Attorney General for National Security

As the nation marks the anniversary of the 9/11 terror attacks, Olsen offers insight into the current threat of domestic and international terrorism.

Next Month

This is Climate Summit: The Global Stakes



Kristalina Georgieva
Managing Director,
International Monetary Fund



Jennifer Morgan
State Secretary & Special
Envoy for International
Climate Action for Germany



Tina Stege
Climate Envoy for
the Marshall Islands



Tim Latimer
CEO & Co-Founder,
Fervo Energy



Kimberly Budil
Laboratory Director,
Lawrence Livermore
National Laboratory



Susana Muhamad
Minister, Environment &
Sustainable Development
of Colombia



James Balog
Photographer & Founder,
Earth Vision Institute



Tiffany M. Atwell
Senior Vice President,
Global Government Relations,
Ecolab

Content from Ecolab

Monday, Sept. 23

As world leaders gather for the United Nations General Assembly, we explore the course of climate change across all seven continents, the lessons for humanity and the solutions for new pathways.

To register for program updates, visit
wapo.st/climatesept23

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74°	79°	81°	77°

High today at approx. 5 p.m.
84°
 Precip: 50%
 Wind: SSE 10-20 mph

RETROPOLIS
 For stories about the past, rediscovered, visit [washingtonpost.com/retropolis](https://www.washingtonpost.com/retropolis).



MARYLAND
 Mourners remember Declan Hicks, 5, who died after a moon bounce he was in went airborne. **B3**



OBITUARIES
 Activist Eddie Canales, 76, spanned the political divide to mitigate migrant deaths in South Texas. **B4**

CAPITAL LETTERS



PHOTOS BY CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Hometown vibes in a junior star's pro debut

Applause and adversity find Clervie Ngounoue at the DC Open, held five minutes from where she grew up

BY SAPNA BANSIL

Clervie Ngounoue stepped onto the court as the announcer called her name. The young standout athlete was about to play her first match at the DC Open in Rock Creek Park. Her cerulean blue braids were tied back in a neat bun. Over her shoulders was a large red backpack with her tennis rackets.

After years of training, practicing and competing, Ngounoue had at last graduated from the junior circuit to the professional ranks. She'd been invited to participate in her hometown tournament, held five minutes from where she grew up.

A round of applause echoed through the stadium. "I see you, Clervie, let's go!" a woman shouted.

Ngounoue had spent many summer days at the Rock Creek Park Tennis Center, watching the best players in the world compete at this tournament and cultivating a dream to be like them.

Eleven days after her 18th birthday, she returned as a professional. It represented a step up for her nascent career: stiffer competition, a brighter spotlight and the pressure of performing as friends and family watch.

SEE TENNIS ON B2



TOP: Clervie Ngounoue competes at the DC Open on July 30. ABOVE: Family and friends fuel the raucous applause for the child of Cameroonian immigrants, whom an announcer at the tournament dubbed "the next great American tennis player."

Virginia suggests limits on phones

'BELL TO BELL' BAN URGED FOR SCHOOLS

After feedback, guidance to be finalized Sept. 15

BY KARINA ELWOOD

The Virginia Department of Education is recommending that school districts ban cellphone use on school grounds from "bell to bell" — a departure for many divisions that allow students, particularly high-schoolers, to use the devices between classes and during lunch.

The directive, released in draft guidance Thursday, comes about a month after Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) issued an executive order directing the education department to develop guidelines for "phone free learning environments." The executive order comes amid a wave of efforts across the country to restrict cellphones in schools.

The guidance, however, stops short of outlining how a student's phone should be restricted, stating only that it must be "stored and off."

"This draft guidance is the result of Virginians coming together and saying, 'Enough,'" Virginia Secretary of Education Aimee Rogstad Guidera said in a statement. "Virginia parents and teachers have witnessed firsthand the damage cell phones in schools has had on our youth's academic, mental and physical health and social development."

SEE PHONE BAN ON B2

Teen gets 25 years in attempted shooting

Judge finds attack on Pr. George's school bus was 'willful, deliberate'

BY JASMINE HILTON

The teen known as "Baby K," who at 15 years old repeatedly pulled the trigger of a loaded but malfunctioning handgun that was aimed at another teen on a school bus in Prince George's County, was sentenced to 25 years in adult prison Friday afternoon for his crimes.

Earlier this year, Kaeden Holland, now 17, pleaded guilty to attempted first-degree murder and use of a firearm in the commission of a crime of violence in a deal with prosecutors. The sentencing closed a chapter in a lengthy case that has highlighted the shortcomings of the juvenile justice system and Maryland's high rate of incarceration of Black youths.

"But for an act of God, this clearly would have been a homicide," said Prince George's County Circuit Judge Michael R. Pearson, who handed down the sentence. Prosecutors had recommended 25 years to be served at the Patuxent Institution, a Maryland prison that offers a youth offender program, which the judge also imposed. Attempted murder in Maryland is punishable by up to life in prison.

Michael Lawlor, Holland's attorney, argued for the judge to consider the many risk factors in

SEE SENTENCING ON B2

Voters know Kamala on a first-name basis. It goes beyond politics.



Petula Dvorak

It's Kamala. Hillary. Nancy. But not Joe, Donald or Barack. What's up with the first-name treatment we give women in power?

"We're constantly being reminded that there are only a few women in politics, and so it's this exceptionalism that we're reinforcing over and over again," said Mirya Holman, an associate professor at the Hobby School of Public Affairs at the University of Houston who often gets a casual "Mirya" rather than "Professor Holman" in her workdays.

True, it's more likely to happen when you have a distinct name like Mirya or Kamala.

There are tons of reasons to explain this away in politics.

"It's tricky with these particular candidates," said Kelly Dittmar, an associate



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Supporters hold up signs at Vice President Kamala Harris's campaign event in Atlanta on July 30.

professor at the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University.

Former secretary of state Hillary Clinton was working to distance and distinguish herself from husband Bill Clinton. For Vice President Kamala Harris, "it gives her something to lean into in terms of her distinct identity," Dittmar said.

And let's be honest, women in leadership are constantly fighting another twist in cultural stereotyping by finding the balance between showing authority and being called nasty, or bossy or b-----y. (Like when my fourth-grade report card didn't say I showed leadership qualities when I led group situations — Mrs. French said I was "bossy.")

Then there's the added challenge of retail politics to finding that elusive, person-I'd-want-to-have-a-beer (wine)-with quality on the campaign trail. It's simply easier for voters to

SEE DVORAK ON B3

Proposed phone restrictions come amid nationwide push

PHONE BAN FROM B1

The development in Virginia comes as leaders around the country increasingly look to restrict cellphone use in schools, often citing concerns about mental health as well as disruptions to learning in the classroom. Parents, educators and students have been divided on the subject, with some wanting to see students learn how to responsibly use the devices and many others eager to see phones completely removed from campuses.

In Fairfax County, the state's largest school district, the current policy allows high school students to use cellphones in between classes and during lunch.

The district is, however, already rolling out a pilot program in seven middle schools and eight high schools to lock cellphones away. Participating mid-

dle schools will use magnetic pouches to lock phones for the duration of the school day, and the high schools will have students place phones into storage units at the beginning of each class.

The state's education department said it compiled the guidelines after listening sessions were held around the state this summer.

The draft guidance will be available for feedback through Sept. 15 before it is finalized. School divisions then would review and possibly revise their policies to align with the guidance.

"The extensive input we received from Virginians was clear and direct," Superintendent of Public Instruction Lisa Coons said in a statement. "They asked for cell phones and personal electronic communication devices to be removed from our chil-

dren's public schools during the school day at every level — elementary, middle, and high school."

In Fairfax County, the district's cellphone pilot will begin a few weeks after classes resume for the new year.

During the first week of September, students in the middle schools participating in the pilot will receive pouches that they will be responsible for bringing to school. At the start of each day, students will place their phone in the pouch then touch it to a magnetic locking station that will seal it. Students will tap the pouch at the station at the end of the day to unlock their phones. If a student forgets their pouch, the phone will be stored in the front office.

The school district plans to review data from the pilot in January to determine how to move forward.



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R), seen in 2022, issued an executive order last month directing the state's education department to develop guidelines for learning environments that are free of phones.

Success not a 'straight journey,' teen finds

TENNIS FROM B1

As Ngounoue and her opponent, Peyton Stearns, warmed up, the announcer proclaimed Ngounoue "the next great American tennis player." The crowd whooped and clapped.

Members of Ngounoue's family began filling multiple rows of metal bleachers in a corner of the stadium. Her parents, Aimé and Cicily, Cameroonian immigrants who have traveled the world in support of their three tennis-playing children, sat near the front.

Under Aimé's tutelage, Ngounoue began playing junior tournaments when she was 13 and soon won a number of prestigious competitions. By 16, she was ranked the No. 1 junior in the world.

Her first professional season reached a pinnacle two days before she played in D.C., when she won a tournament in Dallas. The DC Open represented a different caliber of competition. Stearns, 22, is just four years older than Ngounoue. But in tennis, that difference is a chasm.

Ranked 51st in the world, Stearns was the best player Ngounoue had faced all year.

Ngounoue wanted to win, but this stage of her career was equally about other things: embracing challenges, giving her best and making peace with the results.

The day before the match, she said: "I know it's not a straight journey. ... I can't just get there in a snap of my fingers — as much as I want to."

When she is on her game, Ngounoue's serve crackles at over 100 mph.

But soon after play began, that serve began to fail her. Some sailed long, others smacked into the net. As the errors mounted, so too did Ngounoue's angst. Between points, she hung her head and inspected her racket strings. She looked toward her coach for help before the umpire offered a gentle reminder: Coaching during the match was not permitted.

After racking up nearly two dozen mistakes on her serve, Ngounoue lost the first set. She



PHOTOS BY CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

popped into a chair and covered her face with a towel.

To stay in the match, she had to win the next set.

Her family offered encouragement. "Allez, kiddo, allez!" her mother shouted.

She steadied her serve but fell behind in the second set because of wayward groundstrokes and strong hitting from Stearns. As she sensed the match slipping away, she threw her hands up.

"What am I supposed to do?" Ngounoue yelled to her supporters.

"One point at a time," they urged.

She staved off three match points and rallied to extend the second set to a tiebreaker. Her family roared. Her coach urged her to keep fighting.

But she couldn't pull through. Stearns won.

On her way off the court, Ngounoue hugged one of her supporters, signed a few tennis balls and waved to the crowd



ABOVE: Clervie Ngounoue, 18 arrives at the DC Open. LEFT: Ngounoue fell short in her pro debut, losing in two sets to a player ranked 51st in the world.

that cheered for her once more.

As she walked toward the players lounge, fans shouted "Good job!" and "We're proud of you!" Ngounoue picked her head up and quietly thanked them. It was all she could muster in the aftermath of a frustrating loss.

About 45 minutes later, she sat with local media for a post-match interview.

How did she cope with losing control of her serve? someone asked.

"I laugh first, so that I don't cry," she said. "... I'll just try to go back to my fundamentals, honestly."

What would she take away from the match?

"It's obviously one that I'm going to learn from," Ngounoue said. "As they all are."

Prosecutors: People were traumatized after shooting attempt on school bus

SENTENCING FROM B1

Holland's life that contributed to the likelihood of juvenile delinquency, including Holland growing up in a single-parent household in a neighborhood rife with crime and poverty, and being a victim of gun violence himself.

"I feel as though it's a cruel trick that gets played on so many young people, through no fault of your own ... that's what was handed to you, and so you might slip up," Lawlor said. "When you slip up, you get to go to jail for 25 years."

The crime on May 1, 2023, was caught on surveillance footage, an assault that prosecutors say traumatized the 14-year-old victim, a bus driver and bus aide, and the Prince George's community at large when it went viral.

The one-minute video was

played in court Friday, showing Holland and two other teens force their way onto a school bus that had stopped in Oxon Hill, according to prosecutors. Holland pointing the gun at the 14-year-old's head and chest and pulled the trigger three times, but each time, the gun malfunctioned. During the attempted shooting, the group also beat the teen repeatedly and prevented him from getting off the bus.

While the sound was off on the video in court, Sherrie Waldrup, chief of homicide and the strategic investigations unit in the Prince George's County State's Attorney's Office, said the audio revealed the driver praying to Jesus, the slide of the gun being racked multiple times and the teenage victim pleading for the bus driver to drive away.

"This was a nightmare," Waldrup said in court.

Lawlor argued that Holland's crime received disproportionate attention compared with other violence in the county because it was captured on video.

"Had Mr. Holland done the same crime just outside the camera's view. ... no one would be in here," Lawlor said. "Where was the outrage a year prior when Mr. Holland was shot?"

The teen victim's mother and the driver delivered emotional victim impact statements virtually from a monitor in the courtroom.

Since the bus attack, the bus driver said she has suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder and that her physical health declined. The victim's mother said she had to move her son "across the United States" and that he

refuses to ride on a school bus again.

Waldrup said the attack was planned and coordinated, stemming from a neighborhood rivalry in Temple Hills. She also argued that the incident marked an increase in violent behavior by Holland, which included a history of acts of aggression against students and teachers. The teen had also not taken advantage of the services offered while in the juvenile system, she said.

Holland had prior involvement with the juvenile system, involving a deadly weapons misdemeanor. He was placed under six months of supervised probation, but despite not completing any of the services required, the case was closed "unsuccessfully," according to testimony from the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services.

About two months later, the school bus attack took place.

Due to confidentiality laws, the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services cannot comment on specific cases, it said in a statement Friday.

Holland was charged in an unrelated homicide in the District on May 3, 2023, according to two individuals who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the ongoing investigation. The victim in the D.C. shooting is the sister of an alleged accomplice in the attempted bus shooting in Maryland, according to individuals familiar with the investigation. Holland was on the run for about a month before he was caught.

According to his attorneys, Holland had experienced much trauma in his life, including substance abuse, being shot in the leg at 14

and witnessing the fatal shooting of a friend.

Holland still faces a charge of first-degree murder while armed in the District. The case is pending, according to juvenile records reviewed by The Washington Post.

Holland read from a letter he wrote before Pearson handed down the sentence. He apologized to the victims and his own family. He said he was close to graduating high school and wanted to go to trade school to become a plumber or earn his commercial driver's license to be a truck driver.

"I wish the things that went on ain't happen," Holland said.

His family and his attorney declined to comment after the hearing.

Keith L. Alexander contributed to this report.

PETULA DVORAK

The politics of women's first-name treatment

DVORAK FROM B1

imagine that with someone they know on a first-name basis.

Former House speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) signs everything "Nancy." "It's a chicken-and-egg thing, did they start calling her 'Nancy' and she just owned it?" Dittmar said.

And there are male exceptions — Ike and Bernie. The slogans worked in their favor, as everyone liked Ike and Sanders supporters felt the "Bern."

In Harris's case, it's definitely a generational thing. My Gen Z son who's in college was clear about that: "Her name is unique, like a lot of us," the college student whose circle includes Red, Linus, Imogen and Pirate said. "I don't know any Donalds or Georges. Plus, it shows she's not just another White person. 'Harris' can just be any old White guy."

Truth. "Her generation represents a real turning point that we're becoming a multicultural nation," Holman said. In fact, Harris was born before the 1967 *Loving v. Virginia* Supreme Court case that made banning interracial marriage unconstitutional.

So it can make sense why this happens on the campaign trail.

But hold on, that doesn't erase the theory that short-handling women to their first names doesn't have something to do with our culture's intractable gender bias.

Oh no, that stuff is all around us.

If anecdotal evidence (female professors often tell me that students ditch the titles and casually use their first names almost immediately) isn't enough, there's a whole field of studies that show this, especially in science and tech.

"Across eight studies combining archival and experimental methods, we report evidence for a gender bias in how people speak about professionals," a report published by the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences said.

"When discussing professionals or their work, it is common to refer to them by surname alone (e.g., 'Darwin developed the theory of



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

evolution"), the study said. "We present evidence that people are more likely to refer to male than female professionals in this way. This gender bias emerges in archival data across domains; students reviewing professors online and pundits discussing politicians on the radio are more likely to use surname when speaking about a man (vs. a woman)."

It's pronounced in the medical field, where studies show female physicians are "more than twice as likely as their male counterparts to be addressed by their first name in messages from patients," according to a Mayo Clinic Open Research Letter published by JAMA.

It's not just patients who slip into such familiarity. More studies showed that female doctors doing grand rounds got introduced by their first names, and at one international oncology conference, there was a surprising disparity in the ways male and female speakers were introduced — titles, full names and accomplishments for



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: Hillary Clinton and her husband, former president Bill Clinton, in New York City during her 2008 presidential bid. The former secretary of state is often referred to by her first name. ABOVE: A sign for Vice President Kamala Harris, who has leaned into her first name in part for branding.

men, and first names of women who are equally qualified, credentialed and titled.

It's been excused away as a sign of affection and familiarity. Nope.

"I'm not 'kid' or 'dear,'" the former Sunbury, Pa., city administrator Jody L. Ocker said, explaining to the city council why she was resigning from her job in 2020.

"I bring with me 28 years of experience from a career in which I was extremely successful in leading people and organizations," she said, according to the Patriot-News article by John Beauge.

It's not kindness. Let's revisit the Jan. 6, 2021, insurrection of our nation's Capitol building, if we need evidence of that.

The rioters in the video footage of the attack (always good watching, to remind us of the facts) stormed into the building shouting two names, specifically:

"Hang Mike Pence!"
And "Nancy! Nancy! Nancyyyyyy!"

MARYLAND

Dozens gather to honor 5-year-old boy who died in flyaway moon bounce

BY TAMILORE OSHIKANLU

A tiny blue casket, adorned with a picture of a dinosaur, sat at the center of South Potomac Church, as dozens of family members and friends gathered to bid farewell to 5-year-old Declan Hicks. The young boy from Maryland died two weeks ago after a moon bounce he was playing in became airborne before landing in the middle of a baseball field in Waldorf.

Tissue boxes lined the floor of the church as the somber crowd listened intently to the funeral that was also live-streamed. The sorrow was palpable as Declan's

family, teachers and pastor spoke about the boy's profound impact in such a short time.

Kaila Johnson, Declan's teacher, took a deep breath before she began to speak. Her voice trembled as she tried to hold back tears. "As an educator, I will tell you that we do not have favorites, but certain students pull on your heartstrings a little more than others," Johnson said. "Declan was one who pulled a little more."

She struggled to look out into the audience: "I know that during his short life, he was so loved. Declan left imprints on the hearts of many, but he took a little piece of mine to heaven with him," she

said, her voice breaking slightly.

Despite the sorrow, a soft smile crossed Johnson's face as she recalled the Declan she knew and loved. He was "a kindhearted friend, always willing to give up his crayons if someone else needed it," she said, painting a picture of a boy whose generosity knew no bounds.

Bill Young, Declan's grandfather, shared similar memories of the boy's welcoming spirit. "He went out of his way to find kids, to bring them in or to join them," Young said. "He was a friend to everyone."

The Rev. Susan Boehl, Declan's Bible teacher at Blessed Lambs

Preschool, delivered the obituary, her words echoing the sentiments of those who spoke before her. She paused, gathering herself before she began, and described Declan as a "beacon of joy and courage."

Boehl's face brightened slightly as she remembered Declan's infectious personality. "From the earliest days at Blessed Lambs Preschool, Declan's boundless energy and insatiable curiosity were unmistakable," she said. "He navigated the playgrounds and classrooms with a sense of wonder that was truly contagious with every new day."

In an unexpected moment, De-

clan's parents, David and Sara Hicks, took the stage to speak about their son, despite not being listed in the program. The couple walked hand in hand to the front of the church. David, supporting his wife, embraced her throughout the speech. Sara, her eyes cast downward, shook her head, unable to speak through the overwhelming grief. David continued for both of them.

"Being his father was the best five years of my life," he said. "I wouldn't expect anything else."

David paused, a bittersweet smile forming as he recalled one of his favorite memories. He said his favorite part about coming

home after work was lying on the floor to let Declan run and jump on him. "It hurt at times. It really did, but it made him happy, so that's all I really cared about."

As his voice began to quiver, David continued, determined to honor his son. "He's gone, but we've got to live on, and I've got to try my best to make him proud. So we'll be kind, loving to others, just to keep him going along with us."

Before returning to their seats, David led the audience in a tribute to Declan's immense love for dinosaurs. On the count of three, the entire audience erupted in a collective roar that echoed throughout the church.

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On Holy St. Jude, Apostle and Martyr, Great in Virtue and Rich in Miracles, Near Kinsman of Jesus Christ, Faithful Intercessor of all who invoke your special patronage in time of need, to you I have recourse from the depth of my heart and humbly beg to whom God has given such great power to come to my assistance. Help me in my present and urgent petition. In return, I promise to make your name known and cause you to be invoked. St. Jude, pray for us and all who invoke your aid. Amen. Say three Our Fathers, Three Hail Marys, and Glorias. This Novena has never failed. I have always had my request granted. (pray it with faith for nine consecutive days starting the Thursday of any week) Publication must be promised

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OBITUARIES

EDDIE CANALES, 76

Activist spanned political divide to blunt migrant deaths

BY HARRISON SMITH

Eddie Canales, a former union organizer who provided humanitarian aid to migrants traversing the arid scrubland of South Texas, installing scores of water stations and helping the families of the missing track down lost parents, spouses, siblings and children, died July 30 at his home in Corpus Christi, Tex. He was 76.

The cause was pancreatic cancer, said Nancy Vera, vice president of the South Texas Human Rights Center, the small nonprofit that Mr. Canales founded and led for more than a decade.

Under Mr. Canales, the organization sought to alleviate a humanitarian crisis in the sparsely populated brush of Brooks County, Tex., where dozens of migrants die each year while trying to circumvent a Border Patrol checkpoint 70 miles north of the Rio Grande.

"This is the real Death Valley," he told the Guardian in 2022, comparing the arid Texas region — where temperatures routinely hit triple digits in the summer — to California's stifling desert basin.

Mr. Canales was effectively retired, looking after his ailing mother after years spent working with unions in Texas and Colorado, when he began advocating for migrants and their families in late 2012. That year, the remains of 129 bodies were found in Brooks County, including a 12-year-old boy from El Salvador, identified as Elmer Calinga Ceballos, who had been trying to reunite with his family in the United States.

The migrant death toll had risen dramatically since 2010, when deputies found 22 bodies in the county, according to the Brownsville Herald. Many of the migrants were dropped by smugglers, known as coyotes, who instructed their followers to walk through the brush, avoiding the checkpoint south of Falfurrias, the county seat, before being picked up on the other side and driven to Houston or San Antonio.

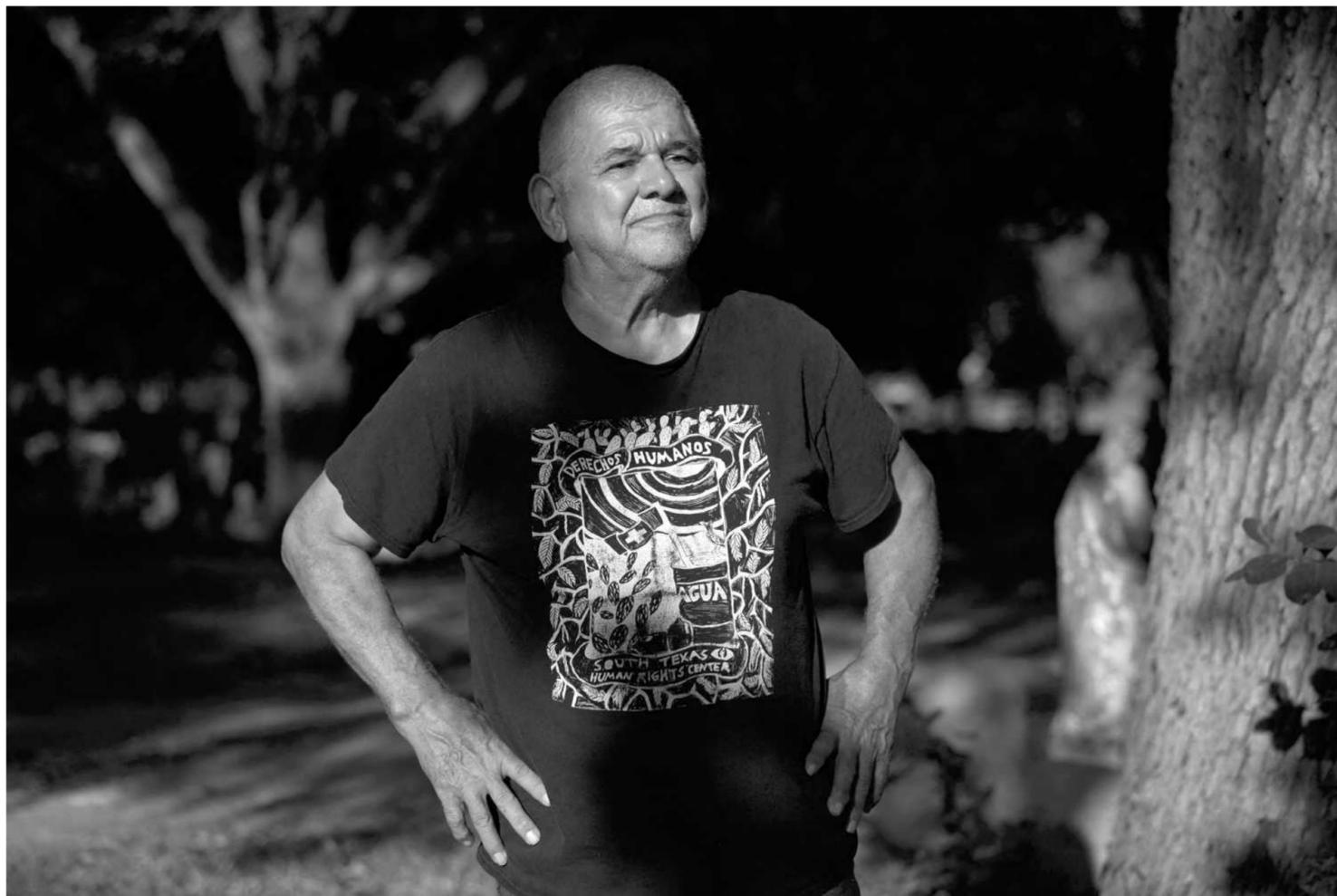
Mr. Canales helped organize protests and a news conference to spotlight the immigration crisis, then founded his organization in 2013, working out of a cramped office across from the Falfurrias courthouse. His stated mission: "to end death and suffering on the Texas/Mexico border."

Starting out, he focused on providing water to migrants, a task that proved especially challenging given that virtually all of the region's land is privately owned. It didn't help that Mr. Canales was an outsider, making the 80-mile drive from Corpus Christi a few days each week.

Before long, however, he had gained credibility by winning the trust of Presnall Cage, a politically conservative rancher who took a hard-line stance on immigration but permitted Mr. Canales to install 55-gallon barrels on his property, which Mr. Canales kept stocked with jugs of water.

"He'd just seen too much death," Mr. Canales told the New Yorker in 2022, recalling how he proposed the project to Cage after a year in which some 16 bodies were recovered from the rancher's land. Mr. Canales added that in making his pitch to Cage and other ranchers, he championed the project as an apolitical human rights effort, with a practical benefit for the landowners: "I tell them, 'If there's water available, they're less likely to come knocking on your door.'"

Eventually, Mr. Canales and his colleagues installed more than 200 water stations across South Texas, according to Vera.



ALLISON DINNER/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The barrels are bright blue, marked with flags and labeled with the word "Agua," and placed along roads, fence lines, craggy mesquite trees and stretches of grassland that are almost as sandy as a beach. The conditions can make it difficult to cover ground in the dress shoes that migrants are sometimes found wearing in anticipation of their destination.

As Mr. Canales gained national recognition, giving interviews and appearing in a 2020 documentary, "Missing in Brooks County," that explored the immigration crisis, he increasingly fielded calls from people whose loved ones had gone missing in the area. He began collaborating with the Border Patrol and the sheriff's office, helping coordinate search-and-rescue missions and, at times, assisting in the recovery of remains.

For years, when unidentified bodies were recovered in the county, they were buried, at times in unmarked graves. Mr. Canales and other activists helped push for the enforcement of a Texas law mandating that unidentified remains undergo DNA testing, and championed the exhumation of unidentified bodies from the county cemetery, seeking to bring comfort and closure for the families of the missing.

The effort led to a horrifying revelation when researchers exhuming a mass burial site at the cemetery found remains "in trash bags, shopping bags, body bags, or no containers at all," the Corpus Christi Caller-Times reported in 2014. Three years later, about 20 sets of remains had been identified, with anthropologists and students from Texas State University, Baylor University and the University of Indianapolis participating in the effort.

"I think it's very hard for people to connect in the fact that these were human beings," Mr. Canales told the Caller-Times, reflecting on the discovery of the



JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

Eddie Canales, seen in the top photo in 2022, installed scores of water stations for migrants traversing South Texas — sometimes with the permission of conservative ranchers. Mr. Canales, seen above in 2017 repairing a marker for a male who died on a migrant trail, also led searches for the missing.

informal cemetery graves. "It just goes to the language, to the words, and words mean a lot: 'All these were illegals.' Even in death, they wound up not getting the proper respect."

Mr. Canales often noted that it was difficult to quantify how many migrants died while passing through the county. Sheriff Urbino "Benny" Martinez, who described the county in the documentary as "the largest cemetery in the United States," estimated that only 1 in 5 migrants who die there are ever found.

As Mr. Canales saw it, there was plenty of blame to go around for the crisis, including at the feet of coyotes who took advantage of migrants and sometimes misled or extorted the families of the dead. He also cited a broader issue, "death by policy," arguing that U.S. lawmakers welcomed cheap labor and focused on im-

migration enforcement while failing to address the violence and instability that drove people to leave their homes.

"We create the smuggling industry," he told the San Antonio Express-News in 2017, "because we don't have a system that creates safe, orderly and regular migration."

The younger of two sons, Eduardo Osiel Canales was born in Corpus Christi on Jan. 12, 1948. His parents were migrant farmworkers from the Rio Grande Valley, where Mr. Canales spent part of his childhood in the border town of Salineño. His father moved north to work at the steel mills outside Chicago, and his parents later divorced, with Mr. Canales staying with his mother in a rural community outside Corpus.

"I never really saw indoor plumbing until I was 12," Mr.

Canales said in 2015, interviewed for an oral-history project at Texas Christian University.

To help support the family, he shined shoes, swept a barbershop floor and cleaned up at a cafeteria. After graduating from high school in 1966, he worked the night shift at Eastern Airlines, cleaning planes and loading and unloading baggage. Part of his duties included handling the caskets of soldiers who had been killed in the Vietnam War, an experience that prepared him, he said, for his work recovering the remains of migrants.

By 1968, Mr. Canales was studying political science at the University of Houston, where he became involved in organizing and political activism, galvanized by the United Farm Workers and the union's five-year strike against grape growers in California. He joined the Mexican Amer-

ican Youth Organization and campaigned for its political offshoot, the Raza Unida Party, which advocated for Chicano rights. As a member of the party, he ran unsuccessfully for state representative in 1976.

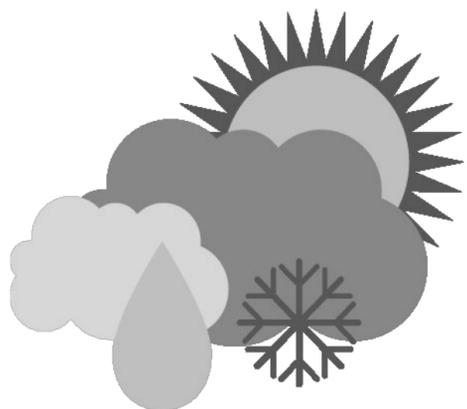
Mr. Canales left school without receiving a degree and helped start a Houston community center, Centro Aztlan, where he worked with undocumented immigrants. He moved to Denver in 1986, representing janitors as an organizer with the Service Employees International Union, and 12 years later became an organizer with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, with a mission to expand the ranks of Hispanic immigrants in the union.

Eventually he returned to Texas, where his friend Maria Jimenez, an immigrant rights activist, encouraged him to get involved in Brooks County. As he saw it, he took the same approach to helping migrants that he did to organizing for unions. Both came down to "developing a connection," he told the New York Times in 2019. "And then, you know, I mean, I'm still the same pushy guy."

Survivors include two children, Eddie Jr. and Erika Canales; and a granddaughter.

Although Mr. Canales said he developed fruitful relationships with Border Patrol officers and local ranchers, he also encountered opposition to his advocacy efforts, including from vandals who stole or damaged water stations. The documentary showed him scrubbing a barrel to remove a Trump-era slogan, "Build the Wall Now."

"In organizing, we have something we call 'cold anger,'" Vera said in a phone interview, describing a feeling of quiet frustration that, held inward, becomes a source of fuel. "It's an anger that helps you do the work, makes you more caring and dedicated to the work. That's what Eddie had," she added. "He manifested cold anger."



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DEATH NOTICE

ROY

JOHN A. ROY SR.
08/15/1948 - 08/13/2024
Officers and members of IBEW Local 26 are hereby notified of the death of Retired Brother John A. Roy, Sr. Our condolences are extended to his family and friends.

TOLIN

KATHRYN TOLIN
Kathryn Tolin passed away on June 21, 2024, at the age of 75 in Ann Arbor, MI. Born in St Louis MO, she lived in northern Virginia for 50 years, working in intelligence and helping to oversee the digitization of the Library of Congress' catalog after receiving her MA in library sciences from the University of Maryland. A great lover of history and travel as well as a devoted mother, she is survived by her son Christopher Tolin Riedel (Liz White), and her sister Ann Tolin (Marty Crimmins). By her request no services will be held, but donations in her name can be made to the Alzheimer's Association.



When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.



DEATH NOTICE

BAUER



CHRISTINA FOX BAUER
Christina Fox Bauer passed away peacefully on August 4, 2024 with her sons by her side following a brief and sudden illness. She was vacationing with her family and friends in her beloved Maine woods at the time of her death.

Born on October 22, 1948 in Toledo, Ohio, Christina was a graduate of Whitmer High School in 1966 and graduated magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio in 1970 where she was a member of Zeta Tau Alpha sorority. She received a Master's Degree in Library and Information Science from Indiana University in 1974.

As a dedicated, non-stop mother, Christina was a volunteer at her children's schools, the Montgomery County Public Library, and

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DEATH NOTICE

DOHERTY



me the greatest joy of my entire life." She cherished the little ones, sat on the floor and entertained them for hours, walked cockily to parent and grandparent, in the words of another grandson, "She and Grandpa taught us how to be good people, how to live with integrity, how to stand up and do the right thing."

What became a cherished tradition for Ethel became the entire family was the family beach week in North Carolina. For four plus decades, generations of the Doherty clan traveled south for beach week each summer. The headcount exceeded 40.

Ethel treasured friendships and created deep connections with people of all ages. Relationships forged in years of overseas living were important to her, especially with the church family from "Santa Lata" in Buenos Aires. She stayed in touch with high school friends, and made many new friends in the decades in post-war Europe and installed in them a love of reading and a love of learning. When in doubt, said one grandson, "Ask Grandma. She knows everything."

She taught her children and grandchildren how to parent and grandparent, in the words of another grandson, "She and Grandpa taught us how to be good people, how to live with integrity, how to stand up and do the right thing."

DEATH NOTICE

FRAZIER

JUDITH TALIAFERRO FRAZIER (Age 73)
Judith Taliaferro Frazier of La Plata, MD passed at University of Maryland Medical Center, Baltimore on June 16, 2024 at the age of 73, surrounded by her loving family.

Judy retired as Town Clerk in July of 2009. Upon her retirement, Mayor Hale who had known Judy for over 16 years said, "It's been a pleasure to know her and work with her for so many years. Her dedication to her job and to the Town of La Plata have been outstanding. Her warm, outgoing personality coupled with her desire to help anyone at any time will leave a legacy that will be remembered for a very long time." Those who knew her would love to ask her how she was doing and to hear her reply with a smile, "Fat and Sassy."

Judy is survived by her husband William of La Plata; son Victor Frazier (Catherine); grandchildren Philip, Stephen, and Peter Frazier; nephews, Thomas Eckard, Charles Eckard (Pamela), Steven Reid, Scott Eckard; nieces, Heather Leadbetter (Eric), Rebekka Eckard, aunt, Mary Bonnett of West Monroe, Louisiana; and numerous cousins. Judith is predeceased by her parents; mother-in-law, Louisa Frazier; sister, Kitty Burdette; brother-in-law, William Burdette; niece Ogege Eckard; and nephew, Michael Lupton.

A Celebration of Life will be held at 4 p.m. on August 19, 2024 at Arehart-Echols Funeral Home, La Plata, MD, with visitation from 2 to 4 p.m. Please wear something yellow - Judith's favorite color.

DEATH NOTICE

HAIT

JAYSON HAIT (Age 74)
Beloved sister, Free spirit and Friend to animal and human. Jayson Hait passed peacefully in her home in Washington, DC on Thursday, June 20, 2024. Born to Hilda and Hyman Hait in New Jersey, April 27, 1950. Jayson is survived by her sister Judy Hait Raphael in Massachusetts. Her sister Carol Hait Wolosky and husband Irwin in New Jersey and her brother Alan Hait and his wife Rose. She is also survived by nephews, nieces and their families across the country. Family was very important to Jayson. She was often a mediator.

Jayson was a strong willed and benevolent spirit who would not allow anyone to derail her pursuits. Her meticulous attention to detail in her business and personal life was surpassed only by her kindness and generosity when it came to animals and the needs of others. Jayson's passion for words led her to open a copy-editing business, Eye 4 Detail. She was continually sought after for her services. Jayson had many noteworthy clients from diverse areas: from publishing manuscripts to working for several First Ladies including Hillary Clinton and Michelle Obama.

DEATH NOTICE

MACKENZIE

DOUGLAS BAIN MACKENZIE
Douglas Bain Mackenzie, born July 17, 1966, died in his sleep of natural causes on July 19, 2024, two days after his 58th birthday, and on his father's 94th.

Doug spent multiple childhood summers at the northern Adirondack wilderness camp, Tanager Lodge, learning Native American lore, survival and mountaineering skills. He graduated from St. Albans School in Washington, DC, in 1984, then attended Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT. There, he included time in Madras, India (now Chennai) for study of the South Indian Classical music tradition (Carnatic), principally the mrdangam. He later returned on a Ford Foundation grant for re-immersion in mrdangam, singing and solkattu, the recitation of rhythmic and tonal syllables. Doug created the practice and performance of multiple instruments over his lifetime in concert with dancers and in collaboration with other musical traditions.

Professionally, Doug developed a movement

DEATH NOTICE

MATHIESEN

SANDRA ELAINE WINDSOR MATHIESEN "Sandy"
Born August 29, 1950 in Norfolk, Virginia to parents John R. Windsor and Emily Murray Windsor. She passed peacefully, at home, with her husband and daughter by her side, on August 10, 2024.

Best friend, wife, and partner of Mark John Mathiesen for over 55 loving and fun-filled years. They met on the first day of college (but he had to work for her hand) and married three weeks after graduation on June 17, 1972.

In 1992, she became a loving mother to Sarah Elaine Mathiesen - guiding her through her life and supporting and celebrating her many academic, athletic, and professional achievements.

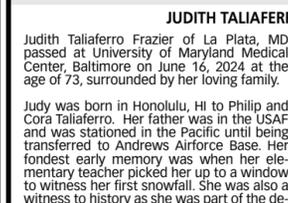
Sandy graduated from Fort Hunt High School, Alexandria, Virginia (1968); the College of William and Mary with a B.A. in English (1972); and Peabody College at Vanderbilt University with an M.S. in Library Science (1975). She was a member of the Kappa Delta Sorority chapter at William and Mary.

Sandy began her career teaching high school math in Robertson County, Tennessee. She found her greatest joy and success as an elementary school teacher, first as a student teacher while in college in Virginia, then in Tennessee, as a teacher and librarian at Harpeth Academy in Franklin, Tennessee, and finally, briefly, as a teacher in the Washington DC public schools.

After moving to Washington, DC in 1982, she shifted from teaching into a career in government. She became a trusted aide to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, working on constituent services and legislation involving natural

DEATH NOTICE

GLICKFIELD



LOUIS LEONARD GLICKFIELD (Age 92)
Louis Leonard Glickfield, the Marlo Furniture Company founder who built Marlo into the largest furniture retail chain in the DC-MD-VA region, died on August 15, 2024 at the age of 92. As a child of the Depression who at a young age displayed a business acumen and passion for negotiating and buying and selling, Lou went from selling used furniture out of the back of a truck to overseeing the creation of five Marlo Furniture warehouse showrooms throughout the metropolitan area totaling over 800,000 sq ft of space.

Lou built his first warehouse showroom in Forestville, MD in 1972 to compete with Levitz Furniture which was slated to enter the DC-area market with three massive warehouse showrooms, a novel retail concept at the time. A cover story in the Washington Post Business section in March, 1977 put it this way: "In one of the nation's most competitive major retail furniture marketplaces, Marlo has been growing during an era when Levitz brought its huge showroom concept here and the recession put many big names in furniture out of business." Adding "Glickfield's achievement is pure 'Horatio Alger'."

After the Forestville store and the already existing flagship store on 7th and I Streets NW, Lou went on to create warehouse showrooms in Alexandria/Springfield, VA, Laurel, MD and Rockville, MD, employing over 600 people. In spite of its dramatic growth, Lou always thought of Marlo as a family business.

Lou's business strategy was simple. He used his negotiating prowess to buy "close-outs" from the major furniture manufacturers and other items on very favorable terms so he could pass along the savings to Marlo's clients. He advertised aggressively, making sure the public knew that Marlo's prices beat out its competitors.

Lou won many retail awards over the years,

DEATH NOTICE

ROGERS

NANCY ROGERS (Age 84)
1940-2024
Nancy Rogers (Clifford) died Thursday, August 8, 2024 surrounded by the family that loved her, after a brief and sudden illness. Everyone who knows Nancy was equally shocked and saddened by her death - she was healthy, lively and sharp - and seemed much younger than her 84 years.

Nancy is survived by her children, Patrick (Elizabeth) Timothy (Stephanie) Matthew (Aimee) John (Sandy), Kathleen, and Andrea. She was predeceased by Arthur Rogers her beloved husband of 54 years and her daughter Julie. Nancy also had three grandchildren, Stella, Jude and Charlee, and she loved dearly. She taught all her children to work hard, play fair, and treat people with respect.

Nancy was the center of gravity for her big loving family. Her husband and kids always came first - no one could have asked for a better mother. She was there to support us in (almost) everything we wanted to do, to catch us if we fell, and cheer us on, down all the years. And like her sisters and brother and parents, Nancy was blessed with an advanced sense of Irish wit and humor which came in handy while raising seven children. Nancy loved big family dinners that would

DEATH NOTICE

THOMPSON

MERLE O'ROURKE THOMPSON
Merle O'Rourke Thompson, Professor Emerita of Northern Virginia Community College, died on Tuesday, August 13, 2024, at her home, Goodwin House Alexandria, having lived life to its fullest for 92 years.

Under her professional name, Dr. Thompson served on the NOVA faculty for 28 years before retiring in 1997. In addition to teaching English, she held several administrative positions, including chair of English, Annandale campus.

Dr. Thompson was born in 1932 in Montreal, Quebec and raised in Windsor, Ontario. She received the B.A. from the University of Windsor, the M.A. from Loyola-Marymount of Los Angeles, and the Ph.D. from American University, Washington D.C. After moving to Alexandria in 1958, she taught in Alexandria and Arlington schools. During residence in the 1960s in Manhattan Beach, CA, Dr. Thompson began a program for local gifted elementary students based on her degree studies. During the 1970s, she was a charter member of the Committee for the Gifted and Talented for Alexandria Public Schools, conducting a longitudinal study of student success that assured the continuation of that program.

Her doctoral dissertation on Writing Anxiety was profiled in the Washington Post in 1980, prompting her to set up workshops for individuals, as well as government and business offices. Dr. Thompson was the co-author of Language and Reality, a college textbook. She published articles in professional journals and reviewed popular cancer books for

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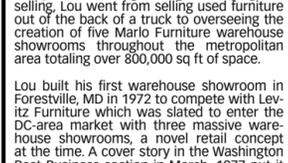
DEATH NOTICE

ROY

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TOLIN

KATHRYN TOLIN
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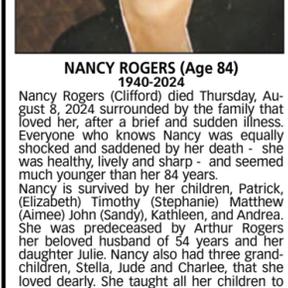
When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.



DEATH NOTICE

BAUER



CHRISTINA FOX BAUER
Christina Fox Bauer passed away peacefully on August 4, 2024 with her sons by her side following a brief and sudden illness. She was vacationing with her family and friends in her beloved Maine woods at the time of her death.

Born on October 22, 1948 in Toledo, Ohio, Christina was a graduate of Whitmer High School in 1966 and graduated magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio in 1970 where she was a member of Zeta Tau Alpha sorority. She received a Master's Degree in Library and Information Science from Indiana University in 1974.

As a dedicated, non-stop mother, Christina was a volunteer at her children's schools, the Montgomery County Public Library, and

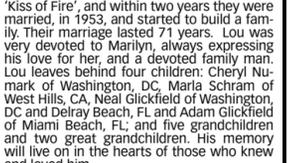
DEATH NOTICE

ROY

JOHN A. ROY SR.
08/15/1948 - 08/13/2024
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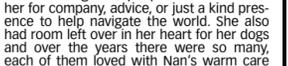
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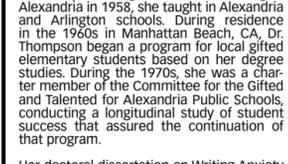
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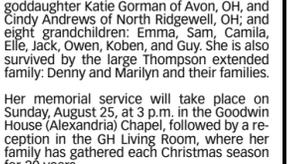
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THE WEATHER

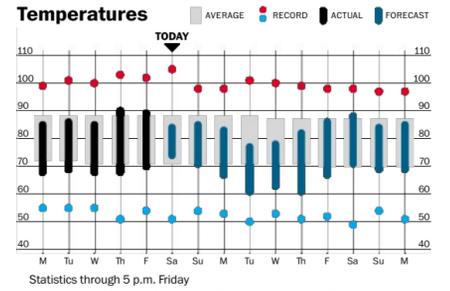
WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WEATHER · X: @CAPITALWEATHER · FACEBOOK.COM/CAPITALWEATHER

A possible storm on a humid day

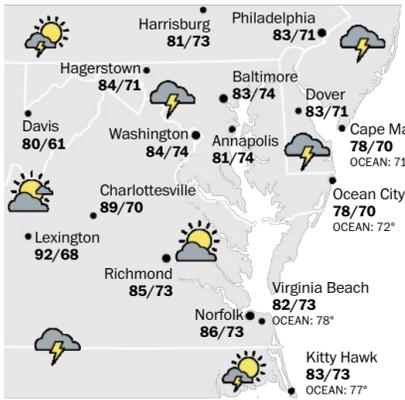
 Clouds could be numerous at times, but the day should be partly cloudy on the whole. The best chance of showers or a storm could come midday or in the afternoon, which could moderate highs a bit. Temperatures should head for the mid-80s in most spots, perhaps upper 80s downtown and low 80s well north and west. Humidity will be back to high levels, so you'll certainly feel it.

Today	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
T-storm	Shower, t-storm	T-storms	Showers	Partly sunny	Partly sunny
84° 74°	85° 71°	83° 67°	77° 61°	78° 63°	82° 61°
FEELS*: 88°	FEELS: 94°	FEELS: 88°	FEELS: 80°	FEELS: 82°	FEELS: 84°
CHNCE PRECIP: 50%	P: 90%	P: 80%	P: 60%	P: 10%	P: 15%
WIND: SSE 10-20 mph	W: SSE 6-12 mph	W: W 7-14 mph	W: NW 8-16 mph	W: WNW 7-14 mph	W: W 6-12 mph
HUMIDITY: High	H: High	H: High	H: Low	H: Low	H: Low

OFFICIAL RECORD



REGION



Pollen: High

- Grass: Moderate
- Trees: Moderate
- Weeds: Moderate
- Mold: High

Air Quality: Good

Dominant cause: Ozone

UV: Moderate

3 out of 11+

Blue Ridge: Today, mostly cloudy, a stray thunderstorm; humid in northern parts. High 74 to 80. Winds west-southwest 7-14 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy, a thunderstorm around; humid in northern parts. Low 62 to 66. Winds southwest 7-14 mph.

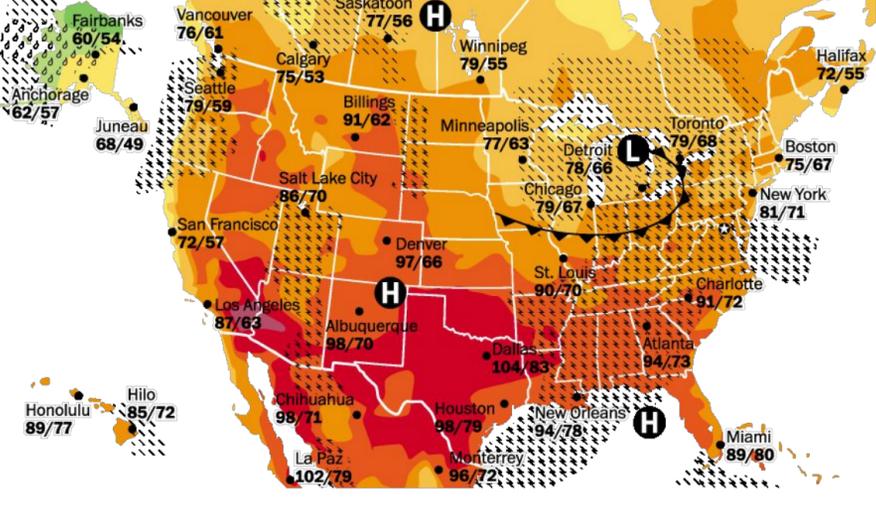
Atlantic beaches: Today, sunshine, some clouds. Windy this morning, humid in the north; a stray afternoon thunderstorm in the south. Watch for rip currents. High 78 to 86. Winds south 7-14 mph.

Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, cloudy, widely separated thunderstorms. Wind south-southeast 8-16 knots. Waves 2 feet or less. *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, partly sunny, a stray thunderstorm. Wind south 10-20 knots. Waves 1-2 feet on the Lower Potomac; 2-4 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 3.50 feet today, rising to 3.60 Sunday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in Bold)

Washington	12:43 a.m.	6:27 a.m.	1:53 p.m.	7:06 p.m.
Annapolis	4:07 a.m.	10:41 a.m.	3:32 p.m.	9:50 p.m.
Ocean City	12:09 a.m.	5:54 a.m.	11:58 a.m.	6:31 p.m.
Norfolk	2:06 a.m.	7:59 a.m.	1:56 p.m.	8:27 p.m.
Point Lookout	7:03 a.m.	11:47 a.m.	5:32 p.m.	none

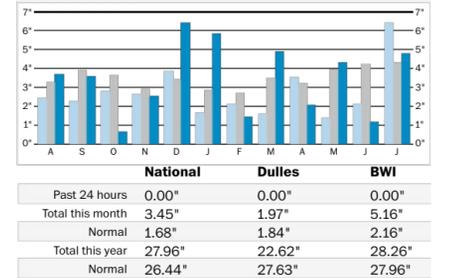
NATION



NATIONAL

City	Today	Tomorrow	City	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	81/68/t	80/68/t	Des Moines	83/62/s	83/63/s
Albuquerque	98/70/s	97/71/s	Detroit	78/66/t	76/62/t
Anchorage	62/57/c	66/54/r	El Paso	105/78/s	101/75/s
Atlanta	94/73/t	89/70/t	Fairbanks, AK	60/54/sh	73/50/c
Austin	101/75/s	102/76/pc	Fargo, ND	80/59/s	83/59/pc
Baltimore	83/74/t	83/70/t	Hartford, CT	83/69/c	81/68/c
Billings, MT	91/62/s	97/67/c	Honolulu	89/77/pc	90/76/sh
Birmingham	94/72/t	91/68/t	Houston	98/79/s	100/79/pc
Bismarck, ND	81/59/pc	84/62/s	Indianapolis	84/65/t	78/63/t
Boise	99/67/s	94/65/s	Jackson, MS	98/77/t	102/77/t
Boston	75/67/t	78/65/c	Jacksonville, FL	91/71/s	93/74/t
Buffalo	83/68/t	77/64/t	Kansas City, MO	86/66/s	84/64/s
Burlington, VT	82/68/sh	80/68/t	Las Vegas	105/83/c	105/81/s
Charleston, SC	91/74/s	93/74/t	Little Rock	95/77/t	99/73/t
Charleston, WV	91/67/t	79/65/t	Los Angeles	87/63/s	87/63/s
Charlotte	91/72/t	89/67/t	Louisville	91/69/t	81/67/t
Cheyenne, WY	92/62/s	88/61/c	Memphis	94/76/t	93/72/s
Chicago	79/67/sh	80/64/pc	Miami	89/80/t	90/79/r
Cincinnati	88/65/t	76/64/t	Milwaukee	79/67/sh	79/63/pc
Cleveland	83/67/t	76/65/t	Minneapolis	77/63/pc	84/62/pc
Dallas	104/83/s	106/84/s	Nashville	89/73/t	86/70/t
Denver	97/66/s	91/64/pc	New Orleans	94/78/t	98/80/t
			New York City	81/71/c	77/71/t
			Norfolk	86/73/t	88/73/t

Precipitation



Moon Phases



Solar system

Planet	Rise	Set
Sun	6:24 a.m.	8:00 p.m.
Moon	7:04 a.m.	3:22 a.m.
Venus	8:05 a.m.	8:56 p.m.
Mars	1:11 a.m.	3:55 p.m.
Jupiter	1:07 a.m.	3:47 p.m.
Saturn	9:00 p.m.	8:22 a.m.

A step in the right direction



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

A person walks down a D.C. alleyway Tuesday just off I Street NW as the late-morning light creates a reflection.



The Guide to Offers
The Washington Post

Enter for the chance to win a pair of tickets to Randy Rogers Band on August 24 at 9:30 Club

Fronted by singer-songwriter Randy Rogers and featuring Geoffrey Hill (guitar), Jon Richardson (bass guitar), Brady Black (fiddle), Les Lawless (drums) and Todd Stewart (guitar, fiddle, mandolin, keyboards), the Randy Rogers Band was founded in San Marcos, Texas, and has spent more than 20 years bringing the Texas country tradition to dedicated fans far and wide. The band dropped album *Homecoming* in 2022. "The Randy Rogers Band is the compass point for what Texas country is, and *Homecoming* is as splendid an example of it as any other, with striking appeal in every track, never letting you down, and exemplifying everything that Texas country is supposed to be" (savingcountrymusic.com).

See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)



Project 2025 bag was more trouble than it was worth

BY WILL SOMMER

Author Malcolm Harris opened the door of his Capitol Hill home on Tuesday morning to find a D.C. police officer on his stoop.

The officer had come to find out what Harris knew about a missing “Project 2025” duffel bag from the conservative Heritage Foundation think tank — and the documents that had been inside. But Harris wasn’t interested in chatting.

“I don’t talk to the police, so we didn’t have a very long conversation,” Harris told The Washington Post.

For the Heritage Foundation, it’s hard to imagine a worse person to come across a bag full of their internal files than Harris. A Marxist journalist with a sense of humor and three books critiquing capitalism to his name, including the 2023 national bestseller “Palo Alto,” Harris has dedicated his life to the opposite of Heritage’s conservative politics.

In a city built on politics, Washingtonians of wildly different political persuasions typically manage to work, live and forget their duffel bags around one another without the situation escalating to a police investigation. Then again ...

In Harris’s telling, he came into possession of the duffel bag on the evening of Aug. 9, as he walked to pick up a cheesecake. At the corner of Sixth and E Streets NE, Harris passed a low-set ledge where he says people often leave free, unwanted items. (As Harris reenacted his discovery of the bag at the corner a week later, someone was giving away a succulent.)

“People in Capitol Hill just leave a bunch of really nice stuff out all the time,” said Harris, who once picked up a coffee machine on the same block. “This is, in fact, not the nicest duffel bag I have found outside for free on Capitol Hill.”

As he walked up to the bag, Harris recalled later, he couldn’t believe what he was seeing. The blue-and-white, preppy-style banker bag carried branding for Project 2025, the sprawling Heritage project that has become a political third-rail for Donald Trump’s presidential campaign.

Project 2025, a wide-ranging blueprint for a second Trump presidency created by many people with close ties to the ex-president, has become a weight around Republicans’ necks and a sort of byword for Democrats’ concerns about an extremist future in a second Trump

SEE BAG ON C2



WILL SOMMER/THE WASHINGTON POST

This Project 2025 duffel bag was found by author and journalist Malcolm Harris on Aug. 9. Harris says it was left on a ledge where people often leave free, unwanted items.



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK; JULIA NIKHINSON/AP PHOTO

A fast-food job that Harris hopes registers with voters

1 in 8 Americans have worked at McDonald’s, including the vice president

BY EMILY HEIL

Democratic presidential candidate Kamala Harris is emphasizing her middle-class bona fides, and one of the lines she’s coming to rely on in public appearances to make that case is a lesser-known entry on her résumé: former McDonald’s worker.

In an ad that debuted last week, the Harris campaign highlighted her stint at the Golden Arches. As the camera pans across a set of vintage family photos, the narrator intones: “She grew up in a middle-class home. She was the daughter of a working mom. And she worked at McDonald’s while she got her degree.”

Harris also mentioned the job at last weekend’s rally in Las Vegas, where she told an enthusiastic crowd that “only in America” could two middle-class kids — referring to herself and her running mate, Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz — grow up to be on a ballot for the nation’s highest offices. “I had a summer job at McDonald’s,” she said, by way of underscoring her humble background.

Harris has mentioned her time at McDonald’s before. But her experience as a visor-sporting fast-food worker certainly isn’t as widely known as many of her other biographical signposts, such as California attorney general, senator, vice president — or even avid cook and Converse sneakerhead. And so to many people just getting to know Harris after President Joe Biden dramatically dropped out of the race, this is brand-new information.

Name-checking the fast-food giant is — like everything in high-level politics — a deliberate move, calibrated to achieve an effect. In this case, the mention is in part about relatability. And that’s because of this staggering fact: One in 8 Americans have worked at McDonald’s at some point in their lives, according to the fast-food chain. McDonald’s announced that statistic last year when it introduced the 1 in 8 initiative, a campaign to celebrate its vast army of current and former workers. The company said it surveyed a representative sample of American adults and found that 13.7 percent of people said they

SEE MCDONALD’S ON C2

Films reflect on the choices fathers, daughters make



Monica Hesse

In India Donaldson’s near-perfect new film, “Good One,” a teenage girl named Sam faces a literal choice of “man or bear” when her weekend camping trip goes awry. The two men she’s traveling with have both betrayed her in subtle but

significant ways. Now she needs to decide whether to continue traipsing through the Catskills with them or to hike back to the car by herself through woods we’ve already been informed contain dangerous predators.

“Man or bear,” in case you missed this pervasive thought experiment when it made the rounds earlier this year, is the idea that many women, given the choice between encountering a man while alone in a forest or encountering a bear, would pick the animal. It might be deadly, after all, but at least it doesn’t pretend otherwise. The only thing that complicates Sam’s personal choice is the fact that one of the men she wants to escape is Chris, her beloved father.

“Good One” is not a horror movie, though I’m sure I’ve made it sound like

one. It’s a poignant, often funny coming-of-age story told over the course of this three-day excursion. The campers were supposed to be a foursome until Chris’s best friend got in a fight with his own teenager, so instead it’s just Sam and these two 50-somethings, in one of the most realistic-feeling portraits of a father-daughter relationship I’ve ever seen on-screen. Chris (James Le Gros) is, in many ways, an excellent dad. He and Sam (Lily Collias) share a love of the wilderness, and hiking is their thing. He’s obviously crazy about her, which is what makes it even more devastating when something happens — I’m being deliberately vague — and he profoundly falls down on the job.

At a recent preview screening of the film, writer/director Donaldson told the audience that she intended “Good One” to depict “a permanent reframing” of Sam and Chris’s relationship. One of those moments the pair can’t go back from, so they must figure out what it looks like to move forward. All along, we thought we were watching Sam come of age. But by the end, we realize we’ve equally been watching Chris as he figures out what it means to succeed



METROGRAPH PICTURES

James Le Gros and Lily Collias play a father and daughter on a pivotal camping trip in “Good One,” which was released in theaters this month.

and fail as a father.

I could go on and on about just this movie, but I’ll stop and instead encourage you to see it for yourself. It’s arrived at an interesting time, though, in terms of cultural conversations about fathers and their young-adult daughters. The relationship between Elon Musk and his daughter Vivian is undergoing a sordid and public breakdown, after a 2023 biography attributed Musk’s hard political right turn to Vivian’s coming out as transgender. Vivian recently took to social media to lambaste the biographer for his “humiliating” characterizations, and for treating her as her father’s origin story rather than as her own person.

Meanwhile, comedian Rob Schneider’s daughter publicly cited her father’s “very toxic” views on LGBTQ issues and body image as the reason for their estrangement. Schneider recently apologized via an appearance on Tucker Carlson’s podcast: “I want to tell my daughter, ‘Elle, I love you, and I wish I was the father in my 20s that you needed, and clearly I wasn’t. I hope you can forgive me for my shortcomings.’”

SEE HESSE ON C3

Harris touts her time at the Golden Arches for relatability

McDONALD'S FROM C1

had worked or currently work for the chain.

Martha McKenna, a media strategist who makes TV ads for Democratic candidates, says that drawing out this part of Harris's résumé isn't just a matter of seeming folksy. The service sector is the largest part of the American economy, she notes. "Millions of people work in food service, and for her to say 'I have had this experience, and it has shaped my policies' is powerful."

And it draws further contrast, she says, with her Republican opponent, former president Donald Trump. "It's a great part of her life and experience to highlight against a guy who inherited his wealth, who was born with a silver spoon in his mouth," McKenna says.

Walz pushed that distinction during a Tuesday speech to a union crowd, questioning Trump's work ethic in contrast with Harris's fast-food hustle. "Can you simply picture Donald Trump working at a McDonald's, trying to make a McFlurry or something?" Walz asked. "He couldn't run that damn McFlurry machine if it cost him anything."

Other famous people have also worn the McDonald's uniform, including Jeff Bezos, Lin-Manuel Miranda, Pharrell Williams, Shania Twain and former vice-presidential candidate Paul Ryan.

Harris has previously offered some details about her tenure at the Golden Arches, including during an April appearance on "The Drew Barrymore Show." She described her duties as fry-making and operating the register. (On Facebook, she also described working the chain's notoriously finicky ice cream machines.) And, when pressed, she revealed what she would order at her previous employer: a Quarter Pounder with cheese and fries.

We don't know precisely when Harris worked at McDonald's. The ad said it was "while she got her degree" but didn't specify whether it was during her undergraduate or law school years.

She also invoked her summer job in 2019 when she joined Las



Vice President Kamala Harris, seen in Phoenix this month, has described her McDonald's duties as fry-making and operating the register.

Vegas McDonald's workers who were protesting and striking for higher wages. "I was a student when I was working at McDonald's," she told the crowd, in a video posted on her Facebook page. "There was not a family relying on me to pay the rent, put food on the table and keep the bills paid by the end of the month. But the reality of McDonald's is that a majority of the folks who are working there today are relying on that income to sustain a household and a family."

Harris expressed solidarity with employees in Detroit that same year when they were campaigning for a \$15 wage and said she supported the McDonald's workers who claimed they endured rampant sexual harassment at a location in Mason,

Mich. (The franchise's former owner eventually settled the class-action case for \$1.5 million; the McDonald's corporation successfully argued that it did not employ the women who were harassed.)

"So many people in the United States begin their working career with jobs like that," says Georgetown history professor Joseph McCartin, who is also the executive director of the Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor. "Many people, of course, stay in those jobs for a long time and raise families, or try to, and for anybody who has worked in the industry, I think immediately that tells them something about Kamala Harris and what she's come through on her way up."

Both campaigns, McCartin

"It's a great part of her life and experience to highlight against a guy who inherited his wealth."

Martha McKenna,
media strategist

said, are taking particular pains to appeal to working-class voters this cycle, including Trump's pick of JD Vance — who has made his working-class upbringing a prominent part of his identity — as his running mate. He credits the focus in part to a surge in dissatisfaction from workers who feel they haven't been treated fairly. "You've got an incipient class discontent that gets expressed in lots of different ways — it can be expressed in unionizing efforts like the ones you're seeing at Starbucks, or it can also be expressed in a kind of right-wing populist mode, as well," McCartin says. "Class issues are mattering quite significantly in this campaign."

Of course, Trump is no stranger to McDonald's, although his experience is on the other side of

the register. Trump is an avid fan of the chain, and according to son-in-law Jared Kushner, his go-to order is a Big Mac, a Filet-O-Fish and a vanilla shake. Campaign-finance disclosures have shown Trump's presidential campaign is spending heavily at the chain. He had delivery orders brought in during his fraud trial in October and his hush-money trial in April. And he famously served Big Macs several times to athletes visiting the White House.

Trump has said he likes McDonald's cleanliness, and author Michael Wolff claims in his book "Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House" that the preference is partly fueled by Trump's fear of being poisoned. When Trump ordered from the fast-food chain, "nobody knew he was coming and the food was safely premade," Wolff wrote.

Harris isn't known to be as big an aficionado of fast food, and although we know she's an adventurous home cook with a sophisticated palate, she's not above food that some might consider lowbrow. In a video in which she schools her then-colleague Sen. Mark R. Warner (D-Va.) on how to make tuna sandwiches, she professes love for Miracle Whip and declares fried bologna to be "delicious."

She is an avowed fan of the ketchup packets that come with McDonald's fries. "That ketchup is especially thick, and it's got a little sweetness in it," she said during her appearance on "The Drew Barrymore Show." And then there's her hack for eating on the fly. The vice president told Barrymore how she protected her clothing from spills and crumbs while campaigning. "We would just cut open a garbage bag," she said. "It's a really great, massive bib."

Like so many things in politics, highlighting her experience as a fast-food worker could be a double-edged sword for Harris. Turns out, it might have created some high expectations. "Alright Kamala," one prospective supporter posted on X, "guarantee the ice cream machine always works at @McDonalds going forward and you 'might' get my vote."

Police came knocking after author found duffel

BAG FROM C1

administration. Amid a barrage of criticism of its goals — which include the elimination of the Department of Education, mass deportations and new restrictions on abortion — Trump distanced himself from the program in July. That same month, Project 2025's leader left Heritage, and the group ceased new policy work.

For liberals of an ironic bent, the duffel bag could make the ultimate trophy. On Monday, Harris posted a picture of the bag on X, saying he might give the documents inside to a journalist.

The files and other items inside weren't hugely revelatory. The bag and most of its contents appeared to be part of a Heritage internship program, including a document with pictures and lengthy biographies of its interns. Still, the fact that Harris discovered the documents on the streets of Washington could be a minor embarrassment for the think tank, at a time when both Heritage and Project 2025 are under intense scrutiny.

"It's not like I found secret

internal documents about Project 2025," Harris said. "It's not that crazy; it's like, 'Whoops, they left this out.'"

Judging from the reactions Harris received on X, though, the real prize appeared to be the bag itself. Harris said he soon received more than a dozen direct messages from interested buyers offering hundreds of dollars for the bag — "I need that bag! Let me buy that bag!" Harris initially considered auctioning off the bag, without its contents, to raise money for charity.

He figured the bag could make for a wry conversation piece.

"Just showing people when they come by your crib, like, 'Look what I got,'" Harris said.

But Harris's plans for the bag would soon run into D.C. police. After seeing Harris's tweets, a woman who describes herself on LinkedIn as a Project 2025 staffer called the police and filed a complaint for theft, according to a police report obtained by The Post.

In the account she gave to police, the bag disappeared in the late afternoon of Friday, Aug. 9, when she and another Heritage



WILL SOMMER/THE WASHINGTON POST

The Project 2025 duffel bag, found by author Malcolm Harris, appeared to be part of a Heritage Foundation internship program.

staffer "left a bag in a parking space while getting into their car," in a public area a block from Heritage's headquarters on the 200 block of Massachusetts Avenue NE. When they returned to get it 30 minutes later, the bag was gone.

Harris and the Heritage staffer who complained to police differ on when the bag was taken. In the police report, the Heritage staffer claims the bag was taken from the parking spot a little more than an hour earlier, be-

tween 5 and 5:30 p.m. Harris provided The Post with map app data that demonstrates he was at the corner several blocks away where he claimed to have found it around 6:45 p.m. that day.

One or both of their accounts may be wrong, but the time difference also raises the possibility that an unknown third party took the bag from the parking space, carried it a few blocks, was perhaps unimpressed with the book about Israel and the Altoids tin inside,

and dropped it on the corner, where Harris later found it.

The police report makes no mention of surveillance videos or witnesses who saw Harris take the bag from the parking spot.

The officer who went to Harris's house claims in the police report that the author "spontaneously admitted that he was in possession of the bag and that he would not return it." Harris insists he didn't tell the officer he had the bag, saying only that he refused to give the officer his identification. Harris said he would never speak to the police without a lawyer, since both his wife and sister are criminal defense attorneys.

"If I talk to the police without a lawyer, I'm in way more trouble with my family," Harris said.

On Thursday morning, after learning more about the ongoing police investigation, Harris decided to end the dispute himself. With his wife and 7-month-old baby (who was dressed in a police-abolition onesie), Harris walked to Heritage's office to return the bag.

At no point in the process, Harris said, had anyone from Heritage just emailed him to ask for the bag back, but he was eager to be rid of it.

As Harris waited in the lobby, Project 2025 was dealing with still another embarrassment, this time potentially far more serious.

Earlier that morning, a British journalism nonprofit released footage of Project 2025 author Russell Vought boasting about the program's Trump ties. The journalists gained access to Vought by duping him with several false identities and websites.

Inside Heritage's lobby, Harris and a man who identified himself as Heritage's head of security sorted through the items in the bag, so the man could give Harris an itemized receipt that he hoped would put the police case to rest. The security chief said he didn't need to verify the bag's contents, given that the internship documents inside were not exactly "the keys to the kingdom."

In a statement to The Post, a Heritage spokesperson said they were glad the bag had been turned over.

"We are pleased that our intern's property was returned and hope that in the future our neighbors will exercise basic decency so that the police need not be involved," the statement said.

After once more demanding an apology from Heritage for sending "an armed officer to my home," Harris headed for the door, then posed for a final selfie in front of Heritage's headquarters. The troublesome bag was gone.

"It's not a bad bag," Harris said. "But I guess it's historically interesting."

Mom fears for marriage if daughter tells of abuse



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

Dear Carolyn: My 40-year-old daughter, "Jenn," has been working with a therapist and has just shared with me that she was sexually abused as a child by "Henry," a family friend. Worse, Henry is my husband "Roger's" BEST friend, like, since kindergarten. Henry now lives on the other side of the globe, and Jenn and I have no contact with him, though Roger is in touch and treasures their friendship.

Jenn feels she has to tell Roger about the abuse, and her therapist agrees. I am a childhood sexual assault

survivor myself, and I believe Jenn, but I am strongly convinced Roger will not. Roger is not emotionally strong, and ours has been a difficult marriage, though we have been in a good place for some years now. I don't want to jeopardize that.

On the one hand, I love Jenn and I'm devastated by what Henry did to her. If it were possible, I'd fly to the other side of the globe and rip his head off myself. On the other hand, I know this disclosure would cause untold pain and possible estrangement in our small family. What is the best way forward?

— To Disclose or Not Disclose?

To Disclose or Not Disclose?: If you prioritize your living-room



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

harmony over your daughter's peace of mind, then your relationship with Jenn may never recover.

The "untold pain" is not a possible future — it's a present-day fact for Jenn.

There's no painless option here. There is only choosing which peace you want to keep at the cost of which pain, then living with those consequences. Which may include Jenn's estrangement from you if you

choose to stand by your husband's friendship at Jenn's expense instead of standing by Jenn at the friendship's expense. If you choose to prioritize your "good place," knowing it strands Jenn in her bad one — which could get worse for your snub.

Especially given your painful history, I recommend a therapist of your own to walk you through this.

Re: Disclosure: Disclose to Jenn

— choosing your words very carefully — that you are concerned Roger may not respond in the proper fashion.

Note I said his response would be improper versus saying he "won't believe you." Make it clear that you are saying this to inform her and that it is not a request for her to not share with him.

It is Jenn's call whether to share with Roger, and it is helpful for her to have knowledge in making that decision.

Keep whether it will hurt your life or Roger's out of it. That is your problem and Roger's problem. It is not Jenn's problem. The "hurt" is due to what Henry did. Not the result of Jenn sharing what Henry did. Try to remember that.

— Anonymous

Anonymous: Excellent points all, thank you.

Re: Disclosure: Jenn comes first. She is the child who was assaulted and wounded; she has

been suffering through the dreadful aftermath ever since. She is bravely taking on her own healing, even when the steps are daunting.

But, are you so sure Roger won't listen and believe?

People like Henry always keep someone around to lie to, someone who will always believe in them and be their champion. It might be that, for Henry, your Roger is that person. If so, it will be good for Roger to find out the truth of their relationship, and to learn (and respect) the truth about Jenn.

You're being a great mom to listen to and believe your daughter. You can be a great wife by helping Roger deal with unhappy truths.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/gethax.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at washingtonpost.com/live-chats.



NICOLE RIVELLI/SONY PICTURES/AF



NETFLIX

MONICA HESSE

Daughters absorb lessons dads may not realize they're giving

HESSE FROM C1

Will she? Can she? What do fathers owe their teenage daughters — and when they inevitably mess up, what do those daughters owe them in return? “Good One” wasn’t the only movie to come out this month exploring those themes. On the schlocky, big-box side of things, “It Ends With Us” is an intimate-partner-violence story disguised as a love story — protagonist Lily (Blake Lively) spends the first half of the movie falling for handsome Ryle (Justin Baldoni) and the second half fearing his next jealous rage. But beneath both of those, it’s a dad story: As a teenager, Lily witnessed her father abuse her mother. Now, as an adult, she wonders whether witnessing that abuse is what made her susceptible to violence. She fears what kind of romantic relationships she’s

setting her own daughter up for if she doesn’t break the cycle. Does it, in fact, *end with us*? On the sublime side: “Daughters,” currently streaming on Netflix, is a documentary about Date with Dad, an organization that reunites incarcerated men with their children for a daddy-daughter dance in prison. While the girls worry about what to wear, the men participate in 10 raw sessions of group therapy, working through how to be emotionally present for the daughters they can’t be physically present for. “They want to count on you,” the program coordinator implores the fathers, a reassurance that doubles as a warning: *Don’t screw this up*. I originally thought that the most painful scene in “Daughters” came in the beginning when Santana, all of 10 years old, stone-facedly tells the camera that she’s already

decided she doesn’t want to get married or have kids — not after watching the pain her father has put her family through. But I was wrong: The most painful scene comes in the middle, when a 5-year-old named Aubrey spends the dance earnestly reciting multiplication tables to her dad, as if she’s the one who needs to impress him. Your heart aches for a girl who wants to give up on her father, but it fully breaks for a girl who wants to still hope for him. What I liked about all three of these films was the weight they gave to fatherhood. The girls, both real and fictional, are observant students of their fathers’ behaviors, even the minute details that the dads might have been wholly unaware of. Witness Sam’s face, as she watches her father try to show off for some younger male hikers by mentioning that he might take a — clearly fabricated —

LEFT: Blake Lively and Justin Baldoni in a scene from “It Ends With Us.” As a teenager, Lively’s character, Lily Bloom, witnessed her father abuse her mother. RIGHT: From the film “Daughters,” participants in the Date With Dad program practice tying neckties in preparation for the big dance.

month-long hike across China. Is he wishing that he, like these young bucks, still had the unfettered freedom to travel as he pleased? Is he regretting his life choices? Chris might not even be aware that his wistful itinerary is masking these questions, but Sam is. Or witness Aubrey, begging her father to pick her up one more time at the dance, even as he tells her that he’s hot and sweaty. You feel for both of them: Sweat is pouring down Keith’s face, and he’s been picking her up the whole dance. But it’s not that Aubrey doesn’t understand that Keith is tired. It’s that she understands, even more than he seems to in the moment, that once he puts her down, he might never get to pick her up again. He isn’t scheduled to be released until Aubrey is 12. The fathers in these movies are not caricatures. They are given deserved dignity and complexity — they are humans,

doing the best they can in any given moment. They are wondering whether their best is good enough and whether their worst is forgivable. Toward the end of “Good One” — this is a spoiler, but less of one than it seems — Chris tosses Sam the car keys, inviting her to drive. He’d previously been reticent to let her behind the wheel, so this act is a peace offering. It’s also the closest he might ever get to apologizing for the way he failed Sam earlier. He’s not merely offering her the keys. He’s pleading with her to take them, as a sign that the two of them are again okay. A reasonable woman might still agonize over whether to choose a faceless bear over a faceless man during a backwoods encounter. But the job of her father, as Chris comes so close to realizing, is to make sure she doesn’t ever have to hesitate when the choice is bear or dad.

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Kyle Dolan

- ACROSS**
- 1 Croc or moc
 - 5 Not tons
 - 9 Bank
 - 14 Olivia of “The Newsroom”
 - 15 Vessel for Anne Bonny or Zheng Yi Sao
 - 17 Quakers’ rivals
 - 18 Image concerns?
 - 19 Spoken
 - 21 Acronym to which an “A” is sometimes added
 - 22 Tops
 - 23 Rampaged
 - 25 Scorecard standard
 - 27 Indulgent meal
 - 33 Language in which “hello” is “sabaidi”
 - 34 Stinger?
 - 35 Code name
 - 36 Word in some pasta dish names
 - 38 “__ see!”
 - 40 Outdoor game, slangily
 - 41 Jumps out of one’s skin?
 - 43 Provider of outdoor seating
 - 45 __ Paulo
 - 46 Historic brew-haha?
 - 49 Important figure in Shia Islam
 - 50 Entertains grandly
 - 52 __ bowl
 - 55 Point
 - 58 Screen print?
 - 59 Dressy attire that sounds casual
 - 62 Bygone autocrat
 - 63 “Basically”
 - 64 Teacher of the Dharma
 - 65 Taquería option
 - 66 Place dear to the Sundance Kid
 - 67 Amazon Handmade competitor

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59								60						62
63														64
65														67

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8/17/24

- DOWN**
- 1 Smudge
 - 2 Brouhaha
 - 3 Deli basketful
 - 4 Guarantee
 - 5 Slack, e.g.
 - 6 End of a growing season, typically
 - 7 “In principio Verbum”: John 1:1
 - 8 Carry on
 - 9 Fellows
 - 10 Film score?
 - 11 Place-name that comes from the Seneca for “good river”
 - 12 Claim
 - 13 Cathedral area
 - 16 Bait
 - 20 Conservationist Fossey
 - 24 “All right”
 - 26 Get ready to drive, say
 - 28 80 on a math test, maybe
 - 29 One without a backup plan?
 - 30 Is put off by
 - 31 Tests that are hard to guess on
 - 32 Style with a Streamline Moderne offshoot, informally
 - 33 Petting zoo baby
 - 37 Got
 - 39 Canter
 - 42 Estrella del día
 - 44 Unit attached to a spine
 - 47 Niamey’s country
 - 48 Reason to consult a mechanic
 - 51 Adoptee, at times
 - 52 “Resurrection” and “Watusi (Hard Edge)”
 - 53 Baby talk
 - 54 Lighting effect
 - 56 Bridge side, perhaps
 - 57 Fat with a high smoke point
 - 60 Possible result of over-reduction
 - 61 Org. with a “3-1-1” rule
 - 62 painter Thomas

FRIDAY’S LA TIMES SOLUTION

U	S	E	S	T	A	B	E	M	P	A	T	H		
N	O	G	L	E	I	A	A	U	S	S	I	E		
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S	A	T	I	R	E	M	E	D	S	E	A	R		

TELEVISION

8/17/24	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00
4.1 WRC (NBC)	◆ OpenH..	◆ Retire	◆ Weakest Link	◆ Dateline NBC					◆ News
4.2 WRC (IND)	Monk		Columbo	Columbo					Las Vegas
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	◆ MLB Baseball Los Angeles Dodgers at St. Louis Cardinals (Live)	◆ Fox 5 at 10	◆ Fox 5						◆ Fox 5
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	◆ Wheel	◆ Jeopardy!	◆ Will Trent	◆ Will Trent					◆ News
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	◆ NFL Football Washington Commanders at Miami Dolphins (Live)	◆ 48 Hours							◆ 9 News
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	◆ Lalola	◆ Rosa	◆ Fútbol	◆ Leag Cup	América vs. Colorado Rapids				
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	◆ TMZ	◆ Fox 5 News	◆ FamFe..	◆ FamFe..	◆ FamFe..	◆ ModFam			
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	(6:00) ◆ Cl..	◆ Simon & Garfunkel	◆ Tina Turner: One Last Time						◆ Bruce
26.1 WETA (PBS)	◆ Arts Talk	◆ American Experience	◆ Peter Frampton						◆ Boston (R)evolt
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	◆ Weeke..	◆ Contrary	◆ A Suitable Boy	◆ Icon	◆ Icon				◆ Change
50.1 WDCW (CW)	◆ Neighbor	◆ Neighbor	◆ Crime Nation						◆ DC News Now
66.1 WPXW (ION)	◆ Law & Order: SVU	◆ Law & Order: SVU	◆ Law & Order: SVU	◆ Law & Order: SVU	◆ Law & Order: SVU	◆ Law-SVU			◆ Seinfeld
A&E	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage
AMC	(5:30) Movie: Red 2 ★★ (2013)	Movie: Transformers ★★★ (2007)	Two races of robots wage war on Earth.						Movie: Transfor...
Animal Planet	North Woods Law	North Woods Law	North Woods Law	North Woods Law	North Woods Law	North-Law			
BET	(5:30) Movie: Black K...	Movie: Tyler Perry's Madea's Family Reunion ★★ (2006)							Movie
Bravo	Movie: Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows: Part 1 ★★★ (2010)	Harry sets out to destroy the secrets to Voldemort's power.							Movie: Harry Potter & the Deathly Hallows: ...
Cartoon Network	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	American	American	American	American	Rick
CNN	CNN Newsroom	Whole Story	1968: The Year	1968: The Year	1968: The Year	1968: The Year	1968: The Year	1968: The Year	1968: The Year
Comedy Central	The Office	The Office	The Office	Movie: Daddy's Home 2 ★★ (2017)					Movie: Talladega Nig...
Discovery	Expedition Unknown	Expedition Unknown	Expedition Unknown	Expedition Unknown	Expedition X				Expedition
Disney	(6:15) Movie: Tangled ...	Movie: Descendants: Rise of Red ... (2019)	◆ Kiff	◆ Kiff	◆ Kiff	◆ Kiff	◆ Kiff	◆ Kiff	◆ Kiff
EI	(6:00) Movie: Bring It ...	Movie: Mean Girls ★★★ (2004)							Movie: Mean Girls ★★★ (2004)
ESPN	Early Prelims	UFC 305: Du Plessis vs. Adesanya - Prelims (Live)							Boxing Christian Mbilili vs. Sergiy Derevyanchenko (Live)
ESPN2	2024 Little League Baseball World Series New Hampshire vs. TBA (Live)	Premier Lacrosse League vs. Utah Archers (Live)							Denver Outlaws (Live)
Food Network	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners
Fox News	Weekend Live	Life, Liberty & Levin	One Nation						Saturday Night (Live)
Freeform	(6:10) Movie: The Incredibles ★★ (2004)	(:50) Movie: Incredibles 2 ★★★ (2018)	Elastigirl battles a mad cybercriminal called Screenslaver.						
FX	(6:00) Movie: Aliens vs. Predator: Requiem (2...	Movie: Prometheus ★★ (2012)	Explorers wage a terrifying battle to save mankind's future.						Movie: Alien: Covenant ★★ (2017)
Hallmark	(6:00) Movie: Vows We Keep (2021)	Movie: A Costa Rican Wedding (2024) (P)							Movie: Junebug (2024)
Hallmark M&M	Aurora Teagarden Mysteries	Aurora Teagarden Mysteries							Murder ...
HBO	(5:55) Movie: Mad Max: Fury Road (2015)	Movie: Furiosa: A Mad Max Saga ★★★ (2024)	Furiosa encounters two tyrannical warlords in the Wasteland. (P)						Hard Knocks
HGTV	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters
History	The UnXplained	The UnXplained	The UnXplained						(:05) The UnXplained
Lifetime	(5:30) Movie: Waiting to Exhale (1995)	Movie: Tempted by Love: A Terry McMillan Presentation (2024) (P)							(:05) Movie: How Stella Got Her Groove Back ★★ (1998)
MASN	Baseball Boston Red Sox at Baltimore Orioles (Live)				O's Xtra	Wall to Wall Baseball			SportsW..
Monumental	Rise and Strive	2024 Stanley Cup							nba Washington Wizards at Phoenix Suns
MSNBC	Ayman (Live)	Ayman (Live)	Rachel Maddow Show						11th Hour
MTV	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous
Nat'l Geographic	To Catch a Smuggler	To Catch a Smuggler	Catch a Smuggler	Disaster Autopsy	Disaster				Disaster
Nickelodeon	Movie: Hotel Transylvania: Transformania (2022)	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends
NWSN	NewsNation (Live)	NewsNation (Live)	NewsNation (Live)	NewsNation Prime	NewsNat..				NewsNat..
Paramount	(5:25) Movie: John Wick: Chapter 3 - Parabellu...	(:20) Movie: John Wick ★★★ (2014)	An ex-assassin hunts down the gangsters who ruined his life.						Movie: John Wick: Chapter 2 (2017)
Paramount+Sho	(6:50) Movie: Die Hard With a Vengeance ★★★ (1995)	Movie: Pulp Fiction ★★★ (1994)	Criminals cross paths in three interlocked tales of mayhem.						
Syfy	(6:00) Movie: Fast & Furious ★★ (2009)	Movie: Fast Five ★★ (2011)	Dom Toretto and company ramp up the action in Brazil.						Movie: Deepwa...
TBS	(5:30) Movie: Pitch Pe...	Movie: Bad Teacher ★★ (2011)							Movie: Crazy Rich Asians (2018)
TCM	(6:00) Movie: Rock-a-Bye Baby ★★ (1958)	Movie: The Nutty Professor ★★★ (1963)							Movie: The Ladies' Man ★★ (1964)
TLC	Welcome to Plathville	Fat Fabulous	Fat Fabulous	Fat Fabulous	Fat Fabulous	Fabulous			
TNT	(6:00) Movie: Jurassic Park III ★★ (2001)	All Elite Wrestling: Collision (Live)							TNT Overdrive
Travel	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adv			
TruTV	Jokes	Jokes	Jokes	Jokes	Jokes	Jokes	Jokes	Jokes	American
TV Land	Mike	Mike	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Seinfeld
TV One	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different	Different
USA Network	(6:30) IndyCar Racing	IndyCar	9-1-1	9-1-1	9-1-1	9-1-1	9-1-1	9-1-1	9-1-1
VH1	(5:30) Movie: Ferris B...	Movie: The Wedding Ringer ★★ (2015)							Movie: Our Family W...
WNCN	WorldNe..	◆ Paid Prog.	20/20						WJLANe..

LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs ◆ High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★ Excellent ★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated

After criticism for airing Trump's speech, MSNBC skips news conference

BY JEREMY BARR

MSNBC opted against airing Donald Trump's news conference on Thursday afternoon, after host Nicolle Wallace told viewers that Trump's recent comments "have been less about the issues and the news lately, as if they ever were, and more about threats and lies and demeaning people."

The decision marked an about-face for the network, which aired Trump's Aug. 8 news conference in its entirety, drawing a rebuke from MSNBC host Lawrence O'Donnell.

During that speech, which was held at Mar-a-Lago, Trump made 162 "misstatements, exaggerations and outright lies," according to an NPR review.

"They're calling it a news conference, his second in as many weeks, and if today's event is anything like last [week], then you can understand why we're choosing not to broadcast here in real time," Wallace said before Thursday's speech began, telling viewers the network would monitor the speech "and pass along anything news-related or true."

Meanwhile, CNN dropped coverage of the speech after about 20 minutes. "What was supposed to be a news conference so far — he hasn't answered one question, he hasn't taken any questions," anchor Wolf Blitzer said.

But the network came back to the event when Trump started taking questions from reporters at

around 5:25 p.m.

Fox News aired Trump's remarks in their entirety for the second week in a row.

Last week, O'Donnell suggested that news networks — including his own — learned nothing from 2016, when outlets faced criticism for airing Trump's rallies in full.

"Donald Trump spoke at his home in Florida for over an hour and all of the cable news networks, including this one, carried it live just like they all did repeatedly in 2016," O'Donnell said. "It would be hard to find a sentence in what Donald Trump said today that did not include at least one lie."

He also criticized television networks for not fact-checking the speech in real time. "Every network

has the capacity, especially with these wide screens we now have at home, to run a live scroll at the side of the screen fact-checking many of Donald Trump's lies," he said, arguing that it was "way too late and utterly useless" to fact-check Trump's comments after it ended.

In the nine years since Trump first ran for president, television networks have regularly faced scrutiny for their decision-making about whether to air his remarks live. MSNBC, in particular, has faced critiques from within.

In April 2020, several of the network's top hosts — including Rachel Maddow, Joe Scarborough and Chris Hayes — criticized MSNBC for airing the Trump administration's daily

task force briefings.

There was a shift in programming strategy after Trump left office, however. When Trump declared his third run for the presidency in November 2022, none of the major broadcast networks opted to air the speech. MSNBC skipped it entirely, while CNN carried the first 25 minutes and Fox News dropped out near the end of the speech.

When Trump spoke at Mar-a-Lago in April 2023, after he was arraigned on criminal charges in New York, MSNBC skipped the speech entirely, while CNN cut out after 27 minutes.

"There's a cost to us as a news organization of knowingly broadcasting untrue things," Maddow told MSNBC viewers at the time.

But Maddow was critical in March when MSNBC aired part of Trump's speech after clinching the Republican presidential nomination on Super Tuesday. When a co-host said the network could remedy concerns about airing Trump's falsehoods by fact-checking the speech after the fact, Maddow replied that "It does not fix the fact that we broadcast it."

After initially dropping out of the speech on Thursday, Blitzer brought on the network's chief fact-checker, Daniel Dale. "There was a whole bunch of lying, Wolf," he said. "Just a whole bunch of nonsense from former president Trump."

Fifteen minutes later, CNN started airing the event again.

MOVIE DIRECTORY

Saturday, August 17, 2024

(I) No Pass/No Discount Ticket

www.washingtonpost.com/movies

DISTRICT

AMC Georgetown 14
3111 K Street NW
Deadpool & Wolverine (R) CC: 1:10
Cuckoo (R) CC: 4:30-7:50-10:25
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 2:20-4:40
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:30-1:55-5:25
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 2:10-5:05-7:00-10:10
Trap (PG-13) CC: 2:50-7:40-10:30
It Ends With Us (PG-13) CC: 12:20-3:20-4:20-6:20-7:20-9:20-10:05
Borderlands (PG-13) CC: 5:15-7:50-10:30
Longlegs (R) CC: 2:00-9:50
Didi (R) CC: 2:35-7:25
Rob Peace (R) CC: 2:25-4:55
Sing Sing (R) CC: 12:00-4:05-6:40-10:20
Alien: Romulus (R) CC: 12:00-3:00-6:00-9:00
Coraline 15th Anniversary (PG) 11:30-5:00
Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG) 7:30-9:50
Alien: Romulus: The IMAX Experience (R) CC: 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00
Lisa Live Is Smile Always -Lander- 7:00
Skincare (R) CC: 11:10-1:40
Ryan's World the Movie: Titan Universe Adventure (PG) 11:00-1:30-12:15
Cuckoo (R) CC: 2:25
Harold and the Purple Crayon (PG) CC: 12:05
Deadpool & Wolverine (R) CC: 4:10-7:10-9:15-10:20
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 12:00-1:30-3:30-5:30-7:30-9:30
It Ends With Us (PG-13) CC: 1:20-3:20-5:20-7:20-9:20-11:20
Alien: Romulus (R) CC: 11:15-8:00-10:45

MARYLAND

AJI Silver Theatre
Capital Center
9633 Coleville Road
The Favorite (R) CC: 11:45AM
Sing Sing (R) CC: 11:00-4:40
The Eyes of Laura Mars 2:30
The Grass Is Greener (1960) (NR) 4:45
The Conversation 50th Anniversary 5:00-9:30
Taxi Driver (1976) (R) 7:00
All That Jazz (R) 2:15
Mrs. Miniver (1942) (NR) 11:30AM
Godzilla vs. Mechagodzilla (1974) (NR) 9:20
Didi (R) 3:00-7:30
Sing Sing (R) 6:55-9:10
CatVideoFest 2024 1:15
AMC Academy 8
6198 Greenbelt Road
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:30-7:30-9:50
Deadpool & Wolverine (R) CC: 10:10-4:00-10:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:30-12:00-4:00
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 10:40-1:30-4:20-7:00-10:10
Trap (PG-13) CC: 10:50-1:20-4:10-6:50-9:30
It Ends With Us (PG-13) CC: 10:20-1:30-4:40-6:50-9:50
Borderlands (PG-13) CC: 11:40-2:10-4:40-7:10-9:40
Alien: Romulus (R) CC: 11:00-1:50-4:50-6:30-7:40-9:15-10:30
Deadpool & Wolverine 3D (R) CC: 1:00-7:10

DELAWARE

AMC Georgetown 14
3111 K Street NW
Deadpool & Wolverine (R) CC: 1:10
Cuckoo (R) CC: 4:30-7:50-10:25
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 2:20-4:40
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:30-1:55-5:25
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 2:10-5:05-7:00-10:10
Trap (PG-13) CC: 2:50-7:40-10:30
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Longlegs (R) CC: 2:00-9:50
Didi (R) CC: 2:35-7:25
Rob Peace (R) CC: 2:25-4:55
Sing Sing (R) CC: 12:00-4:05-6:40-10:20
Alien: Romulus (R) CC: 12:00-3:00-6:00-9:00
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It Ends With Us (PG-13) CC: 1:20-3:20-5:20-7:20-9:20-11:20
Alien: Romulus (R) CC: 11:15-8:00-10:45

VIRGINIA

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WEST VIRGINIA

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Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 2:20-4:40
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PENNSYLVANIA

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MICHIGAN

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INDIANA

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KENTUCKY

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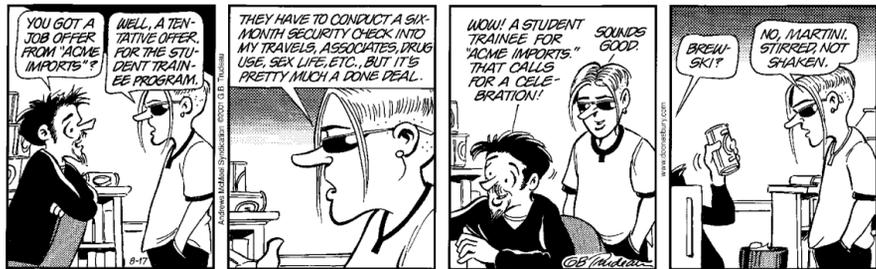
ARIZONA

AMC Georgetown 14
3111 K Street NW
Deadpool & Wolverine (R) CC: 1:10
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NEW MEXICO

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CLASSIC DOONESBURY



GARRY TRUDEAU PICKLES



BRIAN CRANE

BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE
NORTH (D)
 ♠ Q9
 ♥ A53
 ♦ J763
 ♣ AK75

WEST
 ♠ 6
 ♥ KQJ107
 ♦ AK9
 ♣ 10982

EAST
 ♠ 5432
 ♥ 9862
 ♦ Q10
 ♣ Q64

SOUTH
 ♠ AKJ1087
 ♥ 4
 ♦ 8542
 ♣ J3

The bidding:
NORTH EAST SOUTH WEST
 1 ♠ Pass 1 ♠ 2 ♥
 Pass Pass 3 ♠ Pass
 4 ♠ All Pass
 Opening lead — ♥ K

RED AND ROVER



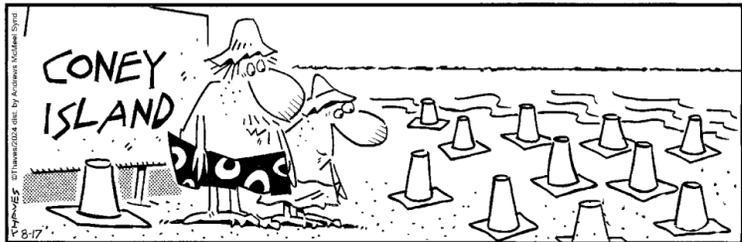
BRIAN BASSETT

AGNES



TONY COCHRAN

FRANK AND ERNEST



TOM THAVES

WUMO



MIKAEL WULFF & ANDERS MORGENTHAUER

CLASSIC PEANUTS



CHARLES SCHULZ

MIKE DU JOUR



MIKE LESTER

Simple Saturday columns focus on basic technique and logical thinking.

Though drawing trumps is desirable — and new players are admonished to draw them promptly — there are good reasons to wait. Principle: If your trump situation is shaky, go after your side suit quickly.

In today's deal, South's jump to three spades was bold; many players would have bid only two. North had a clear raise to game. West led the king of hearts, and declarer took the ace and drew trumps; it took four rounds, so he had two trumps left.

South next led a diamond, and East won and returned a heart. South ruffed, lost another diamond and ruffed the next heart with his last trump. He took his A-K of clubs and lost the last two tricks to West, who had the ace of diamonds and a heart.

South must plug away at the diamonds without drawing any trumps. Then when West wins the third diamond and leads a heart, South can ruff in dummy, preserving four trumps in his hand to draw trumps.

DAILY QUESTION

You hold:
 ♠ Q9♥A53
 ♦ J763♣AK75

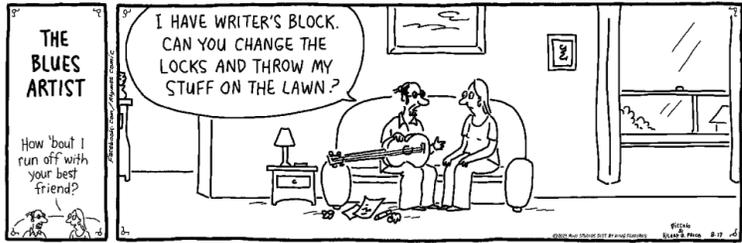
You open one club, your partner responds one spade, you bid 1NT and he jumps to three hearts. What do you say?

ANSWER: Since you lack four cards in hearts or three in spades, to bid 3NT would be acceptable. You would reach a good spot if your partner held A K J 7 6, K 10 7 6, Q 5 2, 3. But if he has A K J 7 6, K 8 4 2, 4, Q 6 4, you belong at four spades. Bid three spades. Partner can always try 3NT next.

— Frank Stewart

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RHYMES WITH ORANGE



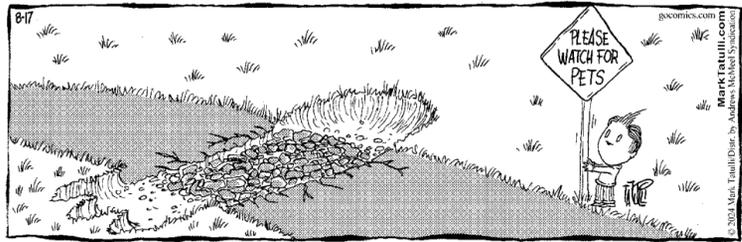
HILARY PRICE

MARK TRAIL



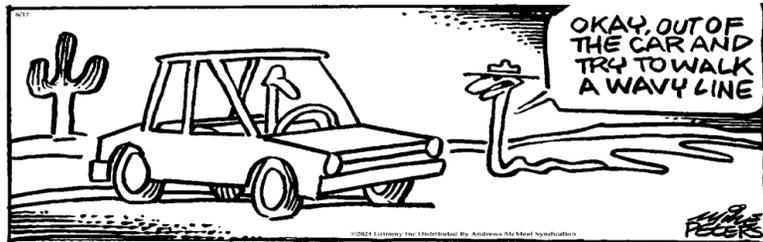
JULES RIVERA

LIO



MARK TATULLI

MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



MIKE PETERS

HAGAR THE HORRIBLE



CHRIS BROWNE

BALDO



HECTOR CANTU & CARLOS CASTELLANOS

BLONDIE



DEAN YOUNG & JOHN MARSHALL

SALLY FORTH



FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE

SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

3	4							
			4	1				9
		6		5	7			
9			6				4	
	1		3		7			
	6		2					5
		1	4		2			
1			9	8				
					3			8

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★

SCRABBLE GRAMS

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A ₁	A ₁	Y ₄	T ₁	L ₁	S ₁	N ₁	
E ₁	E ₁	U ₁	S ₁	N ₁	H ₄	T ₁	
I ₁	Y ₄	L ₁	L ₁	H ₄	G ₂	T ₁	
A ₁	E ₁	L ₁	R ₁	D ₂	H ₄	L ₁	

PAR SCORE 145-155
 BEST SCORE 215

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 scrgams@gmail.com

ACROSS
 1. Crowded
 5. Disgusting
 6. _____ station
 7. Light wind

DOWN
 1. _____ school
 2. Journal, pad
 3. Trap
 4. Soap

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.

DOUBLE BONUS The circled letters can be unscrambled to form two different BONUS answers.

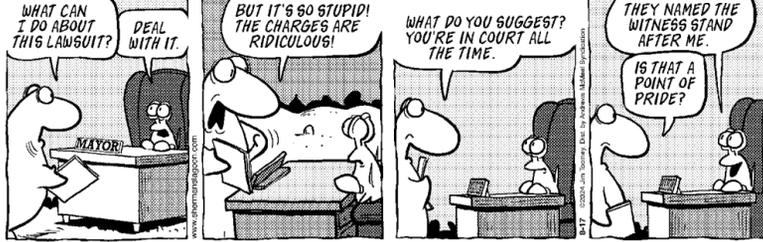
CLUE: Position, situation

CLUE: Intrudes, interrupts

ANSWER EMBBBO
 RSGSO
 NARIT
 EREBEZ

ANSWER EMTGAN
 LEOTTRB
 NEERNSA
 NGRPSO

SHERMAN'S LAGOON



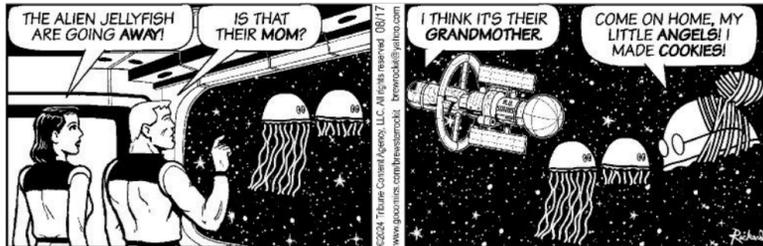
JIM TOOMEY

CURTIS



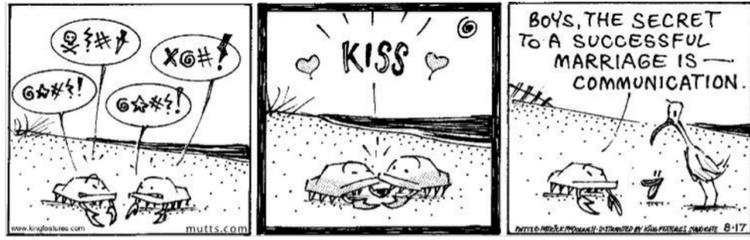
RAY BILLINGSLEY

BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



TIM RICKARD

MUTTS



PATRICK McDONNELL

ZITS



JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | AUGUST 17

Even though you present a calm exterior to the world, you're full of volatile emotions. You are strong-willed, energetic and self-sufficient. This is a year of service, mainly service to family. Therefore, take care of yourself so you can be effective. Is it time for a makeover?

Moon Alert: Avoid shopping or important decisions from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. today. After that, the Moon moves from Capricorn into Aquarius.

ARIES (MARCH 21-APRIL 19). Today is a friendly day, which is welcome news. However, there might be a few surprises when dealing with parents, bosses or authority figures, including the police. Pay attention to what you say and do, because no one wants to hear, "Busted!"

TAURUS (APRIL 20-MAY 20). Travel plans might suddenly change today. They might be canceled; however, on the upside, you might have a lovely and unexpected chance to travel. Yay! Meanwhile, because your appreciation of beauty is heightened, visit galleries, museums, beautiful buildings and parks.

GEMINI (MAY 21-JUNE 20). Double-check details with banking, shared property, inheritances and anything you own jointly with others. Something unexpected could impact these areas. It's important for you to be in the know.

CANCER (JUNE 21-JULY 22). A close friend or partner might say or do something that surprises you today. It could be a declaration of love and warm feelings. People do feel extra sensitive today and very kindhearted to each other. You also might want to help someone who is suffering in another country.

LEO (JULY 23-AUG. 22). Something related to your health and your job is surprising today. It's also possible that something related to a pet will catch you off guard. Therefore, be alert. Meanwhile, a work-related romance will be affectionate.

VIRGO (AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). This is a romantic, fun-loving, playful day! However, it will have some surprises, so keep your eyes open. People feel affectionate to each other, especially in romantic situations, as well as soft-hearted to children.

LIBRA (SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). Stock the fridge, because something unexpected could happen at home. It might be surprising news. However, small appliances might break down or minor breakages could occur.

SCORPIO (OCT. 23-NOV. 21). It's a lively day! You feel curious and eager to meet new faces and see new places. You might be surprised by news or gossip. You also might meet someone unusual or take a spontaneous short trip.

SAGITTARIUS (NOV. 22-DEC. 21). Keep an eye on your money and possessions, because something unexpected could impact them. You might find money; you might lose money. Protect what you own against loss, theft or damage.

CAPRICORN (DEC. 22-JAN. 19). Today you feel independent and spontaneous! There's some excitement in the air, which might mean you will meet someone interesting. You are certainly tuned in today. Your Spidey sense is activated.

AQUARIUS (JAN. 20-FEB. 18). This is the perfect day for a fun outing - a sport event, fun activities with children, meeting friends socially, enjoying the arts and having a vacation.

PISCES (FEB. 19-MARCH 20). Romantic sparks might happen with a platonic friend today. This is because many people feel warmhearted and affectionate to each other today. At the same time, today is also full of a few surprises!

- Georgia Nicols

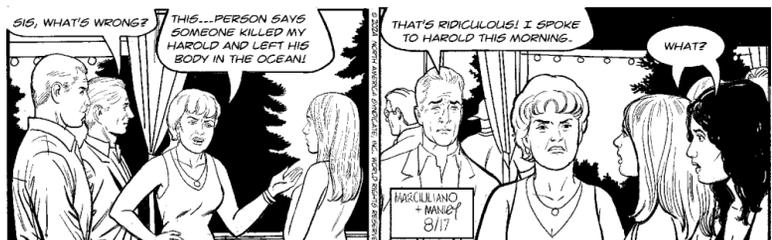
© 2024, KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC.

HEART OF THE CITY



STEEN ZANZ

JUDGE PARKER



FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

FRAZZ



JEF MALLET

CANDORVILLE



DARRIN BELL

GARFIELD



JIM DAVIS

BARNEY AND CLYDE



WEINGARTEN & CLARK

DUSTIN



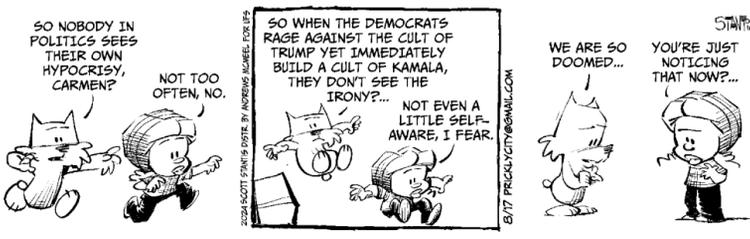
STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER

FLASH GORDON



DAN SCHKADE

PRICKLY CITY



LOOSE PARTS



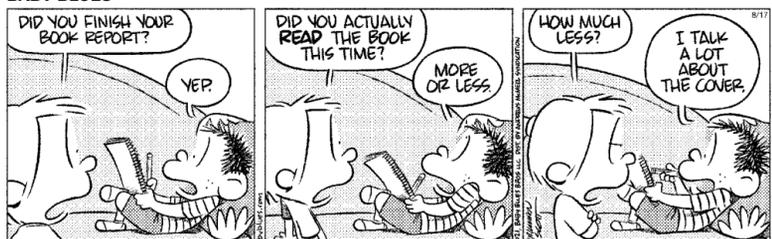
DAVE BLAZEK

NON SEQUITUR



WILEY

BABY BLUES



RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT

BIG NATE



LINCOLN PEIRCE

ON THE FASTTRACK



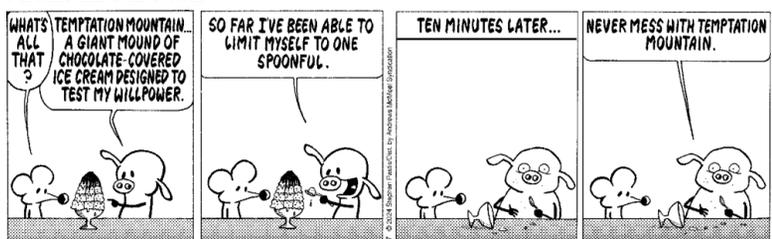
BILL HOLBROOK

BEETLE BAILEY



GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER

PEARLS BEFORE SWINE



STEPHAN PASTIS

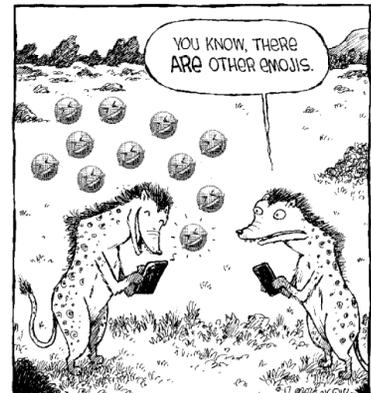
PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

9 4 5 7 3 2 8 6 1
8 7 2 6 9 1 5 4 3
6 3 1 4 8 5 9 2 7
3 2 4 1 7 9 6 8 5
1 5 6 2 4 8 7 3 9
7 9 8 3 5 6 2 1 4
5 1 9 8 2 4 3 7 6
2 6 3 9 1 7 4 5 8
4 8 7 5 6 3 1 9 2

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

F L Y L E A I F 74
C E N T R A L 59
D A M P S E N I 11
D E S K T O P 78
PAR SCORE 155-165
TOTAL 222

SPEED BUMP



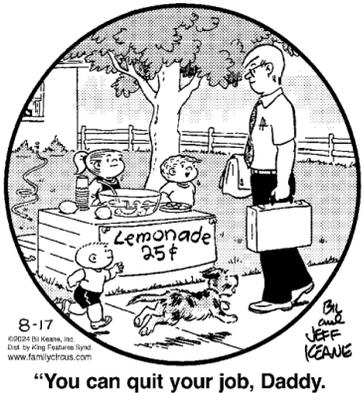
DAVE COVERLY

DENNIS THE MENACE



H. KETCHAM

FAMILY CIRCUS



BIL KEANE

REPLY ALL LITE



DONNA A. LEWIS

SOCCER

New arrival Joshua Zirkzee's 87th-minute strike lifts Manchester United over Fulham in the EPL opener. **D2**

OLYMPICS

Romanian gymnast Ana Maria Barbosu receives her bronze medal, the latest chapter in the scoring saga. **D3**

PRO FOOTBALL

Bengals take care of the kicker who takes care of them, giving Evan McPherson a three-year, \$16.5 million deal. **D6**



CHARLES KRUPA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Red Sox are in contention for a playoff spot after struggling in recent years. "Some guys have taken some big steps forward," veteran starter James Paxton said.

Frustrating loss capped by Turner's walk-off hit

PHILLIES 3, NATIONALS 2

Corbin sputters as Nats consider six-man rotation

BY SPENCER NUSBAUM

PHILADELPHIA — Friday night was far from Patrick Corbin's worst start, and he was far from the only reason the Washington Nationals fell a season-worst 13 games under .500 with a 3-2, walk-off loss to the Philadelphia Phillies. Blame can be spread — to an offense that again struggled to find a clutch hit and a defense that made a pivotal error in the ninth inning, setting the stage for old friend Trea Turner to beat his former team with the final swing of the night.

"There's a reason why he makes all that money," Manager Dave Martinez said of Turner, the former National who signed a 10-year, \$300 million deal with the Phillies before the 2023 season. "He's one of the best players in the game."

Turner's single off closer Kyle Finnegan — lined off the wall in left, with no outs and the bases loaded, after the Nationals had rallied for two in the top of the ninth — all but made Corbin's start a footnote. The 35-year-old left-hander went 4⅓ innings, yielding two runs on seven hits and two walks. But in the context of Martinez's pregame remarks that the Nationals would consider moving to a six-man rotation down the stretch, the need for Corbin to eat innings (while pitching to a 5.92 ERA) might also merit further evaluation.

"Our bullpen's been pitching a lot," Martinez said. "But we'll continue to monitor everybody, see where they're at and go from there."

Corbin has stuck around despite pitching to a 5.68 ERA over the final five seasons of his six-year, \$140 million contract because his innings were in service of the rebuild, saving young arms from being overworked. Now Washington could have a chance to redistribute those innings elsewhere, which was of particular focus after Corbin recorded just 13 outs.

"Good team over there, was maybe a little too fine tonight. ... Would have liked to have gone

NATIONALS AT PHILLIES
6 p.m., MASN2

Early arrivals

Red Sox didn't spend like a big-market team last offseason. But a young core has them in the race.

BY CHELSEA JANES

BOSTON — A few months ago, the idea of the Boston Red Sox entering their mid-August series with the American League East-leading Baltimore Orioles with a winning record and a chance to make the postseason was a long shot. The Red Sox, with careful free agent spending last offseason, did not conduct themselves like a team expecting to contend.

They did not look like a team ready to emerge when they lost some of their few proven pieces, shortstop Trevor Story and right-hander Lucas Giolito, early in the season. But as of Friday morning, they were six games over .500 and 2½ games out of the final American League wild-

card spot. Somehow, they are in it.

In fairness, sitting a handful of games above .500 and a few games out of a playoff spot would not normally constitute success for an organization that won four World Series since 2004. The Red Sox are supposed to be able — and, perhaps more importantly, willing — to outspend mediocrity. By that measure, the organization continues to be a relative shadow of the juggernaut that bludgeoned its way through the unforgiving AL East for decades.

But for an organization that finished under .500 in three of the past four seasons, limited payroll in the process, fired one Yale-honed general manager, hired another (now in his first year at the helm)

and saw its big free agent pitching splurge (Giolito) succumb to elbow surgery ... well, playoff contention qualifies as an achievement.

That achievement inspired the front office to commit to Manager Alex Cora with a three-year contract extension last month. Had he become a managerial free agent this winter, Cora probably would have garnered as much or more interest than Craig Counsell, to whom the Cubs gave five years and \$40 million despite already having a manager in place.

But after multiple seasons of uncomfortable, partial rebuilding that was not yielding a clear-cut next core, Cora and his staff are overseeing the emergence of a

SEE RED SOX ON D5

Red Sox at Orioles: 7 p.m., MASN | Bobblehead bust: Burnes giveaway goes awry in Boston's 12-10 win. **D4**

RETROPOLIS

Sports Illustrated helped launch a new age

The iconic magazine, which began as a risky experiment 70 years ago, became an American classic

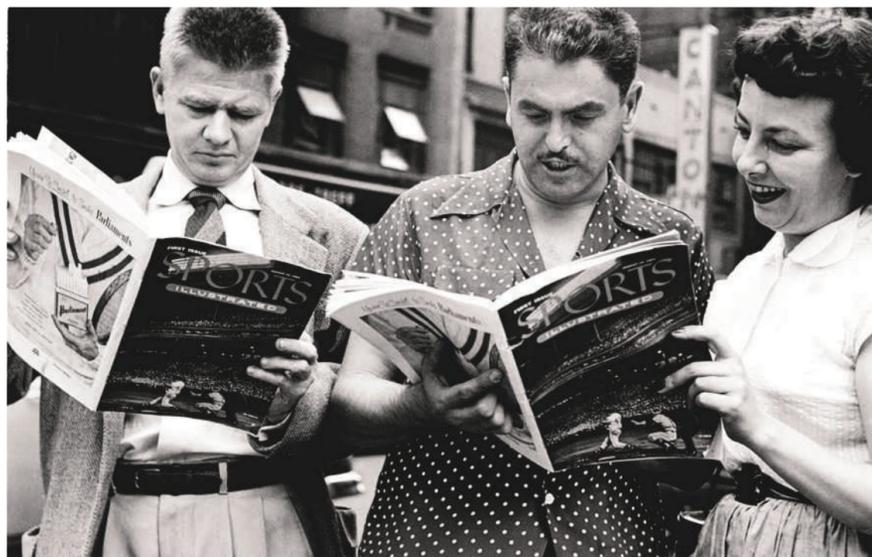
BY FREDERIC J. FROMMER

Sports Illustrated, the iconic magazine that defined quality sports journalism for decades before recently hitting hard times, made its debut 70 years ago this week amid a fair number of doubters.

That first issue, dated Aug. 16, 1954, featured Milwaukee Braves star Eddie Mathews on the cover, but there was no story on him or the Braves in the magazine. (And the photo was more than two months old.) Legendary publisher and Time co-founder Henry R. Luce launched the sports weekly as a way to diversify Time Inc.'s publications, which included Time, Life and Fortune.

Luce went forward with Sports Illustrated "against the advice of his most trusted aides, who viewed the very idea of starting a weekly magazine devoted solely to sports as an expensive, misguided, and inherently trivial folly," Michael MacCambridge wrote in his book "The Franchise: A History of Sports Illustrated Magazine."

MacCambridge noted that spectator sports in the 1950s were still viewed as a blue-collar pursuit



SUSAN WOOD/GETTY IMAGES

Milwaukee Braves star Eddie Mathews graced the cover of Sports Illustrated's inaugural issue in 1954.

— "an early Time Inc. study of the market described sports fans as 'juveniles and ne'er-do-wells,'" he wrote — and that there were seri-

ous questions about whether there were enough sports to justify a weekly magazine.

"Within the society as a whole

sports were more compartmentalized, regionalized, marginalized," he wrote. "In 1954, the football

SEE SI ON D3

Dotson learning no job is safe under new staff

2022 first-round pick is in fight for Commanders' No. 2 wide receiver spot

BY SAM FORTIER

MIAMI GARDENS, FLA. — Washington Commanders wide receiver Jahan Dotson said Thursday he wasn't surprised by Coach Dan Quinn's comment that the team is "right in the middle" of its search for a No. 2 wideout.

"DQ didn't draft me," said Dotson, the No. 16 overall pick in 2022. "Each and every year ... in your profession, you got to prove yourself. You got to prove what you're worth and what you're capable of doing. That's what I'm trying to do."

In the past week, Dotson's role has become more uncertain. He seemed primed to succeed Curtis Samuel as the team's No. 2 wide receiver, and he has mostly run with the first team during what has been an uneven training camp for him.

But then he led all skill players with 32 snaps in the preseason

opener, which may be more than expected for a third-year veteran with a seemingly stable job. And on Thursday, Quinn said Dotson and several others battling for the role behind Terry McLaurin would play similar snaps in the second preseason game Saturday against the Miami Dolphins.

While Quinn always preaches competition — even when there isn't one, such as at quarterback — he seems earnest that it's a job up for grabs.

"I've been really impressed with Olamide [Zaccheaus], and I thought he's had a really strong camp," Quinn said before the joint practice with the Dolphins. "I'm looking forward to getting Luke [McCaffrey] some extra work here. [And then] Jahan [and] Dyami [Brown]."

In the regular season, the Commanders are likely to major in three-wide-receiver sets, and in camp the top three wideouts have often been McLaurin, Dotson and Brown. But the team has mixed in McCaffrey and

SEE COMMANDERS ON D8
Preseason: Commanders at Dolphins
7 p.m., WUSA-9

THE DAY IN SPORTS

GOLF

Matsuyama, McCarthy share lead in Memphis

Hideki Matsuyama and **Denny McCarthy** combined to make nearly 300 feet of putts Friday, so it was no surprise to see them sharing the lead going into the steamy weekend of the St. Jude Championship in Memphis.

Matsuyama recovered from a shaky start — he missed a four-foot birdie putt on No. 2 and put his tee shot into the water on the par-3 fourth — with two long birdie putts and a 3-wood to about 12 feet on the par-5 16th for one of his easier birdies. He had a 6-under-par 64.

McCarthy, with a reputation for a smooth putting stroke, put that to good use on the velvety greens of TPC Southwind. He holed three birdie putts from about 25 feet or longer to offset a pair of bogeys in his round of 63.

They were at 11-under 129, one shot ahead of another great putter, **Sam Burns**, who shot a 29 on the front nine before cooling slightly. He had a 63.

Scottie Scheffler got on track late with three straight birdies for a 65 and was two back.

The first PGA Tour postseason event is the most consequential. The points are quadrupled, and the top 50 players in the FedEx Cup advance to the BMW Championship next week and are assured of playing in all the \$20 million signature events next year.

Jordan Spieth moved closer to the end of his year. He had a pair of double bogeys on the par-3s — one from the water on No. 4, another by taking two shots to get out of bunker on No. 14 — and posted a 75 that left him in a tie for 65th.

Others who had better seasons could afford a spotty performance. **Rory McIlroy**, the No. 3 seed going into the postseason, played the two par-5s in 3 over and shot a 73, leaving him in a tie for 58th. ...

American **Megan Khang** birdied her final hole to shoot a 4-under 68 and join **Minjee Lee** of Australia in a share of the lead at the Women's Scottish Open at Dundonald Links in Irvine.

Both players were 8 under overall and seeking their first wins of 2024. They were two shots clear of three players: Olympic gold medalist **Lydia Ko** (69), **Charley Hull** (68) and **Lauren Coughlin** (69). ...

Illinois senior **Jackson Buchanan** finally got a breather in the U.S. Amateur, needing only 15 holes and never trailing for a 4-and-3 victory over **Jacob Modleski** that sent him to the semifinals at Hazeltine National in Chaska, Minn.

Saturday's semifinals will feature a pair of Americans — Buchanan will face Iowa senior **Noah Kent** — and two Spaniards after **Jose Luis Ballester** and **Luis Masaveu** won their quarterfinal matches. ...

Talor Gooch holed out from the fairway for an eagle on the par-4 fifth hole and played bogey-free for a 7-under 63 that gave him a share of the three-way lead with **Sebastian Munoz** and **Jason Kokrak** after one round at LIV Golf Greenbrier in White Sulphur Springs, W.Va.

Jon Rahm and **Brooks Koepka** were in the group at 64.

TENNIS

Frustrated Alcaraz falls to Monfils in Ohio

Carlos Alcaraz repeatedly smashed his racket on the court in a rare show of frustration as the four-time Grand Slam winner fell to **Gael Monfils**, 4-6, 7-6 (7-5), 6-4, at the Cincinnati Open in Mason, Ohio.

In a match that was suspended by rain Thursday night with the players in a second-set tiebreaker, the 37-year-old Monfils advanced by taking the last two sets from the second-seeded Alcaraz, who called the loss his “worst match.”

“I felt like it was the worst match that I’ve ever played on my career,” Alcaraz said. “I’ve been practicing really well. I was feeling great. But I couldn’t play. I want to forget it and try to move on to New York.”

The U.S. Open begins there Aug. 26.

Monfils returned to the court later Friday and lost to No. 15 seed **Holger Rune**, 3-6, 6-3, 6-4.

“It was a big win for me against Carlos, unexpected to be honest,” Monfils said. “To play again in a couple hours against [another] good and younger player, I knew it would be tough.”

In women's action, top-ranked **Iga Swiatek** advanced to the quarterfinals with a 6-2, 6-2 win over **Marta Kostyuk**. ...

SPOTLIGHT: SOCCER



MARTIN RICKETT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

“To win here in my first home game and to grab a goal,” Manchester United’s Joshua Zirkzee said, “it couldn’t be better.”

Zirkzee stars in the Premier League opener

BY STEVE DOUGLAS

MANCHESTER UNITED 1, FULHAM 0

In Man. U debut, Dutch striker delivers winner in 87th minute

Joshua Zirkzee came off the bench and scored an 87th-minute goal in his debut for Manchester United to give his team a 1-0 victory over visiting Fulham on the opening night of the English Premier League season Friday.

The Netherlands striker poked out his left foot to guide home a cross by fellow substitute Alejandro Garnacho at Old Trafford.

Zirkzee, who joined from Bologna for a reported \$47 million last month, was one of three offseason signings to make their first appearances for United, along with defenders Noussair Mazraoui and Matthijs de Ligt.

“To win here in my first home game

and to grab a goal, it couldn’t be better,” Zirkzee said.

Zirkzee, Mazraoui and De Ligt arrived as part of a \$180 million spending spree by the record 20-time champion, a club under new leadership and looking to return to its former glories. Erik ten Hag was retained as manager despite guiding United to an eighth-place finish last season, and this was a

solid if unspectacular start to the campaign.

“It’s just the first game, but it’s good to strengthen the belief and confidence in the team,” ten Hag said. “I have seen the places where we need to improve. But that’s normal in the first game of the season.”

On Saturday, there are six more games in the league’s first round, including Liverpool — under new manager Arne Slot — at promoted Ipswich and Arsenal — the runner-up the past two seasons — hosting Wolverhampton.

Reigning champion Manchester City begins its title defense at Chelsea on Sunday.

— Associated Press

TELEVISION AND RADIO

NFL PRESEASON

Noon	Atlanta at Baltimore » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2), WIYY (97.9 FM), WSNB (63.0 AM)
1 p.m.	Cincinnati at Chicago » NFL Network
4 p.m.	Detroit at Kansas City » NFL Network
7 p.m.	Washington at Miami » WUSA (Ch. 9), WBIG (100.3 FM)
7 p.m.	Buffalo at Pittsburgh » NFL Network
10 p.m.	Dallas at Las Vegas » NFL Network

MLB

1 p.m.	New York Yankees at Detroit » MLB Network
4 p.m.	Arizona at Tampa Bay » MLB Network
6 p.m.	Washington at Philadelphia » MASN2, WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)
7 p.m.	Boston at Baltimore » MASN, WIYY (97.9 FM), WSNB (63.0 AM)
7:15 p.m.	Los Angeles Dodgers at St. Louis » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
9:30 p.m.	Atlanta at Los Angeles Angels » MLB Network

WNBA

2 p.m.	Minnesota at Washington » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13), WTEM (98.0 AM)
4 p.m.	New York at Las Vegas » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)

GOLF

8 a.m.	LPGA Tour: Women's Scottish Open, third round » Golf Channel
1 p.m.	LIV Golf: Greenbrier, second round » WDCW (Ch. 50), WNUV (Ch. 54)
1 p.m.	PGA Tour: St. Jude Championship, third round » Golf Channel
3 p.m.	PGA Tour: St. Jude Championship, third round » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
3 p.m.	USGA: U.S. Amateur, semifinals » Golf Channel
7 p.m.	PGA Tour Champions: Rogers Charity Classic, second round » Golf Channel

MOTORSPORTS

8:30 a.m.	MotoGP: Austrian Grand Prix Sprint » TruTV
12:30 p.m.	NASCAR Cup Series: FireKeepers Casino 400, qualifying » USA Network
3:30 p.m.	NASCAR Xfinity Series: Cabo Wabo 250 » USA Network
6:30 p.m.	IndyCar: Bommarito Automotive Group 500 » USA Network

SOCCER

7:30 a.m.	English Premier League: Liverpool at Ipswich Town » USA Network
7:30 a.m.	English League Championship: Luton Town at Portsmouth » CBS Sports Network

10 a.m.	English Premier League: Wolverhampton at Arsenal » USA Network
10 a.m.	English League Championship: Queens Park at Sheffield United » CBS Sports Network

12:30 p.m.	English Premier League: Aston Villa at West Ham » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
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12:30 p.m.	Italian Serie A: Inter Milan at Genoa » CBS Sports Network
2:45 p.m.	Canadian Premier League: HFX Wanderers at Valour FC » Fox Sports 2

2:45 p.m.	Turkish Super Lig: Fenerbahce at Goztepe » BeIN Sports
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TENNIS

11 a.m.	ATP: Cincinnati Open, semifinals; WTA: Cincinnati Open, quarterfinals » Tennis Channel
7 p.m.	ATP: Cincinnati Open, semifinals; WTA: Cincinnati Open, quarterfinals » Tennis Channel

BOXING

10 p.m.	Super middleweights: Christian Mbilli vs. Sergiy Derevyanchenko » ESPN
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PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

4 p.m.	Indoor Football League national championship: Massachusetts vs. Arizona » CBS Sports Network
7 p.m.	Canadian Football League: Edmonton at Hamilton » CBS Sports Network

HORSE RACING

3 p.m.	Alabama Stakes » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
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PROFESSIONAL LACROSSE

9 p.m.	Premier League Lacrosse: Denver vs. Utah » ESPN2
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MIXED MARTIAL ARTS

8 p.m.	UFC 305, prelims » ESPN
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LITTLE LEAGUE BASEBALL WORLD SERIES

1 p.m.	International elimination game: Guayama, Puerto Rico, vs. Surrey, B.C. » ESPN
3 p.m.	U.S. elimination game: Sioux Falls, S.D., vs. Staten Island » ESPN
5 p.m.	International elimination game: Brno, Czech Republic, vs. Santa Cruz, Aruba » ESPN
7 p.m.	U.S. elimination game: Newtown, Pa., vs. Salem, N.H. » ESPN2

Marketa Vondrousova, the 2023 Wimbledon champion, and **Cam Norrie** pulled out of the U.S. Open because of injuries.

The 18th-ranked Vondrousova has been sidelined by a hand issue, and the 47th-ranked Norrie has a forearm problem.

Petra Martić replaces Vondrousova in the women's draw in New York, while **Francisco Comesana** takes Norrie's spot in the men's bracket for the year's last Grand Slam tournament.

The draw for the U.S. Open is Thursday.

PRO BASKETBALL

Clark sparks the Fever past Taurasi, Mercury

Caitlin Clark started fast and finished with 29 points and 10 assists, **Kelsey Mitchell** scored 28 points, and the Indiana Fever fended off a furious second-half rally from the Phoenix Mercury for a critical 98-89 victory in Indianapolis.

In the Fever's first game since the Olympic break, Mitchell made six three-pointers and Clark had four as Indiana

celebrated the restart of the WNBA season by adding another twist to the budding rivalry between Clark and three-time league champion **Diana Taurasi**.

Indiana swept the three-game season series with Phoenix as Clark tallied the 10th double-double of her rookie season.

Kahleah Copper, one of Phoenix's three U.S. Olympic gold medalists, led the Mercury with 32 points and eight rebounds. The other two — Taurasi and **Brittney Griner** — finished with 16 points and 10 points, respectively. ...

Rhyne Howard scored a season-high 30 points as the Atlanta Dream defeated the Seattle Storm, 83-81, in College Park, Ga., to snap an eight-game losing streak.

SOCCER

U.S. women reclaim spot atop rankings

The U.S. women's national team returned to the top of the FIFA world rankings after winning gold last weekend at the Paris Olympics.

Mallory Swanson's goal helped the team secure its fifth Olympic gold medal — and first since the 2012 London Games — by beating Brazil, 1-0, in the final Saturday. That lifted the Americans up from fifth and ended a 12-month absence from the top of the standings.

England moved up to second, ahead of Spain, Germany, Sweden and Canada.

Brazil climbed one spot to eighth.

The worst slide belonged to France, which dropped from second to 10th. ...

Iago Aspas avoided an early red card thanks to a video review, had a goal chalked off just before halftime and then capped an eventful game by scoring Celta Vigo's winner against Deportivo Alaves in the Spanish league.

The 37-year-old Aspas was the focal point for Celta for much of last season and picked up where he left off in its opening game, netting in the 84th minute to seal a 2-1 victory for the hosts. ...

Paris Saint-Germain got its post-**Kylian Mbappé** era off a winning start by beating Le Havre, 4-1, in its French League opener. However, the score line was more comfortable than the performance suggested, with PSG's last three goals coming in the final five minutes. ...

Brazil striker **Evanilson** signed with Bournemouth from Porto in a deal worth a reported 40 million pounds (\$51.6 million), a club record for the English Premier League team.

The 24-year-old Evanilson scored 13 league goals in Portugal last season and netted a hat trick in the group stage of the Champions League against Royal Antwerp in October. ...

Swiss playmaker **Xherdan Shaqiri** returned to Basel, 12 years after leaving the club where he began his career.

COLLEGES

Rutgers loses its AD weeks before kickoff

Rutgers athletic director **Pat Hobbs** resigned, citing health reasons for deciding to leave the school after nine years.

The departure of the 64-year-old Hobbs comes just three weeks before the Scarlet Knights begin a highly anticipated football season. **Ryan Pisarri**, the deputy athletic director and chief of staff, will take over as interim athletic director. ...

Connor Stallions, the former low-level recruiting staffer at Michigan who was at the center of a sign-stealing scandal, is running the defense at a Detroit high school.

“I got the most hated man in college football right now, Connor Stallions. He’s my defensive coordinator,” Mumford Coach **William McMichael** told the Detroit News.

MISC.

Frenchwoman is first to win a stage on Tour

Cedrine Kerbaol soloed to the biggest victory of her career, becoming the first home rider to win a stage in the three-year history of the women's Tour de France cycling race.

Kerbaol lifted her arms above her head and made a heart sign with her hands as she crossed the line at the end of the sixth stage, a hilly 159.2-kilometer (99-mile) route from Remiremont to Morteau.

The 23-year-old attacked from the bunch at the top of the final climb and used her descending prowess to pull away and finish 21 seconds ahead of **Marianne Vos** and **Liane Lippert**.

The victory also lifted Kerbaol into the second overall, 16 seconds behind **Kasia Niewiadoma** heading into the final two stages in the high mountains. American **Kristen Faulkner** was third, 19 seconds behind Niewiadoma. ...

Scott Bloomquist, a top dirt track racecar driver known for his bravado, died in a plane crash on his family's farm in Mooresburg, Tenn., friends and local officials said. He was 60.

Jerry Caldwell, president and manager of Bristol Motor Speedway in Tennessee, said that Bloomquist was “arguably the greatest dirt Late Model racer in the sport's history.”

In another tribute, fellow racer **Tony Stewart** said, “He was a force on the track and off, with a personality as big as his list of accomplishments.” ...

Poland Prime Minister **Donald Tusk** announced that his country will strive to host the Summer Olympics for the first time, with a particular eye on the Games in 2040 and 2044.

— From news services

As Chile's medal battle continues, Romanian gymnast receives her bronze

BY GLYNN A. HILL

Romanian gymnast Ana Maria Barbosu officially received an Olympic bronze medal for the floor exercise after it was stripped from American Jordan Chiles amid a scoring controversy that continues more than a week after the competition in Paris ended.

Barbosu received the medal Friday in Bucharest, Romania's capital city. Her reception came a day after Chiles shared a social media post addressing the matter Thursday.

"I am overwhelmed by the love I have received over the past few days. I am also incredibly grateful to my family, teammates, coaches, fans, [USA Gymnastics], and the [U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee] for their unwavering support during this difficult time," Chiles said.

"While celebrating my Olympic accomplishments, I heard the devastating news that my bronze medal had been stripped away. I had confidence in the appeal brought by USAG, who gave conclusive evidence that my score followed all the rules. This appeal was unsuccessful. I have no words. This decision feels unjust and comes as a significant blow, not just to me, but to everyone who has championed my journey. To add to the heartbreak, the un-



DANIEL MIHAILESCU/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Ana Maria Barbosu kisses the bronze floor exercise medal she received Friday in Bucharest, Romania.

prompted racially driven attacks on social media are wrong and extremely hurtful."

In the floor final Aug. 5, Chiles' routine earned a 13.666, which put her in fifth place. Afterward, her coach filed an inquiry to dispute a difficulty score, and upon review,

Chiles' score increased by 0.1 to 13.766. The revised score pushed Chiles into third and dropped Barbosu to fourth.

Barbosu and the Romanian federation appealed the change, and the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) ruled Aug. 10 that the inquiry

that benefited Chiles had been filed after the one-minute deadline. On Sunday, six days after the floor final, the International Olympic Committee said Chiles had to return her medal and Barbosu would receive the bronze instead. (Romanian officials had

asked for both gymnasts to be given bronze.)

Later Sunday, USA Gymnastics said it submitted to CAS time-stamped video proving Chiles' coach initiated the inquiry 47 seconds after the score was posted. USA Gymnastics said it did not have this video footage before CAS ruled in favor of Barbosu and thus did not submit it then.

CAS said Monday that it would not reconsider its ruling that led to the revocation of Chiles' bronze medal. That same day, USA Gymnastics responded to the decision in a statement.

"We are deeply disappointed by the notification and will continue to pursue every possible avenue and appeal process, including to the Swiss Federal Tribunal, to ensure the just scoring, placement, and medal award for Jordan," the organization said.

Another detail in the saga emerged Tuesday when the New York Times reported that Hamid Gharavi, the head of the CAS panel that made the decision, has represented the Romanian government in separate arbitration cases for almost a decade.

The following day, CAS said it "condemns the outrageous statements published in certain U.S. media alleging, without knowledge of the above and before review of the reasoned award, that

the Panel, and more particularly its chairman, was biased due to other professional engagements or for reasons of nationality."

Also on Wednesday, CAS released a document that showed USA Gymnastics and Chiles' coach did not object to her opponent's assertion that they had missed the one-minute deadline to ask for Chiles' score to be reconsidered. The document also showed that days passed before USA Gymnastics was officially informed of the effort to challenge Chiles' medal, giving U.S. officials little time to prepare for the hearing — a lapse that could provide grounds for Chiles to appeal the decision.

In response, USA Gymnastics reiterated that it "strongly disagrees" with the court's decision and will "continue to seek justice for Jordan Chiles."

Then came Chiles' message Thursday on social media.

"I am now confronted with one of the most challenging moments of my career. Believe me when I say I have had many," she said. "I will approach this challenge as I have others — and will make every effort to ensure that justice is done. I believe that at the end of this journey, the people in control will do the right thing."

Emily Giambalvo contributed to this report.

Sports Illustrated, launched 70 years ago, became a staple of American culture

SI FROM D1

season ended on January 1, and there were more hours of game shows on television than actual games."

So in the months leading up to the first issue — which ran 144 pages and cost 25 cents — there was internal doubt at the parent company. The year before, "the still unnamed magazine was in the project stage, and was known colloquially, and somewhat skeptically, to members of other Time Inc. publications as 'Muscles.'" SI's publisher wrote in a 1974 essay.

Time Inc. chose the name Sports Illustrated over candidates such as "Arena," "Weekend," "Leisure" and "Score," according to a 1954 Wall Street Journal story. The New York Herald Tribune reported at the time that "Muscles" and "Trops" were also on the table. (Wait, "Trops?" Read it backward, the newspaper advised.)

Luce bought the rights to a previous publication with the name "Sports Illustrated" for \$5,000 (about \$60,000 in today's dollars) and a lifetime subscription to the previous owner of the name.

Lofty ambitions

When SI debuted, it got a boost from its sister publication. Time magazine ran a story touting Sports Illustrated's 350,000 subscription orders and kvelled that the magazine sold out advertising space in its first issue. SI had orders of \$1.3 million worth of ads (about \$15 million in today's dollars) from more than 200 companies.

Under Managing Editor Sidney L. James, former assistant managing editor of LIFE, 50 editorial staffers put together a book packed with color pictures, features and spot sports news," Time wrote. "This week's lead story: an account of the British Empire Games in Vancouver, B.C."

"When we were working out the idea of a weekly sports magazine, there was a good deal of doubt felt in all quarters," said Sports Illustrated publisher H.H.S. Phillips Jr., who had worked as advertising director at Time. "There's not much doubt left now. We're off to one of the fastest starts in the history of publishing."

The inaugural magazine, which listed Luce as its editor in chief, included advertisements for women's coats, men's and women's clothing, gasoline, tires, cars, cigarette lighters, sports equipment, Scotch and champagne.

In a "Memo from the Publisher" — printed alongside vintage covers of Time, Life and Fortune magazines — Phillips laid out what the new magazine hoped to offer readers.

"Sports Illustrated is the newest offspring of Time Incorporated," it began. "And as with any new arrival, friends are bound to gather and look for family likenesses."

Harking back to Time's creation, Phillips wrote, "In 1923, there was no magazine for an exciting and excited world that was bursting at the seams with curiosity about itself. So Time, The Weekly Newsmagazine, was invented. And in Sports Illustrated you will see something of Time's nose for news and the full, coherent weekly recital of that fascinating world in itself, the Wonderful World of Sport."

He promised readers that in Sports Illustrated, "you will see that sport has emerged from the era of isolated contest into a new



LAWRENCE JACKSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A booming interest in sports helped give rise to Sports Illustrated, which was launched amid much doubt and skepticism Aug. 16, 1954. It has fallen on hard times recently.

era of tremendous size, of national and international importance; again, a new phenomenon, needing and deserving its stimulating but wise chronicler. ... Today's maraudous cameras will have a weekly field day in a field that is peculiarly theirs, to capture the instants of dramatic excitement, of human and animal grace, of victory and defeat, that are what sport is made of."

The first issue of SI, which would eventually feature such high-powered writers as Frank Deford and Roy Blount Jr., included at least one high-profile contributor, a future Pulitzer Prize winning columnist. "Red Smith discovers a nice guy named Leo Durocher who may finish first," the magazine's table of contents teased, a play on the fiery manager Durocher's famous line, "Nice guys finish last." One of SI's original staff writers was Robert Creamer, who would go on to author a highly acclaimed biography of Babe Ruth.

There was also a story on runners who excel at the mile race ("Duel of the Four-Minute Men"), a piece called "The Battle of the Bubble Gum: The weapons are baseball players, the prize, millions of young Americans"; and articles on hunting, horse racing and boxing.

The magazine ran a feature called "Jimmy Jemal's Hotbox," in which the writer asked, "What sport provokes the most arguments in your home?" One woman from Oakland answered that it was horse racing, recalling how

she went to the racetrack with her husband. After some big losses, "he pleaded, 'Let me have your money. I can get out of it. I know the jockey.' Like a fool I did. Now we're separated."

That first issue previewed the next one, including a feature called Wimbledon in Color: "The drama and excitement of the world tennis championships, as well as the beauty of their setting, captured in fine photographs by Jerry Cooke."

A sports world on the move

Sports Illustrated debuted in a far different athletic landscape. There were only 12 NFL teams, nine NBA teams and six NHL franchises.

But it was also an era of great upheaval, with several of MLB's 16 teams beginning to move across the continent, helping to jolt attendance for moribund franchises. In 1953, the Braves moved from Boston to Milwaukee, where they saw a more than sixfold attendance increase, from 281,000 to 1.83 million. The next season, the St. Louis Browns relocated to Baltimore, and in 1955, the Athletics moved from Philadelphia to Kansas City. Before the end of the decade, the Dodgers and Giants would fundamentally change American sports by moving from New York to California, MLB's first foray to the West Coast.

Sports Illustrated's inaugural cover sought to capture the energy of teams on the march. On its table of content page, it included this description:

"Nowhere does baseball create more enthusiasm than in Milwaukee. Last season, after moving to town from Boston, the Braves drew 1,826,379 fans, a National League record. This year, despite slow starts by sluggers like Ed Mathews, shown in baseball's classic home plate tableau in a game against the Giants, attendance over two million seems certain."

That turned out to be accurate: The Braves would draw a major league-best 2.13 million fans in 1954. But attendance would tank in the 1960s, bottoming out at 555,000 in 1965, the team's final year in Milwaukee before it moved on again, this time to Atlanta.

Despite some early struggles, the magazine benefited from societal changes the year it launched, such as the introduction of the first color TV and the first modern jet, MacCambridge observed in his book.

"After its troubled beginning, Sports Illustrated would eventually refocus itself, developing a distinctive tone that resulted from an unforeseen and unlikely creative amalgam. In the late '50s and '60s, the magazine's prose was altered and enlivened by an infusion of Texas sportswriters, whose prose was lucid, irreverent, and unapologetic about the central role of sports in modern society," wrote MacCambridge, who called SI "the quintessential American middle-class magazine of the postwar era."

In addition to its notable staff writers, several celebrities also wrote pieces for the magazine, as SI recounted in a 2013 story, such

as John F. Kennedy, William Faulkner, Robert Frost, John Steinbeck, John Updike, Jack Kerouac and Jimmy Breslin.

Gracing the cover of SI was a sign an athlete had made it, and the magazine helped define success in athletics with its Sportsman of the Year award, starting in 1954 when Roger Bannister was named Sportsman of the Year after becoming the first person to run the mile in less than four minutes.

"It was a year of shining performances in a host of sports — by personalities recognizable simply as Willie and Yogi and Dusty and Rocky and Billy Joe and Banana Nose and the Dancer and Hopalong and Crazylegs," SI wrote in that first Sportsman write-up Jan. 3, 1955. "It was a year of zealous pursuit of a hundred other sports by tens of millions of leisure-time sportsmen, from the President of the United States on down. The cast of candidates was tremendous — and yet, when it came to picking the Sportsman of the Year, the compelling choice was the man who set himself an athlete's severest challenge, the four-minute mile; who met the challenge superbly (in exchange for a couple of small, inexpensive medals), and then turned to the next challenge, that of a strenuous profession; the miller-turned doctor, Roger Bannister."

The story also gave shout-outs to other deserving athletes, such as Giants center fielder Willie Mays, who won the NL MVP in 1954 and made the most famous catch in World Series history. The

magazine saluted Mays, who died this year at 93, as "baseball's electric character of the year ... Willie was almost too good to be true."

To its devotees, the same description fit Sports Illustrated. But like other print publications, the magazine was badly hurt by the internet and changing habits, and it has become a shell of itself in recent years. In 2017, the Meredith Corporation purchased Time Inc., including Time magazine, SI and People, for around \$3 billion.

Then in 2019, after several rounds of layoffs at the magazine, Authentic Brands Group purchased SI's intellectual property, recouping its investment through licensing deals. In January of this year, much of the magazine's staff received layoff notices, in the midst of a dispute between Authentic and the Arena Group, which paid Authentic for the rights to publish SI in print and online.

The magazine, once a weekly staple, switched to twice a month and, in 2020, to a monthly.

In March, Authentic Brands Group announced it had found a new publisher, London-based Minute Media, which publishes websites including the Players' Tribune, putting an end to months of uncertainty over who would run the 70-year-old magazine.

Frederic J. Frommer, a writer and a sports and politics historian, is the author of several books, including "You Gotta Have Heart: Washington Baseball from Walter Johnson to the 2019 World Series Champion Nationals."

BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR	CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR	WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Philadelphia	72	50	.590	—	6-4	W-3	Milwaukee	70	52	.574	—	7-3	W-3	Los Angeles	72	51	.585	—	6-4	W-1
x-Atlanta	64	57	.529	7½	4-6	L-1	Cincinnati	60	62	.492	10	6-4	L-1	x-San Diego	69	53	.566	2½	9-1	W-3
New York	63	59	.516	9	4-6	W-1	St. Louis	60	62	.492	10	3-7	L-5	Arizona	69	54	.561	3	8-2	L-1
Washington	55	68	.447	17½	4-6	L-3	Chicago	60	63	.488	10½	6-4	W-1	San Francisco	62	62	.500	10½	5-5	W-1
Miami	45	77	.369	27	3-7	L-2	Pittsburgh	57	64	.471	12½	1-9	W-1	x-Colorado	44	78	.361	27½	3-7	L-3

Phillies 3, Nationals 2

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Calli rf	5	0	0	0	1	3.67
Abrams ss	4	0	0	0	2	2.48
Wood lf	3	3	1	0	1	2.89
Chaparro dh	4	0	0	0	1	2.86
K.Ruiz c	4	0	0	0	1	2.27
García 2b	4	1	2	0	1	2.92
Vargas 1b	4	1	0	0	0	2.93
Núñez pf	3	1	1	0	0	2.73
Vargas 1b	0	0	0	0	0	2.53
Tena 3b	3	2	2	1	1	4.17
Young cf	4	0	2	1	0	1.254
TOTALS	35	2	11	2	8	—

PHILLIES	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Schwarber dh	4	0	0	1	0	2.51
Turner ss	5	1	4	0	1	3.09
Harper 1b	3	0	0	1	0	2.81
Bohm 2b	4	0	1	0	0	2.96
Castellanos rf	4	1	1	0	0	2.47
Realuto c	3	1	1	1	1	2.53
Stott 2b	3	0	0	1	0	2.34
Wilson lf	2	0	0	1	1	3.25
Marsh lf	1	1	1	0	0	2.41
Rojas cf	3	0	1	0	0	1.244
Stevenson ph	1	2	2	0	0	3.33
TOTALS	33	3	10	3	5	4

WASHINGTON 000 000 002 — 211 1 PHILA. 002 000 001 — 310 0

No outs when winning run scored.
E: Call (2), LOB: Washington 9, Philadelphia 1. 2B: Young (13), Wood (6), Turner (13), RB: Tena (3), Young (26), Castellanos (61), Realuto (26), Turner (42), SB: Stott (2), Rojas (20), Castellanos (5), Young (28), CS: Yezep (1), Wood (6).

NATIONALS IP H R ER BB SO NPERA
Corbin 4½ 7 2 2 2 2 965.92
Barnes 4½ 0 0 0 0 1 213.44
García 1 0 0 0 0 1 104.80
Law 1 0 0 0 1 1 122.85
Finegan 3 1 1 1 0 1 173.67

PHILLIES IP H R ER BB SO NPERA
Nola 6½ 7 0 0 2 4 1113.45
Strahm ½ 1 0 0 1 1 112.12
Hoffman ½ 0 0 0 1 1 119.92
Estévez 2 2 0 2 2 2 73.12

WP: Estévez (1-1); LP: Finegan (3-6).
Inherited runners-scored: Barnes 1-0, Strahm 2-0, Hoffman 1-0. IBB: off Finegan (Schwarber). HBP: Nola (Abrams). T: 3:01. A: 41,067 (42,901).

HOW THEY SCORED

PHILLIES THIRD
Trea Turner singles. Bryce Harper walks. Trea Turner to second. Alec Bohm grounds out. Bryce Harper out at catcher. Trea Turner to third. Castellanos singles. Trea Turner scores. J.T. Realmuto singles, Nick Castellanos scores. Bryson Stott grounds out.

Phillies 2, Nationals 0

Luis García singles. Juan Yezep singles. Luis García to second. Jose Tena singles. Nasim Núñez to third. Luis García scores. Jacob Young hits into a force out. Jose Tena out at second. Nasim Núñez scores. Alex Call strikes out swinging. CJ Abrams strikes out swinging.

NATIONALS 2, Phillies 2

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Robles cf	4	0	0	0	0	2.70
Arozarena lf	3	0	0	0	0	2.58
Raleigh dh	4	0	0	0	0	2.11
Rodríguez dh	4	2	0	0	0	2.65
Polanco 2b	2	1	1	1	1	2.15
Raley 1b	3	1	2	1	1	2.33
Canzone rf	3	0	0	1	0	2.08
Rojas 3b	3	0	0	0	1	2.30
Hammer ph	1	0	0	0	1	2.06
Rivas ss	2	0	0	0	1	1.82
Turner pf	1	0	0	0	1	2.00
TOTALS	31	3	5	3	4	—

PHILLIES	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Robles cf	4	0	0	0	0	2.70
Arozarena lf	3	0	0	0	0	2.58
Raleigh dh	4	0	0	0	0	2.11
Rodríguez dh	4	2	0	0	0	2.65
Polanco 2b	2	1	1	1	1	2.15
Raley 1b	3	1	2	1	1	2.33
Canzone rf	3	0	0	1	0	2.08
Rojas 3b	3	0	0	0	1	2.30
Hammer ph	1	0	0	0	1	2.06
Rivas ss	2	0	0	0	1	1.82
Turner pf	1	0	0	0	1	2.00
TOTALS	31	3	5	3	4	—

SEATTLE 000 200 001 — 3 5 3
PITTSBURGH 000 120 20X — 5 8 0

E: Raleigh (5), Polanco (6), Gilbert (3).
LOB: Seattle 6, Pittsburgh 6. 2B: Rodríguez (11), Kiner-Falefa (3), Cruz (26), HR: Raley (15), off Skenes; Polanco (12), Cruz (28), Grandal (5), off Gilbert.
MARINERS IP H R ER BB SO ERA
Skenes 6½ 5 4 3 2 6 2.96
Voth ½ 2 1 1 0 1 3.12
Chargois ¼ 0 0 0 0 0 0.00
Thornton 1 1 0 0 0 2 4.53

PIRATES IP H R ER BB SO ERA
Skenes 6 3 2 2 4 6 2.30
Nicolas 1 0 0 0 0 0 2.86
Chapman 1 0 0 0 0 1 3.25
Bednar 1 2 1 1 0 3 5.83

WP: Skenes (7-2); LP: Gilbert (7-9); S: Bednar (21). Inherited runners-scored: Voth 1-1, Chargois 1-0, HR: Skenes (Arozarena). PB: Grandal (25), T: 2:39. A: 27,058 (38,753).

Mets 7, Marlins 3

Brandon Nimmo broke an O-for-17 skid with a three-run homer and Jeff McNeil launched a two-run shot, powering New York to a win over Miami.

McNeil and Nimmo both went deep in a six-run fourth that included an RBI triple by Francisco Lindor. Sean Manaea pitched seven effective innings for his third victory in four starts.

MARLINS	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Edwards ss	3	0	1	0	1	3.58
Burger 1b	4	1	2	0	0	2.84
Bride dh	4	1	1	0	0	2.75
J.Sánchez rf	4	0	1	0	1	2.42
Hill cf	4	1	1	0	0	2.57
Lopez 2b	3	0	1	0	1	2.20
Neill (c)	3	0	0	0	0	2.08
Stowers ph	1	0	0	0	1	1.09
Hensley lf	3	0	0	0	1	1.43
A.Sánchez zc	3	0	0	0	0	1.45
TOTALS	32	3	6	3	6	—

METS	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Lindor ss	5	1	1	0	1	2.63
Vientos 3b	3	1	1	0	1	2.75
Nimmo lf	5	2	3	0	1	2.28
Martínez dh	5	2	1	0	1	2.59
Alonso 1b	4	0	0	0	1	2.42
Winker c	3	0	0	0	0	2.86
Alvarez c	3	1	1	0	1	2.57
McNeil 2b	4	1	2	0	0	2.40
Bader cf	2	1	0	0	2	2.63
TOTALS	34	7	10	7	8	—

MIAMI 000 210 000 — 3 6 1
NEW YORK 100 600 00X — 7 10 0

E: Muñoz (4), LOB: Miami 4, New York 9. 2B: Edwards (7), Bride (3), Hill (3), Martínez (21), McNeil (24). 3B: Lindor (1), HR: Burger (24), off Manaea; McNeil (12), off Muñoz; Nimmo (17), off Soriano.

MARLINS IP H R ER BB SO ERA
Muñoz 3½ 5 4 3 5 5.88
Burger 2½ 4 2 2 2 7.32
McMillon 2 1 0 0 0 10.00

METS IP H R ER BB SO ERA
Manaea 7 5 3 3 1 4.46
Buttó 2 1 0 0 1 2.44

WP: Manaea (9-5); LP: Muñoz (2-7). Inherited runners-scored: Soriano 1-1. HBP: Soriano (Vientos). T: 2:41. A: 32,311 (42,136).

Cubs 6, Blue Jays 5 (10)

Seiya Suzuki hit a game-ending single in the 10th, and Chicago beat Toronto.

Happ, Cody Bellinger, Pete Crow-Armstrong and Miguel Amaya homered for the Cubs.

BLUE JAYS	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Springer rf	5	0	1	2	0	2.19
Varsho cf	5	0	1	0	2	2.08
Guerrero 1b	5	0	0	0	3	1.19
Horwitz dh	5	1	1	0	2	2.65
Kirk c	5	0	1	0	1	2.39
Wagner 2b	4	1	2	0	1	5.83
Clement 3b	4	1	1	0	1	2.76
Loperido lf	4	1	1	0	1	1.40
Jiménez ss	4	1	1	1	2	2.21
TOTALS	41	5	10	4	11	—

CUBS	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Happ lf	4	3	2	1	1	0.233
Bellinger dh	4	0	1	0	1	2.57
Suzuki dh	5	0	1	0	2	2.65
Bullinger rf	4	1	1	2	0	2.76
Paredes 3b	4	0	0	0	1	1.64
Hoerner 2b	4	0	1	0	0	2.56
D.Swanson ss	3	0	0	1	0	2.28
Crow-Armstrong cf	2	1	1	1	0	2.10
Wisdom ph	1	0	0	0	1	2.02
Tauchman rf	0	0	0	0	0	2.46
Amaya c	4	1	1	0	0	2.20
TOTALS	35	6	7	6	6	—

TORONTO 000 110 003 0 — 510 1
CHICAGO 000 200 100 1 — 6 7 2

No outs when winning run scored.
E: Wagner (1), Hendricks (1), D.Swanson (5), LOB: Toronto 7, Chicago 7. 2B: Happ (26), Hoerner (24). 3B: Springer (2). HR: Jiménez (2), off Hendricks; Bellinger (13), off Rodríguez; Crow-Armstrong (5), off Rodríguez; Amaya (5), off Rodríguez; Happ (21), off Little.

BLUE JAYS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Rodríguez	5	4	4	2	5	3.93	3.93
Nance	1	1	1	0	0	0.84	0.84
Little	1	1	1	0	0	0.94	0.94
E.Swanson	1	1	0	0	0	0.17	0.17
Cabrera	1	0	0	0	0	1.34	1.34
Green	0	1	0	1	0	1.86	1.86

CUBS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Hendricks	5	5	2	1	0	2.35	2.35
Smily	1	0	0	0	0	3.77	3.77
Hodge	1	0	0	0	0	2.44	2.44
Neris	1	4	3	0	2	3.98	3.98
Miller	1	0	0	0	0	1.38	1.38

WP: Miller (4-1); LP: Green (3-1); IBB: off Nance (Crow-Armstrong). T: 2:53. A: 39,614 (41,363).



NUCCIO DINUZZO/GETTY IMAGES

Single-minded

Seiya Suzuki has some pep in his step after he delivered a walk-off RBI single in the 10th inning to vault the Cubs, who had blown a three-run lead in the ninth, to a 6-5 win over the Blue Jays at Wrigley Field.

Rays 5, Diamondbacks 4

Jonny DeLuca scored an error in the ninth inning, and Tampa Bay ended Arizona's season-best winning streak at six games.

Corbin Carroll had tied it at 4 with a two-run homer in the top of the frame.

D'BACKS	AB	R	H	BB	SO	AVG
Carroll rf	5	2	2	0	2	2.19
McCarthy cf	5	1	2	0	0	3.13

Red Sox weren't supposed to contend. Nobody told them.

RED SOX FROM D1

capable group of young big leaguers.

Outfielder Jarren Duran, who was suspended for two games this week after yelling an anti-gay slur at a fan, has emerged as a force at the top of the lineup. The 27-year-old entered Friday hitting .288 with an .842 OPS and leading the American League in doubles and triples. Ceddanne Rafaela plays Gold Glove caliber defense in center field when he isn't helping fill in for Story at shortstop. The 23-year-old rookie was hitting .265 with 13 homers, 17 stolen bases and a .713 OPS, none of which are the best rookie numbers in his own lineup.

Fellow rookie outfielder Wilner Abreu, 25, ranked second entering Friday among big league rookies with an .850 OPS and was hitting .271 with 14 homers. Speedy infielder David Hamilton, 26, topped all major league rookies with 30 stolen bases.

Outside of veteran staple Rafael Devers, the lone player from the last Red Sox core that the front office splurged enough to sign long term, a large portion of Boston's offense this season has come from players who are under team control long term — and that is despite 24-year-old first baseman Triston Casas, one of the more highly touted youngsters of the bunch, missing nearly four months because of a rib injury. Casas was activated Friday in time for a showdown with Orioles ace Corbin Burnes.

"Some guys have taken some big steps forward," said veteran starter James Paxton, who played for the Red Sox last year before signing with the Dodgers in the offseason, only to be traded back to Boston late last month. "There's a lot of talent in this room. It's young, exciting talent. You don't know exactly what is going to happen, but it's fun."

Despite expectations for another lost Boston season, that young lineup was doing enough by mid-June to keep the Red Sox around .500. Then, in mid-June, the Red Sox played the Yankees in one of the "Sunday Night Baseball" matchups that used to be such dramatic television but haven't been lately.

The Yankees entered that game cruising at 27 games over .500. The Red Sox ran right over them, stealing nine bases in a 9-3 win that offered a high-profile demonstration of how that young, agile lineup might find regular success.

"This is an electric team," said catcher Danny Jansen, who faced the Red Sox for several years with the Toronto Blue Jays before being dealt to Boston at the trade deadline. "They can push the envelope on the bases. They're fast. They steal bases. And a lot of their guys can play a lot of positions, so you can get pretty tactical with



WINSLOW TOWNSON/GETTY IMAGES

Catcher Danny Jansen, traded to Boston recently, is impressed by the team's young core. "They can push the envelope on the bases," he said. "They're fast. They steal bases."

pinch-hitting and moving things around."

That Boston was adding anyone at the deadline was an achievement in itself for a young roster bolstered by veterans who might have, under other circumstances, been dealt with an eye on the future. Instead, the Red Sox traded for Jansen and relievers Lucas Sims and Luis García, then acquired Paxton when the Los Angeles Dodgers designated him for assignment. Paxton, however, tore his calf in his last start and is probably done for the season, another blow to a pitching staff that somehow keeps surviving them.

Remaking that pitching staff seemed like a key part of Craig Breslow's charge as general manager when the Red Sox wooed him from his role in the Cubs' front office this past winter. Breslow

was a major influence on the remodeling of the Cubs' pitching development system, one that became far more capable and fruitful for his efforts, according to multiple people who worked with him there.

But his ability to implement dramatic change was limited, in part, by the massive cost of free agent starting pitching this past winter. When he decided to offload veteran ace Chris Sale for second base prospect Vaughn Grissom, it seemed Breslow's front office was willing to absorb some growing pains from its starters. When Giolito suffered a torn ulnar collateral ligament shortly after Breslow signed him, it seemed as if the rotation would be a weakness Boston could not overcome. Instead, it has helped the Red Sox overachieve.

"From what I remember, they always had a good staff," Jansen said. "But I see they definitely have a way of doing things: Where are your strengths? Let's utilize them."

Tanner Houck emerged as a true ace, becoming a first-time all-star at 28 after altering his pitch mix to better deploy the sweeper on which he relies most heavily. He owns a 3.01 ERA, eighth lowest among qualified starters. Kutter Crawford, while struggling with allowing homers since the all-star break, is also having the best statistical season of his career at 28. Brayton Bello, 25, has battled inconsistency but is striking out more batters than he did in 2023.

Journeyman Cooper Criswell, who had never thrown more than 33 major league innings in a sea-

son while in the Los Angeles Angels and Tampa Bay Rays organizations before this season, has emerged as a key bulk innings man with a 4.02 ERA in 71½ innings and will probably be Boston's more regular fifth starter with Paxton injured. Neither Crawford, Bello nor Nick Pivetta has been elite. But in the aggregate, thanks in part to a changing pitching mindset, they have been enough.

"They've been trying to help us actually understand what your best stuff is and essentially attacking the strike zone with it," said Criswell, whom the Red Sox advised to up his change-up usage to help him be more effective. "That sounds pretty easy, but in trying to keep it simple, guys don't have to think as much out there and just attack. That's the easiest way

to explain it: Trying to throw your best stuff, in the zone."

That approach might not be enough to revitalize a rotation that lacks the star power and experience of the teams ahead of Boston in the standings. Casas's return will bolster a lineup that has been good enough to stay afloat. Story is supposed to take live batting practice next week. He could still return, too.

Six weeks from now, the Red Sox could be on the verge of playing in October despite expectations that they would be out of the race by July. They could also fall out of reach. Either way, their unlikely contention has lasted longer than expected, which is important: The halfhearted, herky-jerky rebuild that consumed their last half decade lasted longer than expected, too.

Corbin exits early, late uprising stalls — and Turner walks off his former team

NATIONALS FROM D1

deeper," Corbin said. "Staying out of the middle of the plate, got into some longer counts and had a lot of foul balls."

Whether the Nationals need Corbin every fifth day — or every sixth — is a valid question. The purpose of a six-man rotation is simple: It provides an extra day of rest to the starters. It also allows for another look at a young arm who could be a part of the team's plans in 2025 (in a way Corbin probably isn't).

The case against it is simple, as Martinez reiterated: It leaves the bullpen a man short, vulnerable on a busy night such as Friday when four relievers covered the final 3½ innings. They had yet to implement a six-man rotation because they wanted Jake Irvin, MacKenzie Gore, Mitchell Parker and DJ Herz to build enough of a workload to where they're comfortable adding 20 percent more innings next season. That logic, the manager said, would matter in coming seasons "when we're playing in September for really something."

At 55-68, that won't be this September. If it's 2025 or soon thereafter, a slew of issues will need to be addressed, problems that showed themselves plenty in the loss to division-leading Phillies (72-50). Several players in the young core continue to pop — James Wood went 3 for 3 with a walk — but the lack of power remains glaring (the Nationals remain the only team yet to eclipse 100 home runs, sitting at 99). Also a concern: they went 1 for 9 with runners in scoring position, a recurring issue. Their bullpen is unproven. Fan-Graphs grades Washington's defense as the third worst in MLB, and a handful of miscues allowed opportunities to emerge for Philadelphia. The team's only official error came in the ninth when



DERIK HAMILTON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Patrick Corbin lasted just 4½ innings on a night Manager Dave Martinez said the Nationals are considering going to a six-man rotation.

Brandon Marsh opened the inning with a single to right and took second on Alex Call's throwing error, which then put the defense on its heels until Turner ended things.

"Obviously, we couldn't get the job done tonight," Wood said. "But it was a good fight we put up in the ninth. We're never out of the

game."

Because the offense couldn't mount any sort of threat against righty Aaron Nola, career win No. 100 again evaded Corbin. The Phillies pushed two runs across in the fourth, with two-out RBI singles from Nick Castellanos and J.T. Realmuto accounting for the lead. Washington had a couple of late

chances spoiled. José Tena and Jacob Young were on second and third in the seventh before Call flew out. Luis García Jr., Juan Ypez and Tena singled to score the first run off Carlos Estévez, and Young grounded out to score the second, but CJ Abrams struck out to end the threat.

"We've got to learn how to, just

like we did in the last inning, take what they give us," Martinez said. "Hit the ball, stay in the big part of the field. ... We've got to do that from the first inning on, and good things will happen."

A six-man rotation won't solve these issues, but it would give another chance for what has largely been a successful pipeline from

Class AAA Rochester to the big leagues. Brad Lord is a former 18th-round pick, but he's 24, zipped through the minor leagues and posted a 2.02 ERA across 116 innings in the minors this season. Andrew Alvarez, 25, was the team's minor league pitcher of the year last season and has a 3.56 ERA. Jackson Rutledge, the team's 2019 first-round pick, has enticing potential despite his 6.65 ERA with the Red Wings and is still just 25.

Perhaps one of those three doesn't pan out. Perhaps the mystery player looks more like a future reliever. But adding another arm to the rotation now could sharpen the focus on 2025 — with a rotation that probably won't include the hefty contract of Corbin.

And, their relievers have insisted, they're feeling fresh with the season nearing its end.

"I feel like I have a lot left in the tank. Maybe just in a little bit of a funk, results-wise," Finnegan said. "The season, it's really not dragging on me. I want to pitch."

NATIONALS ON DECK

at Philadelphia Phillies

Saturday	6:05	MASN2
Sunday	1:35	MASN2

vs. Colorado Rockies

Tuesday	6:45	MASN2
Wednesday	6:45	MASN
Thursday	1:05	MASN

at Atlanta Braves

Friday	7:20	MASN
Aug. 24	7:20	MASN
Aug. 25	12:05	Roku

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM),
WDCN (87.7 FM)

SCOREBOARD

PRO FOOTBALL

NFL preseason

NFC EAST W L T PCT. PF PA Philadelphia 2 0 0 1.000 30 26 N.Y. Giants 2 0 0 1.000 14 3 Dallas 0 1 0 .000 12 13 Washington 0 1 0 .000 17 20

SOUTH W L T PCT. PF PA New Orleans 1 0 0 1.000 16 14 Tampa Bay 1 0 0 1.000 17 14 Atlanta 0 1 0 .000 13 20 Carolina 0 1 0 .000 3 17

NORTH W L T PCT. PF PA Chicago 2 0 0 1.000 54 23 Green Bay 1 0 0 1.000 23 10 Minnesota 1 0 0 1.000 24 23 Detroit 0 1 0 .000 3 14

WEST W L T PCT. PF PA L.A. Rams 1 0 0 1.000 13 12 Seattle 1 0 0 1.000 14 17 Arizona 0 1 0 .000 14 16 San Francisco 0 1 0 .000 13 17

AFC EAST W L T PCT. PF PA Miami 1 0 0 1.000 20 13 N.Y. Jets 1 0 0 1.000 20 17 New England 1 0 0 .500 30 17 Buffalo 0 1 0 .000 6 33

SOUTH W L T PCT. PF PA Jacksonville 1 0 0 1.000 26 13 Tennessee 1 0 0 1.000 17 13 Houston 1 0 0 .500 37 33 Indianapolis 0 1 0 .000 30 34

NORTH W L T PCT. PF PA Baltimore 0 1 0 .000 13 16 Cincinnati 0 1 0 .000 14 17 Cleveland 0 1 0 .000 10 23 Pittsburgh 0 1 0 .000 12 20

WEST W L T PCT. PF PA Denver 1 0 0 1.000 34 30 Kansas City 0 1 0 .000 13 26 L.A. Chargers 0 1 0 .000 3 16 Las Vegas 0 1 0 .000 23 24

WEEK 2 THURSDAY'S RESULT

Philadelphia 14, at New England 13

SATURDAY'S GAMES

Washington at Miami, 7 Atlanta at Baltimore, noon Cincinnati at Chicago, 1 N.Y. Giants at Houston, 1 Detroit at Kansas City, 4 Minnesota at Cleveland, 4:25 Arizona at Indianapolis, 7 Buffalo at Pittsburgh, 7 N.Y. Jets at Carolina, 7 L.A. Rams at L.A. Chargers, 7:05 Tampa Bay at Jacksonville, 7:30 Dallas at Las Vegas, 10

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Green Bay at Denver, 8 New Orleans at San Francisco, 8

WEEK 3 THURSDAY'S GAMES

Indianapolis at Cincinnati, 8 Chicago at Kansas City, 8:20

FRIDAY, AUG. 23

Jacksonville at Atlanta, 7 Miami at Tampa Bay, 7:30 San Francisco at Las Vegas, 10

SATURDAY, AUG. 24

Baltimore at Green Bay, 1 Carolina at Buffalo, 1 L.A. Rams at Houston, 1 Minnesota at Philadelphia, 1 Pittsburgh at Detroit, 1 L.A. Chargers at Dallas, 4 N.Y. Giants at N.Y. Jets, 7:30 Cleveland at Seattle, 10

SUNDAY, AUG. 25

New England at Washington, 8 Tennessee at New Orleans, 2 Arizona at Denver, 4:30

Eagles 14, Patriots 13

Late Thursday PHILADELPHIA 3 0 0 11 -14 NEW ENGLAND 0 10 0 3 -13

FIRST QUARTER

Philadelphia: FG Elliott 42, 3:04. Drive: 8 plays, 30 yards, 4:01. Key Plays: Maddox 47 interception return to Philadelphia 45

SECOND QUARTER

New England: FG Slye 51, 11:01. Drive: 8 plays, 38 yards, 3:59. Key Play: Maye 12 pass to J.Baker on 3rd-and-5. Philadelphia: FG Slye 45, 10:10. Drive: 8 plays, 21 yards, 2:51. Key Plays: Wallis kick return to Philadelphia 47

FOURTH QUARTER

Philadelphia: FG Elliott 38, 13:01. Drive: 11 plays, 56 yards, 4:56. Key Plays: Gryler 8 run on 3rd-and-1. New England: FG Slye 45, 10:10. Drive: 8 plays, 21 yards, 2:51. Key Plays: Wallis kick return to Philadelphia 47

Philadelphia: K. Milton 1 run (A. Smith pass from McKee) 4:23. Drive: 7 plays, 70 yards, 3:20. Key Plays: McKee 16 pass to Ngata

PHI NE First Downs 16 11 Rushing 4 4 Passing 12 10 Penalty 0 2 Third Down Eff. 5-16 6-15 Fourth Down Eff. 0-3 0-0 Total Net Yards 283 159 Total Returns 67 55 Avg Gain 4.2 2.9 Net Yards Rushing 73 29 Rushes 25 23 Avg Per Rush 2.92 3.0 Philadelphia Passing 21 20 Sacked-Yds Lost 5-32 3-23 Gross-Yds Passing 242 113 Completed-Att. 29-37 14-29 Had Intercepted 0 0 Penalties-Yds 4-40 1-5 Fumbles-Lost 1-0 4-1 Time Of Possession 34:36 25:24

RECEIVING

Philadelphia: A. Smith 2-13, N.E. Stevenson 6-18, Harris 3-16, Maye 4-15, Milton 3-9, Gibson 4-8, Hasty 2-3, Zappe 1-0.

PUNT RETURNS

Philadelphia: A. Smith 2-13, N.E. Stevenson 6-18, Harris 3-16, Maye 4-15, Milton 3-9, Gibson 4-8, Hasty 2-3, Zappe 1-0.

KICKOFF RETURNS

Philadelphia: Ross 2-68, Davis-Price 1-26, Nichols 1-18. New England: Wallis 2-76, Driver 1-32.

TACKLES-ASSISTS-SACKS

Philadelphia: Dean 4-1-0, Maddox 3-0-0, McCollum 3-0-0, Booker 2-1-1, Huff 2-1-0, Baun 2-0-0, Sam 2-0-0, Hunt 1-2-0, Mustipher 1-2-0, Bradberry 1-1-0, Lewis 1-0-1, N. Smith 1-0-1, T. Hall 1-0-0, Jackson 1-0-0, Jobs 1-0-0, Mitchell 1-0-0, Ricks 1-0-0, Ringo 1-0-0, Rodgers 1-0-0, Trotter 1-0-0, VanSumeren 1-0-0, White 1-0-0, B. Smith 0-2-0, P. Johnson 0-1-0. New England: McMillan 4-4-0, Dial 4-1-0, Thomas 3-2-0, Ximines 3-0-1, Bledsoe 3-0-0, Giles-Harris 3-0-0, Pettus 3-0-0, Uche 2-1-1, Ellis 2-1-0, Wise 2-0-1, Bradley-King 2-0-0, Gonzalez 2-0-0, Purcell 2-0-0, Bolden 1-1-1, Chambers 1-1-0, Hawkins 1-1-0, Taval 1-1-0, Wilson 1-1-0, White 1-0-1, Heam 1-0-0, Schoeller 1-0-0, Victor 1-0-0, A. Jennings 0-2-0, Austin 0-1-0, Pharms 0-1-0, Roberts 0-1-0, Watts 0-1-0.

INTERCEPTIONS

Philadelphia: Maddox 1-47. New England: None.

MISSSED FIELD GOALS

None.

TRANSACTIONS

NFL Baltimore Ravens: Signed QB Anthony Brown Jr. Cleveland Browns: Waived DB Tyler Croy and LS Rex Sunahara to contracts. Waived LD Brandon Boyer-Randle and DB Brady Breeze.

PRO BASKETBALL

WNBA

EAST W L Pct GB New York 22 4 .846 - x-Connecticut 18 6 .750 3 Indiana 12 15 .444 10 1/2 Chicago 10 15 .400 11 1/2 Atlanta 8 17 .320 13 1/2 Washington 6 20 .231 16

WEST W L Pct GB Minnesota 18 8 .692 - Las Vegas 16 8 .667 1 Seattle 17 9 .654 1 Phoenix 14 13 .519 4 1/2 Los Angeles 6 19 .240 11 1/2 x-Dallas 6 19 .240 11 1/2

THURSDAY'S RESULTS

at Minnesota 79, Washington 68 Phoenix 85, at Chicago 65 New York 103, at Los Angeles 68

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

at Indiana 98, Phoenix 89 at Atlanta 83, Seattle 81 Connecticut at Dallas, late

SATURDAY'S GAMES

Minnesota at Washington, 2 New York at Las Vegas, 4 Chicago at Los Angeles, 5

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Connecticut at Atlanta, 3 Seattle at Indiana, 3:30 Los Angeles at Las Vegas, 6 Chicago at Phoenix, 9

Fever 98, Mercury 89

Phoenix 16 21 28 24 - 89 Indiana 33 21 19 25 - 98

PHOENIX MIN FG FT O-T A PF PTS Copper 38:20 6-17 18-19 1-8 6 5 32 Cunningham 34:41 2-6 0-0 0-6 2 2 6 Griner 24:55 3-6 4-5 0-4 1 5 10 Cloud 37:45 7-13 0-0 0-2 3 1 19 Taurasi 32:59 5-13 3-4 0-4 3 3 16 Mack 16:47 0-1 0-0 2-5 1 0 0 Herbert Harrigan 10:38 2-3 0-0 0-0 0 0 0 Sutton 3:55 0-1 0-0 0-0 0 0 0

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .417, FT .993. 3-Point Goals: 14-36, 38.9 (Cloud 5-8, Taurasi 2-10, Herbert Harrigan 2-3, Cunningham 2-6, Cooper 2-7, Griner 0-1, Sutton 0-1). Team Rebounds: 4. Team Turnovers: None. Blocked Shots: 3 (Mack 2, Griner). Turnovers: 11 (Cloud 3, Copper 3, Taurasi 3, Griner 2). Steals: 7 (Cloud 3, Cunningham 2, Cooper, Herbert Harrigan). Technical Fouls: Taurasi, 5:58 first; Cloud, 5:07 third; Griner, 7:07 fourth.

INDIANA MIN FG FT O-T A PF PTS Samuelsen 22:19 1-3 0-0 0-1 2 0 3 Smith 28:15 5-12 3-3 2-9 1 3 13 Boston 32:39 5-11 4-4 4-9 4 2 14 Clark 35:43 8-16 9-10 0-5 10 2 29 Mitchell 35:58 11-22 2-4 0-1 1 5 28 Hull 18:58 0-0 0-0 1-2 0 4 0 Wheeler 14:45 1-1 0-0 0-3 1 1 3 Dantas 10:23 1-5 0-0 0-5 2 2 2

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .459, FT .941. 3-Point Goals: 14-36, 38.9 (Mitchell 6-13, Clark 4-11, Hull 2-3, Wheeler 1-1, Samuelsen 1-3, Dantas 0-2, Smith 0-3). Team Rebounds: 5. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 4 (Hull, Mitchell, Smith, Wheeler). Turnovers: 10 (Hollins 5, Smith 3, Boston, Mitchell). Steals: 4 (Samuelsen 2, Boston, Wheeler). Technical Fouls: Mitchell, 5:07 third. At: 17,274 (20,000). T: 1:59.

PHOENIX MIN FG FT O-T A PF PTS

Indiana 33 21 19 25 - 98

INDIANA MIN FG FT O-T A PF PTS Samuelsen 22:19 1-3 0-0 0-1 2 0 3 Smith 28:15 5-12 3-3 2-9 1 3 13 Boston 32:39 5-11 4-4 4-9 4 2 14 Clark 35:43 8-16 9-10 0-5 10 2 29 Mitchell 35:58 11-22 2-4 0-1 1 5 28 Hull 18:58 0-0 0-0 1-2 0 4 0 Wheeler 14:45 1-1 0-0 0-3 1 1 3 Dantas 10:23 1-5 0-0 0-5 2 2 2

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .459, FT .941. 3-Point Goals: 14-36, 38.9 (Mitchell 6-13, Clark 4-11, Hull 2-3, Wheeler 1-1, Samuelsen 1-3, Dantas 0-2, Smith 0-3). Team Rebounds: 5. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 4 (Hull, Mitchell, Smith, Wheeler). Turnovers: 10 (Hollins 5, Smith 3, Boston, Mitchell). Steals: 4 (Samuelsen 2, Boston, Wheeler). Technical Fouls: Mitchell, 5:07 third. At: 17,274 (20,000). T: 1:59.

Dream 83, Storm 81

Seattle 22 19 19 21 - 81 Atlanta 18 11 26 28 - 83

SEATTLE MIN FG FT O-T A PF PTS Horston 28:22 1-4 0-0 0-5 3 2 2 Oguvumike 28:45 7-10 0-0 3-6 0 3 16 Magbeger 32:19 3-5 0-0 1-7 1 3 6 Diggins-Smith 32:40 11-21 6-7 1-1 5 4 29 Loyd 35:18 7-19 5-5 1-5 1 21 Whitcomb 12:02 2-4 0-0 0-1 1 0 5 Vivians 11:38 0-4 0-0 0-0 1 0 0 Holmes 11:05 1-3 0-0 0-1 2 3 2 Russell 7:51 0-0 0-0 0-1 1 0 0

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .476, FT .739. 3-Point Goals: 6-22, 27.3 (Howard 5-9, Gray 1-6, Canada 0-2). Team Rebounds: 10. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 4 (Howard 2, Caldwell, Gray). Turnovers: 19 (Howard 5, Gray 3, Parker-Tyus 3, Canada 2, Charles 2, Coffey 2, Hillmon 2). Steals: 9 (Canada 3, Gray 3, Howard 2, Hillmon). Technical Fouls: None. At: 3,260 (3,500). T: 2:02.

ATLANTA MIN FG FT O-T A PF PTS Hillmon 32:57 3-6 0-0 5-13 2 6 6 Howard 37:56 10-16 5-6 0-8 3 30 Charles 29:01 7-13 2-4 3-7 1 3 16 Canada 29:27 2-10 6-7 0-4 8 4 10 Gray 37:54 7-15 4-6 1-2 2 2 19 Parker-Tyus 10:59 1-2 0-0 0-1 3 0 2 Caldwell 10:33 0-0 0-0 0-0 0 0 0 Coffey 6:03 0-1 0-0 0-2 0 0 0 Jones 4:10 0-0 0-0 0-0 0 0 0

TOTALS

Percentages: FG .476, FT .739. 3-Point Goals: 6-22, 27.3 (Howard 5-9, Gray 1-6, Canada 0-2). Team Rebounds: 10. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 4 (Howard 2, Caldwell, Gray). Turnovers: 19 (Howard 5, Gray 3, Parker-Tyus 3, Canada 2, Charles 2, Coffey 2, Hillmon 2). Steals: 9 (Canada 3, Gray 3, Howard 2, Hillmon). Technical Fouls: None. At: 3,260 (3,500). T: 2:02.

SOCCER

MLS

EAST W L T Pts GF GA Inter Miami CF 16 4 5 53 56 39 Cincinnati 15 7 3 48 44 33 Columbus 12 4 7 43 47 22 New York 10 4 11 41 42 31 New York City FC 11 9 5 42 42 42 Charlotte FC 10 8 7 37 30 27 Orlando City 9 9 7 34 39 38 Toronto FC 9 14 3 30 34 47 Atlanta 7 11 7 28 35 36 Philadelphia 6 10 9 27 45 42 CF Montreal 6 10 9 27 34 49 Nashville 6 11 8 26 26 39 D.C. United 6 11 8 26 35 50 Chicago 6 12 7 25 30 42 New England 7 14 2 23 47 61

WEST W L T Pts GF GA LA Galaxy 14 5 7 49 50 36 Los Angeles FC 14 5 7 47 48 30 Real Salt Lake 12 5 8 44 51 34 Colorado 12 9 5 41 50 43 Vancouver 11 8 5 38 43 35 Houston 10 7 7 37 35 30 Seattle 10 8 7 37 34 29 Portland 10 9 6 36 50 42 Minnesota United 9 10 9 27 45 42 Austin FC 8 10 7 31 28 37 FC Dallas 8 11 6 30 38 39 Sporting KC 6 14 6 24 41 52 St. Louis City SC 4 10 11 23 32 46 San Jose 4 19 2 14 31 61

SATURDAY, AUG. 24

FC Dallas at D.C. United, 7:30 Seattle at Minnesota, 6 Los Angeles FC at Vancouver, 6 New York at Charlotte FC, 7:30 Cincinnati at Miami, 7:30 Orlando City at CF Montreal, 8:30 Chicago at New York City FC, 7:30 Columbus at Philadelphia, 7:30 Toronto FC at Houston, 8:30 Orlando City at Sporting KC, 8:30 Austin FC at Nashville, 8:30 San Jose at Real Salt Lake, 9:30 Atlanta at LA Galaxy, 10:30 St. Louis City SC at Portland, 10:30

NWSL

Orlando 11 0 5 38 32 12 Kansas City 10 1 5 35 40 22 Washington 11 4 1 34 32 18 Portland 8 5 3 27 27 20 North Carolina 8 7 1 25 20 17 Chicago 7 2 23 23 22 Bay FC 6 10 9 27 45 42 Louisville 6 7 16 11 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 11 3 9 8 28

FRIDAY'S MATCHES

Orlando at Houston, 8 Bay FC at Utah, 9:30

SATURDAY, AUG. 24

Portland at Gotham FC, 2:30 Angel City at San Diego, 4:30 Chicago at Louisville, 7:30

SUNDAY, AUG. 25

Kansas City at Seattle, noon North Carolina at Seattle, 10

FRIDAY, AUG. 30

Bay FC at Portland, 10

SATURDAY, AUG. 31

Seattle at Louisville, 7:30 Utah at Houston, 9:30

BASEBALL

Little League World Series

IN WILLIAMSPT, PA.

UNITED STATES

GREAT LAKES REGION, Hinsdale, Ill.; METRO REGION, Staten Island, N.Y.; MID-ATLANTIC REGION, Newtown, Pa.; MIDWEST REGION, Sioux Falls, S.D.; MOUNTAIN REGION, Henderson, Nev.; NEW ENGLAND REGION, Salem, N.H.; NORTHWEST REGION, Puyallup, Wash.; SOUTH REGION, Lake Mary, Fla.; SOUTHWEST REGION, Boerne, Texas; WEST REGION, Wailuku, Hawaii

INTERNATIONAL

ASIA-PACIFIC REGION, Taoyuan City, Chinese Taipei; AUSTRALIA REGION, Sydney, New South Wales; CANADA REGION, Surrey, British Columbia; CARIBBEAN REGION, San Juan, P.R.; CUBA REGION, Santa Clara, Cuba; EUROPE-AFRICA REGION, Brno, Czech Republic; JAPAN REGION, Tokyo, Japan; LATIN AMERICA REGION, Barquisimeto, Venezuela; MEXICO REGION, Matamoros, Mexico; PUERTO RICO REGION, Guayama, P.R.

DOUBLE ELIMINATION WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS

Game 1: Matamoros (Mexico) 2, Santa Cruz (Aruba) 0 Game 2: Wailuku (Hawaii) 3, Salem (N.H.) 1 Game 3: Taoyuan City (Chinese Taipei) 8, Surrey (British Columbia) 0 Game 4: Lake Mary (Fla.) 2, Sioux Falls (S.D.) 1

THURSDAY'S RESULTS

Game 5: Tokyo (Japan) 11, Guayama (PR) 0 Game 6: Henderson (Nev.) 9, Staten Island (N.Y.) 1 Game 7: Santa Clara (Cuba) 4, Brno (Czech Republic) 1 Game 8: Boerne (Tex.) 9, Newtown (Pa.) 0

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Game 9: Barquisimeto (Venezuela) 10, Matamoros (Mexico) 0 Game 10: Wailuku (Hawaii) 5, Hinsdale (Ill.) 0 Game 11: Taoyuan City (Chinese Taipei) 11, Sydney (New South Wales) 0 Game 12: Lake Mary (Fla.) 6, Puyallup (Wash.) 1

SATURDAY'S GAMES

Game 13: Guayama (PR) vs. Surrey (British Columbia), 1 Game 14: Sioux Falls (S.D.) vs. Staten Island (N.Y.), 3 Game 15: Brno (Czech Republic) vs. Santa Cruz (Aruba), 3

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Game 16: Salem (N.H.) vs. Newtown (Pa.), 7

MONDAY'S GAMES

Game 21: Tokyo (Japan) vs. Barquisimeto (Venezuela), 1 Game 22: Henderson (Nev.) vs. Wailuku (Hawaii), 3 Game 23: Taoyuan City (Chinese Taipei) vs. Santa Clara (Cuba), 5

TUESDAY'S GAMES

Game 25: Game 21 loser vs. Game 20 winner, 7 Game 26: Game 22 loser vs. Game 19 winner, 3 Game 27: Game 18 winner vs. Game 23 loser, 5 Game 28: Game 17 winner vs. Game 24 loser, 7

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES

Game 29: Game 21 winner vs. Game 23 winner, 1 Game 30: Game 22 winner vs. Game 24 winner, 3 Game 31: Game 17 winner vs. Game 25 winner, 5 Game 32: Game 28 winner vs. Game 26 winner, 7

THURSDAY'S GAMES

Game 34: Game 29 loser vs. Game 31 winner, 3 Game 35: Game 30 loser vs. Game 32 winner, 7

SATURDAY, AUG. 24 INTERNATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP

Game 35: Game 29 winner vs. Game 33 winner, Noon U.S. CHAMPIONSHIP Game 36: Game 30 winner vs. Game 34 winner, 3

SUNDAY, AUG. 25 THIRD PLACE

Game 37: Game 35 loser vs. Game 36 loser, 10 a.m. CHAMPIONSHIP Game 38: Game 36 winner vs. Game 35 winner, 3

ATP/WTA

CINCINNATI OPEN

At Lindner Family Tennis Center Surface: Hardcourt outdoor

MEN'S SINGLES - ROUND OF 32

Felix Auger-Aliassime, Canada, def. Casper Ruud (7), Norway, 6-3, 6-1.

MEN'S SINGLES - ROUND OF 16

Andrey Rublev (6), Russia, def. Brandon Nakashima, United States, 7-6 (7-5), 6-1; Jannik Sinner (1), Italy, def. Jordan Thompson, Australia, walkover; Alexander Zverev (3), Germany, def. Pablo Carreno Busta, Spain, 7-5, 6-8 (6-5); Ben Shelton (12), United States, def. Fabian Marozsan, Hungary, 6-4, 6-3; Hubert Hurkacz (5), Poland, def. Flavio Cobolli, Italy, 6-3, 3-6, 6-1; Holger Rune (15), Denmark, def. Gael Monfils, France, 3-6, 6-3, 6-4; Jack Draper, Britain, def. Felix Auger-Aliassime, Canada, 5-7, 6-4, 6-4.

WOMEN'S SINGLES - ROUND OF 32

Jessica Pegula (6), United States, def. Karolina Muchova, Czechia, 5-7, 6-4, 6-2.

WOMEN'S SINGLES - ROUND OF 16

Iga Swiatek (1), Poland, def. Marta Kostyuk (15), Ukraine, 6-2, 6-2; Liudmila Samsonova (10), Russia, def. Yulia Putintseva, Kazakhstan, 6-4, 6-4; Jessica Pegula (6), United States, def. Taylor Townsend, United States, 6-2, 6-3; Anastasia Pavlyuchenkova, Russia, def. Zheng Qinwen (7), China, 7-5, 6-1.

MEN'S DOUBLES - ROUND OF 16

Marcel Granollers, Spain, and Horacio Zeballos (1), Argentina, def. Hugo Nys, Monaco, and Jan Zielinski, Poland, 6-7 (7-5), 6-4, 10-6; Ivan Dodig, Croatia, and Jamie Murray, Britain, def. Simone Bolelli and Andrea Vavassori (5), Italy, 7-

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815 Legal Notices

Notice is hereby given that an Enterprise License Application has been made to the Montgomery County Department of Health and Human Services, License and Regulatory Services, by Palisades Lounge to operate a Live Entertainment on property identified as a Restaurant, which premises are located at: Any communication with regards to Palisades Lounge, 8211 Georgia Ave Silver Spring, MD 20910 said application should be received by the Senior Administrator, Department of Health and Human Services, License and Regulatory Services, 2425 Reelie Wheaton, MD 20906 on or before 08/12/24, 14 business days after the ad appears.

815 Legal Notices

Department of Justice
 Antitrust Division

Take notice that the United States has filed a proposed Final Judgment in a civil antitrust case in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York in *United States of America v. Legends Hospitality Parent Holdings, LLC*, Civil Action No. 1:24-cv-05927-JPC (S.D.N.Y.).

On August 5, 2024, the United States filed a Complaint alleging that Legends Hospitality Parent Holdings, LLC ("Legends") violated Section 7A of the Clayton Act, 15 U.S.C. § 18a, also commonly known as the Hart-Scott-Rodino Antitrust Improvements Act of 1976 ("Section 7A" or "HSR Act") in connection with its proposed acquisition of ASM Global, Inc. The Complaint alleges Legends assumed unlawful control of ASM Global, Inc. prior to the expiration of the mandatory waiting period imposed by the HSR Act, and that Legends was continually in violation of the HSR Act each day beginning at least on December 7, 2023, until the waiting period ended on May 29, 2024. The proposed Final Judgment, filed at the same time as the Complaint, requires Legends to pay a \$3.5 million civil penalty for violation of the HSR Act and bars recurrence of the challenged conduct on penalty of contempt. It additionally requires Legends to appoint an antitrust compliance officer at its expense, to conduct compliance training, to certify compliance with the Final Judgment, to maintain a whistleblower protection policy, and to provide the United States inspection and interview rights to assess compliance with the Final Judgment.

A Competitive Impact Statement filed by the United States on August 9, 2024 describes the complaint, the proposed Final Judgment, the industry, and the remedies available to private litigants who may have been injured by the alleged violation.

Copies of the Complaint, proposed Final Judgment, and Competitive Impact Statement are available for inspection on the Antitrust Division's website at <http://www.justice.gov/atr> and at the Office of the Clerk of the United States District Court named above.

Interested persons may address comments in English to Owen M. Kendler, Chief, Financial Services, Fintech, and Banking Section, Antitrust Division, Department of Justice, 450 Fifth Street NW, Suite 4000, Washington, DC 20530 within 60 days of the first publication date of this notice. Such comments, including the name of the submitter, and responses thereto will be posted on the Antitrust Division's website, filed with the Court, and, under certain circumstances, published in the Federal Register.

815 Legal Notices

UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT
 FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN RE:
BEN'S CREEK OPERATIONS WV, LLC, et al., Case No.: 2:24-bk-20079 Chapter 11

Debtors: 1

NOTICE OF AUCTION FOR THE SALE OF THE DEBTORS' ASSETS

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that on August 7, 2024, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of West Virginia (the "Court") entered the Order (i) Approving Bidding Procedures for the Sale of the Debtors' Assets, (ii) Scheduling Hearings and Objection Deadlines with Respect to the Sale (iii) Scheduling Bid Deadlines and an Auction, (iv) Approving the Form and Manner of Notice Thereof, (v) Approving Contract Assumption and Assignment Procedures, and (vi) Granting Related Relief (Docket No. 390) (the "Bidding Procedures Order"). (i) authorizing the above-captioned debtors and debtors in possession (collectively, the "Debtors") to conduct an auction (the "Auction") to select the party or parties to purchase the debtors' assets. The Auction will be governed by the bidding procedures approved pursuant to the Bidding Procedures Order (attached to the Bidding Procedures Order as Exhibit 1, the "Bidding Procedures").

Copies of the Bidding Procedures Order, the Bidding Procedures, or other documents related thereto are available upon request to Debtors' financial advisor by calling 917-650-2968 (United States and Canada) or email to jnedundon.com.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the Bid Deadline is **August 23, 2024, at 5:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern Standard Time)**, and that any person or entity who wishes to participate in the Auction must comply with the participation requirements, bid requirements, and other requirements set forth in the Bidding Procedures.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the Debtors intend to conduct the Auction, at which they will consider proposals submitted to the Debtors and their professionals, by and pursuant to the Bidding Procedures as set forth in the Bidding Procedures Order, on **August 28, 2024, at 10:00 a.m. (prevailing Eastern Standard Time)**, at the Offices of Fishery, Sensabaugh & Bonasso, PLLC, 200 Capitol Street, Charleston, WV 25301.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the Debtors reserve the right to modify the Bidding Procedures, in their reasonable business judgment in accordance with the Bidding Procedures.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that September 9, 2024, at 1:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern Standard Time) at Bankruptcy Courtroom B, 6th Floor, Robert C. Byrd Federal Courthouse, 300 Virginia Street East, Charleston, WV 25301 or as soon thereafter as the Debtors may be heard, shall be the date and time for the hearing at which the Court will consider approval of the Sale (the "Sale Hearing"), and parties in interest may file objections to the sale no later than September 3, 2024.

1 An order has been entered in this case directing the procedural consolidation and joint administration of the chapter 11 cases of Ben's Creek Operations WV, LLC (Case no. 24-20079); Ben's Creek Carbon, LLC (Case no. 24-20078); and Ben's Creek Land WV, LLC (Case no. 24-20077). All further pleadings and other papers shall be filed in, and all further docket entries shall be made in, the chapter 11 case of Ben's Creek Operations WV, LLC - Case No. 2:24-bk-20079. 1 case of Ben's Creek Operations WV, LLC - Case No. 2:24-bk-20079. 1 case of Ben's Creek Operations WV, LLC - Case No. 2:24-bk-20079. 1 case of Ben's Creek Operations WV, LLC - Case No. 2:24-bk-20079. 2 Capitalized terms used but not otherwise defined herein shall have the meanings ascribed to them in the Bidding Procedures Order or the Bidding Procedures, as applicable.

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820 Official Notices

All medical records retained by R. Patrick Savage, Jr., Ph.D. will be destroyed after September 15, 2024. Clients can obtain their records, a treatment summary or have records transferred by contacting Dr. Savage at doctorpat@olneyorthopedicspsychology.com or calling 301-587-2818 prior to September 15, 2024.

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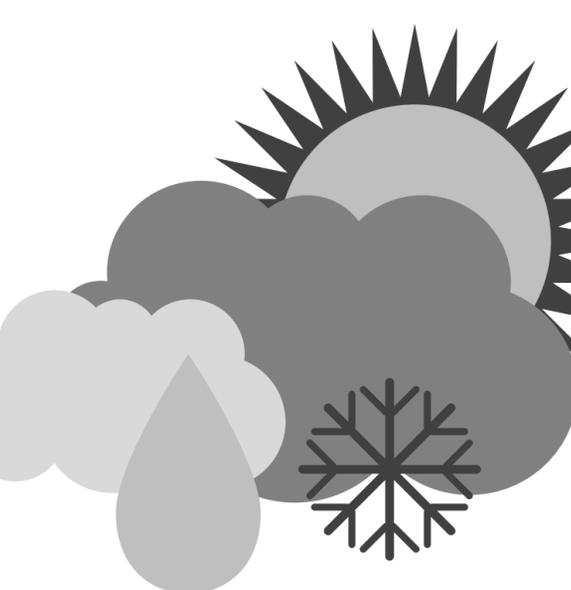
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Dotson will get plenty of chances to stand out

COMMANDERS FROM D1

Zaccheaus, a 27-year-old who didn't play much last season in Philadelphia but has impressed in camp.

The Commanders seem to be testing versatility. Against the Jets, McLaurin and Brown were nearly exclusively outside receivers, and Dotson and McCaffrey split their reps pretty evenly between wide and slot. Zaccheaus, a Virginia graduate who's 5-foot-8 and 193 pounds and has traditionally played in the slot, spent all 10 of his snaps outside.

It seems likely the Commanders will follow the same model against Miami because, as former Washington tight end Logan Paulsen noted, Dotson had a nice screen against the Jets but continued to struggle with strength.

In an episode of the "Take Command" podcast, Paulsen pointed out Dotson beat a Jets defensive back in the red zone but then got bumped and fell down. Strength has always been a question for Dotson. Before the draft, analysts questioned whether the 5-11, 182-pounder could consistently beat press coverage.

"I love the route runner. I love the nuance. ... He catches the football well," Paulsen said. "But he is always going to be limited if he can't get through [concerns about his play strength]. I think that is maybe why he plays a lot because you want to see him fight through some stuff."

Earlier in the week, Brian Mitchell, a franchise legend and 106.7 the Fan radio host, criticized the attitudes of unnamed Commanders players in the first preseason game against the New York Jets.

"I'm watching dudes pouting and walking around sulking. What the hell is that?" he said. "This is the big leagues, and if you can't understand competition is going to be present and forget about it and move on and just go



PAMELA SMITH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Wide receiver Jahan Dotson played an unusual number of snaps in the Commanders' first preseason game and is expected to see a similar amount Saturday against Miami.

full speed every day, every play, every opportunity, then that's on you. Because people get cut based off of body language."

Fans speculated he was taking a shot at Dotson, though Mitchell declined to name names. "[Dotson] could've been one of the

guys I was talking about," he said. "But I was talking about a lot of guys."

Dotson had a solid rookie season (523 receiving yards, seven touchdowns in 12 games), but despite earning hype going into last season, he failed to build on it

(518 yards, four touchdowns in 17 games).

During Thursday's joint practice, Dotson was mostly with the first team again, lining up in the slot and out wide. He caught several passes and looked determined to run through every de-

fender he could.

"The biggest thing is just playing fast and becoming extremely comfortable in the playbook," he said when asked how he can prove himself. "That allows me to be able to put my own [spin] on routes. But at the same time,

playing fast, stretching the field, keeping the defense off balance. That's a big thing for me. I feel like once I'm able to really get comfortable in the playbook and I'm able to play as fast as possible. ... I feel like I'm kind of unguardable."



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