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The Washington Post

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 2024 • \$5

Suspect in slaying of CEO took stark turn

Those who knew him in school recall a well-liked, promising student leader

BY DAN DIAMOND,
OLIVIA GEORGE
AND ANNIE GOWEN

BALTIMORE — Luigi Mangione was a young prince of this city, his family's name emblazoned on the walls of buildings and civic institutions. Teachers at his elite prep school described him as a student leader, on his way to an Ivy League education. Classmates called the valedictorian, athlete and budding engineer an inspiration, someone focused on society's future. More accolades followed at college in Philadelphia.

Then came worsening back pain, time abroad and a period of discontent. Friends said they lost track of the 26-year-old this year, struggling to confirm his participation in a wedding; his mother filed a missing-person report.

As Mangione's once-chaunted life seemed to be crumbling, Brian Thompson's fortunes appeared to be climbing. The 50-year-old executive, from a small town in Iowa, was entering his fourth year as CEO of the nation's largest health insurer, UnitedHealthcare, where he was well-liked by employees and respected

SEE MANGIONE ON **A18**

The Critique: No heroes, but plenty to grieve, in CEO's killing. **A2**

Extradition: Suspect fights efforts to send him to New York. **A18**



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

If approved, large landowners would have to get clearance to build in the insect's habitat.

U.S. moves to list monarch butterfly as threatened

BY DINO GRANDONI

U.S. officials moved Tuesday to protect the monarch, an iconic orange-and-black butterfly famous for its marathon migration across North America, under the Endangered Species Act.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's proposal to designate the tiny migrating butterfly as threatened with extinction could have enormous consequences for landowners across its huge range, which extends across much of the Lower 48 as the monarch makes its epic annual flight from the mountains of Mexico through the United States and into Canada.

If the proposed rule is finalized, the monarch would become one of the most widespread species ever protected under the 1973 law. But federal scientists say the move is necessary because several factors — including climate change, logging in the butterfly's overwintering habitat in Mexico, destruction of grasslands in the

SEE MONARCH ON **A9**



LORENZO TUGNOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

People examine records Tuesday at Syria's infamous Sednaya prison near Damascus as they search for information on loved ones.

Sifting through a 'slaughterhouse' and its secrets

BY LOVEDAY MORRIS
AND SUZAN HAIDAMOUS

SEDNAYA PRISON, SYRIA — The grounds of Syria's most notorious prison are strewn with scraps of paper, offering clues to the horrors meted out within its walls.

One order from 2020, signed by the head of the facility, refers in clinical language to an "administrative matter," ordering a Syrian officer to "blindfold the detainees for the implementation of the aforementioned decision ... in complete secrecy." An accompanying letter with the most vital details — including the identity of the detainees — was nowhere to be found.

Desperate to learn fates of relatives, Syrians are gripped by gnawing fear

Since the fall on Sunday morning of Bashar al-Assad — who presided for 24 years over the totalitarian police state he inherited from his father — desperate families have come to this dusty hill 20 miles north of Damascus, home to the Sednaya military prison, where rights groups say torture was inflicted on an industrial scale, and where thousands upon thousands of people simply

disappeared. Executions here were so commonplace it became known to Syrians as the "slaughterhouse."

As families roamed Sednaya's sprawling geography Tuesday, poring over papers recovered from its offices and passing around nooses discovered in some of its cells, they were gripped by a gnawing fear that they would not learn the fate of their missing loved ones — that so much of what happened here may never be known.

"I'm coming every day, and every day more of my hopes are lost," Hannan Odeh, 43, said of the search for her brother, who has been missing for the past decade.

At points, Sednaya held as many as 20,000 prisoners, Amnesty International has found. Few made it out alive; land mines in the surrounding countryside were waiting for those who tried to escape.

Of the 145,000 Syrians detained through September 2019 during the course of the country's civil war, nearly 90 percent were taken by the government, according to the Syrian Network for Human Rights. Of those, more than 80,000 vanished without a trace, with many believed to be have been held in Assad's extensive network of prisons.

Sednaya towered over them all. SEE SYRIA ON **A8**

NIKKI GIOVANNI 1943-2024

Always a relevant force, dynamic poet explored Black life in verse

BY HARRISON SMITH

Nikki Giovanni, a poet of rage and revolution as well as love and longing, who emerged as a fiery voice of Black liberation in the 1960s before honing a more tender, meditative style in best-selling books for children and adults, died Dec. 9 at a hospital in Blacksburg, Virginia. She was 81.

The cause was cancer, according to a family statement shared by her friend Kwame Alexander, a poet and author. Ms. Giovanni had battled cancer twice already, according to the statement, and was still giving readings and performances as recently as last month, when she collaborated with saxophonist Javon Jackson for an event at the Louis Armstrong House in Queens.

Across more than five decades and three dozen books, Ms. Giovanni wrote poetry and prose that bridged the public and private spheres, celebrating Black identity, attacking white supremacy and extolling ordinary pleasures such as artichoke soup and a mother's warm embrace. Her work often paid homage to earlier Black artists and activists, and made her an elder stateswoman among African American poets.

"Me, I only wanted to be a voice," she wrote in "I Am in

SEE GIOVANNI ON **A5**



2004 PHOTO BY MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

Nikki Giovanni was a preeminent American poet who emerged as a strong voice of Black liberation in the 1960s. Her expressive style evolved over the years at Virginia Tech, where she was a professor.

On Discord, a sadistic group sees opportunity

Man's suicide shows how platform has been used to find vulnerable people

BY SHAWN BOBURG
AND CHRIS DEHGHANPOOR

Samuel Hervey, a 25-year-old in the throes of a severe mental health crisis, positioned his phone so its camera would capture the gruesome spectacle that was about to unfold.

The Minnesota native stepped into the frame of the video live stream, his long hair spilling from the hood of a white sweatshirt. He sat down cross-legged and emptied a plastic bottle filled with gasoline onto his head and his clothing. Then he lit a flame.

As fire engulfed him, more than two dozen people watched in a private video chatroom on the popular messaging app Discord. They laughed, cheered and congratulated themselves, according to a recording reviewed by The Washington Post.

Among those watching the November 2021 live stream was a 15-year-old girl in an Eastern European city who had spent much of the previous week in close contact with Hervey, urging him in private messages and voice calls to take his life on camera, The Post found. It was an effort, she later said in an interview, to impress others in a global online community that rewards cruelty.

"I was getting my big break," she recalled thinking during Hervey's suicide. "It was a competition of who could do the worst thing. So I obviously felt very cool."

The circumstances leading to Hervey's self-immolation remained mostly a mystery to his family and friends and to law enforcement. The Post traced the suicide to the online community known as "764" and found that it was enabled by a messaging app the group has used to find victims halfway across the globe and lure them into closed, largely unmoderated spaces.

Hervey's path into a virtual den of predation — and the role of a

SEE DISCORD ON **A10**

A top honor for Thomas Boswell

The longtime writer and columnist for The Post won the Baseball Writers' Association of America's Career Excellence Award and will be honored at the Baseball Hall of Fame in July. **D1**



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CORRECTION



JIM LO SCALZO/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

• A photo caption with a Dec. 10 A-section article about former congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard visiting Capitol Hill incorrectly identified the man next to Gabbard as Sen. Mike Rounds (R-South Dakota).

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.

No heroes, but plenty of societal guilt



Robin Givhan
THE CRITIQUE

Before a suspect had been identified, before a motive had been determined, before a five-day manhunt whipped through New York's Central Park and crossed state lines into Pennsylvania, much of the public made a terrible assumption about the early-morning shooting in Manhattan based solely on the victim and his occupation. Brian Thompson wasn't merely a 50-year-old grunt in America's sprawling, infuriating medical system, he was an executive at one of the country's most powerful insurers, UnitedHealthcare. He wasn't a low-level guy on the telephone listening to a client complain about a denied claim. And so Thompson represented the often invisible corporate authority that seemed to make life-and-death decisions based on profit margins rather than care and concern.

The person standing on the street by the New York Hilton plotted the attack and pulled the trigger, but many people couldn't dismiss the soul-crushing ways in which powerful organizations treat individuals. They couldn't shake off the stories of people bankrupted by a medical crisis. They couldn't ignore the worry that their best interests are constantly being undermined and their anger over the unfairness of ... everything. That is not an excuse for the alleged actions of Luigi Mangione, the Maryland native who was arrested in an Altoona, Pennsylvania, McDonald's and charged with the killing. But it is an explanation for how quickly Thompson's shooter was viewed by some as an avenger of the little people. When the public learned about the words written on bullet shell casings — "deny," "defend," "depose" — they immediately



CAMERON CROSTON/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

A woman who asked not to be identified holds a protest sign outside the Pennsylvania McDonald's where Luigi Mangione was arrested.

recognized them as the devastating mantra of insurance companies aiming to avoid paying for what customers not only feel that they deserve but also desperately need. Who could ignore the people's collective rage now?

When Mangione was arrested, New York police noted that in addition to having a ghost gun in his possession, he also had a handwritten document that expressed anger toward "corporate America." The police announced this as if it was a stunning state of mind: being mad at corporate America. Is there anyone, aside from the billionaires who walk among us, who is delighted with corporate America? Who believes it should have a say in who lives and who suffers needlessly? Is there anyone who wants a big corporation to have even more authority over people's lives?

There's so much to grieve in the shooting of Thompson: the loss of life, the pain of his family and friends, the continued fraying of people's sense of safety. But the assumptions surrounding his killing are something else to mourn. They reflect the distrust and anger connected to virtually every

institution in this country that governs, informs, protects and employs. Whether it's the "deep state," the fake news or the corporate overlords, all of it is suspect.

That cynicism breeds the belief that salvation will come only through some real-life superhero, a conspiracy-fueling guru or a self-appointed vigilante. The system won't save us because the system is what's trying to do us in.

We've already seen the fallout from that cynicism. Conspiracy-obsessed men and woman pummeled police officers and climbed the walls of the Capitol in an attempt to overturn an election. A president-elect campaigned and won, in part, on the premise that he alone could save the day. His mere presence in the Oval Office would cause wars to cease and birds to sing.

And juries have declared an acceptance of vigilante justice as the only way to calm a fearful populace when other avenues have failed.

The same day Mangione was arrested, a New York jury found Daniel Penny, a Marine Corps veteran who was charged in the death of Jordan Neely, not guilty of criminally negligent homicide.

Neely, who struggled with homelessness, mental illness and drugs, was being disruptive on a subway in May 2023 and Penny, perceiving him as a threat to others, placed him in a chokehold. When he released him, Neely was dead. The jury deadlocked on the more serious charge of second-degree manslaughter, which the prosecution dropped. Neely was a 30-year-old Black man who clearly wrestled with a multitude of demons. Penny was a 26-year-old White man. Was he a vigilante or a protector of his fellow citizens? The jury decided Penny was a protector. Neely's father declared the system "rigged."

And indeed, perhaps it was both. It's no small thing to be underground in a fast-moving train car with someone who seems unstable and unpredictable and is acting out. It's no surprise that someone dealing with untreated mental illness is vilified and considered a threat; that's part of our culture. It's no shock that a sick person goes untreated by a medical system that makes everything so difficult, that makes proper care feel like a matter of financial good fortune or a lucky billing code. This is a country where neighbors are often left little choice but to call the police when someone is mentally struggling when the person really needs is a doctor.

Penny walked out of a New York courtroom and celebrated the verdict with his lawyers. For now, Mangione — whose social media showed him with a big smile and who friends described as optimistic, kind and warm — is a guy in an orange prison uniform who has been denied bail. He's fighting extradition to New York. He is accused of a terrible offense.

There are no heroes in the shooting of Thompson, just as there were none in the death of Neely. But there's more than enough guilt.

DIGEST

CONGRESS

McConnell falls during meeting, sprains wrist

Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Kentucky) fell during a closed-door Republican lunch Tuesday, spraining his wrist and sustaining a minor cut to his face, according to his office.

The outgoing Senate leader was treated and has resumed his duties, his office said. Sen. John Barrasso (R-Wyoming), the No. 3 Senate Republican, told reporters that McConnell, 82, was walking by himself after the fall and seemed fine.

McConnell was back on the Senate floor by the second round of votes Tuesday, wearing a bandage on the left side of his face and a brace on his left hand. He told an ABC News reporter he was feeling "good."

A spokesman said McConnell did not require hospital attention after his fall and noted that the senator has a weak left leg, a result of a childhood polio infection that could contribute to his difficulty walking and increase his risk for falls.

McConnell fell and suffered a concussion and broken rib during a private dinner at a Washington hotel in early March 2023 and was absent from the Senate for nearly six weeks as he recovered. That year, he also fell during a trip to Helsinki in February and in July at Reagan National Airport.

Last year, McConnell also had two incidents in which he froze while speaking in public, sparking questions about his health and prompting some calls for him to step down.

McConnell announced in February that he would not seek reelection as the top Senate

Republican for the next Congress, marking the end of his tenure as the longest-serving Senate leader in American history. Last month, Senate Republicans elected Sen. John Thune (R-South Dakota), currently the No. 2 Republican in the Senate, as their next leader.

— Mariana Alfaro and Liz Goodwin

HOMELAND SECURITY

Top border official Miller to step down

Troy Miller, the top official at U.S. Customs and Border Protection during most of President Joe Biden's term, is preparing to retire at the end of December, according to an email sent to agency staff Tuesday. He is a 31-year veteran of the agency.

Miller ran the country's largest federal law enforcement

agency during a period of record illegal crossings along the U.S.-Mexico border and widespread disaffection among Border Patrol agents tasked with managing the influx.

CBP has not named an interim replacement for Miller, who was never formally nominated for the commissioner role but instead held the top job with the title "Senior Official Performing the Duties of the Commissioner."

President-elect Donald Trump has announced that he plans to nominate former Border Patrol chief Rodney Scott for the commissioner role, which requires Senate confirmation.

Miller spent most of his career at CBP's Office of Field Operations, the branch of the agency whose blue-uniformed officers are stationed at U.S. airports, border crossings and customs inspection facilities.

— Nick Miroff



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POLITICS & THE NATION

Fast-moving Malibu wildfire prompts thousands on Calif. coast to evacuate

BY BRIANNA SACKS,
BEN BRASCH,
DIANA LEONARD
AND VIVIAN HO

LOS ANGELES — A fast-moving wildfire is sweeping through Malibu, prompting mandatory evacuations along a swath of the California coast Tuesday.

The Franklin Fire began as a brush fire late Monday near Malibu Canyon Road in the rugged terrain of the Santa Monica Mountains and raced toward the coast and Malibu. The fire had grown to 2,700 acres by early afternoon local time Tuesday, according to Cal Fire.

“The fire is burning so hot that it is modifying the local winds ... bending them towards and into the fire,” the National Weather Service in Los Angeles wrote early Tuesday. “The combination of winds, very low humidities and dry fuels make for an explosive fire environment.”

In a morning update, Los Angeles County Fire Department Chief Anthony Marrone said the fire “is not contained, and we remain under an immediate threat.” The cause of the fire is being investigated.

There were no reports of injuries or fatalities. Marrone said some homes have been destroyed, though he did not have an exact figure.

About 700 firefighters were on the scene, and Marrone said that number could easily grow to 1,000.

The fire has prompted the evacuation of most of Malibu, according to a news release from Gov. Gavin Newsom (D).

“I urge all residents in affected areas to stay alert and follow evacuation orders,” he said.

Los Angeles County Sheriff Robert Luna said about 18,000 people are in the affected area, along with 8,100 structures. Of those residents, 2,043 are under an evacuation order and 6,046 are under an evacuation warning.

About 150 law enforcement officers are helping with evacuations, traffic management and home security, Luna said. One black-and-white cruiser from Santa Clarita was damaged, he said, but the deputy was not injured.



ETHAN SWOPE/AP

Students evacuate from Pepperdine University as the Franklin Fire, which began late Monday, burns in Malibu, California, on Tuesday.

A powerful Santa Ana wind-storm is underway across the region. The dry, hot, blustery Santa Ana winds are named for one of the canyons that help produce the conditions in Southern California. Some recent winters in Southern California have seen devastating wildfires due to the high, dry Santa Ana winds hitting unusually parched mountains and grasslands.

“Extremely critical” fire weather was expected to continue through Tuesday afternoon in Los Angeles and Ventura counties, with conditions easing only slightly later Tuesday. The National Weather Service earlier issued a rare red-flag warning of a “particularly dangerous situation” for those two counties. The same kind of conditions helped fuel the Mountain Fire in Ventura County last month.

Fire danger is also high across a broad swath of Southern California, and red-flag warnings are in effect from San Luis Obispo County to San Diego County. Lighter winds are expected Wednesday, but Marrone said the red-flag conditions are expected to last until 8 p.m. Wednesday.

The Weather Service reported that winds overnight Monday gusted 60 to 75 mph in the mountains and 50 to 60 mph at lower elevations. A 93 mph gust was recorded at Magic Mountain Truck Trail, about 30 miles north of Los Angeles.

The fierce winds and bone-dry air are further drying vegetation, which would increase the fire threat through the day, the Storm Prediction Center said.

Utilities have preemptively cut power to tens of thousands of customers to prevent additional

wildfires. As of Tuesday morning, San Diego Gas and Electric had cut power to 50,000 customers, while Southern California Edison had shut off 46,000. Between the two utilities, roughly another 270,000 customers are under consideration for public-safety power shut-offs.

It is unusually dry for December in Southern California, as Pacific storms have mostly stayed north of the region.

“We’ve basically had less than a quarter-inch of rain over the last six months, maybe longer,” said Mike Wofford, a meteorologist at the National Weather Service in Los Angeles. Only 0.14 inches of rain have fallen in downtown Los Angeles since Oct. 1; normal is about 1.87 inches.

Videos of the wildfire showed a hazy red and apocalyptic scene — the frame filled only by smoke,

emergency lights, power poles and a bright orange fire line creeping along Malibu Canyon.

Flames were making their way toward Malibu City Hall, Samantha Bravo, an editor at the Malibu Times, posted online about 3 a.m. local time.

Newsom announced that the state will receive a grant that allows local agencies to apply for up to 75 percent reimbursement for eligible costs they incurred fighting the fire. The money comes from the presidential disaster relief fund, according to Newsom’s office.

Pepperdine officials issued a campuswide shelter-in-place order as firefighters battled the blaze and power went out for the majority of the city, according to Southern California Edison’s online outage map. It is standard for students to stay on campus dur-

ing fire events. The university has fire-resistant buildings.

Luna said about 800 students at Pepperdine are under shelter-in-place orders.

The Santa Monica-Malibu Unified School District announced that all four of its Malibu schools would be closed Tuesday because of the fire and associated road closures.

Malibu city officials warned that the fire has spread across the Pacific Coast Highway, spurring a closure of the roadway between Topanga Canyon Boulevard and Corral Canyon Road. They said it is now burning in Serra Retreat, a historic neighborhood about a mile from the Malibu pier.

While the eastern half of Malibu was under a mandatory evacuation order, the rest of the city — which has a population of about 10,000, according to 2023 census estimates — was under an evacuation warning as the fire threatened homes and other structures.

Los Angeles County officials have ordered evacuations for residents on all sides of the fire. As of about 7:15 a.m. local time, per the county, people in the following areas were ordered to leave: south of Piuma Road, north of the Pacific Coast Highway, east of Las Virgenes and Malibu roads, and west of Carbon Beach Terrace.

There are shelters accepting large and small pets, according to the Malibu city website. Edison, the utility company, is also offering discounts at some hotels of 10 to 15 percent for those who have evacuated.

Malibu is no stranger to evacuations during harrowing, devastating blazes with little time or warning. In November 2018, the Woolsey Fire, the largest blaze in the town’s history, torched 1,600 structures and 97,000 acres in Malibu and valley cities such as Thousand Oaks.

Officials said they learned much from the Woolsey Fire. But the winds fanning the Franklin Fire were expected to keep up through Tuesday.

“Time is of the essence for us to grab a hold of the fire and get containment,” Marrone said.

Brasch reported from Washington, Leonard from San Diego and Ho from London.

DOJ’s inspector general seeks new protections on seizing communications

BY PERRY STEIN

The Justice Department during Donald Trump’s first presidential term used concerning and surreptitious tactics to obtain communications from members of Congress, their staffers and news reporters as prosecutors investigated public leaks of sensitive government information, according to a report released Tuesday by the agency’s inspector general.

Inspector General Michael Horowitz did not accuse anyone of violating the law, and much of what he addressed had been previously reported. But the report reveals that the number of congressional aides from whom prosecutors sought communications is much larger than previously known.

Horowitz said the Justice Department needs to implement more robust policies to protect against future abuses of the rights of lawmakers, their staff and journalists. Tactics the agency has used to seize communications, he said, could also inadvertently reveal protected whistleblower conduct or other sensitive information.

The inspector general initiated his investigation in 2021, a few months after President Joe Biden took office. His report arrived before the second Trump administration is set to begin. Trump and some of his picks for key offices, including the FBI, have vowed to use the Justice Department to seek retribution on political enemies.

The report focuses on the Justice Department subpoenaing people’s communications between 2017 and 2020 as investigators sought to determine who in the government leaked to reporters classified information that detailed contact between Trump’s aides and Russia as the agency investigated possible Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election.

The two lawmakers whose records were seized were both Democrats, according to the report. Of the 43 congressional staffers, 21 worked for Democrats and 20 worked for Republicans. Two of the staffers worked in nonpartisan positions for congressional committees.

The report said it found no “retaliatory motivation by the career prosecutors” who issued the subpoenas to obtain the communication records and said all the records were seized because the people had access to the sensitive material that had been leaked.

According to the report, the Justice Department — largely under then-Attorney General William P. Barr — used court orders to obtain the communications from the service providers where the communication took place. The agency sought what is known as non-content communications, which means it did not request the actual content of messages. Instead, it sought information showing who communicated with whom and at what times. There is typically a lower legal threshold to obtaining this information.

Authorities seized communication records from reporters from The Washington Post, New York Times and CNN as part of the probes.

Prosecutors also obtained non-disclosure orders to prohibit the service providers from letting the subjects know that the government was obtaining their records.

On the congressional side, many of the people were targeted only because they had received briefings on the classified information that was leaked — not because they were suspected of leaking it.

Kash Patel — Trump’s pick to lead the FBI after the current director is fired or resigns — is among the congressional aides whose records were seized, the report said. Patel, who was a staffer on the House Intelligence Committee at the time, sued top Justice Department officials last year, saying Google informed him that his records were subpoenaed.

That lawsuit, which was filed in federal court in Washington, was dismissed.

Barr, according to the inspector general, did not agree to be interviewed for the report. But he has publicly said that he wasn’t briefed on the decision to use court orders to obtain the records from two lawmakers.

The inspector general said there was no policy in place at the time that would have required Barr to sign off on seizing the

phones of the members of Congress or aides, so it was unlikely he was a part of the decision-making.

“Issuing compulsory process for records of a Member of Congress or congressional staffer based solely on their access to information as part of their oversight responsibilities and the timing of that access risks creating, at a minimum, the appearance of inappropriate interference by the executive branch in legitimate

oversight activity by the legislative branch,” the report said.

The inspector general noted in the report that the Justice Department has already strengthened policies to prevent such widespread leak investigations with little oversight.

Under Attorney General Merrick Garland, the department said in June 2021 that it would no longer use subpoenas or other legal methods to obtain information from journalists about their

sources except in rare occasions.

In 2023, the department said prosecutors must seek approval from its Public Integrity Section and the relevant U.S. attorney before they can seek a subpoena or other court orders for legislators’ or their aides’ communications. That same sign-off is required before obtaining nondis-

closure orders.

In response to the IG report, the Justice Department said it is seeking to further strengthen some of its policies around investigating reporters and members of Congress and their staffers.

But to carry notable penalties, such regulations would probably need to be approved by Congress.



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Biden — addressing critics, voters and history — defends his economy

BY CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR.
AND JEFF STEIN

President Joe Biden offered a robust defense of his economic record on Tuesday in an impassioned speech aimed at both his critics and the history books, part of his effort to use the final 40 days of his presidency to color how the country remembers his four years in the White House.

Although Biden was not at the top of the presidential ticket in November, economic anxieties helped wrench power from the party he leads. Republicans will have majorities in both chambers of Congress next year, led by Donald Trump, who will return to the White House on Jan. 20. Americans repeatedly told pollsters that the economy was one of their biggest concerns under Biden, especially the stubborn persistence of high prices for food and gas.

On Tuesday, Biden sought to remind Americans that he began his tenure by pulling the country out of a pandemic-related economic tailspin. America's economy recovered faster and is in far better shape than those of other Western countries, he noted, adding that his administration had overseen record job growth and dodged a recession that was widely predicted by economists.

He suggested that the Republican critics who have ridiculed his economic policies will be hard-pressed to do better — and seemed to anticipate Trump taking credit for Biden's accomplishments. “We got back to full employment, got inflation back down, managed a soft landing that many people thought was not likely to happen,” Biden said. “Next month, my administration will end, and a new administration will begin. The new administration's going to inherit a very strong economy, at least at the moment.”

Still, he acknowledged that many voters do not see the economic success he claims. “I know it's been hard for many Americans to see. And I understand it. They're just trying to figure out how to put three squares on the table,” Biden said. “But I believe it was the right thing to do. Not only to lift America out of an economic crisis caused by a pandemic, but to set America on a stronger course for the future. And we did that.”

It was always clear it might take years for the results of his large-scale spending on infrastructure and other projects to materialize, he said. “It takes time to get this done,” the president said. “But watch two, four, six, eight, 10 years from now.”

For some Democrats, that is far too late. Many in Biden's party say



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

President Joe Biden appears on a television as he delivers remarks on his economic accomplishments at the Brookings Institution.

the president and his team were slow to recognize the damage inflation was inflicting on ordinary families, seeming to downplay it with terms like “transitory” or calling it “Putin's price hike,” blaming high prices on Russian President Vladimir Putin's war against Ukraine.

This week, Biden has sought in ways both oblique and direct to highlight his record on a range of issues. On Monday, he talked about the unprecedented moves he has made to promote Native American voices in his administration. On Wednesday, he will speak about his administration's actions regarding reproductive health.

But perhaps no other issue is as salient as Biden's take on the economy, since high prices affect every American, many of them on a daily basis. During the campaign, Republicans charged that Biden had driven up costs by dumping billions of dollars into the economy; Biden found it challenging to make the case that things would have been far worse without his actions. On Election Day, exit polls showed that 32 percent of voters considered the economy the most important issue in the election, and of those,

81 percent voted for Trump.

Biden's speech Tuesday at the Brookings Institution, a nonpartisan think tank, was at times wide-ranging and meandering —

“I know it’s been hard for many Americans to see. And I understand it. They’re just trying to figure out how to put three squares on the table. But I believe it was the right thing to do.”

President Joe Biden,
on his economic policies

he announced that his teleprompter had gone out about 10 minutes into the speech. He touched on seemingly every economic issue his administration

has faced in the past four years: the rise in gas prices after Russia invaded Ukraine, Biden's visit to a Samsung factory in South Korea, his actions to cut prescription drug prices.

Biden has long billed himself as a champion of the middle class, telling audiences, often and loudly, that his economic outlook is centered on the needs of working communities like the ones he was raised in. He vowed to never raise taxes on anyone making less than \$400,000 a year and appeared in countless union halls to underscore his claim that he is the most pro-labor president in history.

He suggested Tuesday that despite Trump's boasts, the former president's economic record does not bode well for his second term.

“The previous administration had no plan — no real plan, really — to get us through one of the toughest periods in our nation's history,” Biden said. “I’ve never been a fan of trickle-down economics. It was a hammer that was hammering working people.”

Biden expressed regret over just one economic decision, and it related to messaging rather than substance: Not putting his name on the \$1,400 stimulus checks his administration delivered to tens

of millions of households under the 2021 American Rescue Plan. That decision was intended to signal that he was focused on Americans, not his own ego, and it was designed to create a contrast with Trump, who had put his name on stimulus checks during his presidency.

Biden's administration ultimately did send a letter to households taking credit for the economic aid. But the president said Tuesday it was “stupid” of him not to follow Trump's lead in signing the checks.

The full effect of “Bidenomics” is not yet clear. Biden's record has received mixed reviews from economists, who generally credit the president for avoiding a recession and promoting strong job growth, but fault him for not recognizing the persistence of inflation. The full benefit of some of his signature policies, such as the laws fortifying the nation's infrastructure and boosting the U.S. microchip industry, may not be realized for years or even decades.

Biden came into office wanting to rectify what many in his circle saw as the mistakes of President Barack Obama, who took office during the previous financial crisis. Many liberal economists be-

lieved Obama's economic stimulus was not large enough to reduce unemployment or spur growth in the wake of the Great Recession, a misstep they said helped fuel Trump's rise in 2016. Biden officials also viewed Obama's approach to a range of issues — monopolies, labor unions, industrial policy — as too deferential to business.

Biden's attempt to chart a new course had its own negative consequences, and his party is likely to be debating the Obama and Biden approaches for years. The first major piece of legislation that Biden proposed, the \$1.9 trillion American Rescue Plan, was aimed at helping the economy roar back after the pandemic almost completely shut it down. By most measures, that box was checked: Unemployment hit a roughly 50-year low in 2023, and the United States has enjoyed the fastest growth among major economies coming out of the covid-19 pandemic.

But Biden's stimulus also ran the economy so hot that it exacerbated inflation over a long period, an economic and political problem that is also part of Biden's record.

He also adopted an array of pro-union policies and appointed labor-friendly officials, even walking a United Auto Workers picket line himself. But for many workers, those moves were outweighed by the persistence of high prices.

Beyond the stimulus package, Biden spearheaded three other large-scale economic packages that will form pillars of his legacy. Two of them — the bill to repair the nation's long-decaying infrastructure and another to bring the production of semiconductors back to the United States — garnered bipartisan support and were aimed at long-term improvements in the nation's productivity and resilience.

The third, the Inflation Reduction Act, centered on hundreds of billions in clean-energy subsidies, while also aiming to reduce some prescription drug prices for seniors.

All three underlined Biden's willingness to provide direct government subsidies to specific industries, a notable shift in philosophy from his recent Democratic predecessors. Some economists say the White House could have done more to reduce red tape to unlock the potential of those investments.

Still, Biden's legislation could yield economic benefits for years to come. On Tuesday, he did his best to ensure that history gives him credit.

Emily Guskin contributed to this report.

Hegseth and Gabbard aim to bolster GOP support for confirmation fights

BY JACQUELINE ALEMANY
AND LIZ GOODWIN

Two of President-elect Donald Trump's most controversial picks for top jobs continued meetings Tuesday on Capitol Hill as they seek to shore up support among Republican senators who will decide whether to confirm them.

Pete Hegseth, Trump's pick for defense secretary, returned to Capitol Hill to meet with Sens. Lisa Murkowski (R-Alaska) and John Cornyn (R-Texas), while former congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii), Trump's choice to lead the U.S. intelligence community, met with Sens. Tom Cotton (R-Arkansas) and James E. Risch (R-Idaho), as well as Sen.-elect Bernie Moreno (R-Ohio).

And there are some signs at least that Hegseth — who is the subject of sexual assault, excessive drinking and mismanagement allegations — may be making progress after his selection appeared to be in danger.

“He's much better off this week than he was last week,” said Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-South Carolina). A Trump transition official echoed Graham's sentiment, arguing that Hegseth has “turned a corner” and impressed Trump with his response to the swirl of allegations hanging over him. The transition team released a video on Tuesday that featured a mashup of GOP senators touting their support for and praising Hegseth.

And Sen. Joni Ernst (R-Iowa), a leader in the fight against sexual assault in the military and a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee overseeing his confirmation, appears more open to supporting the former Fox News anchor after several meetings with him and a pressure campaign from Trump allies.

Meanwhile, public critiques from GOP lawmakers of Gabbard, who has been under scruti-



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Pete Hegseth, center, Donald Trump's pick for defense secretary, leaves after meeting with Sen. John Cornyn (R-Texas) on Tuesday.

ny for antiwar views that are seen as sympathetic to Moscow and a 2017 trip to Syria for a meeting with then-President Bashar al-Assad, have been muted.

The Hill meetings marked at least a temporary reprieve from the drama over Trump's selections for other senior posts — former congressman Matt Gaetz (R-Florida), Trump's first pick for attorney general, and Sheriff Chad Chronister, his pick to lead the Drug Enforcement Administration — who withdrew from consideration after backlash from Republican allies and lawmakers.

The longer Trump's unconventional picks hang on, the better

their chances of getting confirmed, given the political difficulty of publicly voting down one of his nominations on the Senate floor. Hegseth has repeatedly said that he'll stay in the fight so long as Trump supports him.

But the process is far from over, and confirmation hearings — if both planned nominees, and others selections by Trump, get to them — could be bruising and change the course of events.

Cornyn, who has said he is supporting Hegseth, told reporters that he warned Hegseth that his confirmation hearings could get ugly.

“I told him, I’ve been a participant in the confirmation hear-

ings of a number of Supreme Court justices, including Brett Kavanaugh, and how ugly that can be, and how hard it can be, not just on him, but also on his family,” Cornyn said.

For now, Trumpworld continues to target detractors through social media campaigns and threats of primary challenges to GOP senators who might oppose the president-elect's selections. Lawmakers have historically deferred to a president's picks, but a handful of GOP senators broke with Trump on issues during his first administration.

No potential nominee can lose more than three GOP votes if every Democrat votes against

them, and some lawmakers on Tuesday foreshadowed contentious fights ahead as several lawmakers remained noncommittal about Gabbard and Hegseth.

The former Hawaii congresswoman met with two high-profile GOP hawks on Tuesday — Graham and Cotton, the incoming chair of the Intelligence Committee. In a statement, Graham said that he felt great deference to Trump's picks but also indicated that he still had questions for Gabbard.

“I look forward to hearing in more detail about Tulsi's views on the threats America faces through the confirmation process,” Graham wrote.

Cotton declined to comment about their meeting. And Cornyn, a member of the Intelligence Committee, added that he had “a lot of questions” for Gabbard about her past statements about Assad.

“I don't really care so much about the politics,” Cornyn said. “I do care about the national security policy, some of her trips and meetings with foreign leaders and that sort of thing.”

A Trump transition official, however, pointed to Cotton's post on X on Monday noting, “Of the 72 cabinet secretary nominees since the Clinton transition, only 2 nominees have ever received NO votes from the president-elect's party.”

“No one should be surprised that the Republican Senate will confirm President Trump's nominees,” Cotton continued.

A second Trump transition official surmised that Gabbard could win rare bipartisan support, adding that she had reached out to Democrats who sit on the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence for one-on-one meetings. (Both officials spoke on the condition of anonymity to speak candidly.) Asked whether he was open to supporting Gabbard, Sen. John Fetterman (D-Pennsylvania), who sits on the committee, said that he was “troubled” by her position on Syria but that he was “looking forward” to her hearing.

Ernst indicated on Monday that she is now open to supporting Hegseth after days of intra-party attacks over her comments last week registering concern about his potential nomination. But Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine), who is expected to meet with him Wednesday, remained circumspect.

“There are obviously a lot of issues that I want to bring up, both military policies, such as his position on Ukraine, women in combat, that our Navy is shrinking, as well as the allegations against him,” she told reporters.

NIKKI GIOVANNI | 1943-2024

Poet used her gift of expression to further the Black liberation movement

GIOVANNI FROM A1

Mexico,” a prose poem from her 2007 collection “Acolytes.” “Coming as I do from a voiceless people, a people who were denied freedom, a language, an education; coming as I do from a people who had only song with which to tell our story and a poem with which to dream ... I wanted to be a voice.”

That voice was by turns harsh and tender, militant and jubilant. Nicknamed “the Princess of Black Poetry,” Ms. Giovanni was first known as a leader of the Black Arts Movement, which emphasized African American empowerment and self-determination, applying the political message of Black Power to works of art and literature.

At age 24, the day after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., she wrote “Reflections on April 4, 1968,” which begins: “What can I, a poor Black woman, do to destroy America? This / is a question, with appropriate variations, being asked in every / Black heart.” Around that same time, she composed lines in which she appeared to contemplate giving up poetry altogether: “maybe i shouldn’t write / at all / but clean my gun / and check my kerosene supply / perhaps these are not poetic / times / at all.”

In other early verses, she luxuriated in the memory of childhood afternoons listening to gospel music and eating “fresh corn / from daddy’s garden.” She sang of “beautiful beautiful beautiful / black men with outasight afros” and joyfully linked herself to ancient myth and Egyptian civilization: “My oldest daughter is nefertiti / the tears from my birth pains / created the Nile / I am a beautiful woman.”

Ms. Giovanni’s first poetry collections became staples of Black-owned bookshops such as Drum and Spear in Washington, and in 1971 she rose to national prominence when she released a spoken-word album with a gospel choir. Titled “The Truth Is on Its Way,” the record “made poetry meaningful to many people who previously dismissed it as nonsensical and irrelevant,” Ebony magazine reported. “Nikki, the poet, has become a personality, a star.”

For a time she was a rare poet-celebrity, chatting with guest host Flip Wilson on “The Tonight Show” and appearing on television shows such as “Soul!” to interview James Baldwin, Lena Horne and Muhammad Ali about Black art and identity. In 1973, she was a National Book Award finalist for “Gemini: An Extended Autobiographical Statement on My First Twenty-Five Years of Being a Black Poet.”

Ms. Giovanni celebrated her 30th birthday that year by performing at the Lincoln Center in Manhattan, accompanied by the New York Community Choir and singers Melba Moore and Wilson Pickett. Diminutive but energetic, at 5-foot-2 and 100 pounds, she had shed her revolutionary persona and said she simply wanted to “share some joy” with the sold-out crowd.

“I’m not downgrading anger, but how long can you stay angry?” she told the New York Times before the concert. “One winds down. I never wanted to repeat anything in my life — not what I was, at 20 ... nor what I am now when I’m 40. We’ve touched on every sore that anybody in the country ever had and think we should do some healing.”

Still, she remained blunt and forthright in her political opinions for decades, declaring amid the coronavirus pandemic that she was disappointed President Donald Trump had not died of covid-19, saying he was “crazy and evil.” In 2020, she read a poem in a campaign ad for then-presidential candidate Joe Biden and published a new collection, “Make Me Rain,” that included pieces inspired by the sexual assault allegations against Supreme



JILL KREMENTZ

Nikki Giovanni, with author James Baldwin at a memorial service in 1974, was nicknamed “the Princess of Black Poetry.”

Court Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh and the police shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri.

“She has always been deeply invested in the Black liberation struggle, and since the Black liberation struggle remains ongoing and necessary, she’s an elder now of that movement,” poet Fred Moten told the Times in 2020. “It’s not just that she’s managed to stay relevant, it’s that the need for her is still here.”

If there was a need for poetry that galvanized and inspired, there was also a demand for poetry that comforted and unified — and Ms. Giovanni provided on both counts. A longtime English professor at Virginia Tech, she spoke at a memorial convocation in April 2007, the day after Seung-Hui Cho, a 23-year-old undergraduate, massacred 32 students and teachers before killing himself.

Ms. Giovanni remembered Cho from a seminar she had taught in 2005 and, after learning a mass shooting had unfolded, said she could immediately name the shooter. She had removed Cho from her class after he wrote what she described as “really creepy things” and intimidated other students, taking photos of them with his cellphone camera.

Asked by the university president to deliver closing remarks at the convocation, she composed a 258-word prose poem — “We are strong, and brave, and innocent, and unafraid. We are better than we think and not quite what we want to be” — that concluded with a line of hope and defiance: “We are Virginia Tech.”

The audience, which included President George W. Bush, responded with a standing ovation that lasted more than 90 seconds.

“I was thrilled that the poem resonated,” Ms. Giovanni later told the Miami Herald. “It did what it was supposed to do. I was just the messenger. But it was singular, a shooting star, a nova. I won’t ever read it again.”

Yolande Cornelia Giovanni Jr. — called Nikki by her older sister — was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, on June 7, 1943. She was raised in Cincinnati and in the predominantly Black, middle-class suburb of Lincoln Heights. Her father, a juvenile-probation officer, was an alcoholic who beat her mother, a welfare-agency supervisor. Ms. Giovanni had vivid memories of the violence but dismissed suggestions that she had an especially bleak upbringing.

“childhood remembrances are



STEVE HELBER/AP

In 2007, Ms. Giovanni leads the crowd in a cheer after her closing remarks at a service to honor the victims of the shooting rampage at Virginia Tech, where she was an influential English professor.

always a drag / if you’re Black,” she wrote in “Nikki-Rosa,” one of her best-known poems. “I really hope no white person ever has cause / to write about me / because they never understand / Black love is Black wealth and

“She has always been deeply invested in the Black liberation struggle, and since the Black liberation struggle remains ... necessary, she’s an elder now.”

Fred Moten, poet

they’ll / probably talk about my hard childhood / and never understand that / all the while I was quite happy.”

Ms. Giovanni eventually persuaded her parents to let her live with her grandparents in Knoxville, where she went to high school. At 17, she enrolled early at Fisk University, a historically Black school in Nashville where she sparred with the university’s strict dean of women and was expelled after going home for Thanksgiving without permission. She returned to school a few

years later, in 1964, after the dean’s departure.

At the time, she scarcely displayed the makings of a revolutionary. Ms. Giovanni said she voted for Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, the conservative Republican candidate for president in 1964, and devoured books by Ayn Rand, admiring the author’s individualist philosophy. But she turned leftward with prodding from her roommate, who asked her: “How could Black people be conservative? What have they got to conserve?”

Immersing herself in the civil rights movement, Ms. Giovanni helped reestablish a campus chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. She also edited a school literary magazine, studied with author John Oliver Killens and began writing for national publications, publishing a 1966 essay in Negro Digest that critiqued sexism among Black activists. “Is it necessary that I cease being a Black woman,” she wrote, “so that he can be a man?”

Ms. Giovanni graduated with a history degree in 1967. Less than two months later, her grandmother died, an event that inspired some of the grief-fueled poems that appeared in her first book, “Black Feeling Black Talk.” She self-published the collection in 1968, after becoming disenchanted by a semester spent studying social work at the Uni-

versity of Pennsylvania.

She later moved to New York and published two more poetry collections, “Black Judgment” (1968) and “Re: Creation” (1970), which she promoted by giving readings at community centers and churches, sometimes joined by fellow Black Arts Movement poets such as Amiri Baraka, Sonia Sanchez and Don L. Lee, later known as Haki R. Madhubuti. By the early 1970s, she was speaking frequently at college campuses and charging up to \$2,000 an appearance.

Among Black militants, she stood apart. She said she had two guns and, as riots swept the country in 1968, was prepared to use them. But she also made a point of speaking up for older delegates at conferences, trying to ensure that earlier generations of activists weren’t shouted down. “The shade of difference between me and the militant community,” she told the Baltimore Sun, “is that I give our parents credit that they at least made us what we are.”

Her political views softened partly because of the birth of her son, Thomas Watson Giovanni, who “gave my life meaning,” she told the Sun in 1974. She repeatedly declined to reveal the father’s identity, saying that his name was known only to close friends and family, including Thomas himself. “And,” she said, “the FBI knows.”

Ms. Giovanni did not elabo-

rate, but noted in an interview with the Pittsburgh Press that she was occasionally visited by the bureau’s agents. “I used to invite them in for coffee because I knew they wanted to check out the place.” She stopped doing so, she added, because she got “a white shag rug and they all wear cloddy shoes.”

When her son was about 2, she published the children’s poetry collection “Spin a Soft Black Song” (1971). “No cheek-pinching auntie, she explores the contours of childhood with honest affection, sidestepping both nostalgia and condescension,” Nancy Klein wrote in a review for the Times.

The book was followed by a dozen more titles for children, including “Rosa” (2005), which was named a runner-up for the Caldecott Medal and told the story of civil rights activist Rosa Parks, with illustrations by Bryan Collier.

“I’ve been working in the children’s field mostly because — how can I say this nicely? You realize that they’re just being given a lot of crap,” Ms. Giovanni told the Virginian-Pilot in 2008. “The stuff we ask our kids to read is stupid. And then we wonder why they don’t enjoy reading. And why their imaginations aren’t engaged.”

To promote the work of other Black women poets, Ms. Giovanni founded a publishing cooperative, NikTom. She also looked toward the past, writing about civil rights activists and agents of social change in her poetry collection “Those Who Ride the Night Winds” (1983) and editing books such as “Grand Mothers: Poems, Reminiscences, and Short Stories about the Keepers of Our Traditions” (1994).

Ms. Giovanni was an early champion of hip-hop, which she linked to gospel music and described as “poetry with a beat.” She dedicated her collection “Love Poems” (1997) to the slain rapper Tupac Shakur, had the words “Thug Life” tattooed on her left arm in his honor and included verses by both Maya Angelou and Queen Latifah in her book “Hip Hop Speaks to Children” (2008).

Her other works included non-fiction books such as “Racism 101” (1994), which featured an essay indicting colleges and universities for preaching the value of multiculturalism while failing to diversify their faculty. By then she was teaching at Virginia Tech, where she was recruited in 1987 by Virginia “Ginney” Fowler, an English professor who became her biographer.

They lived together for more than three decades, with Ms. Giovanni calling Fowler not her “partner” but her “bench,” the person who had her back. They eventually married, according to the statement.

In addition to Fowler, survivors include her son and a granddaughter.

Ms. Giovanni continued writing poetry and recording spoken-word albums even as she battled lung cancer, which inspired poems in her collections “Blues: For All the Changes” (1999) and “Quilting the Black-Eyed Pea” (2002). Her later work ranged widely in subject matter — from space travel and nature to her search for the world’s best beer — while continuing the exploration of Black American life she had started decades earlier.

“There is no / way not to like Black Americans. We try to practice love,” she wrote in the poem “Lemonade Grows From Soil, Too.” “We use the chicken feet to make a stew; we take the scraps of / cloth to make the quilt. We find the song in the darkest days / to say ‘put on your red dress, baby, ‘cause we’re going out / tonight,’ understanding we may be lynched on the way home / but knowing between that cotton field and that house party / something wonderful has been shared.

“We are poetry,” she continued. “And poetry is us.”

Bird flu infection of California child despite lack of exposure adds to puzzle

BY LENA H. SUN

Federal disease trackers reported Tuesday that the first child diagnosed with bird flu in an ongoing U.S. outbreak was infected with a virus strain moving rapidly through dairy cattle, even though there is no evidence the youngster was exposed to livestock or any infected animals.

The finding by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention about the child, who lives in California, deepened the mystery about the spread of H5N1 bird flu, a viral ailment that epidemiologists have watched warily for more than two decades, fearing it

could spark a pandemic.

The ongoing bird flu outbreak emerged this spring in U.S. dairy herds. Almost 60 people, mostly farmworkers, have been sickened. All experienced mild illness, mostly pink eye. In all but two cases, including the California child, officials determined that patients had direct contact with infected animals.

State health officials in California and in Alameda County, where the child lives, do not know how the youngster became infected. Their investigation into the source of exposure is ongoing. The child received flu antivirals and has recovered, according to a

post last week on the Alameda County health department website. State health officials said the child did not consume raw milk products, which have been found to have high levels of the virus.

After preliminary testing of samples from the child were equivocal, the CDC confirmed that the youngster, whose age and gender have not been disclosed, was infected with a strain of H5N1 found in dairy cattle.

The outbreak has spread rapidly to more than 700 dairy herds in 15 states, attacking poultry flocks and spreading to other animals.

For months, experts have

warned that the longer the virus spreads among humans and animals, the greater the chance for mutations that make it more virulent and transmissible person to person. A teen in Canada was hospitalized with an H5N1 infection, and, like the child in California, had no known contact with infected animals.

The CDC, in a technical update posted online Tuesday, said a comprehensive analysis of the virus found in the California child showed it to be “very similar” to H5N1 virus detected in dairy cattle. It also is similar to samples from dairy workers in California who were infected.

Richard J. Webby, a virologist at St. Jude Children’s Research Hospital who studies influenza, said it is unlikely the California child’s infection represents community spread. But there are unanswered questions, he said, about other animals that could have come into contact with the virus — cats, dogs and rodents — and might act as intermediaries in spreading virus.

The CDC found no additional changes in the viral sample from the child that would suggest greater ability to infect or transmit person to person. The virus in the California child is not closely related to the virus that caused

severe illness in the British Columbia teen.

“This case does not change CDC’s assessment of the immediate risk to the general public, which remains low at this time,” the CDC said.

In a separate development Tuesday, state and local public health officials in California said they have received reports of illnesses afflicting 10 people who drank raw milk even though the state had recalled such products after bird flu virus was detected in raw milk sold in stores.

Initial testing did not detect bird flu infections in the patients, the state health department said.

THE WORLD

Israeli prime minister takes stand in corruption trial

Benjamin Netanyahu’s court appearance comes against the backdrop of war in Gaza, regime collapse in Syria and a ceasefire in Lebanon

BY SHIRA RUBIN

TEL AVIV — Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu testified Tuesday in his corruption trial, becoming the country’s first sitting leader to take the stand as a criminal defendant and marking an unprecedented moment in its political history.

The trial is unfolding against the backdrop of the war in Gaza, an incursion by Israeli forces into Syria and a tenuous ceasefire in Lebanon.

Netanyahu has tried for years to avoid appearing in court, with critics accusing him of undermining Israel’s judicial system, most recently by encouraging members of his right-wing Likud party to call for the firing of the attorney general.

“The only thing in front of me is the future of the state, not my own future,” Netanyahu said after being sworn in. He said he would “tell my truth, to the best of my recollection,” and refused to take a seat at the defendants’ bench until television journalists were cleared from the room. The proceedings were covered through a press pool.

Netanyahu said he hopes the trial “will not be interrupted too much” despite his duties to the army and the state. In the first hours of his testimony, paper notes were delivered to him — evidence, he said, that the developing situations outside the walls of the underground court chamber still demanded his attention.

“I want to testify, but I am leading Israel on seven fronts,” he said, referring to Gaza, the West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, Iraq and Iran. “We must strike the right balance between the needs of the court and the needs of the nation.”

The stakes have never been higher — both for Netanyahu, who may ultimately face jail time, and for the court itself, which the prime minister’s far-right supporters have characterized as a threat to democracy.

Here’s what to know.

What is Netanyahu on trial for?

Netanyahu is facing charges of fraud, breach of trust and accepting bribes in three separate cases brought to the court more than four years ago. Netanyahu is accused of exploiting his office for personal gain; accepting extravagant gifts — including champagne, cigars, jewelry and other items worth hundreds of thousands of dollars in total — in exchange for diplomatic favors for billionaire friends; and offering favorable regulatory treatment to one of Israel’s largest media moguls in return for positive media coverage.

In the opening minutes of his testimony, he asserted that the indictment’s characterization of himself and his family as “hedonists” was “absurd.” He said he works 17 to 18 hours a day, eats meals at his desk, goes to sleep at 1 a.m. or 2 a.m. and almost never sees his family — citing the pressures he encountered during the Obama administration and amid confrontations with world leaders in what he said was the defense of Israel’s national security interests.

The allegations that he received illicit and luxurious gifts are “doubly absurd,” Netanyahu said. He added that he does not even like champagne and, while he does “sometimes sin with a cigar,” he rarely gets an opportunity to smoke them because of the demands of his job.



Supporters of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu hold up signs outside of a Tel Aviv courthouse as Netanyahu testifies in a corruption trial on Tuesday.



Netanyahu faces charges of fraud, breach of trust and accepting bribes in three separate cases.

Police have already interviewed Netanyahu and his wife, Sara, multiple times, but Tuesday was the first time he took the witness stand.

Netanyahu denies all wrongdoing and has rejected public calls for his resignation, including from some of the families of hostages still held in Gaza, who accuse Israel’s longest-serving leader of prolonging the war for his political survival.

Yoav Sapir, a former chief public defender who is now academic director of the Taubenschlag Institute of Criminal Law at Tel Aviv University, said the trial could further undermine the public’s faith in government — already shaken by the security failures of Oct. 7,

2023, and growing political polarization.

“That there is no legal barrier for an indicted prime minister to serve doesn’t mean it’s the right thing to do,” Sapir said.

How will the trial play out?

In his testimony, Netanyahu depicted himself as the victim of a leftist conspiracy.

“I heard in the media that I want to avoid the trial. What idiocy,” he said in a televised news conference Monday. “For eight years I have been waiting to present the truth and finally explode the delusional, unfounded accusations, the brutal witch hunt.”

Though the trial falls under the purview of the Jerusalem District

Court, the proceedings will take place in an underground room in a Tel Aviv courthouse approved by Netanyahu’s security team. The prime minister and his allies have repeatedly objected to him appearing in court during ongoing wars, saying it could threaten national security.

Miri Regev, the transport minister and a member of Netanyahu’s Likud party, told reporters outside the court that it was a “disgrace” that the prime minister was required to take the stand while the war in Gaza was continuing.

She was among a group of politicians from the coalition government — including National Security Minister Itamar Ben Gvir and

“I want to testify, but I am leading Israel on seven fronts. ... We must strike the right balance between the needs of the court and the needs of the nation.”

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

Communications Minister Shlomo Karhi, both of whom have called for the attorney general to be fired — who attended the hearing to support Netanyahu.

To get inside, they had to walk around Hostage Square, the main protest site against Netanyahu’s failure to secure the return of those still held in Gaza.

Starting next week, Netanyahu will be required to testify three days a week, six hours per day, for several weeks. In the first section of the hearing, he will answer open-ended questions from his own attorneys and have the chance to directly address the charges against him, which have been the subject of years of proceedings, with hundreds of witnesses appearing so far.

Next, prosecutors will begin their cross-examination. Political observers say Netanyahu may try to avoid this second phase for as long as possible.

“We will see endless interruptions, which only back up the prime minister’s narrative that he is trying to run a war, and the judiciary is preventing it,” said Gayil Talshir, a political scientist at Hebrew University.

Education Minister Yoav Kisch, a Netanyahu loyalist, on Sunday posted on X that he would request a three-month postponement of the hearing “in light of the strategic change in our region” following the fall of Bashar al-Assad in Syria.

Could the trial affect Israeli policy in Gaza?

The impact of the trial is expected to ripple well beyond the courtroom, and comes amid new negotiations over a potential ceasefire and hostage release deal in Gaza.

Some analysts say Netanyahu’s decision in recent weeks to revive the talks — after months of resisting pressure from Washington to agree to a deal with Hamas — could be, in part, an effort to deflect attention from the criminal proceedings against him.

Revelations in the trial could intensify public demands for fresh elections which, according to Israeli public opinion polls, Netanyahu would probably lose.

“Netanyahu is attempting to remain the prime minister for all the remaining years of his trial, and to avoid at all costs going to an early election,” Talshir said.

While the overwhelming majority of Israelis support ending the war in Gaza and bringing home the 100 hostages still being held, Netanyahu’s far-right coalition partners have threatened to bring down the government if he agrees to wind down the conflict and withdraw troops from Gaza. As a result, Talshir said, the talks may continue, but an agreement could still remain out of reach.

“Netanyahu needs positive media,” she said, “but he will most likely only agree to a deal that his far-right partners can stomach.”

DIGEST

BRAZIL Lula recovering after intracranial surgery

Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva is recovering in an intensive care unit after undergoing unplanned surgery for an intracranial hemorrhage, doctors said Tuesday.

The procedure was performed after the 79-year-old leftist leader suffered complications resulting from a fall at home in October, doctors said.

There will be no aftereffects, doctors said, adding that Lula expected to return to the capital, Brasília, at the beginning of next week. Until then, he will not be working, they said.

Lula traveled from Brasília in the early hours Tuesday to be treated in São Paulo, about 600 miles to the south. Doctors said the first lady was at his side and

the president had no other visitors.

— Associated Press

ITALY Fuel depot explosion kills 5 and injures 14

Rescuers found the body Tuesday of the last missing person at the site of a fuel depot explosion in Italy’s central Tuscany region, bringing the death toll to five, Italian media reported.

The blast Monday caused the collapse of a building with offices, injuring 14 people, Tuscany governor Eugenio Giani said, adding that two were in critical condition.

The explosion struck an ENI fuel depot in the town of Calenzano north of Florence, sending a dark plume of smoke into the air. Witnesses miles

away reported a large bang and tremors.

Residents were initially advised to keep their windows closed, but environmental officials later determined that the air quality was safe. The smoke temporarily interrupted regional train services.

The cause of the blast was under investigation. The flames were quickly contained, preventing the fire from spreading to storage tanks from a loading dock area where the explosion occurred.

— Associated Press

KENYA Police use tear gas on femicide protesters

Police in Kenya’s capital hurled tear gas canisters Tuesday at hundreds of protesters angry about gender-based violence and

femicide, or the killing of women, and arrested an unknown number of people.

Protesters chanting “Stop femicide” were dispersed by police in a public park in Nairobi where they had gathered and later engaged in running battles along the streets. Several protesters were injured in the confrontation Tuesday.

There has been a series of anti-femicide protests in Kenya, and on Nov. 25, during the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, police used tear gas to disperse a handful of protesters who had braved bad weather.

— Associated Press

Dutch police said Tuesday that they have arrested three suspects who might have been involved in an explosion and fire that killed six people in an apartment building in The

Hague over the weekend. Authorities had said they were investigating “all possibilities” that could have caused the disaster, and the arrests indicate that there might have been criminal intent. Police also seized several vehicles, but they said it was unclear whether they included the one that was seen driving away at high speed from the site shortly after the explosion. Early Saturday before dawn, residents of the northeastern neighborhood of Mariahoeve in The Hague heard the blast and screams, and authorities were still working at the scene of collapsed homes Tuesday.

Ecuador’s government will stop rationing electricity services just before the holidays, President Daniel Noboa — who was heavily criticized for the cuts resulting in three months of

daily interruptions — announced Tuesday. Normal service will resume Dec. 20. The power cuts, which began in mid-September, caused businesses collective losses of about \$7.5 billion, according to industry groups.

An apartment building collapsed Tuesday in Egypt’s capital, killing at least eight people, authorities said. The Health Ministry said in a statement that the collapse of the six-story building in Cairo’s western neighborhood of Waili also injured three people. Cairo’s governor, Ibrahim Saber, ordered the evacuation of neighboring houses as a precautionary measure. It wasn’t immediately clear what caused the building, which was constructed in the 1960s, to collapse. The governor’s office said prosecutors were investigating

— From news services

Activist who dedicated life to showing the regime’s horrors is found dead

BY LIZ SLY

Because of Mazen al-Hamada, the world can't say it didn't know.

The 47-year-old Syrian activist, who suffered unimaginable torture in the regime's brutal prisons, escaped to Europe in 2014. There, he set about telling his story, reliving the horrors he had been subjected to in vivid detail to statesmen, legislatures and anyone who would listen.

He bore the scars of his torture physically, including the deep gashes on his wrists from where he had been strung up by chains, and emotionally, in his gaunt, haunted face, becoming a public symbol of the hidden torment being endured out of sight in Syria by tens of thousands of people.

Then in 2020, he went back to Syria, telling friends he was convinced it was pointless to continue sharing his torment with a world that didn't care. He believed he could achieve more by returning to the country, by reasoning with the regime that had cracked down so harshly on a popular uprising, and that he had reassurances from the government of President Bashar al-Assad that he would be safe.

Instead, he was detained upon arrival at Damascus International Airport, and disappeared into the prison system once again.

On Tuesday, relatives in Damascus identified his body among around 40 corpses found wrapped in bloodied sheets and dumped at the military hospital in the Damascus suburb of Harasta. They appeared to have been freshly killed, perhaps in the last hours before Assad fled and the



OMAR HAJ KADOUR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

People try to identify relatives among bodies Tuesday at a hospital morgue in Damascus, Syria.

rebels took over, said Mouaz Moustafa of the Syrian Emergency Task Force, who worked closely with Hamada. Gruesome photos of his body posted online, too gruesome to describe, suggested he died an agonizing death, under torture to the end.

The hospital in Harasta is known as a way station for prisoners who are tortured to death, on their way to burial in mass graves, said Stephen Rapp, who chairs the Commission for International Justice and Accountability, a nonprofit that gathers evidence of war crimes in Syria and spent hours recording Hamada's testimony of torture. He thinks Hamada and the others found with him were hastily killed as the regime fell because they were

identified as likely to give evidence against their tormentors.

"His death was so new, he hadn't been processed for burial," Rapp said.

Hamada didn't live to see the collapse of the dictator whose demise he gave his life for.

The joy felt by millions of Syrians at Assad's departure has been tempered by the realization that most of the estimated 100,000 people who went missing in the gulag of his prison system will probably never return. Human rights groups say they are confident that all of the prisoners held in Syrian jails have been set free, including around 4,000 released from Sednaya, the biggest and most notorious of Syria's prisons.

Fadel Abdul Ghany, executive

director of the Syrian Network for Human Rights, broke down in tears as he conveyed the news Tuesday on Syria TV. "Most of the missing people in Syria who were under regime [control] are dead," he said. "This is the truth."

The vast majority of those had been detained, like Hamada, for their political opposition to Assad, human rights groups say.

Hamada had initially been arrested for participating in the peaceful protests that swept Syria in 2011. He spent several short stints in jail before being seized again and taken to the dreaded Air Force Intelligence headquarters in the Mezzeh neighborhood of Damascus, where his real nightmare began.

He was suspended from the

ceiling by chains for hours. His ribs were broken by guards who jumped on him. His skin was scorched by cigarettes and his body jolted by electric shocks. He was raped with a metal pole and had his genitals placed in a clamp, leaving him impotent for life.

These details he recounted on request, to politicians, journalists and academics across the West, becoming a fixture on the human rights advocacy circuit who was guaranteed to move audiences to tears. He would cry every time too, tears welling in his wide eyes and rolling down his bony cheeks.

"Every time he spoke he was forced to relive the horrors. I can still picture the emptiness in his eyes — eyes that seemed to look past the world entirely," wrote a Syrian friend in the Netherlands, Sakir Khader, in a tribute on X.

He appeared, and almost certainly was, deeply traumatized, said Sara Afshar, who made a documentary about the Syrian prison system that prominently featured Hamada and became friends with him in the process. His life and death are testimony to the indifference of the world to the suffering in Syria that continued unchecked until Assad's fall on Sunday, she said.

"He told everything about the absolute horrors that were happening and he did it over and over again, and nobody did anything and now he's dead and all the others are dead too," she said. "The things he said happened to him were beyond human understanding they were so monstrous, and yet governments were normalizing with him."

Hamada was meanwhile growing more and more disillusioned

with the lack of impact his campaigning had. A surge of interest in Syria after the initial uprising began abated after 2016 when Russian intervention on behalf of Assad appeared to ensure the survival of his regime. He began telling friends he wanted to return to Syria and made several visits to the Syrian embassy in Berlin, where he secured a passport.

In one of his last known phone calls, Hamada told a fellow Syrian activist that he was prepared to sacrifice his life to stop the killing from continuing. "We went to America and told them the whole story. We went to the Netherlands, France and even Italy. And people didn't listen. The whole world didn't listen," he said, according to a recording of the phone call provided by the activist, Maysoun Berkdar.

Hamada was taken into custody the moment he landed at Damascus airport, said his nephew, Ziad al-Hamada, who spoke with Mazen after he landed. Hamada sounded panicked and told him he was being detained, he said.

Many of Hamada's friends had already assumed he was dead. A Syrian dissident freed from prison in 2022 told Moustafa he had seen Hamada at the Air Force Intelligence prison in Damascus, but from there the sightings went cold.

That he had survived all this time under the terrible conditions only to be killed at the very end is one of the hardest things for his friends to bear, Afshar said. But, she said, "he died a hero. I hope everyone remembers that."

Future of Russia’s large military footprint uncertain after fall of Assad

BY ADAM TAYLOR AND JÚLIA LEDUR

Russia's military bases in Syria were a major asset for Moscow before the Assad regime's stunning collapse over the weekend. Now, they could be a major liability.

The Russian military sites in Syria include a naval port on the Mediterranean Sea to berth submarines and an airfield to project power across the Middle East and Africa. But after rebels ousted Syria's Kremlin-backed president, Bashar al-Assad, the future of these installations is uncertain.

The Islamist group Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, now in control of the Syrian state, has criticized the regime's foreign supporters. Russia backed Assad in Syria's 13-year civil war, hitting rebels with airstrikes from 2015 on and pro-

longing his reign.

Russia was doing "everything that is necessary and everything that is possible" to contact those in power in Syria to ensure the security of its military bases, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov said Monday.

Other nations also maintain military facilities in Syria. The U.S. base at Tanf, near the Syrian border with Jordan, has housed Special Operations forces; Turkey has bases in Idlib and elsewhere in the north. But Russia's holdings are far larger in scale, strategic significance and vulnerability.

Russia's military footprint

The most notable Russian bases are along the Mediterranean coast: a naval base in Tartus and an airfield at Hmeimim in Latakia governorate.

Russia built the Cold War-era

Tartus base in 1977. It stood mostly idle from the fall of the Soviet Union until Russia intervened in the civil war in 2015. After that Russia signed a 49-year lease agreement and expanded the facility.

The construction of the Hmeimim air base at a Syrian airport in 2015 was a sign of the deepening relationship between Moscow and Damascus. It is also bound by a 49-year lease, signed in 2017.

Russia claims to have deployed tens of thousands of troops to Syria. While it appears fewer have been stationed there since the start of the war in Ukraine, some troops remain.

Russia has had several other military facilities in Syria, according to the defense intelligence firm Janes, including two air bases in the country's center and two sites for S-400 air de-

fense systems.

Russian troops were already vacating bases in Manbij and Kobane, the Syrian news outlet North Press Agency reported Monday. Manbij was once a U.S. base; Russia took it over in 2019 after the United States abandoned it. Russia used the Kobane base to monitor a ceasefire agreement with Turkey.

There has been no evidence yet of a large-scale withdrawal from Tartus or Hmeimim. The loss of Tartus would have a significant impact on the Russian navy, which attempts to maintain a permanent presence in the eastern Mediterranean.

With the loss of that port, and with similar facilities in the Black Sea vulnerable to the war in Ukraine, Janes analysts suggested Monday, Russia would have to redeploy ships and submarines to Baltic Sea.

Russia used the Hmeimim air base as a hub not only to strike Syrian rebels, but also to support mercenaries in Libya, the Central African Republic and Sudan, the Russian journalist and analyst Anton Mardasov wrote in 2020 for the Middle East Institute.

Other nations have bases, too

During the civil war, several foreign groups, including Assad allies Iran and Hezbollah, joined the fighting.

The United States established the Tanf outpost after the Islamic State seized land at the border in 2015. The garrison has been used to train U.S.-aligned rebel groups in Syria.

The United States has also sent troops to areas in the northeast controlled by the Kurdish-led Syrian Democratic Forces. There were 900 U.S. troops in Syria, Pentagon spokesman Maj. Gen.

Patrick Ryder told reporters last week, most of them in this northeastern region.

Turkey, is also a prominent force in the north, through its support of the rebel Syrian National Army, widely considered a proxy for Ankara, and its own troops, who have established bases in and around Idlib, an HTS stronghold.

Turkey's principal interest in Syria is its opposition to the Syrian Democratic Forces, which has ties to Kurdish groups within Turkey. While people in Damascus this weekend celebrated the departure of Assad and the arrival of the rebels, the Syrian National Army seized control of a Kurdish-controlled area in Manbij, according to local accounts.

Catherine Belton and Natalia Abbakumova contributed to this report.

Israeli attacks draw condemnation from U.N. envoy, Middle East governments

ISRAEL FROM AI

showed scorched buildings, a destroyed aircraft hangar and loud explosions from the heavy bombardment.

Israeli officials have characterized the extensive strikes as preemptive in nature, protecting the country from future attack rather than responding to a current threat. They invoked a similar rationale Monday in defending the movement of troops beyond a U.N.-monitored buffer zone in the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights.

"I approved the air force bombing of strategic military capabilities left by the Syrian military so that they will not fall into the hands of the jihadists," Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said in a video address Tuesday.

Netanyahu said Israel wants relations with the new government in Syria, but he warned the rebels against attacking Israel or allowing Iran or its proxies to regain a foothold in the country. "We will respond with force and exact a heavy price," he said.

Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS), the rebel group that led the lightning offensive — sweeping south from its home base in northern Idlib to the presidential palace in Damascus in under two weeks — has yet to comment on the Israeli strikes. Its members remain largely preoccupied with navigating the transition from a military to a political force, and they are scrambling to address cash and food shortages in the capital and beyond. Elsewhere in the country, other armed groups are still vying for influence, seeking to fill the sudden power vacuum after more than half a century of Assad family rule.

"We are continuing to see Israeli movements and bombardments into Syrian territory," Geir Pedersen, the U.N. special envoy to Syria, said Tuesday. "This



OMAR HAJ KADOUR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The ruins of the military-affiliated Barzeh scientific research center in Damascus, Syria, on Tuesday, after it was hit in an airstrike.

needs to stop." Similar urgings have come from governments across the Middle East, from Baghdad to Riyadh.

The Saudi Arabian Foreign Ministry accused Israel on Monday of violating international law and "sabotag[ing] Syria's chances of restoring its security, stability and territorial integrity."

The United States, Israel's main military and diplomatic backer, described its ally's military activities as "non-permanent" in nature and taking place under "exigent circumstances."

"We don't want to see any actor ... move themselves in such a way

that makes it harder for the Syrian people to get at legitimate governance," John Kirby, the U.S. National Security Council spokesman, told reporters Tuesday.

Israel has simultaneously taken credit for the fall of Assad — with Netanyahu boasting Monday that he had "reshaped the Middle East" by weakening Iran and its proxies Hamas and Hezbollah — while expressing fears over the shape of the new Syrian state. HTS was formed as an offshoot of al-Qaeda during Syria's civil war but has sought to rebrand as a moderate Islamist

organization, vowing to protect religious minorities and restore the country's standing in the region.

Israel's defense minister, Israel Katz, said the military was aiming to establish a "sterile defense zone" in southern Syria and "prevent the entrenchment and organization of terror."

As Syria's military largely melted away in the face of the rebel advances, it vacated military bases believed to store significant munitions and gear, including the remnants of Assad's chemical weapons stockpile.

A nerve-gas attack by the Syr-

ian government on a Damascus suburb in 2013 killed nearly 1,500 civilians, including at least 426 children, according to U.S. intelligence. The attack was described by American officials at the time as an "indiscriminate, inconceivable horror." Under a deal brokered between then-President Barack Obama and Russian President Vladimir Putin, hundreds of tons of chemical weapons were removed from Syria and destroyed — depleting but not eliminating Assad's arsenal.

By striking the sites now, Israel is acting within a "window of opportunity," said Yossi Kuper-

wasser, a former Israeli military official now with the Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs.

He said the attacks on chemical and other munitions were necessary "to make sure whoever is going to be the next ruler [of Syria] is not going to have state-of-the-art weaponry." And Israel couldn't have launched the strikes while Assad was in power, he added: "It would have been considered belligerent activity. Now I think everyone understands."

That understanding does not extend to ordinary Syrians, whose euphoria over Assad's ouster is now tempered by renewed anxiety over insecurity as explosions rock the capital.

"The feeling of fear has now started to go," Hani Qusebaty, 27, said Monday as he joined hundreds of people celebrating in Damascus. "Now the only feeling of fear is the Israeli attacks."

The United States also launched strikes on Syria this week, with the Pentagon saying it hit 75 Islamic State targets Sunday in the central desert. About 900 American troops remain in Syria, a vestige of the forces deployed a decade ago to fight the Islamic State, which sought to establish a "caliphate" spanning parts of Syria and Iraq.

Ryan C. Crocker, a former U.S. ambassador to Syria, warned during an event at the Middle East Institute on Tuesday that Israel's military operations in Syria risk "repercussions beyond which the Israelis intend."

Addressing their moves in the Golan, he said any long-term occupation of the area "could add fuel already to a fire."

"So the Israelis, in presumably taking preemptively defensive moves, need to be very careful that they don't spark a new militancy directed at them," he said.

At prison, strewn files and sense of dread

SYRIA FROM AI

Osama Shalhom, 39, grew up in its shadow, in the nearby village of Talfta. As a child, “there was fear even passing it,” he remembered. “I wondered why it was so big.”

He joined the rebels in the early days of Syria’s civil war. As news spread Sunday of Assad’s down-fall, and a helicopter was spotted taking off from the prison grounds — carrying the warden and his underlings, he guessed — Shalhom joined a group of men heading for the gates. A lone soldier was guarding it when they arrived, he said, and laid down his gun. Shalhom said he and the other men began shooting the locks off the cells.

There had been fears of mass executions here during the dying days of the regime. But when the men reached the central security room, with a wall of television screens streaming more than 400 feeds from across the facility, they saw there were prisoners still alive.

“Some couldn’t walk and had to be carried out in blankets,” Shalhom said Tuesday, standing in front of one of the iron doors he had forced open.

In the first cell he liberated, the prisoners cowered and faced the wall, mistaking him for their jailers. “They were so scared,” he said. Only some dared to turn when he shouted that they were free.

Thousands of Syrians have since streamed in from across the country. Some screamed with anger as they made their way through the cells on Tuesday; outside, they picked through what remained of the scattered papers, many of which have already been removed by those desperate for information.

A team from the International Committee of the Red Cross was on the scene, urging the patchwork of rebel forces who now control the prison to help preserve records. But it was a losing battle. “I’m taking them so they don’t get burned,” said one man,



LORENZO TUGNOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

People attempt to break into a closed portion of the Sednaya prison Tuesday in search of secret areas where inmates might still be trapped.

departing with a stack of papers under his arm.

Some in the crowd shouted out names, asking those who held the precious logbooks to scan them for any reference to their loved ones. “What year is it for? What year?” a woman screamed at a person holding one of the ledgers.

The wall of security monitors has been smashed. Shalhom doesn’t know if any of the footage has been preserved. Parts of administrative buildings, and their reams of paperwork, have been torched.

In what some former detainees said was Sednaya’s “red wing,” which held political prisoners and those accused of terrorism, there were putrid blankets on the

stone-floored cells, the inmates’ only protection from the Syrian winter.

Outheima Ismail Hassan, 50, was searching for her five brothers. Like many of the missing, they were taken at checkpoints or from their homes in the early days of the civil war. She visited one in Sednaya the year he was arrested; she doesn’t know what happened to the others.

“I still have hope,” she said. She had checked hospitals and other prisons, clinging to the possibility that they had walked free and were looking for her, too. “Maybe they have lost their minds from being imprisoned and can’t get home,” she said.

Lawyer Ammar Abbara Mo-

ammed said he had come to try to preserve the prison records, in the hope that some families could find closure. “There are people who lost their children,” he said. “They need to know they are dead.”

Mohammed spent five days in the red wing in 2015 after being accused of illegally exchanging money. He managed to get out by bribing a judge before he was convicted. Once a sentence was handed down, he said, a person’s fate was sealed.

“They tell you to remember your number and forget your name,” he recalled of his intake process for new inmates.

Inside the prison, some are still looking for undiscovered rooms,

secret chambers rumored to be deep underground. There are gaping holes in the concrete yard outside, left by civil defense teams who spent two days digging for hidden floors. They found nothing.

Husni Karmo, 60, had given up. He had spent years asking for information about his four missing sons, and his questions had landed him in Sednaya. He was strung up on ropes and tortured, he said, and subjected to sexual assault.

He traveled from northern Idlib as soon as he heard the prison was opened, hoping finally for news of his sons, who he says were arrested for no other reason than the place of birth on their

identification cards.

He knows that one of them is dead. He saw the face of 25-year-old Osama almost as soon as he opened what’s known as the Caesar photos — a cache of 53,000 images taken in Syria’s prisons and military hospitals and smuggled out by a defector. His teeth had been broken and his nose was bloodied, Karmo said, wiping away tears.

There was another photo of a man who looked like Anas, who was 22 when he disappeared. But his face was too disfigured to know for sure.

“I have no hope. Not for my sons, not for others,” he said. “Whoever didn’t already come out is dead.”



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MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

For the short-lived insect, the entire migration takes multiple generations, making the delicate animal a powerful symbol of resilience. A smaller western population spends its winters in coastal California.

Monarch would become one of most widespread species ever protected

MONARCH FROM A1

United States and chemicals applied to plants and insects — are decimating its population.

“The species has been declining for a number of years,” Fish and Wildlife biologist Kristen Lundh said in a video interview. “We’re hoping that this is a call to everybody to say this species is in decline, and now is our opportunity to help reverse that decline.”

If nothing is done, officials warn, the monarch is likely to vanish for good from the continent, though some monarch scientists outside the government say concerns about its demise are overblown.

The monarch is just one of the most visible species at risk of disappearing as an estimated 1 million plants and animals are threatened with extinction due to rising temperatures, shrinking habitat and other human-driven threats. The loss of pollinators such as butterflies could have profound effects on ecosystems and people who depend on them.

The flight of the monarch

Perhaps no butterfly is more recognizable than the monarch.

Every spring, a kaleidoscope of the orange insects fans out from Mexico across the United States east of the Rockies to pollinate and procreate, a brightly colored signal of a change in season. When temperatures begin to cool, the butterfly flutters back south across the Rio Grande to ride out the winter, where some locals believe its tiny wings carry the souls of ancestors.

For the short-lived insect, the entire migration takes multiple generations, making the delicate animal a powerful symbol of resilience. A smaller western population spends its winters in coastal California.

But increasingly, rising temperatures are upending the journey by tricking them to stay north for too long, according to Rebeca Quiñonez-Piñón, monarch recovery strategist for the National Wildlife Federation.

“The monarchs are getting completely confused,” Quiñonez-Piñón said. “For them, it’s like a trap. They get trapped in some specific single places when they should be moving south.”

For those that do return, illegal logging in Mexico, where some monarch defenders have been killed, is encroaching on its winter resting place.

The agency is proposing to des-

ignate the monarch, whose caterpillars eat a plant called milkweed, as one step below endangered. If finalized, the new rule would probably require large landowners to work with Fish and Wildlife before doing any development that would significantly harm the butterfly’s habitat.

The government would still allow for a host of other activities, including homeowners’ basic yard maintenance, certain routine farming activities, vehicle strikes and small-scale monarch rearing by schools and other groups. The agency is also proposing to protect nearly 4,400 acres in California as habitat critical for the western cohort.

“We want to make sure that people are still able to have monarchs in the classroom,” Lundh said.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, an agricultural lobbying group, was grateful the proposal has flexibility for farmers, but plans to fully review it and submit feedback to the agency.

“This opens the door for an important dialogue about farmers as caretakers and cultivators of the land,” the group’s president, Zippy Duvall, said in a statement. “Our farm families treasure that responsibility.”

One butterfly, two butterfly, three butterfly, four ...

Insect populations are notoriously difficult to count and are known to fluctuate widely from year to year based on the weather and other conditions. Federal officials determined it is in trouble because the acreage in Mexico with overwintering monarchs has steadily declined.

On its current course, the western monarch has a 99 percent chance of vanishing for good in about the next six decades, according to the federal scientists, after its population dropped by more than 95 percent from over 4.5 million in the 1980s.

The eastern population has a 56 to 74 percent chance of extinction over the same period, having dropped by about 80 percent from an estimated 380 million in the mid-1990s. Still, total annihilation is unlikely, with pockets of non-native monarchs scattered across Europe, Asia and Australia.

Not every monarch researcher agrees with this grim assessment.

University of Georgia ecologist Andy Davis and his colleagues recently analyzed monarch observations from the North American

Butterfly Association’s annual butterfly count, finding no sharp overall downturn. Another group of researchers looking at genetic changes found no evidence that either monarchs or milkweed declined over the past 75 years.

Davis worries that listing them under the Endangered Species Act may prompt more people to breed monarchs in large groups, increasing the risk of spreading deadly parasites that harm the butterfly.

“They haven’t really shown any decline in the summertime,” Davis said. “That is when the monarchs are actually in the United States. That’s not a sign of a species that’s endangered or even threatened.”

The Fish and Wildlife Service took those studies into account, officials said, but determined the best way to assess the health of the population was to look at its overwintering habitat.

“The easiest and most straightforward way to determine the size of the population is naturally to count them when all the butterflies are together,” said Lara Drizd, a biologist at the agency.

“When you’re measuring by trying to survey essentially the entire country,” she added, “there’s a lot of noise in that data.”

In 2022, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, a network that tracks the status of species, determined North America’s monarchs are endangered but decided to upgrade its status to “vulnerable” after being petitioned by Davis.

The Fish and Wildlife Service will be taking feedback on its proposal until March 12 and plans to finalize its decision by the end of 2025. It is unclear what Donald Trump’s inauguration as president in January will mean for the new rule. Under his previous administration, federal scientists found monarchs had dropped in number and warranted protection but that other species should take priority.

Rep. Bruce Westerman (R-Arkansas), who chairs the House Natural Resources Committee, criticized the proposed rule, arguing it shows why the Endangered Species Act needs to be amended to give more power to states.

“Monarchs are a classic example of why ESA reform is necessary, and empowering states and private landowners is the best way to go about reform,” he said in a statement. “In its 50-year run, the ESA has failed to achieve its goals for recovery.”

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Teen pushed Minn. man to kill himself on a live stream

DISCORD FROM A1

teenager who believed coaxing a stranger to kill himself on camera would boost her social status — offers a disturbing case study of what federal prosecutors warn is an emerging threat posed by sadistic groups that target vulnerable people online. And it illustrates the deadly consequences when social media platforms fail to contain that threat.

The Post located the girl, who operated under the screen name “Fmlk,” through an extensive analysis of her digital footprint. Now 18, she spoke on the condition that she be identified only by her Discord screen name, age and region. The Post is not naming her because she was a minor at the time. She said she agreed to talk because she regrets her actions, which she said also included encouraging a teenage girl to kill herself on a live stream in March 2022. Fmlk said she has since left the online group.

“I feel very bad for what I did, even now,” she said during one of several in-person interviews in her home city. “It’s something that happened when I was in a bad space. ... I feel like this thing is going to haunt me for the rest of my life.”

The FBI has said 764 — named for the first three numbers of the Zip code of the town in Texas where its founder lived — and its offshoots have targeted thousands of children in recent years, often persuading them to share nude photos and then extorting them into harming animals or themselves. In a warning last year, the agency said the groups try to get their victims, many of whom have mental health issues, to kill themselves on camera “for their own entertainment or their own sense of fame.” The FBI has said the group meets the definition of a domestic terror organization.

Although Discord prohibits promoting self-harm on its platform, Hervey and others communicated about his suicide plans for more than a week in a chatroom that was created specifically to broadcast his death, The Post found.

Even afterward, the chatroom remained online. Fmlk lured the suicidal teenage girl there four months later so an audience could watch her take her own life, she said. The Post was not able to confirm the second suicide.

Told of The Post’s findings, Hervey’s mother, Florence Hervey, said: “Discord should have been monitoring better. It’s all very sad.”

Florence Hervey provided The Post with messages and data from her son’s Discord account because she said she wanted to raise awareness of the potential dangers on social media for minors and other vulnerable people. The Post, in partnership with the German news magazine Der Spiegel, analyzed that material and other chatroom exchanges to reconstruct the weeks leading up to Hervey’s suicide, which occurred while he was traveling in the Central Asian country of Kyrgyzstan.

Discord, a hub for gamers, is one of the most popular messaging platforms among teens and is growing fast. The platform allows anonymous users to control large swaths of its private meeting rooms, and it largely relies on users to report predatory conduct in those spaces.

“The horrific actions of 764 have no place on Discord or in society,” Discord’s vice president of trust and safety, Jud Hoffman, said in a statement to The Post. “Discord is committed to providing a safe and secure online environment for all users, and we are taking decisive actions to address harmful content on our platform and to find and remove the users who create such content. We are continuously working to improve these measures, and, where appropriate and permitted by law, Discord aims to collaborate with the FBI and law enforcement.”

Hoffman said that, since 2021, Discord has prioritized rooting out predatory groups, aiming to protect privacy while using automated tools that check for abusive conduct. Those tools include machine-learning models that help identify bad actors and mechanisms to detect and track groups like 764, the company said in a statement, adding that it has increased the size of its safety team.

Neither the FBI nor Discord would say how many suicides have been connected to the platform or the group. In addition to Hervey’s self-immolation, The Post confirmed a second 764-related suicide — the 2022 death by gunshot of 29-year-old Daniel P. McCoy of Florida — and spoke to Discord users who said they witnessed three other such suicides on live streams.

“It is difficult to even comprehend such shocking and inhu-



Samuel Hervey’s mother, Florence, stands in her home in International Falls, Minnesota. Until she was approached by Washington Post reporters, she was unaware that Samuel had been pressured into killing himself or that the act was watched live by others online.

mane violence targeted at innocent and vulnerable children,” Matthew G. Olsen, assistant attorney general of the Justice Department’s National Security Division, said last month at a news conference following the sentencing of a 764 member who was accused of operating chatrooms where children were pressured to cut themselves. “But we cannot look away.”

‘Welcome to my suicide chat’

Hervey was alone and desperate, marooned in Kyrgyzstan.

In August 2021, on his way from Minnesota to India, he was waylaid in the former Soviet republic due to coronavirus restrictions. He spent weeks in hostels in Bishkek, the capital, and tried to extend his travel visa as he ran low on money, messages show.

He turned to social media for connection, including in this series of messages he posted on Sept. 6 of that year under the screen name “asunder.”

asunder
09/06/2021

I am very lost.

Should I accept this is the end?

I have no support system

I really think the worst part is not having anyone to talk to



A printed photo of Samuel hangs on Florence’s refrigerator. Samuel self-immolated during a live stream in November 2021.

After turning 18, Hervey, assigned female at birth, began transitioning by taking hormone therapy. He married another university student, Usama Hussain.

During the pandemic, Hervey’s mental health quickly worsened, friends and family said. He dropped out of the university and separated from Hussain, who said Hervey’s mental illness overwhelmed their relationship.

“It got to a point where it was too much to handle for me,” Hussain said. “Sam would refuse to take his meds.”

Increasingly erratic and delusional, Hervey was involuntarily

committed to a state-run psychiatric treatment facility in Minnesota in late 2020 and, according to court records, was diagnosed with schizoaffective disorder, a condition that causes delusions, hallucinations, mania and depression.

Florence Hervey texted him while he was in the hospital. “I will always be available for you my darling,” she wrote.

That would be their last communication. Released in May 2021 with medications to stabilize his condition, Hervey cut off contact with his family.

A few months later, he left for

India on what he considered a pilgrimage to Buddhist temples. He told friends that he was paying for the trip with government stimulus checks he collected during the pandemic.

In Central Asia, his mental health appeared to deteriorate, messages show.

“man, I’m like really f--ing depressed. Like, depressed to the point where it is likely to cause other mental health problems,” he wrote in an Oct. 15 message to an online friend.

He turned to people he had met on the internet for help, asking them to send money, messages show. When those people suggested that he seek help from family members, Hervey responded that his family members had all died in a civil war.

By Oct. 30, Hervey told someone else in a private message that he had made a decision.

“dude I’m gonna kill myself,” he wrote. When the person asked why, Hervey replied: “because it’s the only way to love myself, I guess.”

That same day, Hervey created a chatroom — referred to as a server on Discord — dedicated to his suicide. He named it “anhero tempest.” “An hero” is slang for someone who takes their own life.

asunder
10/30/2021

hello

welcome to my suicide chat

I’m trying to host my own virtual funeral

He began promoting the server in other spaces on the platform, urging other Discord users to join, messages show. Several people told him not to do it.

“I think you shouldn’t kill yourself,” one person wrote. “I’ve been in your shoes before.”

But then, on Nov. 1, 2021, came a note from someone else who seemed eager to establish a connection: “Hello! I’m looking for friends.”

The sender offered few personal details other than a username that contained four letters: Fmlk.

A teen outcast turns to recruiting victims

The 15-year-old who sent the note was not, in fact, looking for a new friend.

Instead, she told The Post, she saw Hervey as potential prey for the sadistic online community of which she was a part — and possibly as someone whose death could help her launch her own splinter group.

She suggested that Hervey talk one-on-one with her in a voice chat on Discord. That’s when the encouragement began, she said.

“You can do this!” she said she told Hervey during that first talk. Fluent in English, she had made her way into the “inner circle” of 764, becoming a kind of recruiter for the group after proving her bona fides for more than a year, she told The Post.

During hours of interviews at a coffee shop and in a restaurant, she was at times nervous but spoke matter-of-factly as she described her entry into the dark online community.

It began in 2019, she said, when, at age 13, she was scouring

How we reported this story

The Washington Post and the German news magazine Der Spiegel examined tens of thousands of messages to identify the individuals involved in these events and to understand their interactions. Post reporters traveled to Eastern Europe and to Minnesota. Samuel Hervey’s mother provided messages from his iPad, which police had sent to her after his death, as well as screenshots and user activity data. The Post and Der Spiegel shared reporting but wrote separate stories, continuing a partnership that produced articles earlier in the year about 764 and Discord.

social media for gory pictures and videos. She joined chatrooms on Discord and Telegram for a group that called itself CVLT, a 764 predecessor whose members posted graphic images of self-harm and child pornography.

At the time, she said, she was trying to belong. She had no friends at her school and felt like an outcast. Classmates called her “weird,” she said. She began skipping her ninth-grade classes and spending her time interacting with the people she was meeting online. “I thought they were edgy,” she said. “I wanted them to like me.”

To impress the group’s members, she said, she used racial slurs in chatrooms and bragged that she had committed crimes.

She said she chose the screen name Fmlk in part because it could be seen as an acronym standing for an expletive followed by the initials of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

In the spring of 2020, she said, she intentionally set fire to dry grass near a rural village in her country and recorded a video of it. She said the fire spread to nearby buildings before it was extinguished. She said that authorities never discovered that she lit it and that she boasted about it online.

She gave The Post a copy of a video showing the fire that she said she started. Efforts to get records about it from local fire departments were unsuccessful.

She struck up an online relationship with someone in the community who went by the online name “Kush,” a slang term for marijuana. Kush kept his real identity closely guarded, but he told her that he was in his mid-20s, she said.

At times, he showered her with attention in group chats. “I love you,” he wrote multiple times in Discord chatrooms, tagging her, according to messages obtained by The Post. “why don’t you love me?” he asked her. In other moments, the messages show, he made graphic or demeaning sexual comments about her in group chats.

“Sometimes he would be nice,” she said. “Other times, he’d be super mean.”

When Kush asked her to send him nude photos, she did, recognizing his prominence in the sadistic online community, she said. She sometimes referred to him as “master,” messages show.

She said Kush was close to Bradley Cadenhead, the Texas resident who at age 15 created the first 764 server on Discord in January 2021.

Discord has said that it became aware of the group that same month and alerted law enforcement authorities. Still, the group continued to grow, and the platform struggled to contain it. Members of the group repeatedly evaded Discord’s enforcement actions, creating new accounts and servers when they were banned by the platform, The Post previously reported.

Cadenhead was arrested in August 2021 after Discord flagged his account to law enforcement for sending child pornography, and he was later sentenced to 80 years in prison.

In Cadenhead’s absence, new leaders emerged, including Kush, the teenager in Eastern Europe said. She said Kush brought her into 764’s inner circle, where a small group decided whom to target. One of her roles, she said, was to recruit girls who would cut themselves on camera, girls the mostly male members referred to as “cut whores.”

She was trawling Discord in November 2021 for girls who could be exploited, she said, when she stumbled upon Hervey and arranged the first voice chat with him. It was immediately obvious to her that Hervey was troubled.

“That guy was definitely suffering from a severe mental disorder,” she recalled. She asked Hervey why he wanted to kill himself. Hervey, she said, replied by talking about aliens, his shape-shifting spouse and a U.S. government conspiracy against him.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Now 18, “Fmlk” said she encouraged two people to kill themselves live online when she was 15.

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

“I kept saying: ‘When are you going to do it?’ ‘What are you waiting for?’ ‘You can do this,’” she told The Post.

A death on Rescue Mountain

Over the following days, with Fmlk’s encouragement, Hervey planned a time and a place to burn himself alive. He would do it on the coming Sunday, he told her, at an ancient pilgrimage site on a mountain just south of Bishkek called Tashtar-Ata, also known as Rescue Mountain.

Hervey worried that Discord would close down his server, on which he had written passages about his suicide plans. Other users had told him that they had reported his account for violating Discord’s rules, he wrote in private messages.

“so I guess this Discord account was reported for violent extremism because I made this server,” he wrote to another Discord user on Nov. 1, 2021.

Discord did not respond to questions from The Post about whether it had received reports about Hervey or his server.

The server remained up, even as Hervey wrote about his plans there and in private messages to other Discord users.

“Today is the second to last day of my life,” he wrote to Fmlk on Nov. 5. “I bought the gasoline today. ... Right now, I kind of feel like it was always meant to end like this.”

In those final days, Hervey at times expressed reservations — but his messages drew limited responses and few offers of help.

“bruh I’m crying and I can’t sleep,” he wrote to one user on Discord the night before the planned suicide.

“I don wanna go away, I don’t want you to go away, I don’t want the story to end,” he wrote to another person that night. “but I understand why it has to.”

By morning, though, Hervey signaled that he would go through with it. He sent Fmlk photos of the plastic bottles he had filled with gasoline. And, as he left his hostel for Rescue Mountain, he sent updates to the group that began assembling in his server.

“I’m on the bus now,” Hervey wrote in the server at 9:44 a.m. on



ERICA DISCHINO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Florence Hervey walks through Riverview Cemetery in Minnesota to visit the grave of her son, Samuel.

Help for those in crisis

If you or someone you know needs help, call the Suicide & Crisis Lifeline at 988. You can also reach a crisis counselor by messaging the Crisis Text Line at 741741. Disaster survivors can also reach out to the Disaster Distress Helpline at 800-985-5990.

Nov. 7.

Hervey’s Discord data shows that at least 29 people were in the chatroom at one point that day. Fmlk told The Post that Kush was among those watching as Hervey prepared to set himself on fire: propping up his phone, sitting on the ground, praying, then dousing himself.

Some were recording the live stream, she said.

A 27-second clip that later circulated online shows Hervey on his back, his body aflame and writhing on the slope of a snow-covered mountain.

“We did it,” one user yelled, as others laughed.

“It’s so funny,” another said.

“That is the worst death possible, man,” someone else said.

After another viewer declared,

“Shoutout to f---ing 764,” the 15-year-old claimed credit for herself.

“Big shoutout to Fmlk,” she cheered. She confirmed to The Post that the voice was hers.

Recognizing the potential for a law enforcement investigation, she said she deleted the private messages she had sent Hervey on Discord from her main account. “I didn’t want to incriminate myself,” she said.

Those messages were no longer visible when Hervey’s mother provided The Post with data from his account. Hoffman, the Discord executive, confirmed in a statement that Fmlk and others who sent messages to Hervey deleted them. Hoffman said the platform does not retain the content of deleted messages.

Kush, meanwhile, openly talked about Fmlk’s role in chatroom messages obtained by The Post.

“Fmlk set it all up & found the dude,” he wrote in a Telegram group chat the day of the suicide.

A person found Hervey’s body at the pilgrimage site that day and reported it to police in Bishkek. Authorities there investigated and ruled it a suicide, an officer

said. A medical autopsy found that Hervey died of “shock as a result of burns; thermal effect of high flame temperature.”

The authorities shipped Hervey’s electronics and other belongings back to his family and told his mother that his phone had been set up as if to record the suicide. Until she was approached by Post reporters, she was unaware that he had been pressured into killing himself or that the act was watched live by others online.

‘Send more suicide videos’

Fmlk said Hervey made her the administrator of the server before he killed himself. That meant that she assumed control of who got access to the server and who could moderate it. It also allowed her to use the chatroom for more predatory behavior.

That opportunity arose in mid-March 2022, when someone told her that a teenage girl was openly talking about ending her life in a Discord server dedicated to suicide and depression. She told The Post that she directly contacted the girl, who she estimated was in her late teens.

“I got her to a different server,

the same server Sam used,” she recounted.

Just as she did with Hervey, Fmlk said she encouraged the girl. About 15 people watched as the girl put a plastic bag over her head and injected helium into it until she stopped breathing, Fmlk told The Post.

On March 20, 2022, she wrote in a Discord server chatroom that a “chick killed herself,” chat logs show. The Post could not identify the person or locate videos of the incident. Hoffman said the platform could not find evidence of the suicide, although Discord said it took action against a separate Fmlk account weeks earlier after finding that it was moderating a server that contained child sexual abuse material, he said.

Fmlk said the suicides drew praise from Kush. He pressed for more in chats on April 18, according to exchanges obtained by The Post.

Kush

04/18/2022

send more suicide videos

Fmlk

04/18/2022

I’ve only done two, sorryyy ill do more soon

lost the fire one, can you send it please?

Online, Fmlk seemed to revel in her reputation.

“People say I make people commit suicide,” she wrote in a Discord server the following month. “Everything they do is their own choice. I only help them pick a choice.”

In November 2022, she said, police in her country confiscated her electronic devices because authorities had identified child pornography sent from one of her social media accounts. She acknowledged to The Post that she had done so, saying the other user had requested it.

She was surprised, she said, that police did not question her about Hervey’s suicide, because the recordings were on a phone

that was seized. The police told her parents to get her a psychological evaluation, she said. She was diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder, depression and anxiety, and started therapy twice a week, she said.

Her parents, who do not speak English, remained unaware that she had joined the online group, she said.

But changes in her real life were helping her extricate herself, she said. She had started the 10th grade at a new school that fall. She made new friends, and she came to see the online groups in a different light.

“I realized those people are scum,” she told The Post. “I realized if I keep doing that, my life was not going to be good.”

She said she deleted the social media accounts associated with the groups.

In retrospect, she said, she believes she was “groomed” by Kush.

“If I wasn’t, I wouldn’t have done those things,” she said.

The Post contacted Kush through his Telegram account. He denied any involvement in encouraging Hervey’s suicide and later sent messages insulting Fmlk and a Post reporter. He did not respond to detailed questions, including about his real-life identity.

Discord told The Post that it banned multiple accounts tied to Kush this year, one of them in April for “targeted extortion.”

Florence Hervey said she wishes there had been a more thorough law enforcement investigation into her son’s suicide. But after learning what happened, she said she feels compassion for the teenager in Eastern Europe.

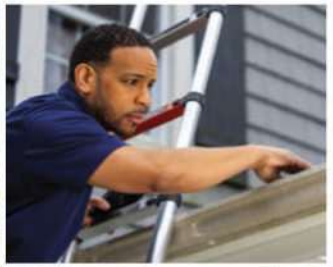
“I feel this person was vulnerable herself in terms of being conditioned to search for belonging by harming someone else,” Hervey said. “And I hope that she’s in a more healthy state of mind right now.”

Two days after The Post sent detailed questions to Discord for this story — and more than three years after Hervey’s suicide — Discord suspended an account the teen had maintained, citing what the company said was “self-harm encouragement,” according to a screenshot she provided.

Alice Crites and Aaron Schaffer contributed to this report.



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China reveals its playbook for dealing with impending Trump trade war

BY KATRINA NORTHROP
AND VIC CHIANG

Donald Trump hasn't yet returned to the White House, and his threatened tariffs on Chinese goods haven't yet been imposed, but Beijing is already revealing its playbook for dealing with the next administration — and it's one that will involve aggressive retaliation.

So far in December — in response to Biden administration actions — Beijing has launched an antitrust investigation into Nvidia, slapped stringent controls on exports of critical minerals, told companies to avoid buying American computer chips, and imposed sanctions on 13 American defense firms.

That suggests Beijing isn't afraid to spook foreign businesses and weaponize its dominance in many high-tech supply chains, experts say, even as it grapples with a weakening economy.

“This begins to form a pattern where China is not just verbally protesting actions by the U.S., but is now kind of proactively retaliating,” said Joe Mazur, a Beijing-based analyst for Trivium China, a research firm.

It's a “clear indication to, especially, the incoming Trump administration” that China will no longer just absorb whatever “economic suppression” the United States is dishing out, Mazur said.

Last week, the Biden administration tightened rules on advanced chip exports to China, expanding its list of technologies that U.S. companies cannot sell to Chinese counterparts.

Although analysts said the rules packed less punch than they could have, Beijing has reacted furiously — and swiftly.

“China's message is very clear,” said Wang Yiwei, an international affairs expert at Beijing's Renmin University. If Trump launches a new trade war, he said, China will target American supply chains. “Any trade war cost will be taken by both markets,” Wang added.

As Trump promises to implement 10 percent tariffs on Chinese goods, Beijing is more prepared than it was during his first administration, analysts say, having spent the past several years developing new tools to push back against Washington.



A quality inspector checks crankshafts in Binzhou, China. Beijing has slapped strict controls on exports to the U.S. on critical minerals.

Beijing's latest move came on Monday night, when Chinese regulators announced an antimonopoly investigation into Nvidia, the U.S. artificial intelligence chip juggernaut. It relates to Nvidia's 2019 acquisition of computer networking company Mellanox Technologies, according to China's State Administration for Market Regulation. Chinese regulators approved the deal in 2020.

Nvidia said the company works hard “to provide the best products we can in every region and honor our commitments everywhere we do business.”

Beijing has also taken a swipe at U.S. electronics supply chains and defense companies. It banned more than a dozen U.S. defense firms and executives last week from doing business with or traveling to China over the latest package of arms sales to Taiwan, worth \$385 million.

Also last week, China's Ministry of Commerce announced it would ban exports to the U.S. of gallium, germanium, antimony and superhard materials — critical minerals used to produce items like semiconductors, fiber optic cables and night vision goggles — citing their military applications.

The China Nonferrous Metals Industry Association, which represents critical mineral producers, criticized the Biden administration for its semiconductor controls and accused Washington of using “national security as an excuse to provoke trade frictions.”

China's efforts to control the sale of these minerals represent a “profound acceleration,” said Gracelin Baskaran, director of the critical minerals security program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. “It's a significant

flex that the U.S. doesn't have much room to counter,” she added, because of China's dominance over the global critical mineral supply.

But the controls still leave Beijing room for escalation if Trump implements his promised tariffs, Baskaran said. Beijing could add other critical minerals to its banned export list in the coming months.

The Trump administration, she said, should act accordingly. “We need to be judicious, we need to be intentional, and we need to be very targeted at building these capabilities knowing that China is willing to flex its muscle on immediate notice,” Baskaran said.

Nvidia is only the latest in a string of U.S. companies caught in the U.S.-China crossfire: Beijing disrupted the battery supply of Skydio, a U.S. drone maker, in October by barring Chinese firms

from supplying the company parts for selling drones to Taiwan.

PVH Corp., the American fashion company that owns the Tommy Hilfiger and Calvin Klein labels, faces a probe in China for allegedly boycotting cotton from Xinjiang, the northwestern region where Beijing is accused of perpetrating human rights abuses and engaging in forced labor.

China also imposed visa restrictions Tuesday on U.S. officials involved in Hong Kong-related sanctions, according to Mao Ning, a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman, although she did not name who was on the list. They were targeted under the 2021 “anti-foreign sanctions law,” aimed at stopping Chinese firms and individuals from complying with foreign sanctions.

Foreign businesses operating in China, especially American ones, are anxiously watching

these moves. The apparently politically motivated scrutiny of their operations, combined with China's slumping economy, has soured sentiment.

The American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai said in a September report that U.S. companies operating in China saw record-low profits in 2023, and less than half of its survey respondents felt optimistic about the five-year business outlook there.

At the same time, international firms are facing increasingly stiff domestic competition in China. A stark illustration emerged last week, when General Motors, the U.S. car giant, announced it would take a \$5 billion hit as Chinese carmakers have surged in popularity in the country.

These challenges are not coming at a good time for the Chinese economy.

Growth is unlikely to hit the government's 5 percent target this year, leading Beijing to unveil several stimulus measures to boost demand. Further measures are expected, perhaps as soon as this week.

Shen Dingli, a Shanghai-based international relations scholar, expressed concern that the escalating retaliatory measures between Beijing and Washington would further burden China's economy.

“These measures not only can hurt your, opponent but also inflict harm to yourself. And the U.S., after all, has a bit more bullets than we do,” Shen said.

“From an economic perspective, exercising greater restraint could reduce damage, slow down the confrontation, and create more time for both sides to engage in negotiations,” he said.

When Chinese leader Xi Jinping met with international economic leaders on Tuesday in Beijing, he seemed intent on portraying China as open for business, while also reserving his country's right to protect its economic interests.

“Tariff wars, trade wars and technology wars are against historical trends and economic principles, and there are no winners,” Xi said, according to state media.

Northrop and Chiang reported from Taipei, Taiwan. Pei-Lin Wu in Taipei contributed to this report.

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ECONOMY & BUSINESS

Differences harden over proposed acquisition of U.S. Steel

As government review nears end, face-to-face talks between Nippon Steel and United Steelworkers fail to sway union on Japanese firm’s \$14.9 billion bid

BY DAVID J. LYNCH
AND JEFF STEIN

Face-to-face talks between Nippon Steel and the United Steelworkers union failed to close the gap over the Japanese company’s proposed acquisition of U.S. Steel, as a government review of the politically charged transaction enters its final days.

In a previously undisclosed meeting in late November, Taka-hiro Mori, Nippon Steel’s vice chairman, made a last-ditch effort to overcome the union’s opposition to the proposed \$14.9 billion acquisition.

The talks with USW President David McCall were the first direct contact between the two men in nearly five months. After concluding a November visit to Washington and Pennsylvania, Mori delayed his scheduled return to Japan to see McCall.

Mori subsequently offered what Nippon Steel described as legally binding commitments in a four-page letter to the union leader, detailing plans to spend “no less than” \$2.7 billion modernizing U.S. Steel’s outdated blast furnaces.

But in a letter to U.S. Steel employees that Nippon Steel released Monday, Mori — who is scheduled to return to the United States from Japan this week — made clear that the two sides remain far apart.

“We had hoped that continued discussions with the USW leadership would result in their support for the transaction,” Mori wrote.

Instead, McCall, who has opposed the deal since it was announced one year ago, dismissed the detailed offer as “unenforceable” and reiterated his opposition.

“We recognize the offer is a good deal for [U.S. Steel] CEO David Burritt and some of his top executive management team and the institutional stockholders,” McCall said in a Dec. 3 video. “However, the union does not think it’s a good deal for workers.”

Union leaders say they believe



JUSTIN MERRIMAN/BLOOMBERG NEWS/GETTY IMAGES

that Nippon Steel plans to eventually shift production from U.S. Steel’s unionized mills in Pennsylvania to its nonunion electric arc furnaces in Arkansas. Mori insists that the company has no such plans and, in fact, is offering those union facilities an investment life-line that U.S. Steel cannot match.

The impasse comes as the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS) prepares to conclude its review of the deal for potential national security concerns. In September, the Treasury-led interagency committee informed Nippon Steel and U.S. Steel that the deal could imperil domestic steel production needed for national security purposes.



ANDREW CABALLERO-REYNOLDS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ABOVE: U.S. Steel coke works in Clairton, Pennsylvania. Union leaders say Nippon Steel could shift some work from unionized sites in Pennsylvania to nonunion ones in Arkansas. LEFT: President Joe Biden, seen with United Steelworkers leader David McCall in April, opposes the bid, as does President-elect Donald Trump.

Most independent analysts are skeptical of that claim, since Japan is a close U.S. ally.

The CFIUS panel is expected to issue its recommendation soon on whether the Biden administration should permit the deal to

proceed.

Mori has said Nippon Steel hopes to complete the transaction by the end of this month. The Japanese company’s plans to invest in specific facilities in U.S. Steel’s Mon Valley Works outside Pittsburgh and Gary Works in Indiana have won support from local union officials who represent their workers.

Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro has been active in talks surrounding the deal, though he has publicly refrained from taking a public position on it. Shapiro, a Democrat, is “focused on protecting and growing Pennsylvania jobs” and plans to “continue to be actively engaged” in discussions, a spokesman said.

Nippon Steel has billed its purchase of U.S. Steel as strengthening U.S. supply chains and creating a powerful competitor to the Chinese steelmakers that dominate global markets. But there is little sign in Washington of political backing.

President Joe Biden vowed earlier this year to block Nippon Steel’s bid for the third-ranked U.S. steelmaker. President-elect Donald Trump on Dec. 3 reiterated his opposition to the deal, promising to rescue U.S. Steel with a mix of tax incentives and tariffs.

Trump’s statement came as a blow to many USW members who work at the mills that Nippon Steel plans to revitalize. During one of his final campaign rallies last month, Trump heard directly from steelworkers who back the deal. When he voiced no criticism of the deal in his subsequent rally remarks, Nippon Steel executives thought he might have rethought his opposition.

They were wrong.

As the CFIUS review nears a conclusion, Nippon Steel continues to insist that the takeover will close.

“We believe that, following a fair and impartial review, we will obtain necessary regulatory approvals,” said the company’s letter to U.S. Steel employees.

Kroger-Albertsons merger blocked by federal judge

BY JACLYN PEISER

A federal judge in Oregon blocked Kroger’s \$24.6 billion acquisition of grocery rival Albertsons on Tuesday, marking the possible end of what would have been the largest supermarket merger in U.S. history.

In issuing a temporary injunction, U.S. District Judge Adrienne Nelson said allowing the two giants to combine would reduce competition, raising the cost of food and other staples for millions of Americans. The chains rank as the nation’s second- and fourth-largest grocers by sales, respectively.

“The Court finds that both qualitative and quantitative evidence shows that defendants engage in substantial head-to-head competition and the proposed merger would remove that competition,” Nelson wrote in her decision. “As a result, the proposed merger is likely to lead to unilateral competitive effects and is presumptively unlawful.”

While Kroger attorney Matt Wolf had said during the trial’s opening arguments that an injunction would effectively end the merger, Nelson said Tuesday her

“order in no way forces them to do so, and leaves open the possibility that they may pursue the merger at a later date should it be deemed lawful in the administrative proceedings.”

The ruling is a decisive win for the Federal Trade Commission, which under the Biden administration has cracked down on megamergers on antitrust grounds. The FTC, joined by eight states and the District of Columbia, argued that allowing the Kroger-Albertsons deal to go forward would give consumers — who have already seen grocery prices surge by 22 percent over four years — even fewer choices.

Kroger owns more than 2,700 stores under 20-plus banners, including Harris Teeter, Ralphs and Fred Meyer. In addition to its namesake locations, Albertsons includes Safeway and Vons among its 2,200 stores in 34 states and the District of Columbia.

Kroger’s stock price was up 5.1 percent by market close, while Albertsons dropped 2.3 percent.

The federal judge’s ruling “protects competition in the grocery market, which will prevent prices from rising even more,” said FTC spokesman Douglas Farrar in a

statement to The Washington Post. “This statement win makes it clear that strong, reality-based antitrust enforcement delivers real results for consumers, workers, and small businesses.”

A judge in Washington state also ruled Tuesday to block the merger on a separate legal challenge from Attorney General Bob Ferguson. At the hearing, King County Superior Court Judge Marshall Ferguson (no relation to the attorney general) said “the evidence convincingly shows that the current competition between Kroger and Albertsons stores is fierce in the State of Washington.”

The judge’s ruling “is an important victory for affordability, worker protections and the rule of law,” said the attorney general. “We went to court to block this illegal merger to protect Washingtonians’ struggling with high grocery prices and the workers whose jobs were at stake.”

There is also a pending decision from a judge in Colorado. It was not immediately clear how the injunctions would affect the Colorado case, but Seattle University law professor John Kirkwood said Tuesday’s decisions can only bolster its case against the merger.

Kroger and Albertsons said in statements they were “disappointed” by the two decisions and that they will evaluate their options.

The judges overlooked “the substantial evidence presented at trial showing that a merger between Kroger and Albertsons would advance the company’s decades-long commitment to lowering prices, respecting collective bargaining agreements, and is in the best interests of customers, associates, and the broader competitive environment in a rapidly evolving grocery landscape,” said the Kroger statement.

‘No guarantee’ of lower prices

When the deal was announced in October 2022, the combined companies presented it as the best way to lower prices and better compete in a rapidly diversifying grocery space dominated by Walmart — by sales and locations — while club stores, dollar stores and value retailers like Aldi and Lidl are rapidly expanding and eating up the \$1 trillion-a-year market.

Albertsons executives warned during the three-week trial in U.S. District Court in Portland that without a merger, they will not be able to lower prices and may be

forced to consider store closures and layoffs. Kroger executives had promised to invest \$1 billion to lower prices.

But the FTC — along with Arizona, California, D.C., Illinois, Maryland, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon and Wyoming — argued that a merger would have a ripple effect felt by customers, employees and suppliers across the country. And it rejected the Kroger pledge to lower prices as not legally binding and hard to enforce.

Nelson agreed, concluding that the plans pitched by Kroger and Albertsons for price investments “are neither merger-specific nor verifiable, so there is no guarantee that they will result from the merger or that they could not be achieved in the absence of the merger.”

The court can give “limited weight to a nonbinding promise made during these proceedings,” she added.

Another point of contention was the companies’ divestiture plan. To appease regulators, they struck a \$2.9 billion deal to sell 579 locations in 18 states and the District to C & S Wholesale Grocers, which supplies independent grocery stores and owns about two dozen supermarkets under the Piggly Wiggly and Grand Union banners. Kroger would sell its Haggan banner to C & S, and C & S

would license the Albertsons banner in California and Wyoming and the Safeway banner in Arizona and Colorado.

Nelson sided with regulators that C & S was ill-equipped to successfully run the stores.

“There is ample evidence that the divestiture is not sufficient in scale to adequately compete with the merged firm and is structured in a way that will significantly disadvantage C & S as a competitor,” she argued. “The deficiencies in the divestiture scope and structure create a risk that some or all of the divested stores will lose sales or close, as has happened in past C & S acquisitions.”

An additional sticking point during the trial was how the FTC defined a supermarket, and by extension which other chains are considered direct competitors. Regulators argued the market for Kroger and Albertsons excludes stores like Aldi, Dollar General, Amazon and its subsidiary Whole Foods and Costco, which was the number three grocery seller last year. (Amazon founder Jeff Bezos owns The Washington Post.)

“The grocery market is far more diverse, far more competitive ... than the grocery market described by the FTC,” said Scott Moses, the head of grocery, pharmacy and restaurant investment banking at Solomon Partners.

DIGEST

STOCK MARKET

Indexes dip; 2nd loss in a row hits S&P 500

U.S. stock indexes drifted lower Tuesday in the run-up to the highlight of the week for the market, the latest update on inflation that’s coming on Wednesday.

The S&P 500 dipped 0.3 percent, a day after pulling back from its latest all-time high. That led to first back-to-back losses for the index in nearly a month, as momentum slows following a big rally that has it on track for one of its best years of the millennium.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average fell 154 points, or 0.3 percent, and the Nasdaq composite slipped 0.3 percent.

Tech titan Oracle dragged on the market and sank 6.7 percent after reporting growth for the

latest quarter that fell just short of analysts’ expectations. It was one of the heaviest weights on the S&P 500, even though CEO Safra Catz said the company saw record demand related to artificial-intelligence technology for its cloud infrastructure business, which trains generative AI models.

— Associated Press

DRUGSTORES

Walgreens in talks to be taken private

Walgreens Boots Alliance is in talks to sell itself to private equity firm Sycamore Partners, according to a person familiar with the matter, the latest attempt by the pharmacy chain operator to go private after a sharp slump in share value.

Walgreens has been working with its advisers over the past

few weeks and had also reached out to other potential buyers but is currently in talks with only Sycamore, the source said.

Walgreens and Sycamore declined to comment.

It could be Sycamore’s biggest deal if the talks are successful, with Walgreens’ market capitalization having reached \$9 billion following Tuesday’s rally.

Shares of the second-largest U.S. pharmacy chain operator were up nearly 23 percent in afternoon trading following the news.

As of Monday, its stock this year had fallen more than 60 percent.

Leerink analyst Michael Cherny said he was not surprised with the reported talks, as Walgreens has explored a number of different avenues “in what has been a steadily eroding earnings story.”

— Reuters

AIR TRAVEL

Alaska Airlines will fly to Tokyo and Seoul

Alaska Airlines said Tuesday it will start service to Tokyo and Seoul next year as part of a plan to boost international flights over the next several years.

Alaska announced the routes Tuesday as it raised its fourth quarter outlook and publicized a plan to boost profit by \$1 billion over three years.

The airline also announced a plan to spend \$1 billion buying back its own stock, which makes investors’ existing shares more valuable.

The airline said Tuesday that it will begin flying between Seattle and Tokyo’s Narita International Airport in May, and add service between Seattle and Seoul in October.

The airline said it expects to

earn 40 to 50 cents per share in the fourth quarter, up from an earlier forecast of 20 to 40 cents per share, because of stronger-than-expected bookings in November and December. That outlook followed similar upgrades last week by Southwest Airlines and American Airlines, which reported strong demand for leisure travel.

— Associated Press

ALSO IN BUSINESS

Morgan Stanley Smith Barney will pay a \$15 million penalty as part of a settlement with the Securities and Exchange Commission related to four financial advisers who stole millions of dollars of advisory clients’ and brokerage customers’ funds. The settlement announced late Monday is also related to the firm’s failure to adopt policies

and procedures designed to prevent and detect such theft. The SEC order said the financial advisers made hundreds of unauthorized transfers from customers’ or clients’ accounts to themselves or for their own benefit.

The U.S. Commerce Department said Tuesday it has finalized a nearly \$6.2 billion government subsidy for Micron Technology for semiconductor production in New York and Idaho. The funding will support Micron’s long-term plan to invest approximately \$100 billion in New York and \$25 billion in Idaho. Separately, the department has reached a preliminary agreement to award Micron up to \$275 million in proposed funding to expand and modernize its facility in Manassas, Virginia.

— From news services

Supreme Court appears likely to narrow environmental reviews of projects

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL
AND MAXINE JOSELOW

The Supreme Court appeared likely Tuesday to somewhat narrow the scope of environmental reviews required for major infrastructure projects nationwide as it weighed the construction of a Utah rail line that would carry billions of gallons of oil.

The justices heard oral arguments over the controversial stretch of track that would connect the remote Uinta Basin in northeastern Utah to national rail lines, allowing more waxy crude from one of the nation's largest oil fields to be transported to refineries on the Gulf Coast.

On its surface, the case is about the 88-mile rail line, but it has also become a proxy battle over how far federal agencies should go in assessing the environmental impact of highways, pipelines and other projects before deciding whether to approve them.

Seven counties in the basin, a Native American tribe and oil interests say the project would boost the local economy, which has been hampered by mountainous terrain and a lack of transport into the sprawling, Maryland-sized basin.

Paul Clement, an attorney for the groups, urged the justices to adopt a narrow reading of what impacts agencies must consider under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), the landmark law that has set the standard for environmental reviews for half a century.

He said an agency should only have to consider effects close in time and proximity to a project and those that fall within its regulatory purview. He pointed out that the federal review of the rail line project was 3,600 pages and called for 91 mitigating measures.

“It is designed to inform gov-



A train transports freight on a common carrier line near Price, Utah, last year. The Supreme Court is weighing arguments over a rail project that would transport crude oil out of northeastern Utah.

ernment decision-making, not paralyze it,” Clement said of NEPA. “Nonetheless, it has become the single most litigated environmental statute.”

But five environmental groups and the county that is home to Vail, Colorado, argue that NEPA calls for a more holistic review, saying the rail project could have devastating impacts on local habitats, could lead to oil spills in the Colorado River and would quintuple oil production, worsening climate change and pollution near refineries in the South.

“The impacts at issue here are reasonably foreseeable consequences of this \$2.7 billion railway project whose entire rationale is to transport crude oil,” said William M. Jay, an attorney for the environmental groups and

Eagle County, Colorado. “Reasonable foreseeability is the test ... that has been in NEPA since the beginning.”

The federal Surface Transportation Board approved the rail project in 2021, finding the benefits of the line would outweigh the negative impacts. But the five environmental groups and Eagle County appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit.

The appeals court sided with the environmentalists and Eagle County, finding the board had failed to fully examine the up- and downstream impacts of the rail line project from the Utah basin to the Gulf Coast as required by NEPA.

The Supreme Court appeared inclined to overturn the lower court ruling Tuesday, but the jus-

tices sharply questioned both sides, indicating that they might be grasping for a standard that falls between the positions of each.

“You want absolute rules that make no sense,” Justice Sonia Sotomayor told Clement at one point.

Justice Elena Kagan told Jay during another exchange that what he envisioned NEPA calling for “seems to go beyond what I thought the statute was all about.”

The case comes as President Joe Biden and President-elect Donald Trump have outlined starkly different visions for NEPA. The Biden administration has moved to compel agencies to consider how projects could worsen climate change and increase pollution in disadvantaged

“The impacts at issue here are reasonably foreseeable consequences of this \$2.7 billion railway project whose entire rationale is to transport crude oil.”

William M. Jay, attorney for groups opposing the Utah rail project

communities. In April, Biden signed an executive order streamlining the NEPA process.

Trump used his first term to make sweeping changes to the environmental law that he said would make it easier to build new projects, and he is expected to restore those changes in a second term.

Trump posted Tuesday on Truth Social that anyone who invests \$1 billion in the United States will receive “fully expedited approvals and permits, including, but in no way limited to, all Environmental approvals.”

Trump would probably not be able to green-light projects that fall under the scope of NEPA in such a way without changes to the law.

Justice Neil M. Gorsuch announced last week that he would recuse himself from the case. A letter he submitted to the court did not explain his rationale, and he did not respond to a request for comment, but Democratic lawmakers and court watchdogs had pushed for the move.

They argued that Gorsuch had a conflict of interest in the case because he had been a corporate attorney for Denver billionaire Philip F. Anschutz and his constellation of companies. Anschutz's empire includes an oil and gas exploration company that has interests in the Uinta Basin.

In addition, Anschutz pushed for Gorsuch's nomination to the

10th Circuit Court of Appeals before he was elevated to the Supreme Court. Anschutz also submitted a friend-of-the-court brief in the current case backing more limited environmental reviews, and he has hosted Gorsuch at his 47,000-acre ranch.

Accountable US, a watchdog group, was the first to raise the issue of Gorsuch's ties to Anschutz.

“The stakes in this case are huge — weakening NEPA would put communities and the environment at risk,” said Caroline Ciccone, president of Accountable US. “This is why we need real, enforceable ethics rules to make sure the Supreme Court puts fairness and trust above billionaires and special interests.”

The Supreme Court's conservative majority has been highly skeptical of government regulation in recent terms, particularly on the environmental front. The court has curtailed the authority of the Environmental Protection Agency to regulate the nation's wetlands, greenhouse gases from power plants and air pollution that drifts across state lines.

In June, the high court also struck down a 40-year-old precedent that was a cornerstone of regulatory authority. It required courts to give significant latitude to how agencies implement laws in areas where Congress has not given clear guidance.

A decision in the current case is expected by this summer.

Agency sees ‘human error’ in economic-data gaffes behind Trump attacks

BY LAUREN KAORI GURLEY

Top officials from the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced a flurry of changes Tuesday following an investigation into problems with the release of crucial economics data earlier this year, one of which sparked accusations of data manipulation for political gain by President-elect Donald Trump.

The agency has deployed new training protocols in customer service and security, instituted new responsibilities for managers and supervisors and limited third-party contractors' access to key data, according to a report released Tuesday. The bureau also committed to other changes based on dozens of recommendations from a team of experts.

“Our efforts to provide accurate and unbiased economic statistics are undermined if we fail to provide timely and equitable

access to our data,” BLS Commissioner Erika McEntarfer told reporters Tuesday, saying that the agency had “already begun the work of turning the team's recommendations into a road map to recommit our agency to data security and equitable access to data.”

The report highlighted immediate, medium- and long-term priorities for the agency, which includes breaking down communication silos within the agency, restyling staff trainings to better ensure consistency in customer service, updating and improving software testing, and expanding staffing. Experts noted that staffing and technological updates have been hindered by “a multi-year lack of funding.”

The string of mistakes — which occurred in February, May and August — appeared to run counter to the nonpartisan statistical agency's long-standing policies

intended to prevent individual stakeholders, particularly financial traders, from gaining an edge, ensuring that information is made widely accessible to the public at the same time.

McEntarfer said that the mistakes were unusual, the first in roughly a decade, and she called them “isolated events” that “revealed vulnerabilities in our data dissemination and customer service practices.” The agency previously determined “human error” to be the cause of two of the mistakes and “a technology update glitch” to have triggered the other.

The most recent mistake involved job revisions for 2023 and early 2024 that carried implications for the economy and the presidential election. Those appeared on a government website about a half-hour after their scheduled released time. Despite the delay, a handful of financial

firms were able to obtain the information, showing the largest downward revision to annual job creation in 15 years, before it was posted publicly.

Wall Street analysts reacted with fury to the gaffe. A hitch related to time-stamping prevented the job revisions data from being released on time, according to the Labor Department, which the BLS is part of. Outside parties then got the data because of a lack of communication within the agency over how to respond to public inquiries, the agency said.

McEntarfer said Tuesday that it was hard to determine whether individuals had traded based on data released in error before it was made public, noting that she did not detect “unusual movements” in Treasury markets on the day that inflation data had been released early.

In May, the BLS unintentional-

ly posted crucial inflation data online some 30 minutes before its scheduled release.

In a separate incident in February, a Labor Department employee sent out information on housing inflation, one of the most closely watched indicators among market players and economists, to a group addressed as “super users,” including Wall Street analysts.

But McEntarfer said no super user group exists; the problem was limited to one analyst.

The jobs data is important because it's used to determine the strength of the economy and labor market. Recent jobs data revisions have been used as political ammunition by Republicans. On the same day in August when the BLS released data late, Trump, then the Republican presidential nominee, claimed without evidence that the agency was “manipulating job statistics”

to help Vice President Kamala Harris's presidential campaign — an accusation he made on the campaign trail in the weeks that followed.

Separately, in October, Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Florida) claimed that a robust jobs report was “fake” as President Joe Biden heralded the latest positive economic news for his administration. At the time, Rubio wrote on X that “all the fake numbers in the world aren't going to fool people dealing with the Biden-Harris economic disaster every day.”

Attacks on the agency could have serious consequences, economists say, especially if policymakers don't trust the data. Plus, lack of trust could lead to fewer businesses and households responding to the surveys at a time when response rates are already in decline. That could mean less-accurate data.

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WEDNESDAY OPINION

CATHERINE RAMPPELL

The GOP’s top priority for 2025: Repeal the laws of arithmetic

What will Republicans prioritize when they regain their government trifecta next month? A tax overhaul? Energy production? Border security? Nope. The GOP’s first order of business: getting rid of math.

The fractious Republican Party can agree on few things these days. But one of them is near-unanimous frustration with the pesky laws of arithmetic. That cutting future taxes would reduce future tax revenue, for instance, perpetually ag-grieves them.

A large chunk of the 2017 Trump tax cuts expires next year, and extending these provisions will be extremely expensive. (That’s why Republicans scheduled them to sunset in the first place: to lower the price tag.) The Congressional Budget Office, the legislature’s official scorekeeper, estimates a full extension would add more than \$4 trillion to the federal debt over the next decade.

That’s true even *after* considering any potential growth effects on the U.S. economy. It might also understate the full cost of GOP tax plans, since it doesn’t include Donald Trump’s other pricey prom-ises: slashing corporate taxes; eliminating taxes on Social Security, overtime and tips. Those would add trillions more in red ink — awkward for a party that fancies itself fiscally responsible.

Republicans’ solution: invent a New Math, Cold-War-style.

Incoming Senate Finance Committee Chair Mike Crapo (R-Idaho) says that since tax rates are currently low, extending these expiring rates another decade shouldn’t count as costing any-thing because it wouldn’t “feel” like a change. Crapo’s tax-writing counterpart in the House, Jason T. Smith (R-Missouri), agrees.

This is like saying even though your car lease is up this month, leasing another car should count as free because you got used to having a car. Alas, that is not how budgets work.

Elsewhere, Crapo has said that Republicans haven’t paid for similar tax cuts before, so they sure as heck shouldn’t start now. Indeed, he opposed an earlier, fiscally responsible bipartisan deal to ex-pand the child tax credit and certain business breaks *because* it was paid for.

Republicans are trying to justify extending pricey tax cuts enacted during Trump’s first term.

The CBO’s current budget-scoring methods don’t support Crapo’s fiscal fantasies. But not to worry: House Republican leadership has also been scrounging around for dirt on the CBO, in an apparent attempt to preemptively discredit their referees.

This is hardly the only recent case of GOP ledgermath.

On “Meet the Press” last Sunday, Trump com-plain-ed that the United States is allegedly “subsidiz-ing Canada to the tune over \$100 billion a year,” and “subsidizing Mexico for almost \$300 billion.” He ap-peared to be referring to the size of our bilateral trade deficits with these countries.

Some problems with that: First, paying compa-nies abroad for the products they sell you is not a “subsidy,” in the same way that paying your local supermarket for its bananas is not a “subsidy.” It’s a transaction. Does Trump expect Mexico to just give us avocados, free?

Second is a subtler, more sinister issue: the specific numbers Trump used.

Trump’s figures do not match the official statistics put out by the U.S. Census Bureau or the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative — they are much larger. This is probably because Trump and his MAGA allies have joined forces with some protectionist progressives in trying to change how trade figures are calculated to exaggerate the size of trade deficits. (The short explanation is: They want to stop counting goods that are first imported and then reexported as exports, without making a symmetric change for imports.) This change might sound small and technical but it would massively distort how we measure and understand economic changes — and is symptomatic of Trump’s habit of torturing the data until it confesses.

Trump’s trade guru, Peter Navarro, tried to bully career statisticians into changing how they mea-sured deficits during Trump’s first term, but they resisted. Navarro is coming back for the second term.

So is Russell Vought, serving again as director of Trump’s Office of Management and Budget. An architect of Project 2025, Vought says he will force federal agencies entrusted with producing reliable, nonpartisan, independent statistics to bow to the president’s will.

“You can apply the concept of destroying inde-pendence at every agency,” Vought told Tucker Carlson last month. “I even saw it in aspects of OMB with regard to who gets to make the decisions on statistics. There are little pockets of indepen-dence that have to be, just we got to remove those.”

Indeed, Trump was frequently aggravated by his lack of control over official metrics last time around. He hated that anyone measured the spread of covid-19 (“If we stop testing right now, we’d have very few cases, if any,” he proclaimed in June 2020.) He blew up an agricultural statistical agency that evaluated his trade wars’ impact on farmers. He tried to redefine “poverty” so that fewer people would count as poor under his watch. Likewise for pollution deaths.

These are but a few examples of Trump’s prior book-cooking efforts. They hint at what the president-elect, emboldened by a subservient GOP and friendlier courts, is more likely to succeed at this time: taking away the objective numbers that businesses rely on to make decisions, and that voters need to hold their elected officials accountable.



CARL COURT/GETTY IMAGES

Kim Leadbeater, a British lawmaker who proposed a landmark bill on assisted dying, hugs a supporter in London last month.

SHADI HAMID

Is there a right to die? Don’t look to liberals for an answer.

I have been thinking a lot about death lately. Not in a morbid way, but in the way that death — and how we approach it — tells us something essential about who we are as a society.

Is there a right to die? Does the government have a responsibility to provide — and even affirm — such a right? On Nov. 29, British lawmakers voted to legalize assisted dying in cases of terminal illness after an emotional five-hour parliamentary debate. Proponents couched the bill as a victory for individual autonomy and the expansion of fundamental liberties.

Britain is a relative latecomer to assisted dying among both anglophone and European nations. But the record — and the growing evidence of a slippery slope — do not inspire much confidence about liberalism’s capacity to maintain meaningful limits on individual choice, even when those choices involve ending human life.

The Netherlands, which pioneered this path in 2001, has offered a preview of where other liberal democracies are heading. What began as a narrow program for those with terminal illness has evolved into something far broader. Today, Dutch doctors perform euthanasia for psychiatric conditions, dementia and even “completed life” — a term for elderly people who simply feel they’ve lived long enough. Too often, the desire to extend and expand the scope of euthanasia doesn’t seem to be based on any coherent moral framework. Rather, the assump-tion is that more individual autonomy is au-tomatically better, but there’s little interest in exploring the first principles behind this claim: *Why* is the expansion of individual autonomy necessarily always good?

But it’s not just the Netherlands. Belgium allows euthanasia for minors. Switzerland has become a destination for “suicide tourism.” Germany’s constitutional court has declared a fundamental right to “self-determined death.” And Canada, perhaps most strikingly, has helped about 45,000 of its citizens end their lives, in a Medical Assistance in Dying (MAID) program characterized by a gradual loosening of standards and public indifference. According to the government’s own 2022 annual report,

each of the previous three years brought a roughly 30 percent increase in such deaths.

I’ve spent years writing about how liberals struggle with questions of meaning, religion and human flourishing. We’re great at maximiz-ing individual autonomy but terrible at explain-ing why some choices should remain off-limits.

But across the Western world, we see what happens when the logic of ever-expanding choice is taken to its natural conclusion. In Canada, MAID started as a program for the terminally ill but expanded to include anyone with a “grievous and irremediable medical condition” with symptoms “that cannot be relieved under conditions that they consider acceptable.” Needless to say, these criteria are vague and, by design, almost entirely subjective.

In a number of cases, Canadians who have struggled to secure adequate housing or medi-cal care have applied for MAID as an alternative. If this sounds dystopian, that’s probably be-cause it is.

A society that makes it easier to die than to find an apartment in Toronto’s notoriously tight housing market has lost something fundamen-tal about what it means to be a society at all. One person put it this way, “I don’t want to die but I don’t want to be homeless more than I don’t want to die.” Despite receiving considerable media attention, these cautionary tales do not appear to have soured the public. In one survey, 51 percent of Canadians endorsed “inability to receive medical treatment” as sufficient enough reason for an assisted death.

What makes this particularly troubling for me, as someone who still believes in liberal democracy’s core promise, is watching how a noble commitment to personal autonomy has morphed into something almost unrecogniz-able. We’ve stripped away many of the cultural and religious frameworks that traditionally gave meaning to questions of life and death. In their place, we’ve installed a cold calculation of personal preference and consent.

The contrast with the United States, where assisted suicide is legal in only 11 jurisdictions — nearly all of them solidly blue — is revealing. I was talking with a conservative friend recently about why America has been more resistant to this kind of program. It’s not just our height-

ened polarization and dysfunctional politics that make it difficult for Americans to agree on controversial cultural questions (though they help). It’s that we still have what the philosopher Charles Taylor would call “thick” religious and cultural commitments — and a greater distrust of bureaucratic machinery — that temper any drift toward an overly permissive euthanasia regime. But even here, the number of assisted deaths in California has ticked up significantly under its suggestively named End of Life Option Act, with a 63 percent increase in 2022.

Liberalism’s greatest weakness isn’t external threats but its own internal contradictions, which have grown more apparent with time. A political philosophy built around individual autonomy eventually runs into questions it can’t answer. Why should we preserve life if someone doesn’t want to live? Should the state have the right to facilitate the death of its own citizens? These aren’t just abstract philosophical puzzles — they’re questions that real bureau-crats are answering every day in countries such as Canada, the Netherlands, Belgium and now Britain.

To be clear, a people and a nation don’t need to be against assisted dying in all cases (al-though I am for religious reasons). But Western liberal democracies, in their current form, lack the philosophical resources to ensure mean-ing-ful boundaries around such practices. This is why I keep coming back to religion in my work. Not because I think we can or should return to some sort of religion-infused governance, but because religious traditions offer something liberalism desperately needs: freedom tem-pered by constraint. Sometimes, we really do need limits. It is little accident that Americans who attend church weekly are 33 percentage points less likely to support physician-assisted suicide than those who rarely or never attend.

The stakes here go far beyond any individual country. Unless we can recover a richer under-standing of human flourishing, one that goes beyond mere choice, the machinery of assisted death will continue to expand. As a general matter, change is good. But too much change can create disasters as unanticipated as they are unintended. Some slopes really are slippery, and we’re sliding faster than we think.

JASON REZAIAN

Spare no effort to bring Austin Tice home

It wasn’t the teetering regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria that inspired Austin Tice’s parents to come to Washington. Instead, they had recently received new information about their son’s condition and whereabouts from contacts within the U.S. government. And they came to town to make a case to high-ranking Biden administration offi-cials to do more to secure his freedom.

On Friday, Marc and Debra Tice, accompanied by Austin’s six siblings, met with national security adviser Jake Sullivan at the White House and Secretary of State Antony Blinken at the State Department, asking the administration to follow through on promises made by President Joe Biden. They left those meetings frustrated by the lack of initiative.

Austin Tice, a freelance journalist and Marine Corps veteran who was covering the Syrian civil war for American news organizations including CBS News, McClatchy and The Post, was abducted in 2012. At this point, he is by far the longest-detained American hostage. Although the last publicly avail-able images of Tice were taken soon after his capture, there has been a regular stream of informa-tion about him since that fateful day. Debra Tice’s dogged determination has sent her to Syria multiple times to seek her son’s freedom.

By Sunday, with the fall of Assad, the Tices’ trip to Washington took on a new significance. “We believe he’s alive,” Biden said at a news conference. “We think we can get him back, but we have no direct



EVERLYN HOCKSTEIN/REUTERS

Debra Tice, mother of journalist Austin Tice, who disappeared while reporting in Syria in 2012, at a news conference in Washington on May 2, 2023.

evidence to that yet, and Assad should be held accountable.”

The images of Syrian political prisoners walking out into the sunlight after decades of having been disappeared suggests Austin Tice is very much alive. Although Biden said he doesn’t know Tice’s location, I spoke to a senior official on Sunday who is already in the region and has been communicating with Syrian rebels, former members of the Assad regime, our own military and intelligence officers and those of region-al allies. There is an active manhunt afoot. The effort was described to me as “all hands on deck.”

This all strikes very close to home for me. In August 2012, when Tice was abducted, I had been working for The Post in Tehran for just a couple of months. We filed our stories to the same editors in Washington.

Tice’s detention hung over our section. His where-abouts and condition were a regular part of my discussions with our shared editor.

Two years later, my wife and I were detained by Iranian authorities. I spent nearly a year and a half in prison. I was released, and she and I were reunited. We had the opportunity to reclaim our lives. I returned to work at this newspaper. We bought a home. I wrote a book. We had a child who is 4 years old now. As I met Tice’s siblings and nieces and nephews — only one of whom he has ever met — I felt the full weight of all that has been taken away from him.

There is still no happy ending to this incredibly dramatic story. But now is the moment to push as hard as possible to end this family’s ordeal. No effort should be spared in bringing him home safely. The Biden administration’s efforts are being led by the same people who won my release in 2016. There are people in Syria who know where Tice is.

The U.S. government routinely says that the safety and liberty of American citizens are its greatest priority. With Assad in power, successive adminis-trations were unwilling to fully engage to get Austin Tice out. But with Assad gone, our government has a new opportunity to prove it is as good as its word.

OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Birthright citizenship is a part of America’s heritage

PRESIDENT-ELECT Donald Trump apparently believes that a single person — himself — can exercise discretion over the rights of people born in the United States.

The 14th Amendment declares that “all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States.” In a weekend interview with NBC News’s “Meet the Press,” however, Mr. Trump

EDITORIAL treated the clause as changeable “if we can, through executive action.” Doing so, he said, would make it easier for the government to remove families of immigrants living in the United States illegally that include children who were born here and are therefore citizens. Mr. Trump conceded, in a nod to that pesky constitutional text, that “we’ll maybe have to go back to the people.” But he has taken verbal aim at birthright citizenship many times before. And so before he takes the country any further down this path, it’s worth remembering why birthright citizenship is not “ridiculous,” as Mr. Trump claimed, but a defining aspect of this country’s special national character.

Post columnist Michael Gerson said it best when he wrote in 2018: “Any political movement that regards the plain meaning of the 14th Amendment as an obstacle to its political intentions has earned a great deal of suspicion.” Ratified in 1868 to solidify the political transformations for which hundreds of thousands of Union soldiers had given their lives, the

amendment refuted the belief that a person’s race or ethnicity should determine citizenship. Its authors intended to undo the Supreme Court’s shameful *Dred Scott* decision, which held that no person of African ancestry could ever claim U.S. citizenship. It offers a clear, simple standard for determining who is an American, by which the color of one’s skin and their ancestry are irrelevant.

Critics of birthright citizenship often contend that the phrase “subject to the jurisdiction thereof” offers wiggle room for the president to determine who deserves the 14th Amendment’s protections. Not so. All people living in the United States — even those here illegally — are “subject to” U.S. law. Moreover, historians widely agree that the phrase was intended to exempt two groups of people from birthright citizenship: children of foreign diplomats and members of Native American tribes that maintained sovereign status under treaties with the U.S. government. (Native Americans acquired birthright citizenship by statute in 1924.)

Authors of the 14th Amendment were aware of anti-immigrant sentiments and supported it regardless. Sen. John Conness of California, when presented with concerns that children of Chinese migrants would be granted citizenship under the amendment, made his position clear: “We are entirely ready to accept the provision proposed in this constitutional amendment, that the children born here of Mongolian parents shall be declared by the Constitution of

the United States to be entitled to civil rights and to equal protection before the law with others.”

A triumph over racism and xenophobia, the 14th Amendment also marked the beginning of a global movement to embrace birthright citizenship, rather than determining citizenship by ethnicity or national origin. Despite Mr. Trump’s repeated assertions that

‘Any political movement that regards the plain meaning of the 14th Amendment as an obstacle to its political intentions has earned a great deal of suspicion.’

the United States is the “only” country with birthright citizenship, dozens of nations have followed America’s example, including almost all countries in the Western Hemisphere, limiting the number of “stateless” people around the world without constitutional rights.

This is the history Mr. Trump seeks to undo via executive fiat. Doing so might please anti-immigrant groups that have long argued that birthright citizen-

ship creates a perverse incentive for immigrants or visitors to have children in the United States (what they disparage as “anchor babies” or “birth tourism”). It’s true that some people have exploited the law, but having citizen children does not protect undocumented immigrant parents from deportation. Children cannot sponsor their parents until they are 21, and they must be able to support them financially. Concerns about these rare instances do not justify throwing out birthright citizenship.

Mr. Trump is correct that removing immigrants with deportation orders often results in years-long legal battles. But the solution is not to revoke rights that Congress expressly extended more than a century ago; it is to reform the country’s immigration system and provide needed resources — more immigration judges to process claims, more money and staff for immigration enforcement agencies, more detention space, more airplanes to facilitate deportations.

Mr. Trump has signaled some openness to working with Democrats in Congress to provide such resources, but threatening the cornerstone of American citizenship law does not promote good-faith negotiations. Fortunately, any attempt to end or limit birthright citizenship would probably fail in court. By harping on the idea anyway, Mr. Trump might please his base and scare some first-generation Americans, but he also reveals a misunderstanding of the nation’s history — and what makes it great.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Six veterans on Mr. Hegseth and Mr. Trump’s emerging military policy

As a former U.S. Army officer, I know I am not alone in feeling concerned about the path President-elect Donald Trump is taking with respect to the branches of the military we veterans served in.

Pete Hegseth is unsuited for command of the Defense Department. He has plans to fire those serving as generals or in the flag ranks whom he deems “woke,” and an outside group has assembled a list of specific targets. As The Post reported, it was several soldiers who served with Mr. Hegseth who flagged him as possibly unfit to work at President Joe Biden’s inauguration. A Defense Department under Mr. Hegseth would be dysfunctional. He lamented the fact that “we bend over backwards as Americans to provide for the welfare of these radical Islamic terrorists” detained at Guantánamo Bay.

I also detest the fact that Mr. Trump is thinking about ways to go after officers he believes are responsible for the botched withdrawal from Afghanistan, exploring whether they could be court-martialed on charges including treason. While the U.S. withdrawal did indeed leave much to be desired, one must ask what an ideal departure from the country would have looked like. A group of people sitting in a secure room in D.C. might monitor combat in a theater of operations halfway around the world, but the decision to commit troops to combat or to remove them is not made by people who are in uniform, much less under arms. That decision is made by the civilian leadership of our government.

In this case, the decision to leave Afghanistan was made by Mr. Trump.

I am afraid that Mr. Trump and Mr. Hegseth would attempt to punish military officers for a botched mission that was doomed to fail because it was impossible to begin with. That would be dangerous. Instead, we need more honest conversations about the nature of what happened in Afghanistan and more officers like H.R. McMaster, who, before he rose to the rank of lieutenant general and served as Mr. Trump’s national security adviser, wrote the best-selling book “Dereliction of Duty.” Mr. McMaster held senior military officers of the generation before ours responsible for not persuading the political leadership at the White House, Congress, and the Defense and State departments that the war in Vietnam was never winnable.

The withdrawal from Afghanistan was no more of a surprise to me and a number of other former soldiers than the failure to prevail in Vietnam was to those who came before us. The after-action reports that were written about Kabul will be studied, and as time passes there will be a diminishing amount of reflection on what happened, especially if punishment obscures who is really responsible.

We can do better. We must.

Roland Nicholson Jr., Towson, Maryland
The writer is a retired U.S. Army officer.

Like most of us who served, Pete Hegseth showed dedication, competence and ability, which is exactly what we need after all this woke nonsense. Mr. Hegseth has a size 12 boot to kick out all of the incompetent fools who have infested our government and military.

Lewis Brackett, San Diego
The writer is a veteran of the U.S. Coast Guard.

Pete Hegseth might be qualified for many Cabinet roles, but defense secretary is not one of them. The defense secretary, along with the president, is part of the National Command Authority. The NCA is responsible for all decisions involving the utilization of nuclear weapons. Clearly, both members of the NCA must be sober and available at all times.

Grant Gary Jacobsen, Woodbridge
The writer is a retired U.S. Marine Corps colonel.

DRAWING BOARD



The standard “good order and discipline” is a fundamental military imperative that governs an individual’s behavior while serving. Army Regulation 670-1 includes a prohibition against extremist tattoos (more explicitly defined in the regulation) on the grounds that they “are prejudicial to good order and discipline.” Soldiers with banned tattoos can be subject to punitive action, including removal from military service.

President-elect Donald Trump’s intended nominee for defense secretary, Pete Hegseth, served as a commissioned officer in the National Guard, for which he has been lauded. He was decorated with two Bronze Star Medals during his active-duty service and rose to the rank of major.

Mr. Hegseth also has several tattoos. One is a Jerusalem cross. Another is the words “Deus Vult,” a Latin phrase meaning “God wills it.” As The Post has reported, when a number of military personnel saw a photo with Mr. Hegseth’s tattoos, they reported him to the Antiterrorism and Force Protection Team of the D.C. National Guard. Mr. Hegseth had been placed on active duty with the National Guard to provide security during President Joe Biden’s inauguration. But after researching the matter and applying the Army regulation, the AFPT informed Maj. Gen. William Walker of the D.C. National Guard that the phrase is associated with white supremacist groups. Mr. Hegseth was told he was

not needed for inauguration duty.

Mr. Hegseth’s response to this reporting is revealing. In a recent podcast, he proudly showed part of the Jerusalem cross and said it was “just a Christian symbol.” He has characterized the response to his tattoos as “anti-Christian bigotry.” But the written record suggests that it was the “Deus Vult” tattoo that prompted at least one superior officer to lose confidence in Mr. Hegseth.

As a former Marine Corps officer, I believe Mr. Hegseth fails to understand and appreciate the standards of “good order and discipline” such as those explicitly defined by the Army. For the good of the military, Mr. Hegseth should not be defense secretary. Our military personnel deserve much better.

James Haugen, Livermore, California
The writer is a former U.S. Marine Corps officer.

A serious Navy secretary

John Phelan, President-elect Donald Trump’s pick to lead the greatest naval force in the world, has no military experience.

Rather, the potential secretary of the Navy is a businessman and an art collector. Perhaps his most important qualification is that he hosted a fundraiser for the incoming president at his home, which has been featured in Architectural Digest,

over the summer.

Instead of a candy bar for a reward, Mr. Phelan gets to be the person ultimately responsible for hundreds of ships and hundreds of thousands of sailors.

Contrast the résumé of Mr. Phelan with that of John Lehman, the secretary of the Navy I served under in the 1980s.

Mr. Lehman, appointed by President Ronald Reagan, had decades of military service, including serving in A-6 Intruders as a bombardier-navigator and commander.

To further illustrate the respect Mr. Lehman earned as a member of our armed forces, a warship bearing his name has been announced. I look forward to the day when the USS John F. Lehman will join our revered fleet in service of our nation.

John Phelan, you are no John Lehman.

Vin Morabito, Scranton, Pennsylvania

Don’t pardon Mr. Snowden

Regarding the Dec. 5 news article “Trump advisers renew push for a pardon of Snowden”:

I gave four years of my life to the intelligence community while serving in the Navy from 1965 to 1969. I took my job seriously and did it to the best of my ability. Betraying my country by revealing its most sensitive secrets never crossed my mind.

Now there is talk in support of pardoning one of America’s most egregious traitors, Edward Snowden. The decision will rest in the hands of President-elect Donald Trump. Yes, the same Donald Trump who waves the flag every chance he gets and constantly espouses his love for America.

I would like all of you loyal patriots and Trump supporters to explain to me why he would even consider such a shameful act.

William D. Markert Jr., Warminster, Pennsylvania

Give Ukraine Russia’s money

In his Dec. 5 op-ed, “How Trump can end the war in Ukraine for good,” Marc A. Thiessen correctly states that we must increase military aid to Ukraine that does not require U.S. taxpayer support. However, he does not mention the obvious solution that the Biden administration has purposely avoided to date: seizing Russian sovereign assets that are held overseas.

Ukraine needs more economic support beyond the Group of Seven’s promised loan to ensure its long-term economic viability. If President Joe Biden does not seize all Russian sovereign assets in the United States to aid Ukraine at no cost to U.S. taxpayers, then President-elect Donald Trump should. This will be a litmus test for him: He either protects American taxpayers by using Russian assets first, or he shrinks from his peace-through-strength posture and fails to make Vladimir Putin pay for his illegal aggression against a peaceful neighbor.

Although the amount of Russian assets in the United States remains classified by the Treasury Department, the total is probably significant and could materially help Ukraine, especially if other nations join us in doing likewise. The global total is estimated to be as much as \$300 billion.

If the United States and its allies want to send a strong message to dictators that naked aggression does not pay, then the consequences must be clear and certain. All peace-loving nations should seize these Russian assets immediately to help Ukraine.

Greg Wilson, Great Falls

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OPINION

RAMESH PONNURU

Why pro-lifers should start a fight over RFK Jr.

Pro-lifers have lost their confidence after more than two years of political setbacks. They barely registered a protest when President-elect Donald Trump watered down the Republican Party's platform language on abortion and criticized some states for restricting the procedure too heavily. They have had little to say, either, about Trump's selection of Robert F. Kennedy Jr. to be secretary of health and human services — one of the most important positions in the federal government for abortion policy — despite Kennedy's pro-abortion views.

The pro-life movement needs to recover its fight, and its self-respect. The Kennedy nomination is the place to draw a line.

During Kennedy's presidential campaign, he took an extreme pro-choice position on abortion but sometimes wobbled. In August 2023, he said he would sign a federal abortion ban at some point after 12 weeks of pregnancy, but then he walked this back hours later, releasing a statement that it is "always a woman's right to choose." In May this year, when asked whether abortion should be allowed to end a pregnancy "even if it's full-term," the candidate responded yes. His campaign then affirmed his opposition to restrictions on late-term abortions. As of today, Kennedy continues to dodge questions on at what point late in pregnancy he believes abortions should be banned and says he supports "a woman's right to choose."

The position he held for most of his campaign was far out of step with public opinion, but even his modified view is to the left of the median voter: A majority of Americans believe abortion should be illegal to perform in the second trimester of pregnancy, and about 80 percent think it should be illegal in the last trimester.

But the pro-life movement has kept quiet about Kennedy, in part because of the defeats it has suffered since the *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* decision. When the Supreme Court stopped protecting a right to abortion, states passed referendums to shore up abortion access. Many Republicans, including Trump himself, blamed the unpopularity of the pro-life movement for the party's unexpectedly disappointing performance in the 2022 midterms. Even some pro-lifers have come to accept the conventional wisdom that opposition to abortion is a losing cause.

They should be less defeatist. The backlash to *Dobbs* has been real but underwhelming. No pro-life senator or governor has lost any election held since the Supreme Court's ruling. Pro-lifers will have more declared allies in Congress and in the White House next year than they had before *Dobbs*. A higher percentage of women voted for Republicans this year than in the last pre-*Dobbs* election, in 2020.

The sidelining of pro-lifers in the Republican Party is sure to continue, however, if they tacitly consent to it. That's what acquiescing to Kennedy's confirmation would amount to.

There are many grounds for objecting to Kennedy leading HHS, from concerns about his character to his dangerous lies about vaccines causing autism to his lack of administrative experience.

But pro-lifers have even more reasons to reject him. HHS is the largest department in the federal government, and many issues related to the right to life run through it — including conscience protections for medical workers who oppose abortion, research on human embryos and fetuses, and federal health-care programs that include restrictions on funding abortion that Democrats have been trying to eliminate. Kennedy has made no public commitments on any of these issues.

Pro-lifers have not hesitated to make noise in the past when they had doubts about a Republican president's pick for this job. In 1989, President George H.W. Bush nominated an HHS secretary who had indicated he was pro-choice. Pro-life Republicans were vocally critical, even though Bush had given them less cause than Trump to doubt him. Their pressure led the nominee to recant his view and commit to placing pro-life officials throughout the department.

Today, pro-lifers still have leverage. It would take only four pro-life Senate Republicans to sink Kennedy's nomination (because Democrats will almost certainly be united against him) or at least wring some concessions out of him.

Starting a fight would require pro-life activists and senators to be willing to throw their weight around — and to appreciate that they have weight in the first place. Some might hold back out of fear of angering Trump, or perhaps they have grown to like Kennedy during the course of the campaign or wish to handle this behind closed doors, opting for secret deals rather than public takedowns. But demonstrated power is a sturdier foundation for a political movement than the goodwill of politicians. That's something pro-lifers understood before Trump.

The president-elect might reasonably feel that he owes Kennedy for dropping his own presidential bid to endorse him. If so, Trump should have decided to make Kennedy nutrition czar. It's up to pro-lifers to point out that Trump owes them, too.



Attorney General Merrick Garland in D.C. on Nov. 18, 2022.

RUTH MARCUS

No excuse for preemptive pardons

Desperate times call for desperate measures. But not so desperate as having President Joe Biden issue preemptive pardons to government officials and others at risk of being prosecuted by the incoming Trump administration.

We are at an unprecedented and perilous moment in which President-elect Donald Trump has repeatedly made clear his desire to see his Justice Department go after his perceived political enemies. Trump reiterated this stance in his interview with NBC's Kristen Welker on "Meet the Press" on Sunday.

"I think those people committed a major crime," Trump said of the members of Congress who served on the committee investigating the Jan. 6 insurrection. "For what they did, honestly, they should go to jail."

As is his wont, Trump professed that he would not order officials such as his attorney general-designate, Pam Bondi, or his announced choice for FBI director, Kash Patel, to go after those lawmakers or others. "I think that they'll have to look at that, but I'm not going to — I'm going to focus on drill, baby, drill," Trump said.

But Trump's subordinates need no explicit instruction to do his bidding. As he knew when he picked them, they are eager to proceed. "The prosecutors will be prosecuted, the bad ones," Bondi declared last year, and Patel vowed to "come after the people in the media who lied about American citizens, who helped Joe Biden rig presidential elections."

So, worrying about a spate of malicious investigations and prosecutions is not an exercise in catastrophizing. This is a serious prospect, and even more serious when you consider that even an investigation that does not result in charges being filed can be ruinous, personally and financially. One worrisome sign: I've been told that some law firms, wary of drawing Trump's ire, have been reluctant to agree to represent clients at risk of being targeted.

Meanwhile, there is the imminent prospect of Trump massively abusing the pardon power by granting clemency to those charged and prosecuted for their conduct at the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021. "These people have suffered. Their lives have been destroyed," Trump said of the rioters, restating his intention to grant clemency on his first day in office. With Trump vowing to use the pardon power to protect people who assaulted police officers and tried to disrupt the electoral college process, it's hard to fault Biden for weighing the use of this authority to protect innocent government officials from the will of a man who declared, "I am your retribution."

And yet, a broad grant of preemptive pardons, however tempting, would be a mistake. Trump will do what Trump will do, but such a step by Biden would set an unfortunate precedent, one likely to be repeated by some future presidents seeking to shield their allies from retribution.

Such pardons — issued well before any criminal charges have been filed — have few analogs in U.S. history, certainly not on the scale that would be involved in shielding officials from being prosecuted by the Trump administration. (Patel's list of "Members of the Executive Branch Deep State" alone runs to 60 names.)

President Gerald Ford pardoned Richard M. Nixon for any offenses during the Nixon presidency, and Biden followed that model in pardoning his son Hunter not only for the tax and gun crimes of which he was convicted but all "offenses against the United States which he has committed or may have committed or taken part in," from Jan. 1, 2014, the year Hunter Biden joined the board at Ukrainian energy company Burisma, through Dec. 1, 2024. In the case of Hunter, squarely in the crosshairs of Trump and the GOP, that more sweeping grant of clemency made sense. The point of the pardon was that he had been unfairly targeted; why pardon some crimes and leave him open to

additional investigation?

Writing in *Slate*, University of Missouri law professor Frank O. Bowman laid out the complications of expanding that stop to dozens of elected and appointed officials. "To begin, no likely suite of pardons could cover all the possible targets of a concerted retribution campaign. There are just too many," he noted. "Should Biden pardon every member of the House and Senate who voted to impeach Trump on either occasion? Every member of the Jan. 6 committee? If, as commonly suggested, Biden pardons Liz Cheney, should he also pardon Dick Cheney? ... Should he pardon special counsel Jack Smith and Attorney General Merrick Garland? What about Fani T. Willis and Alvin Bragg? And if so, what about all the many people who worked for them in connection with Trump investigations?"

In fact, Bowman observed, "Pardoning only the most prominent potential Trump targets — incoming Sen. Adam Schiff (D-California), Liz Cheney, Garland, Smith, nationally famous journalists, and the like — would end up protecting the people who need it least because they are more likely to be wealthy or to be plugged into political networks that would readily contribute to their defense."

Then there is the question of what granting a pardon would signify for those on the receiving end. Accepting a pardon does not require the recipient to acknowledge guilt, and the Justice Department's own standards for granting clemency include "grounds of innocence or miscarriage of justice." Not everyone will see it that way, however: In a 1915 case, *Burdick v. United States*, the Supreme Court observed in passing that a pardon "carries an imputation of guilt and acceptance of a confession of it" — language that Ford deployed to defend the Nixon pardon.

On this score, Schiff has it right. "I would urge the president not to do that," he told NPR of preemptive pardons. "I think it would seem defensive and unnecessary."

Maduro's power grab can still be stopped

BY P. MICHAEL MCKINLEY

There is no sugarcoating the setbacks that a democratic transition in Venezuela has faced in the past few months. President Nicolás Maduro is planning to be inaugurated on Jan. 10, having stolen an election he lost in a landslide against opposition candidate Edmundo González Urrutia. Undeterred by the fact that countries around the world have rejected his power grab, he has intensified political repression at home. That said, there is a narrow window for the United States to slow Maduro's consolidation of power. It will require more than imposing sanctions on yet another set of largely unknown Venezuelan government officials (as the U.S. Treasury did on Nov. 27). To have an impact, the White House ought to work closely with Congress to build on the tough secondary sanctions outlined in the Bolivar Act passed by the House of Representatives on Nov. 18 — and do so before, not after, the planned inauguration on Jan. 10.

The mood is very fragile inside Venezuela. Initially, there was much euphoria surrounding González's seemingly overwhelming victory. That feeling strengthened with the widespread international rejection of the government's fraudulent claims of victory. But Maduro has regrouped. He has arrested his opponents and forced González into exile. He has rejected pressure to release vote tallies or negotiate — even from friendly governments such as Colombia and Brazil. And he is expanding eco-

nomie and security ties with Russia and Iran.

The Biden administration has not been as forceful as one might have hoped. Though Venezuela's election was in July, Washington waited until Nov. 19 to formally recognize González as the legitimate president. The United States has largely kept to the October 2023 Barbados agreement, which led to the lifting of U.S. oil sanctions in return for free and fair elections, despite Maduro's repeated violations of its terms. Maduro appears to be gaming the system by continuing dialogue with U.S. officials, dangling cooperation on stemming migration to ward off American pressure.

María Corina Machado, the standard-bearer of the opposition for the past two years and driving force behind González's candidacy, has called on supporters to mobilize on behalf of González ahead of the inauguration. In hiding and in danger of arrest, she will need the broadest international support possible as she organizes these protests. This might be the opposition's last chance to effect change before Maduro completely consolidates power.

The Biden administration therefore ought to urge the Senate to pass, as soon as possible, the Bolivar Act — which was notably co-sponsored by Rep. Michael Waltz (R-Florida), now President-elect Donald Trump's pick for national security adviser, and Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-Florida). Moving on this is a bipartisan no-brainer.

Upon passage of the bill, President Joe Biden himself should announce the suspension of all licenses the administration

granted for international firms to do business with Venezuela's oil sector.

Finally, the Biden administration should call for an international meeting of foreign ministers from the Western Hemisphere and Europe to formally recognize González as president-elect and to explicitly reject any possibility of recognizing Maduro's legitimacy after Jan. 10. After the United States recognized González's victory, Italy and Ecuador followed suit. A collective showing of support would carry even greater weight.

Machado's brave call for mobilization is likely to be met with further repression by the Maduro government, which has already arrested thousands of Venezuelans on political charges since the election. Machado herself is now being investigated for "treason."

Bold moves by the Biden administration in its last weeks in office could have an outsized impact. And Venezuela provides a rare opportunity to demonstrate that bipartisan cooperation on behalf of democracy is still very much possible.

Some Venezuela experts are recommending resigned accommodation to Maduro. But doing so would only entrench a repressive authoritarian regime at the expense of Venezuela's long-suffering citizens. "Venezuela's path forward is not about diplomacy with a dictator," opposition leader Leopoldo López, also in exile, recently argued. "It's about respecting the democratic mandate of its people."

The writer is a former U.S. ambassador to Colombia, Peru, Brazil and Afghanistan.

DAVID IGNATIUS

Ukraine helped Syrian rebels deliver blow to Russia

The Syrian rebels who swept to power in Damascus last weekend received drones and other support from Ukrainian intelligence operatives who sought to undermine Russia and its Syrian allies, according to sources familiar with Ukrainian military activities abroad.

Ukrainian intelligence sent about 20 experienced drone operators and about 150 first-person-view drones to the rebel headquarters in Idlib, Syria, four to five weeks ago to help Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS), the leading rebel group based there, the knowledgeable sources said.

The aid from Kyiv played only a modest role in overthrowing Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, Western intelligence sources believe. But it was notable as part of a broader Ukrainian effort to strike covertly at Russian operations in the Middle East, Africa and inside Russia itself.

Ukraine's covert assistance program in Syria has been an open secret, though senior Biden administration officials said repeatedly in answer to my questions that they weren't aware of it. Ukraine's motivation is obvious: Facing a Russian onslaught inside their country, Ukrainian intelligence has looked for other fronts where it can bloody Russia's nose and undermine its clients.

The Ukrainians have advertised their intentions. The *Kyiv Post* in a June 3 article quoted a source in the Ukrainian military intelligence service, known as the GUR, who told the newspaper that "since the beginning of the year, the [Syrian] rebels, supported by Ukrainian operatives, have inflicted numerous strikes on Russian military facilities represented in the region."

That story, posted online, included a link to video footage that showed attacks on a stone-ribbed bunker, a white van and other targets that it said had been struck by Ukrainian-supported rebels inside Syria. The paper said that the Syria operation was conducted by a special unit known as "Khimik" within the GUR, "in collaboration with the Syrian opposition."

Russian officials have been complaining for months about the Ukrainian paramilitary effort in Syria. Alexander Lavrentyev, Russia's special representative for Syria, said in a November interview with TASS, "We do indeed have information that Ukrainian specialists from the Main Intelligence Directorate of Ukraine are on the territory of Idlib."

Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov had made a similar claim in September about "Ukrainian intelligence emissaries" in Idlib. He claimed they were conducting "dirty operations," according to the Syrian newspaper *Al-Watan*, which asserted that Lt. Gen. Kyrylo Budanov, head of the GUR, had been in touch personally with HTS.

Before the HTS offensive toppled Assad, Russian officials had asserted that Ukraine's link with the rebel group was an attempt to recruit Syrian fighters for its war against the Kremlin. A September report in an online site called the *Cradle* alleged that Ukraine had offered 75 unmanned aerial vehicles in a "drones-for-fighters" deal with HTS. But there isn't any independent evidence to back this Russian claim.

Russia clearly was surprised by HTS's rapid advance on Damascus — but interestingly, Russian sources have tried to minimize the Ukrainian role. A Dec. 2 article in *Middle East Eye* quoted a Russian Telegram account, said to reflect the views of the Russian military, that discounted Kyiv's assistance: "Firstly, GUR members did visit Idlib, but they stayed there for only a short time" — not enough to train Syrians to operate unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) from scratch. "Secondly," the message continued, "HTS has long had its own UAV program."

The Syria operation isn't the only instance of Ukrainian military intelligence operating abroad to harass Russian operatives. The BBC reported in August that Ukraine had helped rebels in northern Mali ambush Russian mercenaries from the Wagner Group. The July 27 attack killed 84 Wagner operatives and 47 Malians, the BBC said.

Andriy Yusov, a GUR spokesman, touted the Mali operation several days later, saying that the Malian rebels "received necessary information, and not just information, which enabled a successful military operation against Russian war criminals," according to the BBC. After the attack, Mali severed its diplomatic relations with Ukraine.

Budanov pledged in April 2023 that Ukraine would pursue Russians guilty of war crimes "in any part of the world," according to a news report. Budanov's aggressive intelligence operations have sometimes worried the Biden administration, U.S. officials have told me.

I asked Budanov in an interview at his headquarters in Kyiv last April about the GUR's reported operations against the Wagner militia in Africa. "We conduct such operations aimed at reducing Russian military potential, anywhere where it's possible," he answered. "Why should Africa be an exception?"

Like Ukraine's Africa forays and its assault on the Kursk region inside Russia, the covert operation in Syria reflects an attempt to widen the battlefield — and hurt the Russians in areas where they're unprepared. Ukraine's aid wasn't "the drone that broke that camel's back," so to speak. But it helped, in at least a small way, to bring down Russia's most important client in the Middle East.

And like Israel in its failure to anticipate Hamas's surge across the Gaza fence on Oct. 7, 2023, Russia saw the Ukrainian-backed rebels coming, but couldn't mobilize to stop the attack and prevent the devastating consequences.

Suspect in CEO’s slaying had long focused on what he saw as societal decay

MANGIONE FROM A1

in the industry — even as some patients complained about the company’s practice of denying care.

“I feel really good,” Thompson told investors on a January call. “Very optimistic about UnitedHealthcare... a lot to look forward to here in the year.”

The two men’s paths collided on a Manhattan sidewalk early the morning of Dec. 4, according to police charging documents, with Mangione accused of standing in wait for Thompson in what authorities are calling a targeted shooting. Police who arrested Mangione on Monday in Pennsylvania found a handwritten manifesto that blamed “parasites” and that reportedly railed against UnitedHealth Group — the parent organization of UnitedHealthcare and the nation’s largest health-care company.

Mangione appeared in court Tuesday as prosecutors sought to extradite him to New York to face five charges, including second-degree murder, in connection with Thompson’s death. Separately, he faces five counts in Pennsylvania, including presenting false identification to the police officers who arrested him. Ahead of Tuesday’s court hearing, Mangione appeared to struggle with officers and seemed to shout toward a throng of journalists about “an insult to the intelligence of the American people.”

Mangione was denied bail. The extradition process to New York, which he is fighting, could take weeks.

The developments have staggered people who watched Mangione’s early rise and are trying to reconcile the promising high school and college student with the man now sitting in a Pennsylvania prison cell. Many of them spoke on the condition of anonymity to avoid being publicly linked to Mangione or the shooting of Thompson.

“That’s not the boy I know,” said one of Mangione’s former teachers at Gilman School, the all-boys private school in Baltimore where Mangione was the top graduate in 2016. Other teachers and students at Gilman discussed his humility, kindness and affability; classmates from the University of Pennsylvania similarly described a well-liked engineering student and fraternity brother who graduated from the school in 2020.

What radicalized Mangione and fixated him on the health insurance industry is not fully known, though clues exist in his personal health history and in a trail he appears to have left online. Friends said Mangione struggled with years-long back problems, worsening his quality of life; he moved to Hawaii after college in pursuit of getting healthy. An X-ray he posted on social media appears to depict a person suffering from spondylolisthesis, a spinal condition in which a vertebra slips out of place and can cause chronic pain, physicians said.

“When my spondy went bad on me last year (23M), it was completely devastating as a young athletic person,” read a post left by a Reddit account that had previously linked to Mangione’s personal programming site and offered personal details that match Mangione’s. Reddit declined to confirm whether the account, which was deactivated this week, belonged to Mangione.



JEFF SWENSEN/GETTY IMAGES

Luigi Mangione is led into a courthouse in Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, on Tuesday. He is facing extradition to New York.

Friends said the pain hampered Mangione’s social life and culminated in major surgery last year. The X-ray posted by Mangione shows a “lumbar spine with posterior spinal instrumentation, possible fusion” — a procedure that involves screws or rods to stabilize the spine, said Zeeshan Sardar, an associate professor of orthopedic surgery at Columbia University Medical Center who reviewed the post at the request of The Washington Post. While patients are warned that spinal surgeries may worsen a person’s condition, the Reddit account linked to Mangione last year described the surgery as a success.

Mangione also was long focused on what he saw as societal decay, posting commentary online that sometimes summarized his reading, including on the popular review website Goodreads.

In his 2021 review of the Unabomber’s manifesto — written by an anonymous killer terrorizing the United States from the 1970s into the 1990s with meticulously crafted pipe bombs — Mangione awarded it four stars and shared a comment he attributed to another person: “When all other forms of communication fail, violence is necessary to survive. You may not like his methods, but to see things from his perspective, it’s not terrorism, it’s war and revolution.”

Selections he made for a book club he started in Hawaii in 2023 began to alarm others, said Sarah Nehemiah, a 27-year-old producer and researcher who met Mangione the prior year and moved into his co-living space after Mangione had left.

“Several members left due to discomfort in his book choices,” she said. “The Unabomber manifesto is what really pushed people over the edge.”

Investigators are trying to piece together what led Mangione to allegedly fixate on Thompson. UnitedHealthcare, which provides coverage to roughly 1 in 7 Americans, declined to comment

on whether Mangione or his family were customers of the health insurance company.

UnitedHealth Group has been the focus of congressional oversight, watchdog groups and patient complaints that say the sprawling company’s subsidiaries have wrongly denied patients’ claims, sometimes by using artificial intelligence. The company and its largest subsidiary, UnitedHealthcare, have become proxies for many Americans’ broader complaints about health care, a phenomenon crystallized by the outpouring of complaints and mockery since Thompson’s shooting.

UnitedHealth Group has defended its practices.

In Baltimore on Tuesday, as fog blanketed the city, residents said they were still wrestling with the revelation that Thompson’s alleged killer is a member of the well-respected Mangione family, which is prominent in the region and has long-standing ties to Little Italy, the neighborhood just east of the Inner Harbor. The family owns Lorien Health Systems, a network of skilled nursing and assisted-living facilities, where Luigi Mangione volun-

teered in high school, and has founded or acquired golf and country clubs that attract top local players. A Baltimore art museum, university and a now-defunct opera company have been among the civic institutions that have benefited from Mangione philanthropy.

Greater Baltimore Medical Center, a hospital long affiliated with the Mangione family, boasts a “Mangione Family Center” in the soaring atrium where obstetrics patients enter the building; a placard in another part of the hospital thanks the Mangione Family Foundation for donating more than \$1 million.

“You would not truly think that a member of the Mangione family would be accused of this,” said Thomas J. Maronick Jr., a criminal-defense attorney in Maryland who knows several of the suspect’s relatives.

The family released a statement Monday night saying they were “shocked and devastated by Luigi’s arrest.”

“We offer our prayers to the family of Brian Thompson and we ask people to pray for all involved. We are devastated by this news,” the Mangione family said in its



UNITEDHEALTH GROUP/AP

UnitedHealthcare CEO Brian Thompson, seen in an undated photo, was fatally shot Dec. 4 in Midtown Manhattan.

statement.

A star student and engineer

The Luigi Mangione whom teachers saw growing up was a builder. A video posted by Gilman in 2016 shows him at the center of a robotics competition, manipulating a robot and helping lead the school’s team to success in a tournament.

The prep school charges nearly \$38,000 for a year of high school tuition, according to its website, and many students come from some degree of wealth. But far from bragging about his family’s local prominence, Mangione was viewed as self-effacing and accessible — a volunteer who coached other students on their essays in the school’s writing center.

Then came Penn, the Ivy League university, where again Mangione found himself in leadership roles, such as helping to found a video game development club. A Penn-affiliated news outlet in December 2018 reported that the club had grown to 60 members.

“Passion is what we’re looking for,” Mangione said in an interview, adding that the club didn’t turn away people who lacked programming experience.

Mangione graduated from Penn with bachelor’s and master’s degrees in four years. He went to work as an engineer for TrueCar, a web platform for people to shop for automobiles. The company, which instituted broad layoffs in 2023, has said Mangione has not been employed by it since that year.

Mangione spent early 2022 at Surfbreak HNL, a shared living space tucked along Oahu’s south shore and about a mile from Wai-kiki Beach, a former resident told The Post.

Mangione arrived in January 2022 and left by mid-April, said Nehemiah, who has remained close with other residents, some of whom were hesitant to speak publicly about their interactions

with Mangione but authorized her to speak on their behalf.

Surfbreak, which sits on the 40th floor of a Honolulu high-rise, boasts floor-to-ceiling windows with views of the water and bills itself as the “the first co-living and co-working penthouse for remote workers in Hawaii” on its website. Monthly rent for a twin bedroom starts at \$1,605, while “king corner” rooms command up to \$3,305, according to the Surfbreak website.

Nehemiah and her friends at Surfbreak believed Mangione had left “due to a lifelong back injury that was exacerbated by surfing and hiking,” she told The Post. “To our knowledge, nearly all members of Surfbreak from his tenure lost contact with him after he left.”

Posts circulating on social media and conversations with those who knew him indicate Mangione withdrew and dropped out of touch with friends this year.

In since-deleted posts this July on X, one person tagged an account that appears to be Mangione’s and said he hadn’t heard from Mangione in months.

“Hey man I need you to call me ... [You] made commitments to me for my wedding and if you can’t honor them I need to know so I can plan accordingly,” the person wrote.

In another post from the same account, posted in November, just two weeks before Mangione was taken into custody, the person wrote: “Thinking of you and prayers every day in your name. Know you are missed and loved.”

It appears that Mangione spent time in Japan this year. In a post Monday on X, Japanese professional poker player Jun Obara recounted a chance encounter with him in a Tokyo restaurant after a photo of them posted to the platform in February circulated online.

Former classmates said they couldn’t square this new, darker portrait of Mangione with the person who was once so optimistic.

“I can’t help but feel sorry for Luigi and really the American people — that he had so much to offer, to innovate and create for the world and wound up so damaged that he did the unthinkable instead,” said a former Gilman student, who spoke on the condition of anonymity. “As I knew him, he was a creator, not a taker of life.”

On social media, Mangione in 2022 posted excerpts from a speech he delivered to high school classmates — part of a tradition in which Gilman seniors have long been allowed to deliver a speech to the assembled high school on any topic of their choosing.

Mangione chose to discuss the arc of human progress, warning that the audience might think he was “crazy.”

“We may have been born into one of the most exciting times on earth,” Mangione said in his prepared remarks, talking about the arrival of artificial intelligence and other technological breakthroughs that could even lead to immortality. “We might not recognize it in our day-to-day lives, but the world is changing fast.”

George reported from Washington and Gowen from Lawrence, Kansas. Daniel Gilbert and Aaron Schaffer in Washington, Peter Hermann in Baltimore, and Amy Schaefer in Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, contributed to this report.

Mangione will fight extradition to N.Y. to face murder charge, attorney says

BY AMY SCHAFER, SHAYNA JACOBS AND MARK BERMAN

HOLLIDAYSBURG, PA. — The 26-year-old accused of murder in the shooting of a health insurance executive in Manhattan will fight efforts to extradite him from Pennsylvania to New York, setting up what could be a weeks-long delay before he can be taken there to face criminal charges that were unsealed Tuesday.

Luigi Mangione, a Maryland native from a prominent family in the Baltimore area, is charged in both New York, where police say he fatally shot UnitedHealthcare chief executive Brian Thompson, and Pennsylvania, where he was arrested Monday after an extensive manhunt.

Mangione appeared in court here Tuesday afternoon. His attorney, Thomas M. Dickey, said Mangione would not consent to being extradited and sought to have bail set for him. Judge David B. Consiglio of the Blair County Court of Common Pleas rejected the bail request, so Mangione will remain incarcerated for now in a Pennsylvania state prison.

Authorities in New York made public court papers providing more detail about the counts

Mangione faces in the early-morning slaying of Thompson, 50. Thompson was shot and killed by a masked assailant outside a Hilton in Midtown Manhattan on Wednesday, a chilling attack captured on video that quickly spread online.

After the shooting, investigators launched a sweeping manhunt in Manhattan and beyond, saying that the suspect they were seeking had most likely fled the city soon after the attack. On Monday morning, officials say, police were summoned to a McDonald’s in Altoona, Pennsylvania, about a man they “immediately recognized” as the suspect wanted in Thompson’s shooting.

Mangione is facing five counts in New York: murder in the second degree, two separate counts of criminal possession of a weapon in the second degree, criminally possessing a forged instrument in the second degree and criminally possessing a weapon in the third degree.

In New York, second-degree murder applies broadly to homicides, including those that stem from gang violence or domestic incidents. First-degree murder is rarer and is reserved for when special circumstances are at play, such as if a police officer is killed

while on duty or if a victim was tortured, among other things.

In Pennsylvania, officials have also charged Mangione with five counts, including possessing an instrument of a crime, providing false identification to law enforcement and carrying a firearm without a license.

When he arrived at the courthouse near Altoona for his extradition hearing Tuesday afternoon, Mangione appeared to struggle with the throng of officers escorting him. He shouted something about “an insult to the intelligence of the American people” toward a crowd of journalists nearby before he was led inside.

His demeanor in the courtroom was much more subdued. He rocked back and forth in his chair, bit his lip and scanned the room, looking back multiple times toward the area where the public was seated.

At one point he started to speak, but his attorney, Thomas Dickey, urged him not to. Prosecutors said during the hearing that when Mangione was arrested, he had in his possession several items, including face masks, a passport, \$8,000 in U.S. currency and \$2,000 in unspecified foreign currency.

Dickey began to argue during

the hearing that the face masks were related to the coronavirus. Mangione tried to interject, but Dickey cut him off and told him not to talk.

This is not Dickey’s first high-profile case. In 2012, he represented Nicholas Horner, a military veteran charged with killing two people. Dickey had argued that his client was suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder brought on by his military service, according to news reports from that time. Prosecutors sought the death penalty, but jurors deadlocked and he was sentenced to life instead. Horner died in prison in 2019.

At a news conference after the court appearance, Dickey declined to say who hired him to represent Mangione and would not reveal details from conversations he has had with his client. The lawyer also declined to discuss the criminal charges in Pennsylvania or New York but noted that his client was entitled to legal protections.

“The fundamental concept of American justice is the presumption of innocence,” he said. “I have not seen one scintilla, one drop, one speck of evidence yet.”

Peter Weeks, the local district attorney, told reporters that his

office would push ahead with working to ensure Mangione makes his way to New York, adding that he believes the charges there take precedence. This process could take as long as 30 to 45 days, Weeks said.

Manhattan District Attorney Alvin Bragg (D) plans to seek a governor’s warrant to extradite Mangione to New York, his office said. This is part of the typical process when a person charged in one state resists being extradited to another. New York Gov. Kathy Hochul (D) said in a statement that she was coordinating with Bragg’s office and would approve the warrant request “to ensure this individual is tried and held accountable.”

Thompson’s cause of death, police say, was a gunshot wound to the torso.

In New York, police officials laid out additional allegations in the court documents Tuesday, breaking down what a detective said was evidence that included video footage and “written admissions.”

The detective wrote that video of last week’s killing showed Thompson shot by a man “wearing a distinctive clothing outfit,” while other footage showed “the same man, wearing the same

clothing,” leaving a hostel on New York’s Upper West Side earlier that morning.

When that person checked into the hostel on Nov. 24, he provided a New Jersey driver’s license with the name Mark Rosario on it, police said.

Officers who arrested Mangione in Pennsylvania said that when asked for identification, he initially handed over a New Jersey license with the same name. They concluded that it was a fake. Among Mangione’s belongings, the Altoona police found a pistol, silencer “and written admissions about the crime,” the New York detective wrote.

Police have said that Mangione had a three-page handwritten document with him. Joseph Kenny, chief of detectives for the New York Police Department, said Tuesday that the writings showed frustrations with health care in the United States.

“Specifically, he states how we are the number one most expensive health-care system in the world, yet the life expectancy of an American is ranked 42 in the world,” Kenny said on “Good Morning America.”

Jacobs reported from New York and Berman from Washington.

Md. fails to promptly hospitalize defendants

‘ABSOLUTE SCANDAL’ FOR MENTALLY ILL

Judges levy fines; treatment delays violate state law

BY DAN MORSE
AND KATIE METTLER

Maryland has repeatedly failed to quickly transfer mentally ill defendants who need treatment from local jails to state psychiatric hospitals, a violation of state law that has prompted judges across the state to level \$1.5 million in fines against the state Health Department over the past year.

The latest legal lashings came on Thursday, when a Montgom-

ery County judge issued \$213,187 in penalties against the department, and an Anne Arundel judge said it was scandalous that nearly 230 mentally ill people are stuck in Maryland jails — even though they’ve been ordered to get help at a hospital.

The judges were acting on a Maryland state law that requires the Health Department to admit detainees to state hospitals within 10 business days of a ruling that they’re too mentally unfit to understand the charges against

them.

Instead, according to recent state data, people wait in jail an average of two-and-a-half months. Some stays, corrections officials say, exceed six months.

At separate hearings just hours apart Thursday, Montgomery County District Court Judge Amy Bills and Anne Arundel County Circuit Court Judge Richard Trunnell admonished the state Health Department for failures they said are causing great harm to Maryland’s most vulnerable residents.

“It seems to me that this is an absolute scandal on the part of the department that they can’t do a better job of getting their act

SEE SANCTIONS ON B3



KATIE METTLER/THE WASHINGTON POST

Pressure is mounting on Gov. Wes Moore, with Attorney General Anthony G. Brown, to curb the failures in the mental health system.

Plan for automated trains rolls forward

15 years after fatal crash, Metro plans to revive the operating system

BY RACHEL WEINER

For the first time in the 15 years since a deadly crash, the D.C. Metro will run on the automated system it was intended to use, at the speeds for which it was designed. Starting on the Red Line, trains will be spaced and timed based on computer rather than human operation. Officials say the switch could be made as soon as this Sunday.

It’s a major milestone for the region’s transit system, which in recent years has worked to shed a reputation for both sluggish service and poor safety. The savings, Metro says, could be used to open an hour earlier and stay open an hour later on the weekend.

Automatic operations are expected to be rolled out across the system through next summer, but the expansion still needs approval from the Washington Metrorail Safety Commission, which gave the go-ahead for the Red Line at a meeting Tuesday afternoon. Metro leaders have clashed with the WMSC, saying the watchdog overstepped its authority in pulling both trains and operators out of service and demanding drug and alcohol testing data. But Metro General Manager Randy Clarke has said the two agencies worked closely together on the return to automation.

“I want to take a moment to recognize Metrorail’s hard work and its collaborative efforts,” David Mayer, chief executive of the Washington Metrorail Safety Commission, said at Tuesday’s meeting.

Automatic running will save Metro an estimated \$7 million a year because it can run fewer trains without a reduction in service. Altogether, run times should be about 8 percent faster when trains can run at 75 mph rather than the current 59 mph limit. Hours before the announcement that automated operations would go forward, Clarke issued a proposed budget that includes 6 a.m. opening on Saturday and Sunday morning and 2 a.m. closure on Friday and Saturday night, which officials estimate would cost Metro roughly \$6 million. But the system is also facing

SEE METRO ON B2

That’s not Foggy Bottom ...



ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Why, it’s a foggy top! Rowers weathered a murky morning early Tuesday, but they were treated to a partial eclipse of Key Bridge along the Potomac River. The forecast is calling for 1 to 2 inches of rain Wednesday; be careful to stay on your feet so you don’t end up with a ... soggy bottom. Forecast details can be found on Page B6; for more weather news, check out the Capital Weather Gang on washingtonpost.com.

Rural sheriff accused of selling badges on trial

BY PAUL DUGGAN

When Democrats took power in Richmond five years ago and trained their attention on tightening gun laws, a rural sheriff named Scott Jenkins stood before the Culpeper County Board of Supervisors and vowed to fight back, pledging to use the authority of his office to skirt what he called “ridiculous” and “insane” attacks on the Second Amendment. “If the legislature decides to restrict certain weapons that I feel aren’t a harm to our community, I will look to swear in thousands of auxiliary deputies in Culpeper,” Jenkins declared at that December 2019 supervisors meeting, positioning himself at the vanguard of resistance to perceived liberal interference.

“For those locals who don’t know where I stand on the Second Amendment, it’s probably as far right as you can find anyone,” the sheriff, who was finishing his eighth year in office, told a room packed with onlookers wearing bright-orange “Guns save lives” buttons. When he was done, he received a round of applause from residents of his reliably red county 70 miles southwest of Washington.



Scott Jenkins of Culpeper

In fact, federal authorities allege, Jenkins, now 53, already had begun appointing auxiliary deputies — but not purely out of concern for citizens’ self-defense.

When the ex-sheriff goes on trial Wednesday in U.S. District Court in Charlottesville, charged with multiple counts of bribery and fraud, prosecutors said, the jury will hear about a long-running scheme in which Jenkins enriched himself and his political campaign by selling badges and law enforcement powers to untrained, well-to-do people, including a felon.

Six men paid a total of about \$65,000, much of it in cash stuffed in envelopes, for deputy credentials, which they could use for personal privileges, such as dodging traffic tickets, prosecutors said. Three of the six were indicted with Jenkins; the others have not been charged. Prosecutors said two undercover FBI agents posing as wannabe auxiliary deputies gave Jenkins an additional \$15,000 in cash.

Some of the money went into the sheriff’s campaign fund, prosecutors said, and some of it ended up in his pocket. Jenkins, who has pleaded not guilty, was first elected in 2011 and served three terms before being indicted in June 2023 and defeated at the polls four months later.

When his successor took office early this year, he said, he discovered that about 50 people —

SEE TRIAL ON B2



AARON SCHWARTZ/SIPA USA/AP

D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser said she was “very pleased” to be testifying on Capitol Hill on Tuesday.

Bowser, GOP find common ground

BY EMILY DAVIES

In her first appearance on Capitol Hill since the elections sent a GOP trifecta to Washington, D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) again advocated for federal workers to return to the office — finding common ground with congressional Republicans eager to make good on President-elect Donald Trump’s mandate to force teleworking employees back to in-person work.

The approach previewed a strategy the Bowser administration has been honing behind the scenes for months: walking a fine line between trying to dissuade any federal intervention and using shared priorities between her administration and the GOP to benefit the District.

The mayor’s first test before newly emboldened GOP representatives came before the U.S. House’s subcommittee on financial services and general govern-

ment, which held its first oversight hearing in 15 years on congressional funding for the District.

“I am very pleased to be here,” Bowser said. “Fifteen years is too long.”

Though she has long been a strong advocate for D.C. statehood, the mayor did not mention D.C. autonomy in her four-page testimony submitted to the subcommittee, and she did not raise

SEE BOWSER ON B3

TODAY’S WEATHER

8 a.m.	Noon	4 p.m.	8 p.m.
62°	62°	51°	42°

High today at approx. 9 a.m.: 65°

Precip: 100% Wind: W 12-25 mph

For weather news, go to B6

MARYLAND

Pr. George’s sets a special election to replace Angela Alsobrooks. **B3**

VIRGINIA

Judge dismisses pregnant lawyer’s contempt charge over a missed hearing. **B2**

OBITUARIES

Peter B. Teeley, an aide and confidant to George H.W. Bush, was 84. **B4**



VIRGINIA

Contempt case dropped for lawyer who missed hearing

BY SALVADOR RIZZO

A Virginia judge who had threatened jail time for a pregnant attorney backed down Monday, blaming “a series of errors” for turning a routine scheduling mishap into an unusual contempt-of-court charge and dropping the case.

Sameera Ali, who is in the seventh month of a high-risk pregnancy, was facing up to 10 days in jail and a \$250 fine after missing a Nov. 19 hearing in the case of a teenager charged with a felony and two misde-

meanors. Her attorney, Christopher Leibig, said Judge Thomas K. Cullen of the Alexandria Juvenile and Domestic Relations District Court overreacted by filing a civil contempt charge against her.

Some Northern Virginia lawyers said the charge could have a chilling effect, because courts already struggle to find lawyers in private practice who will take on court-appointed clients who would otherwise not be able to afford an attorney.

One of Cullen’s clerks had asked Ali to represent the indi-

gent teen defendant when no other attorneys were available, Leibig said. While she is not on a list of court-appointed attorneys who take on poor clients at the court’s discretion, she is known for agreeing to take on such cases.

She tried to accommodate the request, repeatedly telling the judge’s clerk and Alexandria prosecutors that she could take the case only if the Nov. 19 hearing could be rescheduled, because she was already expected in a Fairfax County courtroom that day. Prosecutors agreed to

the delay.

But Cullen said a clerk called Ali the day before to tell her the court date was not being moved.

At a contempt hearing Monday packed with Ali’s supporters, the judge said that the teenager had been detained Nov. 1 and that Virginia law required him to hold a hearing within 21 days. Cullen said his records showed Ali agreed to take the case Nov. 8, about 11 days before the scheduled date. “Simply that I’ve got two cases in two different courts is not good cause” to postpone proceedings, he said.

“When a proposed motion is denied by the court, the case is still on,” Cullen said, explaining his rationale for issuing a “rule to show cause,” the legal term for the contempt charge.

“It does not appear to me that this was willful, so I’m dismissing the ‘show cause,’” the judge said.

“It appears to the court that there were a series of errors,” he said.

Ali said she spoke to a court clerk about the case Nov. 8 but did not accept the client or get the needed paperwork from the court until Nov. 15, as laid out in a

legal filing her attorney submitted to Cullen on Nov. 27.

“Our filing was accurate and a true reflection of what happened,” she said after the hearing.

In an interview with The Washington Post last week, Alexandria Commonwealth’s Attorney Bryan Porter called the contempt proceedings unusual and said Ali had taken the case as a favor to Cullen’s court. Several prosecutors attended Monday’s contempt hearing.

“The dismissal was the correct ruling,” Leibig said. “The ‘show cause’ never should have issued.”

Sheriff appointed several untrained ‘auxiliary’ deputies in exchange for cash

TRIAL FROM B1

almost none of them trained or experienced in law enforcement — were on the department’s books as auxiliary deputies sworn in by Jenkins under circumstances that remain unclear.

Attorneys for Jenkins either declined to comment on the case or did not return messages.

They cast the trial as an extension of Jenkins’s fight against Democratic overreach in a message posted to a GoFundMe campaign for his legal defense, which in 15 months has raised \$9,112, or one percent of its \$650,000 goal.

“Sheriff Scott Jenkins is under attack from the Biden [Justice Department] and needs your help,” one of the GoFundMe organizers wrote last month, adding: “We’ve seen how political operatives have treated Donald Trump and those close to him, like Scott. ... These people lose everything fighting for their lives against the full weight and power of a weaponized federal government. Sadly, Scott Jenkins is now one of these victims.”

The trial, scheduled to last about two weeks, could include several witnesses who have admitted in court that they paid tens of thousands of dollars for official badges and ID cards that were virtually indistinguishable from those issued to trained, full-time deputies.

The main conduit between the sheriff and the self-described bribe-payers was an old friend of Jenkins’s, a gun store owner in Prince William County, Virginia, identified in court documents only as Individual 1, who became an auxiliary deputy in Culpeper shortly after Jenkins took office in January 2012, prosecutors said. This person was charged in 2020 in an unrelated tax fraud case in Northern Virginia, prosecutors said, and he made a deal for leniency by telling authorities about the alleged money-for-badges scheme in Culpeper, where he was nominally a law enforcement officer.

In 2015, during his second campaign, Jenkins had asked Individual 1 to “recruit wealthy

Northern Virginia businessmen who wanted to be sworn as auxiliary deputies in exchange for campaign contributions,” a government court filing says. As part of his plea bargain in the tax case, prosecutors said, Individual 1 agreed to arrange more illegal payments to Jenkins while wearing hidden audio and video recorders.

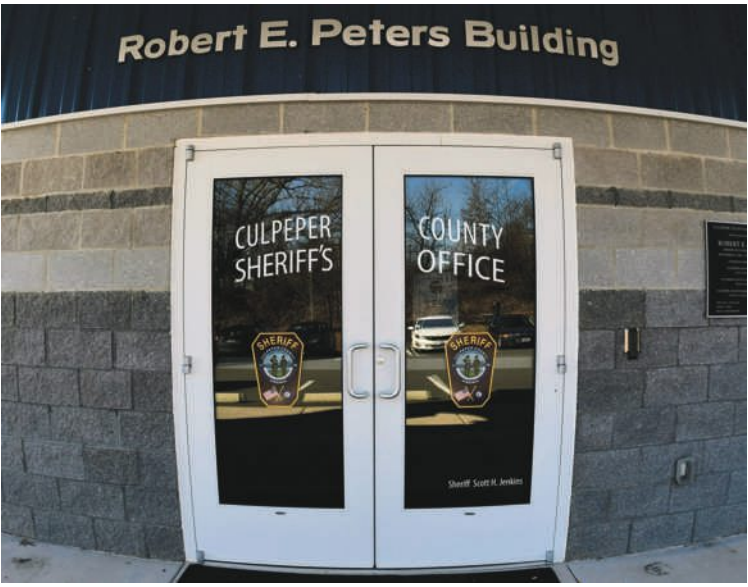
The two accused conspirators referred to the businessmen as “money guys,” the filing says. “The ‘money guys’ were motivated to purchase sheriff’s badges primarily because Jenkins and Individual 1 told them that the badges gave them authority to carry a concealed weapon in all 50 states. ... In addition, Jenkins and Individual 1 told the ‘money guys’ that if they were pulled over by law enforcement while driving, they could show their badges and credentials to request ‘professional courtesy’ and avoid a ticket.”

Once deputized, few if any of the money guys devoted volunteer time to law enforcement work, said the current sheriff, Tim Chilton (I), who defeated the indicted Jenkins by a wide margin in the 2023 election. Although just three accused bribe-payers have been charged, Chilton said in an interview that the appointees numbered in the dozens, with home addresses in Virginia, Arizona, Utah, North Carolina and other states. He said he terminated all of them.

In his 23 years as a police officer in the town of Culpeper, before he ran for sheriff, Chilton said, he had seen only one auxiliary deputy working in the county. With several dozen Culpeper badges scattered around the United States, he said, “it created all this [legal] liability for us, this small army of people out there who had absolutely no training.”

He said: “Some of them had uniforms, some had ballistic vests, some had firearms that weren’t their own. Just an array of different stuff. I really don’t know how they were given the stuff because the majority of it wasn’t documented.”

The three who were indicted have pleaded guilty and, like



EVA HAMBACH/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The sheriff’s office in Culpeper, Virginia, where former sheriff Scott Jenkins worked until he was indicted and voted out in 2023.

Individual 1, they could be called to testify against Jenkins. One of them, Fredric Gumbinner, 65, was a lawyer in Fairfax County, Virginia, who owned businesses that raised capital and made specialized loans, prosecutors said. They said Gumbinner paid \$20,000 to be appointed an auxiliary deputy in 2020 and took advantage of his status in a variety of ways.

He twice showed his Culpeper credentials at an airport for faster security checks, according to his plea agreement. Once, while driving on a highway shoulder to get around a traffic jam, he rolled past a parked patrol car and flashed his badge. In 2021, shortly before Americans began lining up for coronavirus vaccinations, Gumbinner sought an expedited appointment as a first-responder. And after receiving a citation for parking in a handicapped spot, he tried to get the ticket withdrawn by telling the issuing deputy that he, too, was a deputy, his plea agreement says.

In his successful campaigns in 2011, 2015 and 2019, Jenkins twice ran as an independent and once as a Republican in a county with 55,000 residents spread across 380 square miles of mostly woods, croplands and pastures. Although Vice President

Kamala Harris won Virginia in her campaign for the White House, President-elect Donald Trump carried Culpeper County by 25 percentage points.

Local political observers attribute some of Jenkins’s popularity before the indictment to his staunch defense of the right to bear arms. “Some believe the Second Amendment gives us that right, when, in fact, it’s a God-given right,” Jenkins told the supervisors in 2019. “And if you don’t believe in God, then it’s the law of nature that every creature can defend their lives when threatened.”

On a driving tour of the county one recent afternoon, Zann Nelson, a local historian who has lived in Culpeper for 75 of her 77 years, said many natives of the area have a deep disdain for perceived government interference in their lives — an abiding suspicion of federal authority that she traces partly to a tragic social upheaval in Virginia a century ago.

In the 1920s and 1930s, hundreds of families living in remote settlements in the Blue Ridge Mountains were uprooted from their backwoods homes, forced by officials in Washington to abandon land they had cultivated for generations, to make room for Shenandoah National Park.

Many of them, powerless and permanently resentful, came down from the hills and sunk new roots in Culpeper and neighboring Madison and Rappahannock counties.

This profound distrust of government is ingrained in their descendants, said Nelson, once a grassroots organizer for Democratic state and national campaigns. “There’s always a cultural mindset here that the government is trying to take things away from us.”

This especially applies to guns, she said. “When you talk about what Sheriff Jenkins tapped into politically, that’s it. He led the Second Amendment movement in Culpeper. He was smart enough to know where his strength was, and he played to that.”

At the December meeting five years ago, the seven supervisors unanimously approved a resolution declaring that Culpeper would steadfastly “respect, preserve, uphold and enforce” the Second Amendment despite any “unconstitutional or unlawful” legislation that Democrats in the state capital were cooking up.

“I just want to remind you, I asked for one of those badges one time,” Supervisor Bill Chase, a farmer in his 80s who has since died, told Jenkins, prompting laughter in the room. “And I guaranteed you several thousand dollars a week from speeders on Route 3. But you denied it.”

Jenkins was chief deputy in Rappahannock County in 2011 when he decided to run for sheriff in Culpeper, where he had grown up. After his 2023 indictment, local Republicans declined to nominate him for a fourth term. He and Chilton ran as independents, and Chilton trounced him, 55 percent to 20 percent, in a three-candidate field.

The sheriff’s office currently has about 120 full-time deputies and 20 part-timers, all of whom completed 20 weeks of training at a regional criminal justice academy, Chilton said.

“If you set up the [auxiliary] program correctly, there’s a lot of good that can come from it,” he

said. “They can help with traffic details when you’re working parades, football games, basketball games, carnivals. If all these people were actually here and had proper training, they can be a force multiplier. But that wasn’t the case, so I got rid of the whole thing.”

Gumbinner, who pleaded guilty to bribery, is scheduled to be sentenced Jan. 28, as are the two other men who admitted to taking part in the scheme. Rick Rahim, 60, of Fairfax, who owned several businesses at the time he was charged, including a food truck company, pleaded guilty to bribery and mail fraud. James Metcalf, 62, of Prince William, who owned an information technology consulting business when he became an auxiliary deputy, also pleaded guilty to bribery.

They face possible prison sentences ranging from 18 months to two years, court documents show. Metcalf’s attorney declined to discuss the case and lawyers for the other two did not return messages seeking comment.

Rahim, who has a conviction record for nonviolent felonies in Northern Virginia, faced an obstacle in becoming an auxiliary deputy, prosecutors said. Because of his earlier crimes, he was barred from possessing a gun. Under state law, the prohibition could be lifted only by a judge in Rahim’s home county. Jenkins is accused of helping Rahim establish a phony residence in Culpeper, after which the sheriff used his familiarity and influence in the county courthouse to help get Rahim’s gun rights restored, according to prosecutors.

In return, prosecutors said, Rahim gave Jenkins \$25,000 in cash plus a \$17,500 home construction loan, which he did not repay.

“Personally, the whole thing is unnerving,” Chilton said. “I mean, we had no idea. We read about this the same time everyone else did, and we were all on the floor, thinking, ‘Oh, my God!’ The sad part is, I’ve known Scott my whole career, and I never would have guessed any of this.”

WMATA looks to redirect automation savings to expanding weekend hours

METRO FROM B1

large deficits with no dedicated funding to cover them, including a \$217 million operating deficit next year.

Research shows automated transit systems are smoother, safer and more efficient than manual ones, and Metro was designed in the 1970s to allow computers to set train speeds and stops. But automatic operation was turned off after a deadly crash in 2009, even though an investigation later concluded that it played no role in the collision. A different computer system had failed — automatic train protection, which is integral to Metro’s functioning and was never deactivated. It failed to detect a train stuck on the tracks, leading to a collision in which nine people died.

The subsequent National Transportation Safety Board review found that if the struck train was in automatic mode, the crash might not have occurred. But the federal probe found deep deficiencies in Metro’s safety culture

that contributed to the crash, and those problems kept the agency from relaunching automation. Six years later, a deadly smoke incident at L’Enfant Plaza caused by a defective cable showed those problems had not been solved. Congress set up the WMSC to oversee the rail system.

Service hours were subsequently cut to give workers more time to do repairs. Metro agreed to expand hours again in early 2020 — right before the coronavirus pandemic hit and forced people into their homes.

Now ridership is rising again. Metro officials say they have greatly improved operations in recent years — in particular, overhauling a control center whose leaders the WMSC had described as “toxic and antithetical to safety.” Under Clarke, who came on in 2022, service and ridership have improved.

“This is 15 years in the making of getting this organization back,” he said of automated service at a recent board meeting. “It will definitely improve safety, it will



BILL O’LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

A Metro budget proposal offset with automated service includes a plan to operate rail service from 6 a.m. to 2 a.m. on weekends.

definitely improve reliability” and “it brings cost savings and efficiencies.”

Automated operations were implicated in a 1996 crash where, during a snowstorm, a moving train overshot a station and hit an out-of-service one. According to the federal investigation, the au-

tomatic system was working as if trains could brake more quickly on icy tracks than they actually could. Metro now plans to use manual operations in inclement weather. Every train will have human operators overseeing the automatic system. Trains will also run manually in work zones.

While cuts to late-night service get the most attention, Metro’s own study of cellphone data found that more people were traveling around D.C. between 6 and 7 a.m. on the weekend than 1 and 2 a.m. Compared to other subway systems, Metro says, WMATA has the latest Saturday opening time and some of the lowest overall operating hours. Twenty-four-hour service was added on several city bus routes this year. This fall, over protests from bar and restaurant employees, Metro ended a program that subsidized cab rides for workers left stranded by the earlier closing times.

Clarke’s proposed budget would also implement “turn-backs” on some lines to add more service in the system’s core during the rush hour peak, where trains turn around before the end of the line. Those shorter routes are controversial in Maryland, where most far-flung riders are.

At the same time, Metro wants to add service on the Yellow Line, with half of trains going to Greenbelt instead of stopping at Mt.

Vernon Square. Metro also seeks to split the eastern end of the Silver Line, which currently ends in Downtown Largo, between that station and New Carrollton.

The plan has to be approved by Metro’s board of directors, which has representatives from D.C., Maryland, Virginia and the federal government. That process can take months, with public hearings and debates in each jurisdiction over the proposal.

Some local stakeholders have expressed hesitation over adding new service costs when Metro’s financial future is so uncertain. At the same time, there is widespread agreement among officials that Metro should invest in more advanced technology that leaves less room for human error. Officials say the entire 1970s system is out of date and needs to be replaced with new technology.

“I think fully automating our system should be our top priority ... to make sure that rail is safe,” Virginia Del. Mark D. Sickles (D-Fairfax) said at a summit to discuss Metro’s finances.



The Guide to Offers

The Washington Post

Enter for the chance to win a pair of tickets to Sammy Rae & The Friends on December 31 at The Anthem

Sammy Rae & The Friends aren't just a band — they're a family of dreamers and artists united by an all-for-one and one-for-all spirit that fuels their electrifying live shows. These performances, bursting with palpable chemistry and dazzling virtuosity, create a powerful connection between the musicians and their passionate audience. Fronted by singer/songwriter Sammy Rae, the group blends classic rock, folk, funk, soul and jazz into a sound that has drawn thousands of new fans in recent years.

See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)



MARYLAND

Pr. George’s schedules election to replace Alsobrooks

BY KATIE METTLER

The Prince George's County Council on Tuesday scheduled a pair of special elections in March and May to fill the county executive's seat vacated by Democrat Angela Alsobrooks, who is on her way to the U.S. Senate, and the District 5 County Council seat left open after Democrat Jolene Ivey was elected last month to an at-large seat.

A special primary election for

the two seats will be held on March 4, followed by a special general election on May 27, the council decided in a unanimous vote.

Primary races have long been the most competitive in heavily Democratic Prince George's. With these dates set, candidates vying to fill the remainder of the terms for both seats will have about three months to make their cases to voters.

So far, four prominent Demo-

cratic county leaders have declared their candidacy for the role of county executive: State's Attorney Aisha Braveboy, at-large council member Calvin Hawkins, former county executive Rushern Baker and Ivey, who, in another pair of special elections, won the seat that was vacated by former council member Mel Franklin before he pleaded guilty to a felony theft fraud scheme.

Baker, who was county execu-

tive from 2010 to 2018, formally announced his candidacy Monday. The other three candidates declared their bids on Dec. 2, the day Alsobrooks resigned from her seat after defeating former governor Larry Hogan in last month's U.S. Senate race.

Baker said he wants to finish the work he started during his previous service as county executive. He pointed to his work in economic development and public safety, including driving the

MGM casino development at National Harbor and bringing together law enforcement and community organizations to fight violence.

"I have a vision for moving us forward, to making us competitive in this region once again," Baker said during a news conference held Tuesday about his announcement, according to a video of the event that was posted to social media.

During Tuesday's council

meeting, Ivey and Hawkins did not participate in the scheduling discussions or votes for the special elections.

The council discussed a number of competing interests before choosing the March and May election dates, including ensuring that the Board of Elections would have a sufficient amount of time between the two dates to deal with any potential problems with processing ballots.

In Md., failure to promptly hospitalize mentally ill defendants stirs outrage

SANCTIONS FROM B1

together on this," Trunnell said.

"It's a civil rights violation," he said. "We are reliving past times here with mental health."

The backlogs have been a chronic problem for more than a decade and last flared under Gov. Larry Hogan (R) in 2017, when a Baltimore City judge held the state in contempt of court for what she called "knowing, intentional and voluntary" failures to increase hospital capacity.

Now Gov. Wes Moore (D) and Health Secretary Laura Herrera Scott are facing similar scrutiny. Herrera Scott will likely be questioned about the backlog by state lawmakers on Dec. 11, when she is scheduled to testify in front of the General Assembly's joint oversight committee on state personnel and fair practices.

Pressure is mounting on Moore and Herrera Scott to rectify these issues, primarily at Clifton T. Perkins Hospital Center in Jessup, the state's only maximum security psychiatric facility, where people accused of violent felonies are treated. The hospital is being audited by outside evaluators after a Washington Post investigation exposed its struggles with serious violence, contraband drugs and high staff turnover, which Perkins employees blamed on chronic understaffing, toxic leadership and lax oversight.

While Perkins houses those accused of serious violence, Maryland's jail backlogs are affecting people facing charges ranging from simple theft to first-degree murder. In Montgomery County, a woman accused of killing her mother and then calling 911 to report it remains jailed 28 days after a judge ordered her to be hospitalized, and a woman who is in jail after being accused of punching a stranger on a Metro platform was ordered to be hospitalized 91 days ago.

"A defendant who has been deemed incompetent and dangerous should not be held in a detention facility," Bills said from the bench while issuing penalties that ultimately could top \$300,000. "More importantly," she said, people should not "languish in a detention facility when they so desperately need that medical attention."

State hospitals treat patients with a team of psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers whose goal is to stabilize their mental health and teach them about the court system, care that isn't available for those waiting in jail. Another critical difference: Hospitals can force those under their care to take psychiatric medications much more easily than jails can.

A spokesperson for the Health Department declined to comment, referring to the agency's legal arguments in court, where



JAH1 CHIKWENDIU/THE WASHINGTON POST

The Clifton T. Perkins Hospital Center in Jessup, a maximum-security psychiatric hospital, is part of the Maryland Department of Health.

lawyers have said the agency is overwhelmed and underfunded.

On that point, officials and state hospital employees agree. They say discharging patients to make room for new ones is challenging because of a shortage of workers and scarce outpatient treatment options at a time when state data shows that commitment orders have spiked from 582 in 2020 to 1,126 last year.

The solution — and what will motivate state leaders and lawmakers to act on the problem — is less straightforward.

In a court hearing regarding the Montgomery County complaint against health officials, which was filed jointly by the prosecutors' and public defenders' offices, a Health Department attorney said fines aren't a viable deterrent given the harsh reality the department faces.

"Sanctioning an already cash-strapped department, I don't think, achieves what the parties want to achieve," said Musa Eubanks, who has traversed Maryland this year defending the Health Department in similar cases. "Across the state, there just aren't any additional beds."

But fines are one of the only accountability tools at the disposal of judges, who oversee just one part of a multilayered state psychiatric hospital system that spans the judicial, executive and legislative branches of Maryland government. Bills, the Montgomery judge, said the fines are

intended to compel the Health Department to do better.

The Health Department says it can't add more beds or more staff without more money or significant cuts to other functions. And in the upcoming legislative session, officials are bracing for cuts as the state reckons with a projected \$2 billion deficit for fiscal 2026.

In 2017, when the Health Department was held in contempt, the Hogan administration responded by adding more beds and the state legislature passed a law mandating the 10-day transfer window. That law empowered judges to sanction health officials for failing to comply with the timetable, including forcing the Health Department to reimburse local governments for the cost of housing people in their jails when they should have been in a state hospital.

Christopher Klein, superintendent of the Anne Arundel Department of Detention Facilities and vice president of the Maryland Correctional Administrators Association, said judges have ordered the Health Department to pay more than \$200,000 to his department to reimburse the cost of housing defendants past the 10-day mark. But the money appears to be hung up in court appeals.

"We have yet to see one cent," Klein said, while testifying in a recent hearing.

He sees the effect daily of keeping mentally ill defendants

inside the jails. Those in particular despair kick repeatedly on the cell doors, scream out during the night and stop eating.

"It's inhumane," Klein said.

He and his corrections colleagues are well aware of the Health Department's limited bed space and staffing shortages. But they, too, have challenges, he said, and don't get to turn away people brought to them by police or sentenced to them by judges. They're growing increasingly frustrated, Klein added, by a department that for years has ignored the state law mandating quick transfers.

"Our business is rooted in adhering to laws," Klein said. "We're dealing with a department that doesn't do that."

The Health Department tries to manage the backlog by communicating with jails to move the least stable defendants to the top of the waiting lists. While that makes sense, Klein said, it keeps some stuck on the list for 200 days or more.

"They're considered 'low acuity,' therefore they become low priority," Klein said.

Still, so many severely unwell people remain stuck in his jail, Klein said, that he'd like the same authority that state hospitals have to be able to force them to take medication. While that may sound extreme in a jail, he says, so is keeping people who are deteriorating by the day.

Klein said that his jail could set up protections: Two medical

doctors would have to sign off on the forced medication and the detainee would be given an advocate to speak on their behalf.

"If the Health Department wants to pretend I am a hospital," Klein said, "I should have the tools that hospitals have."

Employees at the state's psychiatric hospitals, including those represented by the state employee union AFSCME Maryland Council 3, have said that a failure to hire and retain enough staff is in part to blame for the ongoing patient backlog.

At a union rally Tuesday outside the Health Department's headquarters in downtown Baltimore, Perkins social worker Miriam Doyle said her work "benefits the entire state of Maryland because if I can help successfully rehabilitate our patients and help them safely transition back to the community with care and support, then we are reducing violence and recidivism."

But that work is made much harder without sufficient staffing. There should be two social workers on every unit at Perkins, she said. But in the seven years she has worked at the hospital, "that has never been the case."

Instead, she said, she has spent periods of more than a year managing a unit alone.

"When I'm the only social worker on my wards, there's only so many patients I can discharge, which in turn slows down how many new patients we can admit," Doyle said. "This means

that there are people who desperately need treatment but are instead languishing away in our jails."

She said this leaves the hospital "spending resources dealing with fines and sanctions from the courts."

"No one wins," Doyle said.

Maryland's problems mirror those nationwide — with more than 5,500 defendants in local jails across the United States waiting for court-ordered transfer to treatment at state hospitals.

"These numbers are exploding all over the country," said Lisa Dailey, executive director of the Treatment Advocacy Center, a nonprofit organization that tracks the backups. "It's a national disgrace."

A core cause of the crisis, she said, is a societal failure to get people community mental health support — including committing people to mental health hospitals for care before they get into trouble.

"They just bump around the community until they get arrested," Dailey said.

The issue dates back decades to the sins of institutionalized psychiatric hospitals, she said, which were too easy to get into and too hard to get out of. Society moved to close them down even as it didn't set aside enough money for local treatment or housing for people dealing with mental illness. As a result, according to a Treatment Advocacy Center report earlier this year, the United States had about six times more state psychiatric hospital beds in 1980 than it does now.

"We went too far and overcompensated for the abuses of the past," Dailey said.

At the same time, there are rising rates of severe mental illness nationwide. More defendants, after arriving at jails and receiving psychiatric evaluations, are deemed not mentally competent enough to go through a trial, Dailey said. In turn, judges are ordering more transfers from jails to psychiatric hospitals.

And with little to no available bed space at those hospitals, defendants remain where they are — in jails. Nationwide, they spend an average of two months there before the transfer, according to Dailey. The result is a system doing the opposite of what it was designed for, she said, often making people's mental health worse.

While more psychiatric hospital bed space is clearly needed, Dailey said, she doesn't see enough state health agencies making spirited requests to their legislatures.

"There is a certain kind of fatalism out there they won't get what they need," Dailey said. "We try every solution except the most basic and obvious one."

GOP lawmakers appear to welcome Bowser’s focus on return-to-office mandate

BOWSER FROM B1

it Tuesday until asked directly by a Democratic representative. D.C. Council Chairman Phil Mendelson (D), who also testified, took the opposite approach — stressing its importance in both his 14-page testimony and live before the lawmakers.

The hearing, while a signal that Republican members of Congress plan to continue aggressive oversight of the District, offered the lawmakers a relatively easy audience. The subcommittee is without any of the representatives known for publicly lambasting the District, and the economic focus of the meeting largely spared city officials from wading into hot-button issues most likely to drive a wedge between D.C. and its federal partners.

Still, the hearing had potential to further divide Republican lawmakers with the leaders of

the deep-blue city, who, because of the District's status, have few options to stave off federal intervention. Last year, Congress blocked local legislation for the first time in 30 years — overturning a revision to D.C.'s criminal code with the support of President Joe Biden amid a historic spike in violent crime. A day before her Tuesday appearance on the Hill, Bowser convened a news conference in part to take credit for the city's sharp decrease in violent crime.

This year's federal budget for D.C. includes 13 riders that restrict how the city uses its funding and enacts its policies — from a long-standing rider banning the commercialization of marijuana to a provision that would block the District from allowing noncitizens to vote in local elections. And Trump in his presidential campaign platform vowed to exercise his authority

to "clean up" cities such as D.C. and carry out "the largest deportation operation in American history."

"There will be some deportation activity happening," Rep. Ashley Hinson (R-Iowa) said Tuesday. "Are you planning to comply with ICE detainer orders if those come to your police department?"

"We will follow the law," Bowser replied. D.C. law limits jail officials' cooperation with federal immigration authorities. Her administration declined to clarify whether she was referring to local or federal law.

Bowser's focus on federal workers comes as congressional Republicans have embraced the mission advertised by Trump's "Department of Government Efficiency," which has vowed to ban telework and remote work and cast employees who take advantage of such policies as

lazy, costly and ineffective. Bowser, who ordered her own employees back to the office in the summer of 2021, has for years been outspoken about her desire to see the federal government mandate that its workers return downtown, a move she sees as essential to the economic well-being of the capital city.

Bowser's focus on a return-to-office mandate appeared to be well-received Tuesday by federal lawmakers across the aisle. The chairman of the subcommittee, Rep. David Joyce (R-Ohio), said immediately after the hearing that ending telework would be "a very important part of this next administration." Hinson from the dais thanked Bowser for "highlighting the importance of an in-person federal workforce."

Officials were similarly collegial while discussing covering the cost of District support for activities associated with the federal

government — a perennial issue for D.C., which routinely spends more money than Congress appropriates to manage national events and demonstrations that have grown in frequency and size over the last eight years.

In this year's fiscal budget, Bowser has requested \$100 million from the federal government for such costs, a sum that includes \$47 million for the inauguration. The total request is about twice as much as the city received in 2021, the last time it hosted a presidential inauguration. The District said it spent \$81.5 million on federal activities that year.

Over the last four years, Congress has not reimbursed the District for \$83 million spent in policing and staffing federal activities such as protests and visits of foreign dignitaries, Mendelson said.

Joyce said he wanted to make sure the District had the "where-

withal" to keep its residents and visitors safe, referencing apparent assassination attempts against Trump as reason to ensure adequate funding.

"I take emergency preparedness very seriously, particularly when it comes to protecting President-elect Trump," he said.

Joyce, who has supported removing the marijuana rider, again signaled a willingness to work with D.C. officials to allow them to regulate a legal market — saying "we may agree on the desire to review and modify" the provision. But Joyce does not have the support among his Republican colleagues to remove the rider.

The subcommittee chairman ended the hearing by celebrating the two hours as "relatively painless."

Meagan Flynn contributed to this report.

OBITUARIES

PETER B. TEELEY, 84

Aide to George H.W. Bush invented ‘voodoo economics’

BY EMILY LANGER

Peter B. Teeley, who made a lasting entry in the political lexicon during the 1980 presidential primary when, as press secretary to George H.W. Bush, he came up with the term “voodoo economics” to knock the supply-side agenda of Bush’s then-rival Ronald Reagan, died Nov. 29 at a hospital in Washington. He was 84.

He had tracheal cancer, said his wife, Victoria Casey. Mr. Teeley previously survived colon cancer and two bouts of throat cancer.

Mr. Teeley, an old hand in Republican politics, was born in a shipbuilding town on the northwestern coast of England that endured heavy bombardment during World War II.

He celebrated his seventh birthday at sea en route to the United States. He became an American citizen and, ultimately, a trusted aide to a long line of local, state and national political leaders.

The most important of them was Bush, whom Mr. Teeley served as press secretary during Bush’s unsuccessful campaign for the White House in 1980, his winning bid in 1988 and his time as vice president in between.

Mr. Teeley had his first taste of presidential politics working for Gerald Ford’s failed 1976 campaign. The campaign was managed by James A. Baker III, who helped bring Mr. Teeley into the Bush orbit four years later.

Bush’s inner circle used the term “B.B.I.” — “Bush Before Iowa” — to refer to the team of staffers who were with the candidate before he pulled off a surprise victory in the Iowa caucuses over Reagan, the former California governor. Reagan went on to win the 1980 Republican nomination and then the presidency with Bush as his running mate.

Mr. Teeley was “a charter member of B.B.I.,” historian Jon Meacham, the author of the Bush biography “Destiny and Power,” said in an interview. He was “an important part of a core group of people around George Bush in a campaign that made, in many ways, the Bush presidency possible, even though it was eight years later.”

According to Meacham’s book, Mr. Teeley supplied Bush with the term “voodoo economics,” a catchphrase intended to deride Reagan’s plan to invigorate the economy through tax cuts.

Mr. Teeley said he had read an editorial dismissing President Jimmy Carter’s economic policies as having been concocted by economic “witch doctors.” Inspired to lob a similar attack at Reagan, he reflected on what witch doctors do.

“And then it hit me,” Meacham



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GEORGE H.W. BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

quoted him as saying. “They do ‘voodoo,’ and I put it in Bush’s speech.”

The phrase, which never faded from politics, came to haunt Bush when Reagan selected him as his running mate and Democrats turned the phrase against the Republican ticket.

“He used to complain that [it] was the only memorable thing I ever wrote and it got him into trouble,” Mr. Teeley jokingly told a reporter years later.

From 1981 to 1985, during Bush’s first term as vice president, Mr. Teeley served as his press secretary. He left the job to open a

public relations firm, Teeley & Associates, but returned to work for Bush during the 1988 campaign that propelled him to the presidency.

In May of that year, with Bush slipping in the polls against Democrat Michael Dukakis, Mr. Teeley resigned as chief spokesman

Peter Teeley coined the oft-repeated phrase during the presidential primaries in 1980 while serving as press secretary to George H.W. Bush, before Bush was nominated to be vice president by Ronald Reagan. Mr. Teeley was also a confidant for Bush, who relied on him when he became president and after his time in office.

amid internal disagreement over campaign strategy. Mr. Teeley argued for a more aggressive approach, which Bush wished to defer until later in the campaign.

“He wasn’t just a ‘yes’ person,” said David Clanton, a longtime friend of Mr. Teeley’s who worked with him when they were young staffers in the office of Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R-Michigan). “He would speak candidly to whoever he was talking with.”

Mr. Teeley remained on Bush’s 1988 campaign staff. As president, Bush named him U.S. representative to UNICEF and then ambassador to Canada. His tenure in Ottawa, where he arrived in mid-1992, was cut short when Bush lost his reelection bid to Democrat Bill Clinton that November.

Mr. Teeley later worked as vice president for government and public relations at the biotechnol-

ogy company Amgen.

Peter Barry Teeley was born on Jan. 12, 1940, in Barrow-in-Furness, England, a town subjected to what was known as the “Barrow Blitz” by the German Luftwaffe during World War II.

After the war, he and his parents joined a paternal aunt in Detroit. Mr. Teeley spent the rest of his upbringing in Michigan, delivering newspapers to help his parents make ends meet. His father worked on an assembly line, according to Mr. Teeley’s wife, and his mother managed their apartment building in exchange for free rent.

Mr. Teeley studied English and journalism at Wayne State University in Detroit, where he graduated in 1965. He took jobs in public relations and advertising before venturing into politics.

The first elected officials he worked for included Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, a Democrat, and Michigan Gov. George W. Romney, a Republican.

Mr. Teeley came to Washington as an aide to Griffin and later worked for Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-New York) before joining the Ford campaign.

Mr. Teeley’s marriages to Eileen Stempien, Sandra Evans and Valerie Hodgson ended in divorce.

Besides Casey, his wife of 23 years, survivors include two daughters from his first marriage, Susan Risi and Laura Stanley; two daughters from his third marriage, Adrienne Teeley and Randall Teeley; a daughter from his fourth marriage, Rosa Casey-Teeley; and two granddaughters.

With co-author Philip Bashe, Mr. Teeley wrote the book “The Complete Cancer Survival Guide” (2000). Bush provided a foreword.

Mr. Teeley was found to have colon cancer — his first cancer diagnosis — in 1991 and became gravely ill during treatment. Bush, then serving as president, sent one of his physicians to oversee Mr. Teeley’s care and personally called the intensive care unit to check on his friend.

In the aftermath of his illness, Mr. Teeley drew on his experience at UNICEF to found the Children’s Charities Foundation. Since its establishment in 1994, the group has distributed \$10.5 million across the Washington area and has provided more than 50,000 new winter coats to needy children, according to the organization. One of its signature fundraising events was the BB&T Classic college basketball tournament.

“One thing I learned when I got ill,” Mr. Teeley told Washingtonian magazine in 1995, “is your spirit and your health are better when you’re working on worthwhile things for the future.”

DAVID STEINBERG, 96

Myanmar scholar’s career spanned diplomacy, academia over 7 decades

BY BRIAN MURPHY

David I. Steinberg, a preeminent Western analyst on Myanmar whose insights on the country informed journalistic coverage during decades of coups and bloodshed, including a scorched-earth campaign against the Rohingya Muslim minority, died Dec. 5 at his home in Bethesda, Maryland. He was 96.

His son Eric Steinberg confirmed the death but did not cite a specific cause.

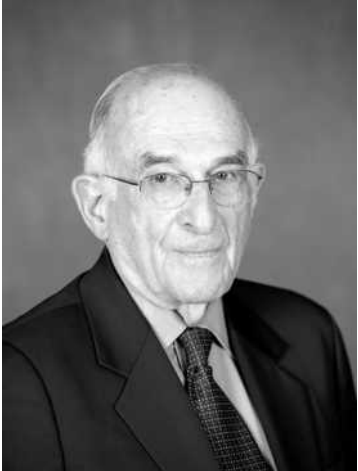
Over a career spanning seven decades in think tanks, diplomacy and academia, including as director of Asian studies at Georgetown University, Mr. Steinberg sought to explain current political moves and crises through the lens of Myanmar’s history and culture.

He also often criticized U.S. economic sanctions and diplomatic snubs as dead-end strategies in Myanmar that inevitably help Washington’s rivals such as China.

He argued in favor of cautious but consistent outreach by Washington — with Myanmar as well countries such as North Korea and Iran — in attempts to gain even modest leverage and keep open channels with all political groups.

“I am pro-engagement,” he said in a 2007 interview with the South Asia-focused website New Mandala. “If we engage, we should not insult those with whom we try to negotiate even if we profoundly dislike their policies.”

In Myanmar, also known as Burma, the challenges for Western policymakers have grown



PHIL HUMNICKY/GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

David Steinberg was a faculty member at Georgetown.

more acute. Chinese influence and investment have surged as Beijing seeks an insider track to Myanmar’s significant natural resources such as teak, copper, offshore gas reserves and the potential for hydroelectric power to feed the Chinese economy.

At the same time, the West’s main hope for civilian-led political reforms, Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, was silenced — jailed in a 2021 military coup. Even before that, Suu Kyi’s international stature had plummeted because of her defense of Myanmar’s military in 2019 amid its attacks on the Rohingyas.

Myanmar’s military-led assaults have claimed tens of thousands of lives and sent more than 700,000 Rohingya refugees fleeing to neighboring Bangladesh. In 2022, Secretary of State Antony

Blinken said authorities in Buddhist-majority Myanmar were carrying out genocide and crimes against humanity.

In a somewhat contrarian view, Mr. Steinberg parsed Blinken’s language. Mr. Steinberg agreed that Myanmar carried out “many despicable acts of destruction, murder, rape, arson, pillaging, war crimes, or crimes against humanity,” but he objected to the term “genocide” as unhelpful and imprecise.

He believed Blinken’s comments undermined U.S. interests by extending the blame of genocide onto previous civilian leaders, including Suu Kyi, who are potentially crucial for any return to democracy in Myanmar.

“The U.S. action may appeal to some members of Congress and place the United States in a morally defensible position,” Mr. Steinberg wrote in an essay for the Pacific Forum, a foreign policy think tank. “But if the desired effect was also to delegitimize the Myanmar military, it does so at the expense of the previous civilian government.”

Such analyses left Mr. Steinberg open to criticism of being too nuanced and deferential in judgments on Myanmar — a country once seen as a potential regional power in the 1950s but that fell into recurring cycles of political instability and military-led regimes.

In 2005, a Myanmar pro-democracy activist, Myint Thein, described Mr. Steinberg as “the leading apologist of the Burmese military regime” for opposing sanctions.

But that same attention to historical context and cause-and-effect linkage made Mr. Steinberg an indispensable sounding board for journalists, scholars and researchers.

In hundreds of interviews and essays, he helped make sense of Myanmar’s churn of civilian governments and military coups. In the most recent putsch, the armed forces ousted Suu Kyi’s National League for Democracy after its landslide election victory.

Mr. Steinberg was rare among Western academic specialists on Myanmar for his personal connections, spanning groups from merchants to military officials to Buddhist monks. Some relationships went back to his work in Myanmar from 1958 to 1962 with the Asia Foundation, a nonprofit development group.

Mr. Steinberg also was a reality check on the various Western overtures to Myanmar. With Suu Kyi, he pointed out her flaws as well as her strengths during her political rise, beginning with pro-democracy protests in 1988. She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991 while under house arrest. (She was under house arrest for a total of nearly 15 years from 1989 to 2010.)

He acknowledged her power and symbolism as the daughter of “the George Washington of Burma,” Aung San, who negotiated independence from the British and was assassinated in 1947 just months before the end of colonial rule. Mr. Steinberg also called her “rigid and uncompromising.”

He contended that she would never abandon her deeply nation-

alist views, rooted in ideas of Buddhism as the country’s pillar and identity. He questioned whether she could accept other faiths and ethnic groups as political equals.

His assessments on Myanmar always circled back to one inescapable fact: that the military dictates everything from state jobs to education opportunities. “Until that changes,” he wrote, “they are going to be in a strong position in that society.”

Early interest in Asia

David Isaac Steinberg was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on Nov. 26, 1928. His father was head of proctology at Beth Israel Hospital in Boston, and his mother was a homemaker.

Mr. Steinberg said his interest in East Asia began in high school when he noticed the textbooks had few references to Chinese history. While at Dartmouth College, he was part of the last group of exchange students at Lingnan University in Canton, now known as Guangzhou, just before Mao Tse-tung came to power in the 1949 communist revolution.

Mr. Steinberg graduated from Dartmouth in 1950 and during the Korean War he worked for the National Security Agency, trying to decipher the codes of Chinese forces.

He received a master’s degree in Chinese studies from Harvard University in 1955 and did additional postgraduate work at the University of London’s School of Oriental and African Studies.

His four years in Myanmar with the Asia Foundation ended

in 1962 when the country expelled all outside groups. Mr. Steinberg remained with the organization and relocated to Hong Kong and then South Korea, where he met his future wife, Myung-Sook Lee, a singer. (She later was known as Ann Myongsook Lee and became a music professor at George Washington University.)

In the late 1960s, Mr. Steinberg began a nearly two-decade career with U.S. government agencies, including coordinating programs in East Asia and other regions with the U.S. Agency for International Development.


He served as president of the Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs think tank before joining Georgetown as a professor of Korean studies in 1990. He was the director of Asian studies at the university from 1997 to 2007.

His more than a dozen books include “Turmoil in Burma: Contested Legitimacies in Myanmar” (2006) and “Stone Mirror: Reflections on Contemporary Korea” (2002).

In addition to his wife of 58 years and his son Eric, survivors include another son, Alexander; and two grandchildren.

At a Senate subcommittee hearing in 2009, Mr. Steinberg tried to convey Myanmar’s collective mindset, including the military brass. He surprised lawmakers by saying that many in Myanmar’s military harbored “enormous fear” of a U.S. invasion.

“We talk about regime change, we talk about outposts of tyranny,” he said. “This reinforces the problem, I think, of trying to negotiate with them.”



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DEATH NOTICE

BLAKE

MARY E. BLAKE
Mary E. Blake, 88, of Ashburn Virginia, passed away on Wednesday morning, December 4, 2024 after a long battle with Alzheimer's Disease.

Mary was born on April 25, 1936 to Ethel and Kenneth Watts in Takoma Park, Maryland. In 1954 she met the love of her life, Thomas (Pat) Blake and they wed in 1955, going on to have seven children, Kevin (Pat), Mark (Elizabeth), Maureen (Steve), Jeff (Carol), Robin (Mike), Michael (Meridith) and Chris. She is blessed with 25 grandchildren and 19 great-grandchildren.

She is predeceased by her husband, Thomas (Pat) Blake.


Mary was a devoted wife, mother and homemaker who drew her strength from her devout Catholic faith. Mary excelled at motherhood and her home was a haven for children in the neighborhood.

The family extends their heartfelt appreciation to the Staff and all those who had an interaction with our mother at the Manassas Health & Rehab Memory Care Unit, for the love and care they provided to Miss Mary over the last 3+ years.

In lieu of flowers please make a donation in her memory to:
Cloverleaf Equine Center
12933 Popes Head Road
Clifton, VA 20124

A Visitation will take place on Thursday, December 12, 2024 from 5 to 8 p.m. at Loudoun Funeral Chapel. Funeral Mass will be held Friday, December 13, 2024 at 10:30 a.m. at St. Theresa Catholic Church in Ashburn, VA. Mary will be laid to rest with her late husband at Quantico National Cemetery.

Please share online condolences to the family at
www.loudounfuneralchapel.com



DEATH NOTICE

DEADWYLER

RICHARD DEADWYLER
Deacon Richard Deadwyler departed quietly Saturday November 30, 2024. Survived by his wife of 57 years, Deaconess Judy Deadwyler, three sons, one daughter-in-law, and two granddaughters. Deacon Deadwyler will live in state at Friendship Baptist Church 900 Delaware Ave. SW, Washington, DC, December 14, 2024, 10 a.m. until time of service at 11 a.m. Interment Fort Lincoln Cemetery.

DEATH NOTICES

MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.
SATURDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.
SUNDAY - SELF - SERVICE ONLY

To place a notice, call:
202-334-4122
800-627-1150 ext 4-4122

EMAIL:
deathnotices@washpost.com

Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible family.
Email deadline - 3 p.m. daily
Phone-In deadline
4 p.m. M-F
3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2024 RATES: (PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Black & White
1" - \$160 (text only)
2" - \$370 (text only)
3" - \$525
4" - \$575
5" - \$725

SUNDAY
Black & White
1" - \$191 (text only)
2" - \$405 (text only)
3" - \$580
4" - \$610
5" - \$790

6"+ for ALL Black & White notices \$160 each additional inch Mon - Sat \$191 each additional inch Sunday

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Color
3" - \$670
4" - \$725
5" - \$885

SUNDAY
Color
3" - \$710
4" - \$810
5" - \$985

6"+ for ALL color notices \$268 each additional inch Mon - Sat \$299 each additional inch Sunday

Notices with photos begin at 3" (All photos add 2" to your notice.)

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All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque

Additional plaques start at \$26 each and may be ordered.

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Notices must be placed via phone or email. Photos not included. You can no longer place notices, drop off photos and make payment in person. Payment must be made via phone with debit/credit card.



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


GLENN



LARITA L. ALSTON GLENN
Mrs. Larita L. Alston Glenn of Warof, MD departed this life on November 30, 2024 at Holy Cross Hospital. Ms. Glenn is survived by her husband, Mr. Daryl Glenn, daughter Destinee Glenn; mother Darlene Alston; four brothers, two sisters, and a host of other relatives and friends. Viewing will be held on Thursday, December 12, 2024 from 10 a.m. until hour of funeral service at 11 a.m. at Faith City Central Church, 2261 Oxon Run Dr, Temple Hills, MD. Services entrusted to D.L. McLaughlin Funeral Home.

DEATH NOTICE

LILLARD




BARBARA DOHERTY LILLARD
Barbara Doherty Lillard (Age 74) of Alexandria VA passed away on Thanksgiving Day November 28, 2024. Barbara was born August 13, 1950, in Pittsburgh PA, the first child of Walter and Anne Doherty. She grew up in Mt Lebanon and attended University of Pittsburgh where she received undergraduate and graduate degrees in education. A language arts teaching job at Lynnhaven Junior High took her to Virginia Beach VA, where she met John, a "cocky" young naval officer. They married on St Patrick's Day in 1984, and together raised two fine young sons. After Navy life concluded, Barbara and John settled in Northern Virginia and she began teaching again, first at Our Lady of Good Counsel in Vienna then at Star of the Sea in Virgry. Maryland. After retirement, Barbara and John settled in Alexandria. Teaching and nurturing would define Barbara's life, whether formally in school or informally in the home. She also was active in the Beacon Circle of the Children's Hospital of the King's Daughter's, the Junior League of Northern Virginia, and especially the Gonzaga College High School Mothers Club. She was also a proud docent at the Library of Congress.

Barbara is survived by her husband, sons James and Sean, daughter-in-law Allison Bidwick, granddaughter Gracie, sisters Christine Fisher (Jim), Denise Simonik (Tom) and Maggie Lynch (David), sister-in-law Sharon Doherty, and a loving extended Irish family. She was predeceased by her parents and her brothers Michael and Sean.

A funeral mass will be held at Blessed Sacrament Roman Catholic Church, Alexandria VA, on January 30, 2025. In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions can be made to one of Barbara's favorite charities, The Father-McKenna Center (www.fathermckennacenter.org) or So Others Might Eat (www.some.org), both in Washington DC.

DEATH NOTICE

MASTERS



ALICE MASTERS (Age 99)
Alice Masters, 99, who was saved from the Nazis at age 14 by the heroic efforts of Sir Nicholas Winton, died on November 19, 2024. Born Alice Eberstarkova on May 10, 1925 in the remote village of Trstená, Czechoslovakia, she and her sisters Josi and Elli were among the 669 children rescued by Winton. Their story inspired the recent film "One Life" starring Anthony Hopkins and Johnny Flynn. Despite limited schooling due to the Nazi invasion, Alice was determined to control her destiny and emigrated to the U.S. in 1948 where she built a career in administration with the International Monetary Fund, retiring in 1986. In 1950, she married the love of her life Peter Masters, a Jewish commando whose memoir, "Striking Back," recounts his resistance against the Nazis. Together they created a beautiful home filled with art and antiques and put their three children through college. For years, Alice spoke little of her Holocaust experience but later shared her story in DC area schools. Her testimony was recorded by the USC Shoah Foundation, founded by Steven Spielberg. She is survived by daughters Anne and Kim Masters; son Tim (Lori McFarling); grandchildren David, Sam, and Hannah Quinn (Micah Gibson); Delia Simon; Charlotte, William, and Joe Masters; great-grandchildren Leah and Max Gibson. A Celebration of Life will be announced in 2025. Donations may be made to the International Rescue Committee, Jewish Federation of Greater Washington, or the Kindertransport Association.

DEATH NOTICE

SANDRI



LOIS MAE (HARRISON) SANDRI
Lois Mae (Harrison) Sandri, 94 years old, passed away peacefully on December 5, 2024, in Columbus, Georgia. She was born January 25, 1930, in Chicago, Illinois, to Joseph Pavnell Harrison, Jr. and Cecelia (Sendelbach) Harrison. Lois was a devoted and loving wife, mother of four, and grandmother of five.

The third of six children, Lois in her youth sported sandy blonde curls and green-blue eyes. She earned track ribbons in grade school and enjoyed participating in choir. She often sewed her own clothes in the latest fashion. A good student, Lois graduated from Steinmetz High School in Chicago in 1947, and later earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Northwestern University. After college, she worked for a public relations firm with offices overlooking Lake Michigan. A lifelong chef, she established many favorite dishes and also continually explored various new recipes. Just two weeks ago she was in the kitchen preparing beef cacciatore, and then later in the day roasting walnuts which were then chopped and placed in butter, flour, vanilla and powdered sugar to make snowball cookies. Lois was an avid bridge player, reader, learner, walker, piano player, gardener and lover of the written word. She was a member of the Green Island Garden Club in Columbus, Georgia from its founding.

Lois liked her tea scalding hot, and her eyes twinkled when she laughed, which was often.

Mrs. Sandri is survived by the love of her life and husband of 65 years, Joseph Mario Sandri. She was introduced to Joe through his older brother Gus who was best friends with her sister Ruth's husband, Don Farwell. Joe and Lois were married on January 24, 1959, at St. Ignace Catholic Church in Chicago, Illinois. Together, they raised their children Joan, Joseph, Michael, and Maria, while supporting Joe's career which took them from Chicago, Illinois, to North Muskegon, Michigan, to Arnold, Maryland, and finally, Columbus, Georgia.


She is predeceased by her two older sisters, Betty Puchalski and Ruth Farwell, and her son and daughter-in-law, Michael Victor Sandri and Holly Kortan Sandri. She is survived by her three younger siblings Claire Remer (Bill), Joseph Harrison III, and Nancy Karr, children Joan Piccariello (Harry), Joseph Sandri, Jr., and Maria Kent, grandchildren Eva McNeill (Bradley), Rachael Sandri, Joseph (Jin) Sandri, Joseph Piccariello, and Celia Kent, and many nieces, nephews and friends.

Mrs. Sandri was a lifelong devoted Catholic and a member of Holy Family Catholic Church in Columbus, Georgia. If desired, donations may be made to the parish in memoriam (Holy Family Catholic Church, 320 12th St, Columbus, GA, 31901; www.holyfamilycolumbus.com).

A rosary for Lois will be held Friday, December 13, 2024 from 5:30 to 6 p.m. at Striffler-Hamby Mortuary, 4071 Macon Rd., Columbus, Georgia 31907. A visitation for family and friends will occur after the rosary from 6 to 8 p.m. A funeral mass will be held on Saturday, December 14, 2024 at 10:30 a.m. at Holy Family Church, 320 12th St, Columbus, Georgia 31901. Lois will be laid to rest in Parkhill Cemetery, 4161 Macon Rd, Columbus, GA 31907-2211.

DEATH NOTICE

WERTHEIM



RAYMOND WERTHEIM
Raymond Alan Wertheim, 73, passed away peacefully on December 8, 2024, surrounded by his family. He was born April 30, 1951, in Washington, DC to Evelyn and Kurt Wertheim.

A DC native, Ray received his undergraduate degree from the University of Maryland MD and his medical degree from Howard University Medical School. He completed his residency in psychiatry at the University of Maryland. He specialized in dual diagnosis patients, treating addiction, and general psychiatric conditions. Throughout his stellar career, he helped countless people navigate their way back to happiness, both through his private practice as well as low-income community clinics in Baltimore, MD and the Eastern Shore.

Ray loomed larger than life and lived more than most people. A devoted father, husband, and friend with an incredible sense of humor, he was known among friends and family as a legendary chef and host, throwing the most memorable annual July 4th and Thanksgiving celebrations. As he always said, anything worth doing is worth overdoing. He was a jack of all trades, and a master of them all. His heart was immense, embracing all whom he touched.

He is survived by his wife, Shauna Miller Wertheim, and three children: Jessica (Ian Green) Wertheim, and Michael (Alexa Yarish). The funeral service takes place Thursday, December 12, 2024, 11:30 a.m., at Adas Israel Congregation in Washington, DC. Graveside services to follow at 2 p.m. at King David Memorial Gardens in Falls Chertimes, VA. Family will be observing Shiva at the Wertheim Residence on Thursday and Saturday from 6 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to a community mental health clinic of your choice. Services entrusted to Sagel Bloomfield Danzansky Goldberg Funeral Care.

sagelbloomfield.com

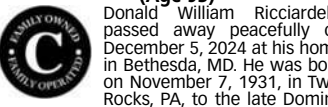
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DEATH NOTICE

RICCIARDELLA



DONALD WILLIAM RICCIARDELLA (Age 93)
Donald William Ricciardella passed away peacefully on December 5, 2024 at his home in Bethesda, MD. He was born on November 7, 1931, in Twin Rocks, PA, to the late Dominico Ricciardella and Lucy Campanaro. Ricciardella is survived by his sisters Anna and Delores and by his many loving nieces and nephews. He is preceded in death by brothers Eugene, Anthony, Joseph, and Dominic, and Sisters Frances and Antoinette. Friends will be received from 9 to 10 am on December 16, 2024 at St. Elizabeth's Catholic Church, 917 Montrose Road, Rockville, MD, followed by a Mass of Christian Burial at 10 a.m. Interment at Gate of Heaven Cemetery will immediately follow. Full obituary can be viewed and condolences may be expressed online.
www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com

DEATH NOTICE

SYMONDS

MICHAEL SYMONDS "Mike"
Michael ("Mike") Symonds died on December 5, 2024 at the age of 69. He was the beloved brother of Liz Symonds (Clayton Englar) and the devoted uncle of Carolyn and Greg Englar. A celebration of his life will be held at 11 a.m. on Saturday, December 21 at the Symonds/Englar residence.

DEATH NOTICE

TOONE



CASSANDRA TOONE
Peacefully entered eternal rest on Sunday, October 20, 2024. Dearly beloved Sister of Patricia Toone and Lynne Saffell. She is also survived by a host of loving relatives and caring friends. Family and friends are invited to a Celebration of Life Memorial Service on Saturday, December 14, 2024. Visitation will be held at 12:30 p.m., with memorial commencement at 1 p.m., at The Episcopal Church of Atonement, 5073 East Capitol Street, SE Washington, DC 20019.


DEATH NOTICE

WASHINGTON

MARY BETTY WASHINGTON
The family announces the passing of Mary Betty Washington born on October 28, 1950, daughter of the late George Sr. & June Washington, on November 29, 2024. She is survived by Alfred Sweeney, siblings (Joyce Seals, George Jr., Jean, Thomas, Jack, Jill Thomas, and Paul), Aunt Fay, Uncles Caldwell & William and a host of nieces, nephews, cousins, and friends. Funeral services will be held on December 13, at 10 a.m. at PRC Church 1019 Park Rd NW, DC.

DEATH NOTICE


ELLIOTT



LANCE ELLIOTT
Lance Elliott of Washington, DC, passed away on December 5, 2024, after a long neurological illness. Born on August 1, 1943, in Chillicothe, Ohio, to Kenneth and Ethel Elliott, he was a beloved husband, father, grandfather, brother, uncle and friend, whose life was marked by kindness, love and community.

DEATH NOTICE

SMITH



PHILLIP D. SMITH
8/23/1933 - 12/2/2024
Alexandria, VA - Navy Rear Admiral Phillip D. Smith (P.D.) (Ret.), 91 of Alexandria, VA, died December 2, 2024 at his home surrounded by family.

The son of Hoke Smith and Nina Diehl Smith, he was born August 23, 1933 in Charleston, WV. Admiral Smith's formative education was at The Marshall University Lab School in Huntington, WV. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Duke University and obtained a Master of Science degree in International Affairs from The George Washington University.

Admiral Smith received his Navy pilot's wings in September 1957 and met his wife of 65 years, Mary Spencer Smith. He began his Naval career which took them around the world and throughout the United States.

He served aboard the USS Hancock and made two deployments to the Gulf of Tonkin in Vietnam. His commands include Patrol Squadron-44 in Brunswick ME, Patrol Wing 2 in Barbers Point HI, and Patrol Wings Pacific in Moffett Field, CA. A specialist in anti-submarine warfare, he accumulated 5000 flight hours in his Naval career. His final assignment, at Central Command in Tampa, FL involved directing the draw-down of military forces in the Arabian Gulf region following Operation Desert Storm. Admiral Smith retired from the Navy in July 1993, having served the country he loved for more than thirty-six years.

His military decorations include: the De-

DEATH NOTICE

GARNETT



GRIFFIN TAYLOR GARNETT III (Age 83)
Griffin Taylor Garnett III, affectionately known as "Bus", passed away on November 20, 2024, at the age of 83. Bus is predeceased by his wife Carole and survived by three sons, Scott (Stephanie), Chris (Heather), and Bryan (Claudia). He is also survived by five grandchildren, his brother, Brooke, four nephews and a niece.

A beloved husband, father, grandfather, lawyer, and true Arlingtonian, Bus's life was marked by his deep love for his family, his dedication to his profession, and his unwavering commitment to the community. Bus also loved the game of golf, from teaching his kids and grandkids how to play to weekends and tournaments with his Washington Golf family.

Funeral services and spreading of the ashes will be held Friday, January 3 at St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Arlington, VA at 11 a.m. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Arlington County Bar Foundation, 1425 N Courthouse Rd., Arlington, VA 22201 or to St. Peter's Episcopal Church, 4250 North Glebe Rd., Arlington, VA 22207.

DEATH NOTICE

HULL



JULIA A. KELLEY HULL
Passed away peacefully on November 24, 2024 at Casey House. A Celebration of her Life and Legacy will be held at 9:30 a.m. on Thursday December 12, 2024 at Peoples UCC, 4704 13th St. NW, followed by Ivy Beyond the Wall service at 10 a.m. Homegoing services will begin at 11 a.m. Internment, Cheltenham Veterans Cemetery at 1 p.m. on Friday December 27, 2024.

www.mcguire-services.com

DEATH NOTICE

ELLIOTT



Raised in Grove City, Ohio, Lance graduated from MacMurray College in 1967, where he met and married Susan Jeanne Ames. They moved to Washington, DC, in 1969, where Lance attended Georgetown University Law School, graduating with a JD in 1976.

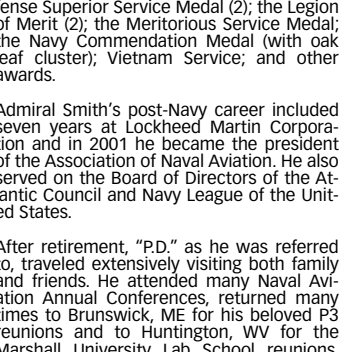
Lance had a 20-year career with the National Bowling Council, serving as the Executive Director until 1995. He then began a second career as an elder law attorney, forming the law firm of Preston & Elliott to help families within the community until his retirement in 2018.

He is survived by his sister, Karen Gunderman, his wife Susan, their children (spouses) Jocelyn Anne Park (Tom Park), Amy Elizabeth Elliott, Peter Kenneth Eldridge Elliott (Amy Talbot Silva Elliott), and grandchildren, Gabriel Adams Elliott, Cyrus Kelly Park, and Emmett James Elliott. He will be dearly missed and always remembered for his gracious nature, sense of humor and love for his family and friends.

A memorial service will be held on Saturday, December 14, at 11 a.m. at St. Columba's Episcopal Church, Washington, DC.

DEATH NOTICE

SMITH



fense Superior Service Medal (2); the Legion of Merit (2); the Meritorious Service Medal; the Navy Commendation Medal (with oak leaf cluster); Vietnam Service; and other awards.

Admiral Smith's post-Navy career included several years as a senior executive in the Corporation and in 2001 he became the president of the Association of Naval Aviation. He also served on the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Council and Navy League of the United States.

After retirement, "PD." as he was referred to, traveled extensively visiting both family and friends. He attended many Naval Aviation Annual Conferences, returned many times to Brunswick, ME for his beloved P3 reunions and to Huntington, WV for the Marshall University Lab School reunions. P.D. was an avid fisherman, golfer, a genuine lover of life and a true friend to all those that he met along the way. He was a man of strong faith and gave much of his time to his local Heritage Presbyterian church where he served as a Church Elder, Sunday school teacher and mentor. In good times and bad P.D.'s sense of humor and his ability to laugh at himself was his most endearing quality. Of all his accomplishments, both academically and militarily he was most proud of his family who will miss him dearly and will think of him often.

He is survived by his wife Mary Evelyn Spencer of Milton, Florida; daughters E. Madeleine Toolan (Robert) and Drucilla D. Harrison (Cam) and son Phillip D. Smith, Jr.; grandchildren, Lauren Spivey Smith (Brad), Rachael G. Gualtiere (Tim) and Conor P. Toolan; and great-grandchild, Maeve Evelyn Gualtiere. He is also survived by his brother-in-law Dr. James Robert Spencer and his cousin, William Smith (Marty).

The funeral will be held at Heritage Presbyterian Church, Alexandria VA, Saturday, December 14, at 2 p.m.

In lieu of flowers memorial contributions are suggested to: Brunswick Naval Aviation Museum, 1792 Admiral Fitch Ave., Brunswick, ME 04011 (BNAMuseum.org) and Heritage Presbyterian Church, 8503 Fort Hunt Rd., Alexandria, VA 22308 (office@heritagechurch-va.org).

No services at this time. Burial with honors at Arlington National Cemetery will be scheduled at a future date.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.


To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.



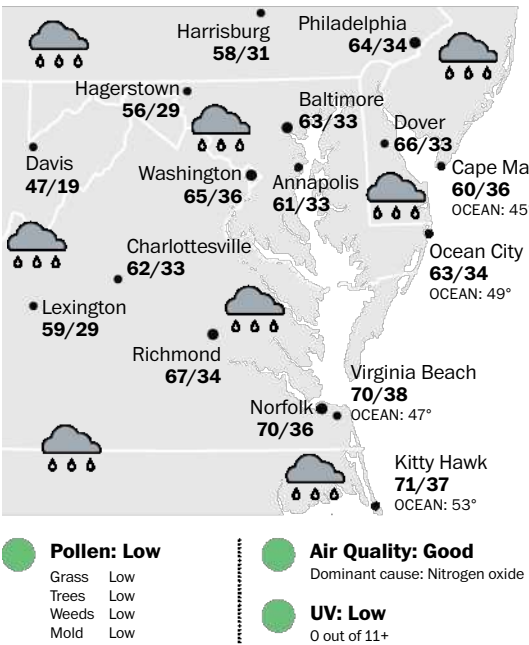
THE WEATHER

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1 to 2 inches of rain expected

 Rain will be heavy at times, with rumbles of thunder possible. Highs should reach the upper 50s to mid-60s. Winds will be somewhat breezy, around 10 to 15 mph from the south with gusts near 25 mph, before gusting 30 to 40 mph from the west late in the afternoon as temperatures fall through the 50s into the 40s. In the evening, the rain should exit, followed by clearing skies and temperatures dropping into the 30s. The wind will start to subside overnight, with lows in the upper 20s to low 30s.

REGION



Blue Ridge: Today, morning rain, mainly cloudy, breezy. High 49 to 53. Winds west-northwest 15–25 mph. Tonight, windy; snow showers with little or no accumulation in southern parts. Low 19 to 23. Winds west 12–25 mph.

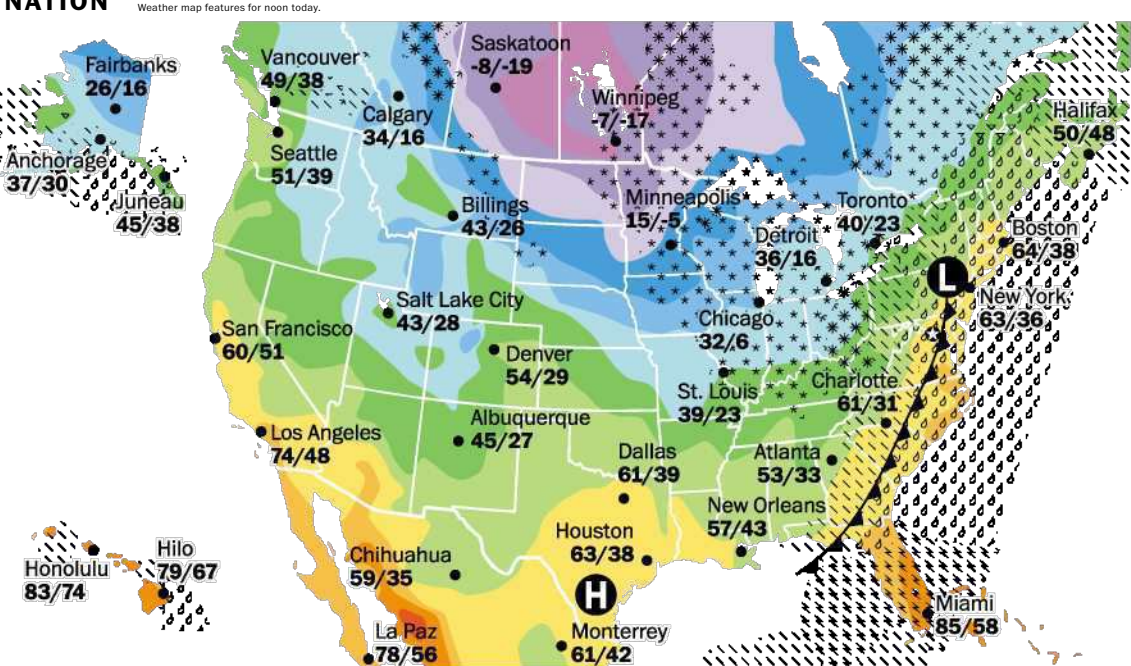
Atlantic beaches: Today, winds becoming strong. High 63 to 70. Winds southwest 25–35 mph. Tonight, rain. Low 32 to 36. Winds west 15–25 mph. Thursday, cooler. High 43 to 48. Winds west 15–25 mph. Friday, sun through high clouds. High 40 to 48.

Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, rain, some heavy, a thunderstorm. Wind southwest 8–16 knots. Waves 1–3 feet. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, heavy rain, a thunderstorm. Wind south 15–25 knots. Waves 1–3 feet on the Lower Potomac; 3–5 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.80 feet today, rising to 3.00 Thursday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in **Bold**)

Washington	3:50 a.m.	10:37 a.m.	4:13 p.m.	11:34 p.m.
Annapolis	12:37 a.m.	7:05 a.m.	1:53 p.m.	8:08 p.m.
Ocean City	3:26 a.m.	9:49 a.m.	3:44 p.m.	9:55 p.m.
Norfolk	5:27 a.m.	11:56 a.m.	5:47 p.m.	11:52 p.m.
Point Lookout	3:09 a.m.	9:40 a.m.	4:32 p.m.	9:36 p.m.

NATION



Tstorms Rain Showers Snow Flurries Ice Cold Front Warm Front Stationary Front

Yesterday's National High: Brownsville, TX 88° Low: Alamosa, CO -15° for the 48 contiguous states

NATIONAL

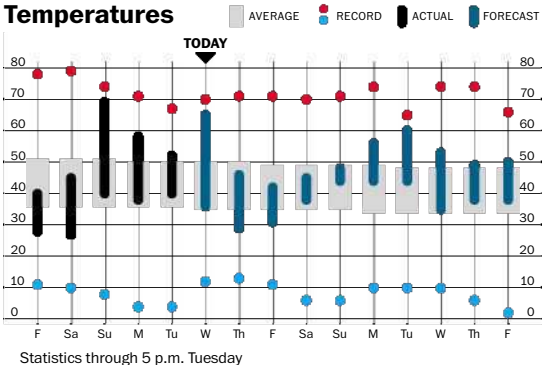
	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	55/32/r	37/19/sf
Albuquerque	45/27/pc	51/30/c
Anchorage	37/30/r	36/29/sn
Atlanta	53/33/r	53/37/s
Austin	64/31/s	65/53/s
Baltimore	63/33/r	42/23/s
Billings, MT	43/26/c	38/27/pc
Birmingham	51/30/s	52/37/s
Bismarck, ND	9/-6/pc	13/6/s
Boise	35/24/c	35/27/r
Boston	64/38/r	44/26/s
Buffalo	43/24/r	26/17/sf
Burlington, VT	49/32/r	36/22/c
Charleston, SC	69/35/r	56/37/s
Charleston, WV	46/27/sn	38/22/pc
Charlotte	61/31/r	50/30/s
Cheyenne, WY	47/31/c	50/25/c
Chicago	32/6/sf	18/13/pc
Cincinnati	38/19/sf	33/24/pc
Cleveland	37/17/sn	24/17/pc
Dallas	61/39/s	62/50/pc
Denver	54/29/pc	51/25/c

Des Moines	25/8/pc	19/12/sn
Detroit	36/16/sf	22/16/sf
El Paso	55/36/pc	59/36/pc
Fairbanks, AK	26/16/pc	23/14/sn
Fargo, ND	-1/-11/sf	2/-3/s
Hartford, CT	63/34/r	42/23/pc
Honolulu	83/74/pc	83/74/pc
Houston	63/38/s	65/54/s
Indianapolis	36/16/sf	27/22/s
Jackson, MS	57/31/s	56/39/s
Jacksonville, FL	71/34/r	58/40/s
Kansas City, MO	53/21/s	36/25/pc
Las Vegas	56/37/pc	57/38/c
Little Rock	53/30/s	57/39/c
Los Angeles	74/48/pc	64/46/c
Louisville	43/24/sf	40/27/s
Memphis	49/29/s	51/39/c
Miami	85/58/sh	74/68/s
Milwaukee	31/5/sf	15/9/pc
Minneapolis	15/-5/sf	8/1/s
Nashville	49/25/pc	47/32/s
New Orleans	57/43/s	58/48/s
New York City	63/36/r	39/27/s
Norfolk	70/36/r	48/32/s

	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	55/32/r	37/19/sf
Albuquerque	45/27/pc	51/30/c
Anchorage	37/30/r	36/29/sn
Atlanta	53/33/r	53/37/s
Austin	64/31/s	65/53/s
Baltimore	63/33/r	42/23/s
Billings, MT	43/26/c	38/27/pc
Birmingham	51/30/s	52/37/s
Bismarck, ND	9/-6/pc	13/6/s
Boise	35/24/c	35/27/r
Boston	64/38/r	44/26/s
Buffalo	43/24/r	26/17/sf
Burlington, VT	49/32/r	36/22/c
Charleston, SC	69/35/r	56/37/s
Charleston, WV	46/27/sn	38/22/pc
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Cheyenne, WY	47/31/c	50/25/c
Chicago	32/6/sf	18/13/pc
Cincinnati	38/19/sf	33/24/pc
Cleveland	37/17/sn	24/17/pc
Dallas	61/39/s	62/50/pc
Denver	54/29/pc	51/25/c

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Cincinnati	38/19/sf	33/24/pc
Cleveland	37/17/sn	24/17/pc
Dallas	61/39/s	62/50/pc
Denver	54/29/pc	51/25/c

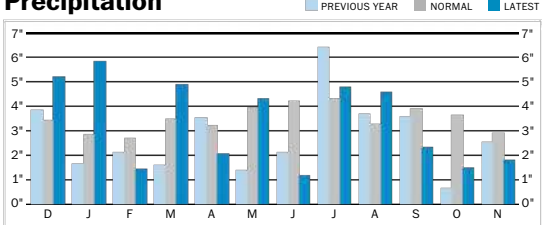
OFFICIAL RECORD



	National	Dulles	BWI
High	52° 3:31 p.m.	51° 2:00 p.m.	48° 2:00 p.m.
Low	40° 4:00 a.m.	38° 4:44 a.m.	42° 5:00 a.m.
Normal	50°/36°	48°/30°	49°/31°
Record high	67° 1966	70° 1966	72° 1966
Record low	4° 1876	4° 1989	1° 1876

Difference from 30-yr. avg. (National): this month: -3.4° yr. to date: +2.4°

Precipitation



	National	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	Trace	Trace	0.00"
Total this month	0.05"	0.07"	0.03"
Normal	1.16"	1.14"	1.26"
Total this year	34.74"	31.10"	34.19"
Normal	39.67"	41.18"	42.66"
Snow, past 24 hours	0.0"	0.0"	0.0"
Snow, season total	Trace	Trace	Trace

Moon Phases



Solar system

	Rise	Set
Sun	7:17 a.m.	4:46 p.m.
Moon	1:52 p.m.	2:53 a.m.
Venus	10:26 a.m.	8:07 p.m.
Mars	8:04 p.m.	10:41 a.m.
Jupiter	4:25 p.m.	7:05 a.m.
Saturn	12:09 p.m.	11:20 p.m.

Islamabad	62/37/pc	63/35/pc	Rio de Janeiro	79/70/t	78/69/pc
Istanbul	53/45/r	49/41/pc	Riyadh	73/45/s	77/48/pc
Jerusalem	66/48/c	63/52/pc	Rome	57/41/s	58/42/s
Johannesburg	88/62/t	90/64/pc	San Salvador	90/69/s	87/68/pc
Kabul	43/29/pc	44/32/s	Santiago	89/52/s	84/54/s
Kingston, Jam.	86/76/pc	86/77/pc	Sarajevo	43/33/s	40/26/c
Kolkata	77/57/pc	76/55/pc	Seoul	44/21/pc	42/24/s
Kyiv	36/28/sf	31/23/pc	Shanghai	49/42/r	54/41/c
Lagos	89/79/pc	88/78/pc	Singapore	88/78/r	89/79/t
Lima	74/64/pc	72/64/pc	Stockholm	34/21/pc	28/16/pc
Lisbon	55/40/s	54/44/s	Sydney	77/65/s	83/69/s
London	46/41/c	48/40/c	Taipei City	76/60/pc	68/61/r
Madrid	47/34/c	50/37/s	Tehran	51/37/pc	50/44/pc
Manila	88/78/r	88/79/sh	Tokyo	57/42/s	53/39/c
Mexico City	70/43/pc	75/49/s	Toronto	40/23/sn	26/18/sf
Montreal	41/29/r	33/17/s	Vienna	37/31/c	38/28/s
Moscow	31/24/c	28/18/c	Warsaw	35/31/sn	35/30/c
Mumbai	92/66/pc	89/66/c			
Nairobi	78/59/c	80/59/pc			
New Delhi	69/45/s	69/48/s			
Oslo	34/23/c	30/21/c			
Ottawa	37/24/sn	28/12/pc			
Paris	42/36/c	39/30/pc			
Prague	34/28/c	34/24/pc			

Key: s=sunny, pc=partly cloudy, c=cloudy, r=rain, sh=showers, t=thunderstorms, sf=snow flurries, sn=snow, ice
Sources: AccuWeather.com, US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data), aimow.gov (air quality data), National Weather Service
* AccuWeather's RealFeel Temperature® combines over a dozen factors for an accurate measure of how the conditions really "feel."







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CORRY ARNOLD

In special, Foxx makes public his 2023 stroke

BY SAMANTHA CHERY

Jamie Foxx's health has been mired in mystery for more than a year after an unspecified, debilitating illness led to his hospitalization in April 2023. The actor and comedian finally pulled back the (medical) curtain in his latest Netflix special, "Jamie Foxx: What Had Happened Was . . .," revealing that he experienced a stroke, after which he needed a nurse to bathe him and had to relearn how to walk.

The hour-long special, which premiered on Tuesday, combined the seriousness of the medical issues Foxx faced with the hilarity of the internet theories that followed. The comedian was brought to tears as he recalled how his sister, Deidra Dixon, advocated for his care and how his then-14-year-old daughter Anelise's guitar playing acted as a "spiritual defibrillator." He also rebuffed rumors that Sean "Diddy" Combs tried to kill him ("I left the parties early. I was out by 9," he quipped) and that he was actually replaced by a clone. ("It ain't enough clone juice in the world to clone me," he said.)

"If I can stay funny, I can stay alive," Foxx repeats throughout the special.

During the show, Foxx recounted the same story he told a crowd during a trip to Phoenix in June. His medical emergency stemmed from a bad headache on April 11, 2023, he said. He asked a friend for aspirin, but before he could take the medication, he was "gone" for 20 days. "I don't remember anything," he said in Phoenix.

His first doctor simply gave him a cortisone shot, he said. But his second doctor, at Piedmont Hospital in Atlanta, told him he'd had a brain bleed that led to a stroke. He underwent a brain operation and later recovered at a rehabilitation facility in Chicago.

Foxx, whose starring role in the 2004 biographical film "Ray" won him an Academy Award and Golden Globe Award for best actor, had wrapped up several successful film projects before his health scare. He played Slick Charles in the 2023 Netflix sci-fi film "They Cloned Tyrone," returned as Electro in

SEE FOXX ON C3

Joni Ernst's winding path to backing Pete Hegseth



Monica Hesse

A good decade ago I spent a few days riding around Iowa in Joni Ernst's RV. It was her first run for the U.S. Senate, and at one campaign stop another journalist pulled me aside to say he had heard a rumor that something

had happened to Ernst many years ago, and he wondered if it had been a sexual assault. He didn't think *he* could bring this up with her, but maybe I, a female reporter, would want to investigate? I did not, of course, because I could not fathom raising this question to a woman I had just met as we barreled down Interstate 35. And more importantly: This was absolutely none of the country's business. Ernst's status as a theoretical assault survivor had no bearing on how she would do her job.

I still believe that first part, that it's none of our business. But as for it affecting how she might approach her job — I've been wondering about that now, about how her experiences shaped her, and how they are guiding the rest of us as we evaluate the fitness of Pete Hegseth.

In 2019, Ernst publicly shared that she had in fact been a victim of assault. In a brave memoir published the following year, she shared more details: The assailant was a college boyfriend, she wrote, and though she had contacted a crisis hotline after the attack, she decided not to report it to authorities. "I couldn't stomach the idea that my rape would become public knowledge," she wrote. "I was sure my boyfriend would find a way to blame me."

But the trauma presumably stayed with her. It might have been what led Ernst, a retired lieutenant colonel in the Iowa National Guard, to spend her time in the Senate focusing on how to address sexual harassment and assault in the military. It certainly led her to

SEE HESSE ON C3

A New York stake in a steak town

Can restaurateur Keith McNally re-create the magic of his beloved Minetta Tavern in a D.C. outpost?

BY RACHEL TASHJIAN
IN NEW YORK

Keith McNally in a dining room of the new Minetta Tavern branch in D.C.'s Union Market District.

Every city has its own celebrities, people who are unrecognizable outside town limits but who, to locals, are worth stopping to give an awkward rush of compliments and ask for a selfie. They remind residents of what makes their metropolis worth bragging about.

This is truer in New York City than perhaps anywhere else, where being smart and interesting can still (at least for a little while longer) be cooler than having a million dollars. The city has Fran Lebowitz, the writer (or "writer"), reminding us with Menckanian grit that pedestrians should not look at their iPhones and dogs should not wear clothes. There are stylish magazine editors such as Graydon Carter and Stelene Volandes, plus "famous" real estate brokers, "famous" yoga instructors, "famous" interior designers. People who are known for baking bread, selling art or covering their apartment in seashells. Some are sexy, and some are very old men. (And some would say that some are both.) Such is the arrogant, lite xenophobia of New Yorkers that, for many taxpayers, Daniel Craig and Rachel Weisz are merely actors who live in Brooklyn.

Keith McNally is New York's restaurateur. He is not a celebrity chef like

Thomas Keller or Gordon Ramsay: celebrated for refining or expanding our taste and bolstered by Michelin mentions, awards and media gigs. In fact, he seems to hate that whole scene of performative food machismo. (Ramsay is a recurring object of his derision on Instagram: "it comes as no surprise he has the most vulgar and expensive car imaginable," McNally wrote under a photo of the chef strutting to his Aston Martin.)

There is nothing really unusual about the food McNally serves at his restaurants, which include Balthazar, a dreamlike French brasserie in New York and London; Pastis, another dreamy French outpost; the old-school den of steak mania, Minetta Tavern, and Italian trattoria Morandi, both in the West Village.

McNally tells us not how to eat — not that our palate is unrefined or boring — but how to dine and often, through his magical restaurants, his Instagram and a memoir, "I Regret Almost Everything," forthcoming in May, how to live. The service in his restaurants is unpushy but kind, the food lovely but unintimidating. You are surrounded by attractive and elegant people, and you glow under the flattering lighting.

SEE McNALLY ON C2

PERSPECTIVE

'Secret Level' scores when it goes beyond the video games

BY GENE PARK

"Secret Level" is a series of short stories about video game worlds that made me reconsider the role of ads and storytelling today.

Video games tell stories, and marketing them involves communicating these stories somehow. Sometimes it's through trailers and ads. Other times, as in the case of the latest production by "Love, Death & Robots" creator Tim Miller, it's through old-fashioned TV narrative. Yes, there are a few episodes that feel like exciting marketing beats for hypothetical video games. The "Concord" episode covers a game literally turned nonexistent as it became an unprecedented flop in the games industry. Sadly, that episode is just a reminder of why audiences rejected that game's dreary world and characters.

It's a rare miss in a strong 15-episode anthology series (which released Tuesday on Prime Video). I entered this series with some cynicism, expecting 15 ads. I walked away thinking only a few had that energy, and some of them were even heartwarming. One brisk but fully realized origin story for the iconic Capcom

SEE PERSPECTIVE ON C2



AMAZON MGM STUDIOS

The origin story of video game character Mega Man, right, is fully realized in one of the stronger episodes of "Secret Level."

Minetta to be old-school outpost

MCNALLY FROM C1

“The experience of stepping inside the door of one of his restaurants is immersive,” said Helen Rosner, a staff writer at the New Yorker who covers food and serves as the magazine’s restaurant critic. “You instantly know exactly who this restaurant expects its customers to be, and the restaurant, with astonishing efficiency, turns you into that person simply by the fact of your being there.”

“That is the most generous and beautiful thing a restaurant can do,” Rosner said.

Aimée Bell, who is editing McNally’s memoir for Gallery Books, an imprint at Simon & Schuster, considers McNally a quintessential New Yorker: “Somebody who comes here, starts out shucking oysters and ends up the emperor of all restaurants.”

Now he’s expanding a slice of his empire to Washington. On Tuesday, McNally opened a new outpost of Minetta Tavern on Morse Alley, off Neal Place NE in Union Market District, with a bar, the Lucy Mercer Bar, above. Minetta joins Pastis, which McNally opened with Stephen Starr in early 2024, but this will be McNally’s first stand-alone D.C. venture: “Although Stephen’s my friend, I was never his partner in any of his restaurants,” McNally wrote to me in a recent email. “I’m simply a co-designer of Pastis, nothing else.”

“There is great *food* in D.C.,” Rosner said. “But there’s less of an organic environment for chefs to be exciting, and for restaurateurs to be excited to be there.”

Ouch. But maybe D.C. will take this small offering from New York and run with it?

“To me,” McNally wrote, “there’s nothing more glamorous than seeing a deeply serious person letting go.”

McNally lives in Soho in the kind of bland silver “luxury” building that scars classic New York neighborhoods. Yet opening his front door is like a portal to another world. He somewhat secretly renovated the space, a rental, into an amalgam of French and English country pleasures, adding nicotine-stained walls, a

cheery English kitchen and multiple pieces of large, simple and sturdy wooden furniture. German expressionist and English Bloomsbury-like paintings are hung salon style all over the walls, and squishy green sofas beckon.

A lesser woman would call it “Nancy Meyers goals,” but McNally is 73 and was born in England, so it is more accurate to call it a boomer-era fantasy of soft European-inspired living, from the time when a Nora Ephron character could be a writer and furnish an uptown apartment with antique quilts, or a playwright could be successful enough to buy a house in the Hamptons. The goal was not merely to become rich but to have enough money (and maybe *just enough* money) to bring your own universe into being.

Piles of books cover every other surface: art books and novels, a huge shelf of Orwell volumes, stacks of World War II tomes, Sally Rooney’s latest. On his bedside table is “Lush Life,” Richard Price’s novel based on McNally’s now-shuttered restaurant Schiller’s, which he had avoided since its 2008 publication but recently, at last, finished and enjoyed. “But my very favorite is Chekhov,” he wrote. “I think his short stories are fantastic.”

Eight years ago, McNally had a stroke that paralyzed half of his body and made speaking difficult. But it has not slowed him down. So in November, he invited me over for croissants on Provençal plates and coffee served in Emma Bridgewater mugs. Very expensive butter was furnished — Rodolphe Le Meunier beurre de baratte, as invitingly yellow as a daisy — and jam. We talked for over an hour, and he then answered questions over email.

Maybe no city is as hard on itself as Washington. Residents are quick to supply reasons for its inferiority: There is no sense of style or interest in fashion, little nightlife, zero glamour. And yet the capital has a history of liveliness, culture, even splendor, even if that has faded or become less important in recent years. Does McNally think he can bring that back, or

launch it anew? “I’m not presumptuous enough to think I can change anything in D.C., but perhaps I can contribute something,” he wrote. “I hope so, but I may be wrong.”

Locals may be experiencing a bit of déjà vu here: In addition to the pseudo-McNally Pastis, does D.C. not already have a pretend-patinaed restaurant? Starr, the Philadelphia-grown kitchen talent, opened Le Diplomate on 14th Street NW in 2013. Anyone who has visited both Le Dip and Balthazar, which opened in 1997, can see the resemblance between the two. Asked what he thinks of Starr’s first French fugazi, McNally is le diplomatic: “I’m very fond of Le Diplomate.”

Minetta will be different. “It’s not just cowboy masculinity,” Rosner said. “It’s the entire weird and playful and bizarre style of tavern dining.” It’s also a steak house, and D.C. is a steak town. Rosner pointed out that Minetta was one of the first steak houses to take its meat seriously — a rejoinder to the assembly line style of steak houses that dominated New York when the restaurant opened in 2009.

And D.C.’s Lucy Mercer Bar — named for the longtime mistress of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt — fills a void in D.C.’s nightlife scene. “It’s an intimate place to go for a cocktail before dinner,” McNally wrote. “Or, if after dinner, you’re not ready to go home but can’t face the hoopla surrounding a club, the Lucy Mercer Bar will be a great, sensual alternative.” Its interiors are inspired by “a style of decoration known as Napoleon III,” McNally wrote. “This mid-19th century French style is characterized by a profusion of rich materials — mirrors, sofas, sconces and chandeliers — that if done well can be easily mistaken for a classy bordello.” Nice.

He’s well aware that D.C. can be somewhat transient. McNally was a vocal supporter of Kamala Harris. Now, D.C. will be Donald Trump’s town — dominated by MAGA bureaucrats and their aliegiant many, several with expense accounts. “I’d happily serve them,” McNally wrote. “If opposing views can’t come together over food what hope is there for



DU SOLEIL PHOTOGRAPHIE

The Lucy Mercer Bar is named after a presidential mistress.

humanity? Trump used to go to Balthazar regularly and was surprisingly gracious to my staff. It’s unsettling when someone doesn’t fit the narrative you have of them and, however much I loathe his politics, I can’t forget how decent Trump was to my staff.”

During the pandemic, when many restaurants, including McNally’s, were closed, McNally’s New York star rose as he began obsessively posting on Instagram.

Posting became a pandemic-era habit that continues to this day. Spending between two minutes and an hour composing a caption, McNally wrote that the more he has to do, the more time he spends on Instagram: “I’m the world’s biggest procrastinator. The more serious work I have to do, the more time I spend on Instagram.” He often appears to spend visits to his own businesses sitting at a table, tapping away on a caption.

It was there that McNally’s talents as a writer became appar-

ent. While some chefs or food figures, such as Samin Nosrat or Ruth Reichl, or most famously Anthony Bourdain, have burnished their profiles with snappy food prose, sustenance may be the subject discussed least on McNally’s Instagram.

His posts are shockingly revealing, financially and otherwise, for a platform that prizes the smoothing of facts and life’s rough edges and treats celebrities like gods. He chronicled the rude behavior of irritating late-night host James Corden, which eventually led to McNally banning him from Balthazar and was covered by the New York Post, Today and People Magazine.

He shares memories and regrets from his marriages, former homes and career — “This house, which belonged to me until my divorce 18 months ago, looked EVEN MORE BEAUTIFUL on the inside. Despite this, I had such a wretched time there, that I don’t miss it at all,” he captioned an image of his former country

house — opines on Woody Allen’s innocence (“I’m not convinced of many things, but I’m convinced Allen is innocent,” he wrote to me) and shares regular reports from Balthazar’s managers. “About 30 minutes later, as I was looking for tables for reservations, I glanced at the door and to my surprise there was Leonardo DiCaprio standing at the podium in his classic baseball cap. I was able to squeeze him and his party of six on table 10, which I was saving for your arrival (Sorry!), and 11,” read a recent lunchtime report.

McNally was already at work on a memoir before he went ‘gram wild, and Bell said she was so enthusiastic about the proposal that she bought the book in a preempt. (McNally came to her through their mutual friend, the late Christopher Hitchens, whom Bell edited while working at Vanity Fair.) “When people come to the book, they’ll expect stories about Balthazar,” said Bell. “It’s really much more about life. I think people are going to be very surprised.”

“Since my early twenties I’ve harbored thoughts of writing, but never of being ‘a writer,’” McNally wrote. He wrote and directed two films, “End of the Night” (1990), which premiered at Cannes, and “Far From Berlin” (1992). (The latter, he said, “was a monumental flop.”) “The second worst thing about suffering a stroke (eight years ago) was being left paralyzed on the right side of my body. Because this meant losing the use of my right hand ... in order to write my memoir I had to first learn to type with my left hand. If there’s a literary prize for books written with one hand I’m pretty sure I’ll be short-listed.”

That Frank Sinatra song about New York is very wrong: “If you can make it here, you’ll make it anywhere.” The truth for many New Yorkers is that if you can make it here, you do not want to make it anywhere else — *cannot*. You are too crazy, neurotic, controlling and eccentric to be accepted by other cities, no matter how many good museums they have and how much they’ve improved their average cup of coffee.

But once in a while, one of New York’s private celebrities escapes its clutches and finds a little alley to call their own, where they can remind that city that it, too, has much to brag about.



AMAZON MGM STUDIOS

Keanu Reeves stars in an episode of “Secret Level,” a series of short stories about video game worlds.

Some episodes in series feel like extended ads

PERSPECTIVE FROM C1

character Mega Man absolutely felt like a teaser trailer for a game we’ll never get, but it’s also the first time we’ve seen the story interpreted beyond the game’s instruction manual and text crawls. That means something to a longtime fan like myself. Even if it was a game ad, it would’ve moved me just as much.

But then there’s the macabre hellscape depicted in the Pac-Man episode, completely different in tone from the waka-waka 1980s pop icon. Miller’s 2019 series “Love, Death & Robots” was originally planned as a show for “Heavy Metal,” the adult fantasy magazine. That show and “Secret Level” are all subtle tributes to the spirit of that magazine, and of all the topics and characters covered, the twist on Pac-Man feels most appropriate.

“I would say it’s the most ‘Heavy Metal’-inspired one,” Miller said in an interview, adding that game publishers and developers provided guidelines on how to treat their characters and brands. But Pac-Man’s owner, Bandai Namco, allowed more than just free rein.

“The mandate for Pac-Man, from the developers, was, ‘We would like audiences to wonder what the [expletive] they did with Pac-Man,’” said Dave Wilson, executive producer and supervising director of the show.

Blur Studio has been a leader in computer graphics animation for decades, and “Secret Level” in that regard. The nature

of video games calls for several action scenes, and many are standouts. The “Armored Core” episode offers the most kinetic robot combat since “Pacific Rim,” but it’s a far faster and more savage dance. It helps that Keanu Reeves stars, lending his grisly gravitas to an otherwise straightforward story.

The episode on beat-em-up game “Sifu” is one of the weakest slots. The martial arts action is beautifully choreographed, but the game is just as stunning, making the episode feel redundant. The PlayStation-inspired finale ends the season with what feels like an advertisement for a Sony virtual reality metaverse, filled with game references and market-safe, TikTok-coded writing that left a bad taste and felt at odds with the adult-fantasy aesthetic of the show. Both PlayStation episodes are the biggest culprits for stealth advertising: The “Concord” episode ends with a referential stinger that feels sad and a little pitiful in light of the game’s failure.

The “Unreal Tournament” episode doesn’t suffer any of this. Based on a multiplayer shooting game with little story, you’d expect the episode to be a simple festival of gun violence. The action instead creates and pushes clear character arcs through a hefty 13 minutes of bullet-riddled death game drama that left me clapping and hollering.

“Secret Level” is a reminder that ads can be compelling storytelling. Alarm bells rang off in my head once I saw this Amazon-pro-

duced show has an episode on the Amazon multiplayer online role-playing game “New World,” a game world that failed to capture my imagination. (Doubly so because I work at The Washington Post, owned by Amazon founder Jeff Bezos.) The episode, “The Once and Future King,” takes place in Aeternum, a mysterious island where death doesn’t exist, which also happens to be the newest location in the game.

This marketing beat for new game content is also the finest, most beautiful tale of the bunch, a bloody yet gentle fable of managing ego that echoes the gamer’s grind for more power. I completely forgot that it was about a game at all once I got invested in the tale of a stubborn, wannabe warrior king and his feeble servant. I was sad it was over but glad it was told.

“The best form of advertising or indoctrinating someone into their world is to make them feel something about it,” Wilson said. “If all we did was show you cover mechanics and weapon choices, I don’t think you would remember anything.”

“So what Dave is saying is that it’s stealth marketing with emotional indoctrination. ... I’m just kidding,” Miller said, laughing.

After the episode, I curled into bed and scrolled through lore pages about Aeternum. Any debate in my head on whether what I watched was an ad or a compelling story ceased to matter. I wanted more of it, and that’s when I knew “Secret Level” scored.



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MONICA HESSE

How will Ernst reconcile the past with the present regarding Pete Hegseth?

HESSE FROM C1

have a unique and valuable perspective on President-elect Donald Trump's pick to lead the Defense Department.

Hegseth's nomination has been imperiled by reports that he was accused of sexually assaulting a woman in a California hotel in 2017. (He says the sex was consensual.) With Republicans' slim Senate majority, Hegseth's appointment could be torpedoed if he loses only a few votes, and Ernst's initial reaction to his naming was noncommittal.

"I am a survivor of sexual assault," the senator said at a security conference over the weekend, speaking about the vetting that she hoped Hegseth would undergo. "I've worked very heavily on sexual assault measures within the military. So I'd like to hear a lot more about that." This past Thursday, a television interviewer told Ernst it sounded as if she hadn't "gotten to a yes" on Hegseth, and Ernst replied: "I think you are right. I think for a number of our senators, they want to make sure that any allegations have been cleared, and that's why we have to have a very thorough vetting process."

But the two apparently met

privately for more than one "substantive" conversation, as Hegseth put it, and by Monday of this week, Ernst sounded considerably more confident. She released a statement saying Hegseth had promised to "prioritize and strengthen my work to prevent sexual assault within the ranks. As I support Pete through this process, I look forward to a fair hearing based on truth, not anonymous sources." She stopped just short of promising to vote to confirm him, but from my reading of this statement it seems difficult to foresee a different outcome.

One could imagine how Ernst's stamp of cautious approval could embolden any of her colleagues who were on the fence, reassuring them that a vote for Hegseth did not make you some kind of misogynist. Quite the opposite, the statement made it sound like supporting the man meant protecting women, specifically when it came to sexual assault.

Maybe Ernst believes that. But her statement is tricky. In casting aspersions at "anonymous sources," it sounds as if she's demanding that Hegseth's alleged victim produce herself in a Senate hearing room to testify publicly about her alleged assault — something the woman has not



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Sen. Joni Ernst (R-Iowa), center right, has made public her support of defense secretary candidate Pete Hegseth, who was accused of sexually assaulting a woman in a California hotel in 2017.

been able to do because Hegseth paid her an undisclosed financial settlement that prohibited her from speaking publicly about the matter. (The allegations came out because an acquaintance of the woman's went to the media after Hegseth's nomination.)

And even if the woman weren't bound by an NDA, perhaps she, like Ernst all those years ago, cannot stomach the idea that her alleged rape might become public knowledge. Perhaps she, like Ernst, might fear that her alleged assailant — or Hegseth's millions of supporters, including Trump —

would find a way to blame her. How well did going public with assault allegations against a prominent man facing high-profile confirmation hearings work out for Christine Blasey Ford?

And what does Ernst make of other allegations about Hegseth's behavior, like the former Fox colleague who told the New Yorker that Hegseth was "very handsy with women"? What about an opinion that is decidedly *not* anonymous — an email sent to Hegseth from his own mother and published in the New York Times, in which she told him, "You are an abuser

of women — that is the ugly truth and I have no respect for any man that belittles, lies, cheats, sleeps around, and uses women for his own power and ego." (She told the Times that she regretted the email and had apologized to her son.)

What does Ernst make of Hegseth's own statements that "we should not have women in combat roles"?

It is clear that Ernst is trying to thread a needle in the best way she knows how: Make it clear that she wants him to succeed, but also make it clear that she wants a robust hearing and that she won't fully commit

until the process is allowed to play out. Sexual assaults are notoriously hard to adjudicate, especially ones that allegedly occurred many years ago, especially ones where the contours of the story are the same — *a sexual encounter happened* — but the details of consent are radically different.

If I were riding around in an RV with Joni Ernst now, that is what I would want to ask her about. Not the details of her own assault, which remain none of our business, but how she — a powerful woman with a powerfully informed skill set — can help us make sense of the accusations against this man.

The alleged 2017 assault was reported to the police, and the report filed has become available to the public. What does Ernst make of this woman's account: that the woman, an organizer with a Republican women's group, had originally tried to escort Hegseth away from the hotel bar because she thought he was pestering another woman there. That, hours later when her waiting husband and kids were worried about her, the woman returned to her own hotel room with little memory of how the evening had transpired. That, as the next few days passed, hazy recollections started to drift back into her brain.

She told police that she remembered Hegseth blocking the door when she tried to leave. She told them she remembered him taking her phone. She told them she had been having nightmares ever since the night in question. She told them she remembered Hegseth lying on top of her, his dog tags dangling in her face.

Aunt struggles with resentful feelings over nieces' large earnings



Carolyn Hax

Dear Carolyn: I am feeling a lot of resentment — jealousy? — at my two nieces. They are in their 20s, and both make a massive amount of money. One works at a tech

firm where her starting salary was higher than I will ever make, and the other is a "content creator" and "influencer." Both spend time on their jobs, but they don't seem to realize how much many others in our family — especially the women — have struggled to get good-paying jobs, and they say a lot of things that feel really tone deaf — like how Kim Kardashian told people not to be lazy. [Her exact words to Variety: "It seems like nobody wants to work these days." — CH]

with multiple graduate degrees. Is there a way I can be empathetic and even guide them to be so?

— *Resenting the Young and Wealthy*

Resenting the Young and Wealthy: There's a simple one, but, hard part first:

Be ungrudgingly happy for them that they are killing it. Because it is a good thing.

No — great. It is great. Your nieces are two green shoots of what you and every feminist before you worked so hard to cultivate. It wasn't just about big pay for the women with all the degrees, was it? I'll answer for you because I'm talking to myself: No, it wasn't. It was always about removing gender-based disparities in pay and barriers to work and to *self-determination*.

Therefore, any list of victories must include giving two young women big stupid pay for things



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

I THOUGHT WE'D BE MUCH COOLER AUNTIES.

that mystify an aunt from a prior economy. As long as big stupid pay keeps happening — which cultural and economic indicators say it will, increasingly — then your nieces might as well be the ones who receive it. (This assumes their male peers aren't making multiples of your nieces' stupid pay. In which case: 1. Ugh. 2. Then you are most definitely resenting the wrong people.)

Let's go one better: Your air quotes around "content creator" and "influencer" betray you as, arguably, just as stuck in your bubble as you say they are in theirs.

Which brings us to the simple part, and why it's convenient you cited the Kardashian gaffe: Did you also clock the backlash? It was immediate, fierce and effective.

I don't suggest you thrash your nieces the way the public did Kim. But family-scale pushback in the moment is your best approach. "When you say X, it stings. You may not realize how others have struggled. Others being me." Are honest sharing and vulnerability *easy*? No, never. But sometimes that's the nudge we need to understand.

Dear Carolyn: My husband is in his 50s and recently stopped

taking his blood pressure medication because the prescription has lapsed. He won't go to the doctor. I have offered my help, expressed my extreme concern and nagged him to make the appointment. Everything short of leaving. He does not look well, and it's hard to witness. I can't seem to change anything, so what is my responsibility as a spouse watching the shipwreck in slow motion?

— *Hell No, He Won't Go*

Hell No, He Won't Go: Oh, that's hard. I'm sorry. And exasperatingly common.

You take care of what you can. Legal papers in order. Blood-pressure-friendly foods, when it's your turn to provide. "Up for a walk?" (Swim, paddle, bike ride.)

And: mental health care. If you arrange couple's counseling, will he go? The feelings behind his health strike are a logical start.

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.

Foxx credits family for support during recovery

FOXX FROM C1

"Spider-Man: No Way Home" in 2021, voiced Joe in the Pixar movie "Soul" in 2020, and starred opposite Michael B. Jordan in the 2019 drama "Just Mercy."

His daughter Corinne broke the news of his illness on Instagram on April 12, 2023, writing that her father had experienced a "medical complication" the day before. The actor had been rushed to a hospital in Atlanta, where he was filming the Netflix movie "Back in Action" with

Cameron Diaz.

"Luckily, due to quick action and great care, he is already on his way to recovery," Corinne continued in her statement. "We know how beloved he is and appreciate your prayers. The family asks for privacy during this time."

But as weeks went by with scant details on his condition, rumors flew online that Foxx's family was preparing for the worst. Corinne quickly shot down those reports.

"Sad to see how the media runs



PARRISH LEWIS/NETFLIX

In the Netflix special "Jamie Foxx: What Had Happened Was ...," the actor and comedian confirms he had a stroke in 2023.

wild. My Dad has been out of the hospital for weeks, recuperating," she wrote on Instagram on May 12, 2023.

"What Had Happened Was" is one of Foxx's first projects since his illness. Earlier this year, he and his daughter returned to helm "Beat Shazam" for the song-identifying game show's seventh season.

He was also set to work with Corinne on the Fox game show "We Are Family," where contestants try to guess which celebrities non-famous people are related to, but Anthony Anderson and Anderson's mother ended up replacing them, although Foxx stayed on as one of the show's executive producers.

The actor didn't mention in "What Had Happened Was" that

he's facing a sexual assault and battery lawsuit filed in November 2023.

An anonymous woman alleged that after she and a friend took a picture with him at a New York rooftop lounge and bar in 2015, the seemingly drunk actor pulled her away to a back area, fondled her breasts and touched her vagina and anus. She alleged that a security guard walked away after seeing what was happening.

The lawsuit against Foxx, whose legal name is Eric Marlon Bishop, was submitted to New York County Supreme Court two days before the expiration of the state's Adult Survivors Act, which allowed people alleging they were sexually assaulted as adults to file lawsuits regardless of how long ago the incidents occurred.

the **GUIDE** to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
MUSIC - CONCERTS					
 Helicon: Winter Solstice Rollicking folk and bluegrass from a Baltimore supergroup	Saturday, December 14 7:30 p.m.	The rhythms and tunes of the Irish musical canon have sojourned all over the world, and we are thrilled to welcome back Helicon for a warm salute to this cherished heritage. Band leader Ken Kolodner and his team present their annual program of bluegrass and folk music for the winter season.	Dumbarton Concerts 3133 Dumbarton St NW Georgetown For more information and to purchase tickets, visit: dumbartonconcerts.org	\$48 \$14 live-stream	Parking available, free valet for Gold members Box Office: 202-965-2000

The Guide to the Lively Arts appears: • Sunday in Arts & Style. deadline: Tues., 12 noon
• Monday in Style. deadline: Friday, 12 noon • Tuesday in Style. deadline: Mon., 12 noon • Wednesday in Style. deadline: Tues., 12 noon
• Thursday in Style. deadline: Wed., 12 noon • Friday in Weekend. deadline: Tues., 12 noon • Saturday in Style. deadline: Friday, 12 noon

For information about advertising, call Jason Samuel at 202-334-4776.
To reach a representative, call: 202-334-7006 | guidetoarts@washpost.com

22-0776

TELEVISION

12/11/24	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00
4.1 WRC (NBC)	◆ NBCNe..	◆ News4..	◆ Frosty	◆ Shrek	◆ A Motown Christmas				◆ News
4.2 WRC (IND)	Roseanne	Roseanne	King	King	King	King	Frasier	Frasier	Frasier
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	◆ Fox 5	◆ TMZ	◆ The Masked Singer	◆ The Floor	◆ The Floor	◆ Fox 5 at 10	◆ Fox 5 at 10	◆ News	◆ News
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	◆ Wheel	◆ Jeopard..	◆ Celebrity Wheel	◆ Celebrity Fam	◆ Celebrity Fam	◆ Celebrity Fam	◆ Celebrity Fam	◆ News	◆ News
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	◆ InsideEd.	◆ ET	◆ Survivor			◆ FBI		◆ 9 News	
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	◆ Rosa		◆ Fugitivas		◆ Juana		◆ El precio	◆ Noticias	
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	◆ FamFeud	◆ FamFeud	◆ Fox 5 News		◆ TrueCri..	◆ Crime	◆ FamFe..	◆ FamFe..	◆ Dateline
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	◆ Milk	◆ MotorW..	◆ Nature			◆ Movie: Concert for George ★★★ (2003)			
26.1 WETA (PBS)	◆ PBS News Hour		◆ Il Volo-Valley			◆ Ragtime, The Musical			
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	◆ Big Pacific		◆ Frontline		◆ Bridging	◆ Luther		◆ BBCNe..	
50.1 WDCW (CW)	◆ BobHeart	◆ BobHeart	◆ Sullivan's (SF)	◆ Inside the NFL		◆ DC News Now	◆ Neighbor		
66.1 WPXW (ION)	◆ Blue Bloods		◆ Blue Bloods	◆ Blue Bloods				◆ BlueBl..	
A&E	Court Cam	Court Cam	Court Cam			Fugitives	Fugitives	CourtCam	
AMC	(6:00) Movie: Elf ★★★ (2003)		Movie: Christmas With the Kranks ★★ (2004)			Movie: Trading Places ★★★ (1983)			
Animal Planet	Dr. Jeff: RMV		The Vet Life		The Vet Life	The Vet Life		Vet Life	
BET	Movie: Proud Mary ★ (2018)		Tyler Perry's Sistars			Average Joe		Average	
Bravo	The Real Housewives of Salt Lake City		The Real Housewives of Salt Lake City		Sold on SLC	Watch What	The Real Housewives of Salt Lake City		
Cartoon Network	King/Hill	King/Hill	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	American	American	American	American
CNN	E. B. OutFront (Live)		Cooper 360 (Live)		The Source (Live)		CNN (Live)		Laura
Comedy Central	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	DailyShow
Discovery	Expedition Unknown		Expedition Unknown		Expedition Unknown		Blind Frog Ran		Mysteries
Disney	(6:25) Movie: Big City ...	Funday	Big City	Big City	Big City	Big City	Hamster &	Hamster &	Raven
E!	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	Office	Office	E! News
ESPN	NBA Basketball	NBA Cup: Atlanta Hawks at New York Knicks (Live)			(:35) Bowl	Mania (Live)			(:05) SportCtr
ESPN2	SEC Now		College Basketball	Colgate at Kentucky (Live)		SportsCenter (Live)		NFL Live	
Food Network	Holiday Baking		Holiday Baking		Holiday Baking		Holiday Baking	Championship	
Fox News	Ingraham (Live)		Jesse Watters (Live)		Hannity (Live)		Gutfeld!		Fox News
Freeform	(6:00) Movie: Home Alone ★★★ (1990)		(:25) Movie: Home Alone 2: Lost in New York ★★ (1992)					The 700 Club	
FX	(6:30) Movie: Free Guy ★★★ (2021)				Movie: The Waterboy ★ (1998)			Funday	
Hallmark	(6:00) Movie: A '90s Christmas (2024)		Movie: Deck the Walls (2024)	Rose uses her skills to renovate a Christmas Charity Home.		Movie: 'Tis the Season to Be Irish (2024)			
Hallmark M&M	(6:00) Movie: A Godwink Christmas: Second C...		Movie: Long Lost Christmas (2022)			Movie: Christmas Under the Lights (2024)			
HBO	(:55) Dune: Prophecy		Movie: Rise of the Planet of the Apes ★★★ (2011)		(:50) Movie: Jupiter Ascending ★★ (2015)				
HGTV	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Don't Hate Your	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters
History	American Pickers		American Pickers		American Pickers	(:05) Pickers		Pickers	
Lifetime	The Rookie		The Rookie		The Rookie	(:05) The Rookie		(:05) The Rookie	
MASN	Orioles Classics				TheWager	Pro Football Plus			
Monumental	Hometown	Politics	Wizards Classics		BeyondT..	BeyondT..		BeyondT..	
MSNBC	The ReidOut (Live)		All in With (Live)		Wagner (Live)		Last Word (Live)		11th Hour
MTV	Catfish: The TV Show		The Challenge		Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	
Nat'l Geographic	To Catch a Smuggler		To Catch a Smuggler		To Catch a Smuggler		To Catch a Smuggler		Catch..
Nickelodeon	Max	Slimetime	SpongeB..	SpongeB..	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends
NWSN	On Balance (Live)		Cuomo (Live)		Dan Abrams (Live)		Banfield (Live)		Cuomo
Paramount	Two and a Half Men	Two and a Half Men	Movie: Major League ★★ (1989)	A ragtag team tries to turn its poor performance around.		Movie: Tommy Boy ★★ (1995)			
Paramount+Sho	(5:45) Movie: Ghost ★★★ (1990)		Movie: Her ★★★ (2013)	A man falls in love with his computer's operating system.		(:10) Movie: The Matrix ★★★ (1999)			
Syfy	(4:30) Movie: A... mysteriously time travels to 1960s London.		Movie: Last Night in Soho ★★★ (2021)	A young woman Movie: Fall ★★ (2022)					
TBS	Big Bang	Big Bang	Wrestling Ep. 271	Dynamite 12/11/2024		Wipeout		Wipeout	
TCM	(6:00) Movie: The Pirate ★★★ (1948)		Movie: The Fallen Idol ★★★ (1948)			Movie: They Shoot Horses, Don't They? ★★ (1969)			
TLC	Paralyzed-Preg.		My 600-Lb. Life			My 600-Lb. Life			
TNT	NHL Hockey	New York Rangers at Buffalo Sabres (Live)		Post-Game/ ...		NBA Basketball			
Travel	Paranormal Cam.	Paranormal Cam.	Paranormal Cam.		Paranormal Cam.		Paranor..		
TruTV	NHL Hockey	New York Rangers at Buffalo Sabres (Live)		Post-Ga..		NBA Basketball (Live)			
TV Land	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	(:20) Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	(:05) King	
TV One	CosbySh..	CosbySh..	Fatal Attraction		Fatal Attraction	For My Man		For My M..	
USA Network	Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Law-SVU		
VH1	(6:00) Movie: Wood (1...		Movie: The High Note ★★ (2020)			Movie: Photograph (...)			
WNC8	Hands-Free Cooking!		7News at... Paid Prog.		SportsTalk WorldNe..	WJLANe..	Paid Prog.	National	
LEADING: Bold indicates new or live programs ◆ High Definition									
Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated									

HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | DECEMBER 11: You are flamboyant, passionate and confident; however, underneath you are sensitive and even shy. You are a seeker. This is a year of building and construction. Simplicity will be key. Take charge of your health. Explore martial arts and yoga. Stay grounded and levelheaded.

Moon Alert: After 11 a.m. today, there are no restrictions to shopping or important decisions. The Moon is in Taurus.

ARIES (MARCH 21-APRIL 19). This is a poor day to negotiate issues with your kids or anything to do with professional sports, the entertainment world or financial matters in general. Even an agreement about which restaurant to go to or what to do to relax will be tough to reach. (Yikes!)

TAURUS (APRIL 20-MAY 20). Today the Moon is in your sign, which can make you more emotional than usual. Fortunately, it can also improve your good luck. And you will need this today, because discussions with authority figures and family members will be crunchy. Keep a lid on things.

GEMINI (MAY 21-JUNE 20). This is an argumentative day, so it's best to be aware of this from the get-go. Don't try to get your way. Instead, be conciliatory with others and accommodating. Steer clear of nasty discussions; you don't need this. Don't be forced into an agreement.

CANCER (JUNE 21-JULY 22). This is a poor day for financial conversations, whether they are casual

discussions about spending money at home, or professional discussions about major expenditures and big budgets. Postpone these talks for another day, because agreement will be impossible.

LEO (JULY 23-AUG. 22). This is a poor day to ask bosses, supervisors, parents or teachers (anyone in authority) for permission or approval. Their response might be, "Talk to the hand!" Frankly, this is a tough day for discussions with many people. Everyone is at odds with each other. Stay cool.

VIRGO (AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). You want a change of scenery. You feel restless, and you need to get outta Dodge. Unfortunately, power struggles with others, your kids, romantic partners and other hidden energy might make this impossible for you to do. This will be frustrating. Find a fun place to hide.

LIBRA (SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). Discussions about getting the funds for home improvements will be tough today. Likewise, dealings with friends and groups could trigger conflicts, especially about money and budgets. Let's face it, this is a poor day for these discussions! Table them for another time. Be smart.

SCORPIO (OCT. 23-NOV. 21). This is a poor day to ask for cooperation from parents, bosses and authority figures. Likewise, dealings with spouses and partners, and even members of the general public, could be antagonistic. Accept that this is how things are today. Keep your head down and your powder dry.

SAGITTARIUS (NOV. 22-DEC. 21). This is a poor day to seek agreement about financial matters or anything related to your job, your health or even your pet. Knowing this ahead of time, postpone these discussions for another day, because people are contentious and ready to disagree. (You don't need this.)

CAPRICORN (DEC. 22-JAN. 19). You have a desire to schmooze and socialize today. You might seek out sports events or fun activities with kids. Nevertheless, your plans could be blocked by power struggles with others, especially about the cost of something or getting the practical support for what you want to do. Ouch.

AQUARIUS (JAN. 20-FEB. 18). Your instinct is to lie low, hide at home and relax among familiar surroundings today. You might be able to do this – you might not be able to do this because relations with others are potential power struggles. If you are able to lie low and hide, do it. (Grab some snacks.)

PISCES (FEB. 19-MARCH 20). Pay attention to everything you say and do today. This is a mildly accident-prone day. An accident doesn't have to happen, but you could be distracted because you're upset with power struggles, especially related to work or your health. Stay chill.

— Georgia Nicols

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BRIDGE

BOTH SIDES VULNERABLE

NORTH

♠ A J 6 2

♥ 8 4

♦ 9 7 2

♣ Q 6 5 2

WEST (D)

♠ Q 8 4

♥ None

♦ Q J 10 8 4

♣ A K 10 9 3

EAST

♠ K 10 9 7 5 3

♥ 10 9 6 3

♦ 5

♣ J 8

SOUTH

♠ None

♥ A K Q J 7 5 2

♦ A K 6 3

♣ 7 4

The bidding:

WEST 1 ♦ Pass NORTH EAST 1 ♠ SOUTH 4 ♥

All Pass

Opening lead — ♣ K

Wednesday, December 11. It was cool in Los Angeles. We were working the Daywatch out of Burglary. The boss is Captain Stewart. My partner's Bill Gannon. He's a good player. My name's Friday.

We got a call about a break-in at a North Hollywood club. We checked it out. The suspect was still playing when we arrived. One of his opponents spoke with us.

"It was terrible, officer." "Just the facts, ma'am." "That man sitting South jobbed us out of some cash. When he leaped to four hearts, we let him play there though we might have bid four spades. As West I led the K-A and a third club.

"South played low from dummy and ruffed with the seven of trumps. He had two diamond losers, but he next took the A-K-Q of trumps and A-K of diamonds and then led ... the deuce of trumps! My partner had to win and lead a spade, and declarer

pitched his low diamonds on the ace of spades and queen of clubs. "The man committed forcible entry. Cuff him!"

We took the suspect into custody. The trial judge said he wished he played as well.

DAILY QUESTION

You hold:

♠ A J 6 2 ♥ 8 4

♦ 9 7 2 ♣ Q 6 5 2

Your partner opens one heart, you respond one spade and he bids two diamonds. What do you say? **ANSWER:** This is a close case. You might take a "false preference" to two hearts — partner might do better at a 5-2 fit than at a 4-3 diamond fit — and if your hand were a bit stronger, you would certainly prefer that call to preserve game chances in case partner had a strong hand. As it is, I would pass. I would not criticize a bid of two hearts.

— Frank Stewart

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SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

				2		5	7	8
	1			6	5		4	
5		7					6	
7	3		5	8				
		6				1		
				1	3		8	7
	7					8		6
	6		9	7			1	
4	9	8		5				

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★☆

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PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

2	5	4	8	3	7	1	6	9
1	9	6	4	5	2	8	7	3
3	8	7	6	9	1	2	4	5
4	3	5	7	8	6	9	1	2
9	7	2	1	4	5	3	8	6
8	6	1	3	2	9	4	5	7
6	2	8	5	1	3	7	9	4
5	1	3	9	7	4	6	2	8
7	4	9	2	6	8	5	3	1

SCRABBLE GRAMS

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RACK 1: I, O, Y, L, F, M, L

RACK 2: A, O, U, N, H, S, G

RACK 3: A, E, O, N, L, C, C

RACK 4: E, I, O, N, X, L, C

PAR SCORE 155-165 BEST SCORE 226

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 scgrams@gmail.com

12-11

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

T	O	N	G	U	E	D	RACK 1 = 59
M	I	X	T	U	R	E	RACK 2 = 82
L	E	A	F	A	G	E	RACK 3 = 63
L	E	G	A	C	Y		RACK 4 = 12

PAR SCORE 145-155 TOTAL 216

ACROSS

- 1 Gratuity
- 4 Common London weather
- 7 __ moment
- 10 Feathery accessory
- 13 Burdened by debt
- 15 Competed in a turkey trot
- 16 Piercing tool that resembles a screwdriver
- 17 Musical set at the Kit Kat Klub
- 18 Way of thinking
- 20 Spared no expense
- 22 Border city on the Rio Grande
- 23 Distinguishing feature of some languages
- 24 __ shirt
- 26 Skin art, for short
- 28 Anti-narcotics org.
- 29 Barter
- 33 2023 Academy Honorary Award recipient Bassett
- 36 WSW opposite
- 37 Goalie's success
- 38 British nobleman
- 39 Big name in tiny candies
- 41 Curling __
- 42 Four Corners state
- 43 "Sex Education" actor Butterfield
- 44 "Advancing the power of facts" journalism website
- 46 Office 34-Down
- 47 Fair-weather __
- 48 Rule, for short
- 49 Lars of Metallica
- 52 Throws in
- 55 Kind of paper in a gift bag
- 58 Long, relaxing baths
- 61 Works a summer office job, perhaps
- 63 Scout who may sell cookies
- 64 Hotshot
- 65 Green prefix
- 66 ID checker at a nightclub
- 67 Tool with teeth

DOWN

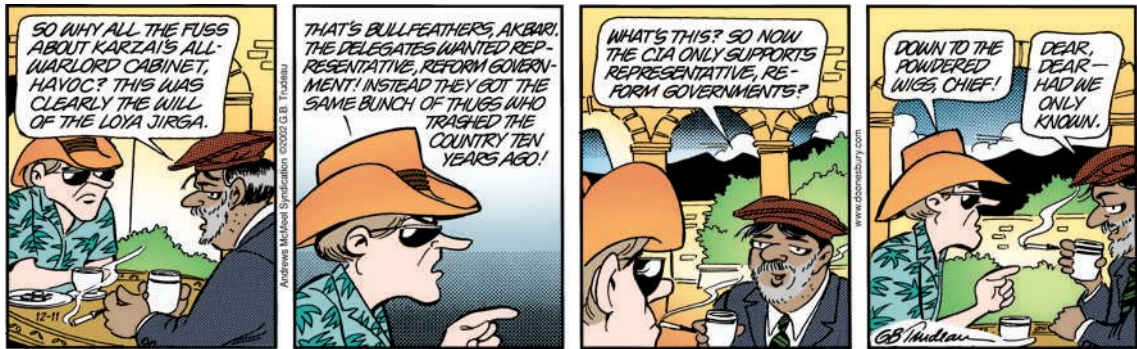
- 21 *Vacation spot with horses
- 25 Button that may submit an online form
- 27 *Irish novelist who writes the "Dublin Murder Squad" series
- 30 Spy follower?
- 31 Declare bluntly
- 32 Pilot gear?
- 33 Grad
- 34 Short message
- 35 Unit on a kitchen scale
- 40 Actor Morales
- 45 Thick 4-Across metaphor
- 50 Tackle box supply
- 51 Solving crosswords, for some
- 53 Destination after a promposal
- 54 Slalom competitor
- 55 Aunts in la familia
- 56 Peru native
- 57 Seethe
- 59 Pants, in slang
- 60 Word sung twice after "Que" in a classic song
- 62 __ sauce

TUESDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION

W	A	S	P		E	G	R	E	T		I	O	T	A
E	L	L	E		M	I	A	M	I		N	A	A	N
P	O	I	N	T	O	F	V	I	E	W	S	H	O	T
T	E	M	P	O		T	E	T		H	O	U	S	E
			A	O	L				O	I	L			
	P	O	L	K	A	D	O	T		D	R	E	S	S
C	A	T	S		D	A	S	H	I		S	O	A	R
H	U	H			S	L	A	I	N		D	Y	E	
E	L	E	C	T		A	G	E		S	T	O	N	E
F	O	R	A	B	R	I	E	F		P	E	R	I	O
			N	S	A				A	T	A			
T	U	N	A		I	C	I	E	R		P	A	L	E
S	T	O	P	A	L	O	N	G		T	H	E	W	A
P	A	R	E	S		P	I	G		O	Z	O	N	E
S	H	I	S	H		E	T	S		W	E	L	D	S

CLASSIC DOONESBURY

GARRY TRUDEAU



PICKLES

BRIAN CRANE



RED AND ROVER

BRIAN BASSET



FRANK AND ERNEST

TOM THAVES



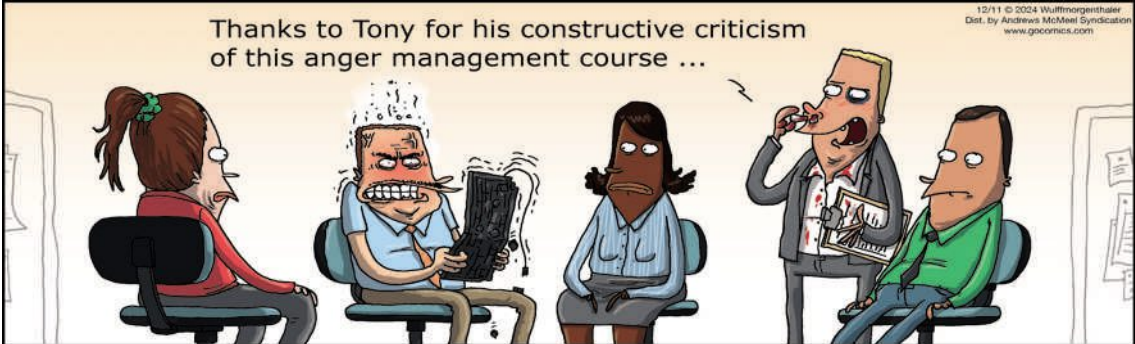
AGNES

TONY COCHRAN



WUMO

MIKAEL WULFF & ANDERS MORGENTHAUER



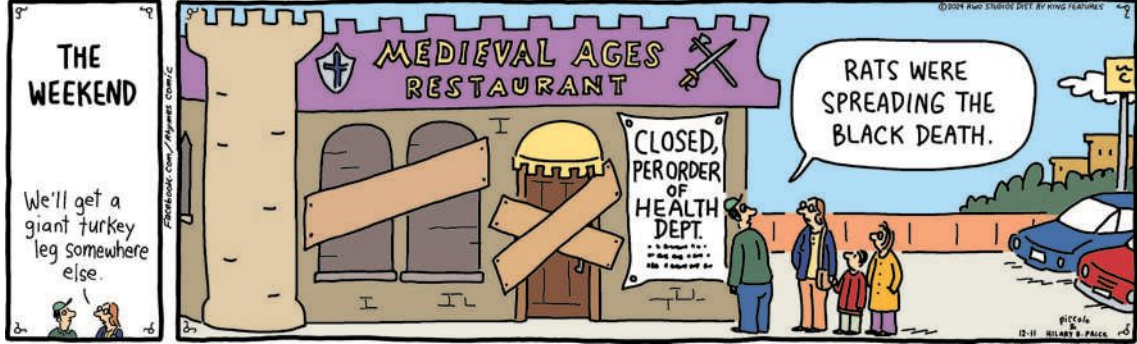
CLASSIC PEANUTS

CHARLES SCHULZ



RHYMES WITH ORANGE

HILARY PRICE



LIO

MARK TATULLI



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

CHRIS BROWNE



BLONDIE

DEAN YOUNG & JOHN MARSHALL



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!

TIM RICKARD



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS



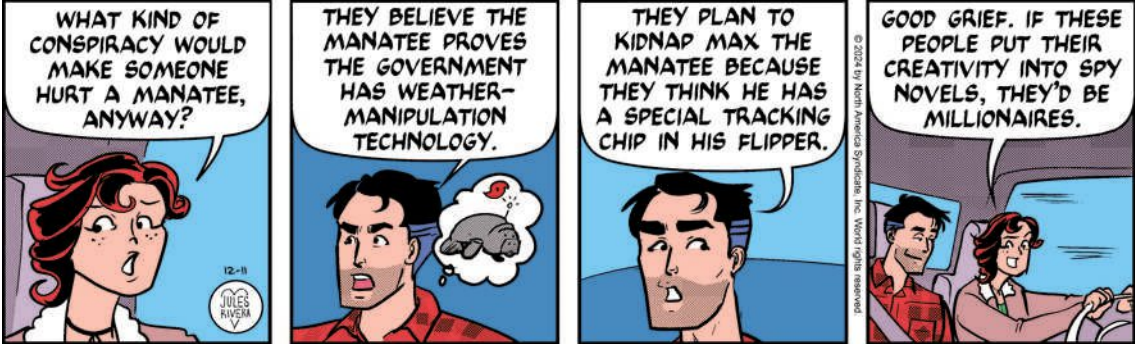
CRABGRASS

TAUHID BONDIA



MARK TRAIL

JULES RIVERA



MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM

MIKE PETERS



MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL

EARL, I LOSHT MY PURR! How WILL I KNOW IF I'M HAPPY!?! HA!

JUST WAG YOUR TAIL, MOOCHIE!

HE DOESN'T DO A THING I SHAY!!!

mutts.com

ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

WHAT'S THIS?

A TRAVEL BROCHURE

YOUR MOM AND I HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR A WAY TO PUT SOME ADVENTURE INTO OUR LIVES.

LOOKOUT, WORLD! HERE WE COME!

"RIP-ROARING CHEESE TOURS OF WISCONSIN!"

HEART OF THE CITY

STEENZ

WANNA GO MAKEUP SHOPPING?

OF COURSE I WANT TO GO SHOPPING.

AT RITE-AID

WHERE DO WE EVEN START?

MAYBE WITH THESE?

JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

YOU KNOW HIDING IN YOUR DAD'S HOUSE WON'T END WELL, RIGHT?

YOU HAVE NO IDEA WHAT I'M GOING THROUGH!

I WAS A FUGITIVE FROM THE CIA FOR FIVE YEARS.

I DIDN'T GET TO BE WITH MY OWN DAUGHTER UNTIL SHE WAS IN KINDERGARTEN. I LOST MY ENTIRE FAMILY WHILE ON THE RUN. AND SO WILL YOU.

FRAZZ

JEFF MALLET

MRS. OLSEN CHALLENGED ME TO WRITE A STORY PROBLEM ABOUT TRAINS.

TRAINS!

MOST OF THEM INVOLVE TIME...

IDEALLY 3/4 TIME. CHUG-CHUG-CHUG-CHUG-CHUG

DO YOU HAVE A PROBLEM YET?

I HAD A PROBLEM AS SOON AS I ASKED A SONGWRITER ABOUT TRAINS.

CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL

WHEN THE CHRONICLE OFFERED ME THE OPINION PAGE EDITOR JOB, I SAW A RED FLAG.

I MEAN, WHEN THEIR EDITORIAL BOARD TRIED TO ENDORSE DONALD TRUMP'S OPPONENT, THEY ALL LEFT TO PURSUE OTHER OPPORTUNITIES.

AND IT WASN'T JUST THE CHRONICLE. PAPERS ALL OVER AMERICA SEEM TO BE RE-EVALUATING THE CHANCE THEY HAVE TO COME TO THEIR SENSES.

AND IT'S NOT JUST PAPERS. TV'S "MORNING JOE" MADE A PILGRIMAGE TO MAR-A-LAGO TO KISS TRUMP'S RING open talks.

YOU'LL KNOW FASCISM IS HERE WHEN EVEN THE CARTOONISTS START CENSORING THEMSELVES. being rational.

I DON'T SEE THAT HAPPENING, LEMONT.

GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS

Dear Santa,

TIC TIC TIC

Please note...

TIC TIC TIC TIC TIC TIC TIC

I can't be held responsible for what I say when I'm dieting

TIC TIC TIC TIC TIC TIC TIC

BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK

Mrs. Foxx, do I ever make unreasonable demands of you?

Unreasonable from my point of view, yours, or the point of view of a neutral third party?

Umm, the third?

Good. We'll each compile a list of the demands you have made of me in the last calendar year, submit them to an arbitrator and see what they say.

I think I can work it out myself. Whatever you say, sir.

DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER

WE'RE CONTINUING OUR CONVERSATION ABOUT HOW WOMEN BREAK UP WITH MEN.

NOW, I WANT TO HEAR FROM WOMEN WHO CAN SHARE SOME NEW IDEAS...

...OTHER THAN MAKING HIM WANT TO BREAK UP WITH YOU AND THINK IT'S HIS IDEA.

FLASH GORDON

DAN SCHKADE

"SO YOUR DAD'S REALLY ABOUT TO FIGHT KALA BECAUSE OF SOME OBSCURE LAW?"

I DON'T KNOW...

MY FATHER RAISED A NATION FROM ASHES.

HE BEAT LORD VALKIR IN SINGLE COMBAT.

HE CAN TAKE ONE SHARK.

"...BUT THIS WHOLE THING WAS KALA'S PLAN, THUN."

"AND HE'S THE KIND OF GUY WHO DOESN'T PICK A FIGHT UNLESS HE KNOWS HE'LL WIN."

PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS

I KNEW I SHOULD NEVER HAVE SAID ANYTHING MEAN ABOUT THAT ORANGE GUY...

LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK

I had it all ... great gig ... prime X-wing fighter seat ... glory. Then this new guy shows up and ...

R2-D1

NON SEQUITUR

WILEY

OK... NOW THAT I THINK ABOUT IT, I GUESS FINDING OUT WHERE MY MISSING SOCK WENT DOES TECHNICALLY QUALIFY

GREATEST MYSTERY OF LIFE REVEALED

BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT

WHAT WAS THAT OTHER NAME YOU CALLED SANTA?

SAINT NICK?

YEAH. WHAT'S UP WITH THAT?

IT'S JUST ANOTHER NAME HE USES SOMETIMES.

ISN'T THAT SOMETHING CRIMINALS DO?

HIS RECORD IS CLEAN, ZOE.

BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE

BOYS, WHATEVER YOU SAY TO YOUR TEAMMATES STAYS WITH YOUR TEAMMATES! THAT'S WHY IT'S CALLED A TRUST CIRCLE!

OKAY, WHY DON'T I START? NOW LET'S SEE... WHAT CAN I TELL YOU ABOUT MYSELF?

YOU CAN TELL US WHAT YOU REALLY THINK OF THE OTHER TEACHERS!

UHH...

ARE MR. GALVIN AND MRS. SHIPULSKI HAVING AN AFFAIR?

DON'T YOU TRUST US?

SPEED BUMP

DAVE COVERLY

HERE'S MY WALLET, MY PHONE, THE KEY TO THE SAFE AND AN APPLICATION FORM FOR YOUR SO-CALLED "MIND CONTROL DEVICE."

PATENTS

DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM

"THE FIRST CHRISTMAS TREE I REMEMBER WAS JUST THIS TALL!"

ON THE FASTTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK

THERE'S NO POWER IMBALANCE BETWEEN US...

...BECAUSE I HAVE ALL THE POWER AND YOU HAVE NOTHING.

WHAT ARE YOU IMAGINING?

NOTHING.

FAMILY CIRCUS

BIL KEANE

"Christmas lights up the world, doesn't it, Daddy?"

REPLY ALL LITE

DONNA A. LEWIS

I'm doing well on my shopping. One for me, one for the house, one for the person on the list. Do it again.

BEEBLE BAILEY

GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER

IT'S ALWAYS CONSTANT DISRUPTION, TROUBLE, PROBLEMS AND CHAOS AROUND HERE!

WHAT'S WRONG, SIR?

I'M ONLY GETTING ONE BAR ON MY PHONE!

BASEBALL

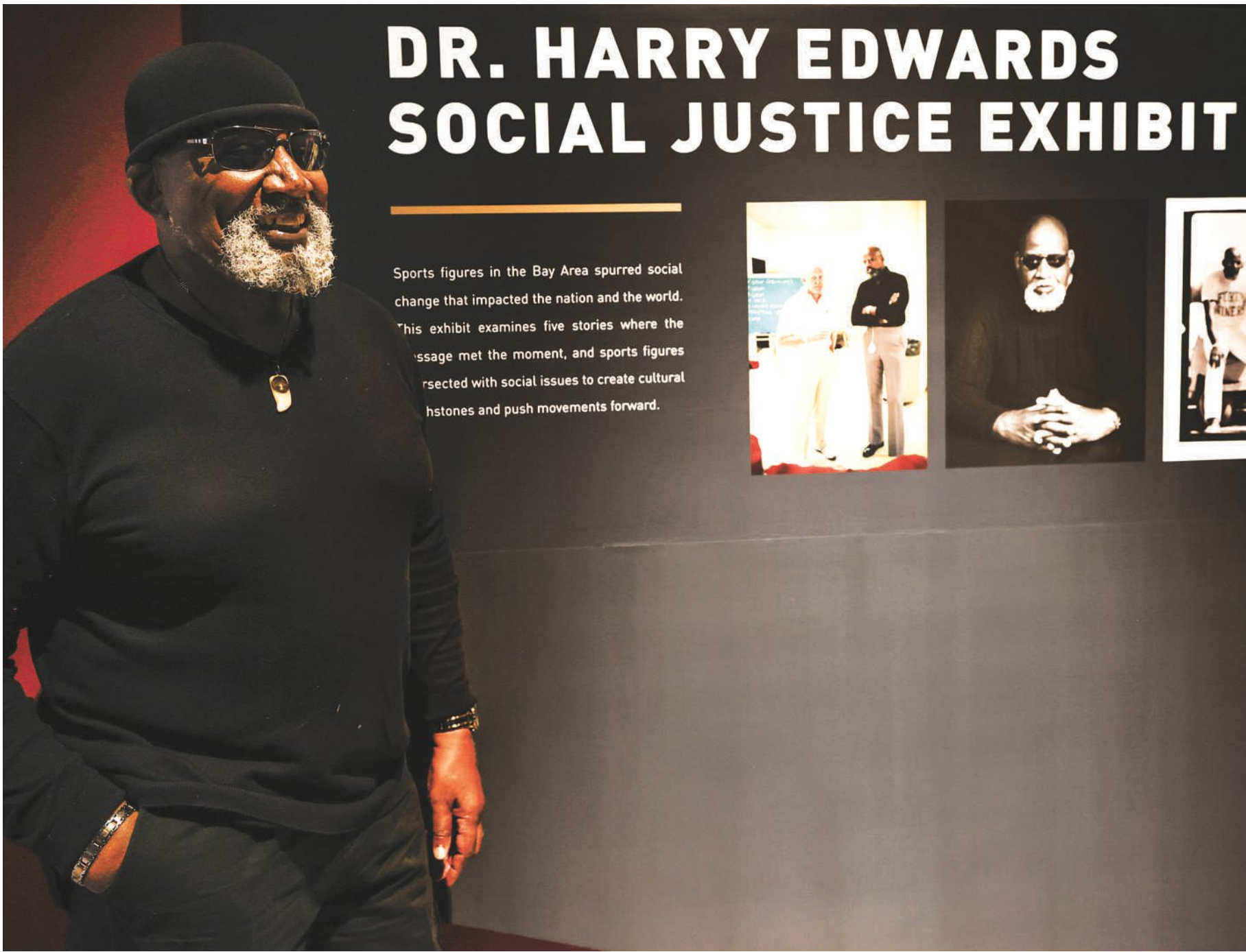
After letting Juan Soto get away, the Yankees add Max Fried on a \$218 million contract, a record for a lefty. **D2**

PRO FOOTBALL

The Browns might be stuck with Deshaun Watson, but that doesn't mean he has to be their starting QB. **D3**

HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL

The Robinson girls have a revamped roster but, led by Georgia Simonsen, they're off to another fast start. **D6**



MICHAEL ZAGARIS

“Even what looks like a victory can be reversed in the course of a single election,” said Harry Edwards, who is battling three terminal cancers at the age of 82.

‘No final victories’

BY MICHAEL LEE

SANTA CLARA, CALIF. — Harry Edwards remains an imposing presence at 6-foot-8 as he eases his way into an office at the San Francisco 49ers’ headquarters. His head is cleanly shaved and shiny. His long, trapezoid-shaped goatee, whitened from age and stress, serves as a contrasting complement to his preferred look of dark shades and all-black attire.

Edwards has lived long enough to go from being feared to being revered, long enough to see America change for reasons both practical and performative. But throughout his esteemed career as a civil rights activist and the seminal scholar in the sociology of sport, Edwards has recognized that change is never permanent. Progress requires patience and persistence, an acknowledgment that the work never ends.

“There are no final victories,” Edwards

A longtime activist in sports, Edwards knows the fight will continue after he is gone

said, sternly stating one of his signature phrases as he tapped the mahogany table. “Even what looks like a victory can be reversed in the course of a single election.”

For so long, Edwards, professor emeritus from the University of California at Berkeley, has been the conscience of sports, the one who recognized that power resides in not only the gatekeepers but also the athletes who are the reason the gates exist. From organizing the Olympic Project for Human Rights that influenced Tommie Smith and John Carlos to raise their black-gloved fists toward the clouds at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, to supporting Colin Kaepernick as he took a knee in protest of police brutality, to advising and mentoring

dozens of prominent sports figures in between, Edwards has sought to flash a mirror upon America and demand that it live up to its foundational principles.

Edwards became a significant figure through his ability to articulate how sports recapitulate society. And he has always understood the Black struggle often means planting seeds in a garden that may never grow.

“I used to say that, ‘Blessed are those Black people who expect only the worst from America because they shall not be disappointed,’” Edwards said. “Even though it was stated more for eye-opening impact than substantive validity in every case, for the most part, I stand by that. America has never disappointed me.”

On this September afternoon, Edwards is in a reflective mood. He’s two months shy of his 82nd birthday, grateful that he’s about to complete another trip around the

SEE **EDWARDS** ON **D5**

Nats win lottery, top pick in draft

With just a 10.2 percent chance, franchise lands No. 1 selection in 2025

BY SPENCER NUSBAUM

DALLAS — The Washington Nationals have a history of bolstering the backbone of their contending teams via the very top of the MLB draft. First came Stephen Strasburg in 2009, then Bryce Harper in 2010. When July arrives, they will have another chance to add a player who could alter the trajectory of the franchise.

On Tuesday at MLB’s winter meetings, the Nationals learned that they will pick first in the 2025 draft, giving one of the youngest teams in baseball a chance to boost a farm system that sent mega prospects James Wood and Dylan Crews to the major league roster last season.

The Nationals entered Tuesday’s draft lottery — which determines the top six selections — with a 10.2 percent chance of landing the top pick after finishing 71-91 for a second straight season. That gave them the fourth-best odds behind the Colorado

SEE **NATIONALS** ON **D3**

Mets won on Soto but could lose long game



Thomas Boswell

When did common sense about the difference between “price” and “value” stop being at the core of our methods of measurement?

Sometimes, we reach a moment when we sense that we’ve become uncentered, when something of value, even impressive value, suddenly has a price so extreme that we suspect we’ve lost our balance, that our gyroscope is smashed.

On Sunday, New York Mets owner Steve Cohen shattered every record for sports spending by signing Juan Soto for \$765 million for 15 years, with none of the money deferred. As CNBC pointed out, that is \$1 million more than the combined worth of the largest total value contracts ever in the NFL (Patrick Mahomes,

SEE **BOSWELL** ON **D4**

Boswell evokes lyricism of baseball like no other



Barry Svrluga

Late in 2023, when The Washington Post broke the news that Stephen Strasburg would be forced to retire because of persistent shoulder issues, Thomas Boswell came out of retirement — as he has done frequently since he formally retired from The Post in 2021 — to weigh in with an appreciation. After it published, Stan Kasten, the president of the Los Angeles Dodgers who held the same position with the Washington Nationals from 2006 to 2010, texted me and Adam Kilgore, one of our former Nats beat writers, the following: “I know you guys will get this.

There was only one Boz. He could have written about anything. Man, were we lucky he chose baseball.”

Kasten got it exactly right: Boswell’s intellect and curiosity could have been applied to any subject.

That’s why it’s such a pleasure to write that Boswell, the longtime Washington Post columnist, finally — finally — was granted the Career Excellence Award by the Baseball Writers’ Association of America. That means his name is added to those who have been honored in that writers and broadcasters section of the

SEE **SVRLUGA** ON **D4**

Inside: BBWAA’s excellence award sends Boswell to Cooperstown. **D4**

Wizards’ difficult season can’t dim Carrington’s joy



SCOTT TAITSCH/GETTY IMAGES

Bub Carrington recently gave a speech to teammates on the topic of joy that especially resonated with team president Michael Winger.

Rookie maintains positive outlook despite team’s dismal record

BY VARUN SHANKAR

Mere hours before a team meeting early in his rookie season, Carlton “Bub” Carrington received an unexpected invitation. Washington Wizards General Manager Will Dawkins asked a few players to address the team on various topics. He wanted Carrington, a guard selected No. 14 overall, to speak about joy.

The topic fit Carrington well. He wanted to bring that happiness to the rebuilding Wizards. The 19-year-old had little time to prepare his comments before he

stood in front of his teammates at Shoto, an upscale Japanese restaurant in downtown D.C.

Carrington tied joy to life and basketball. He told the team how lucky he was to play basketball for a living, recalled Michael Winger, the president of Monumental Basketball and the Wizards. Players shook their fists and nodded in appreciation while the youngest player on the team spoke.

Winger left the restaurant with a crystallized belief: Carrington had a love for basketball “as pure” as any the longtime NBA executive had ever seen.

“Just like that girl that you want, just like that car you want, you got it and you cherish it, you know?” Carrington said recently

SEE **WIZARDS** ON **D2**

Wizards at Cavaliers

Friday, 7 p.m., Monumental

THE DAY IN SPORTS

BASEBALL Fried, Yankees agree to record deal for lefty

Max Fried and the New York Yankees agreed to an eight-year, \$218 million contract, the largest deal for a left-handed pitcher in baseball history, a person familiar with the negotiations told the Associated Press.

The person spoke Tuesday on the condition of anonymity because the agreement, first reported by ESPN, was subject to a successful physical.

Fried, who turns 31 in January, gets the fourth-highest contract among pitchers behind those of the Los Angeles Dodgers' **Yoshinobu Yamamoto** (\$325 million), the Yankees' **Gerrit Cole** (\$324 million) and the Washington Nationals' **Stephen Strasburg** (\$245 million), who has retired. ...

Right-handed reliever **Yimi García** is returning to the Toronto Blue Jays, agreeing to a two-year, \$15 million contract, a person with knowledge of the talks told the AP. ...

Hall of Fame second baseman **Ryne Sandberg** said the prostate cancer he thought had been eliminated by radiation has returned and spread. ...

Rocky Colavito, a wildly popular outfielder and nine-time all-star who was involved in one of the most debated trades in Cleveland sports history, died. He was 91.

GOLF Scheffler is top player for third straight year

Scottie Scheffler added another trophy to his awesome display when he won the Jack Nicklaus Award as PGA Tour player of the year in a landslide, joining **Tiger Woods** as the only players to win the award three straight times.

Scheffler won 91 percent of the vote from players and appeared to be the obvious choice given the victories he piled up, including an Olympic gold medal when he shot 62 on the final day.

There was the question of how players would view **Xander Schauffele**'s rare feat of winning two majors in one year, but Scheffler's standard was too much to overlook. ...

Woods is returning to the PNC Championship with 15-year-old son **Charlie**, his first competition since the British Open in July and after having a sixth surgery on his back three months ago.

COLLEGES Ex-Aggie agrees to deal in sexual assault case

A former New Mexico State men's basketball player agreed to a plea deal in a sexual assault case against teammates that led to the shutdown of the Aggies' 2022-23 season.

Kim Aiken Jr. will plead guilty to two felony counts of false imprisonment and one count of conspiracy to commit false imprisonment.

Aiken agreed to testify against another former teammate, **Deshawndre Washington**, whose trial in the assault case is set for February. If the deal holds up, Aiken would be sentenced to 4½ years of probation. ...

AJ Dybantsa, the projected No. 1 pick in the 2026 NBA draft, announced his commitment to BYU. ...

SPOTLIGHT: SOCCER



JOAN MONFORT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mohamed Salah, right, has 16 goals in 22 games this season, helping Liverpool lead the Champions and Premier leagues.

Salah's 50th Champions goal lifts Liverpool

BY JAMES ROBSON

Mohamed Salah's 50th Champions League goal maintained Liverpool's perfect record in the competition this season in a 1-0 win at Girona on Tuesday.

The Egypt forward struck a 63rd minute penalty to seal the victory in Spain that kept Liverpool atop the revamped 36-team league stage. It was Salah's 16th goal in 22 appearances overall this season.

But even after a sixth straight win for the Merseyside club, Liverpool Coach Arne Slot was critical of his players in a game that saw goalkeeper Alisson pull off several saves to keep Girona out.

"If you ask me about all the six games, I'm really pleased with all the results, I am really pleased with the five [other] games with the way we played. I'm far from pleased about the performance tonight," he said.

Even after Slot's criticism, Liverpool continued its outstanding start to the campaign, which also led it to the top of the Premier League.

Former Manchester United midfielder

LIVERPOOL 1, GIRONA 0

Struggling Madrid and PSG also earn critical victories

Donny van de Beek handed Salah the chance to fire the visitors ahead with a clumsy tackle from behind on Luis Diaz in the box. Salah stepped up to convert the penalty, and Girona goalkeeper Paulo Gazzaniga went the wrong way.

Six-time European Cup winner Liverpool is looking like the team to beat in the Champions League this season after big wins against Real Madrid and Bayer Leverkusen last month.

Elsewhere, Madrid's big stars turned on the style to revive the Spanish giant's faltering title defense.

Kylian Mbappé, Vinicius Junior and Jude Bellingham all scored in a thrilling 3-2 victory at Italian league leader Atalanta. But Madrid still had to ride its luck as Mateo Retegui fired over from in front of

goal in stoppage time when handed a golden chance to level the game.

The win in Bergamo was only Madrid's third in the revamped league phase, and it leaves the 15-time champion in the unseeded playoff positions in 18th place. Mbappé was substituted off before half-time with an apparent physical issue.

Paris Saint-Germain also picked up a much-needed win, beating host Salzburg, 3-0, in Austria to sit in the last playoff spot in 24th place.

Leverkusen is second after a 1-0 home win over Inter Milan. Also in Germany, third-place Aston Villa beat Leipzig, 3-2.

Brest, one of this season's surprises in its Champions League debut, is fifth after beating PSV Eindhoven, 1-0, at home in Guingamp, France.

Bayern Munich routed Shakhtar Donetsk, 5-1, in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, to move into the automatic qualifying positions for the round of 16.

Michael Olise scored twice as Bayern came back from going 1-0 down inside five minutes to a goal from Brazilian winger Kevin.

— Associated Press

TELEVISION AND RADIO

NBA CUP	
7 p.m.	East quarterfinal: Atlanta at New York » ESPN
9:30 p.m.	West quarterfinal: Golden State at Houston » TNT
NHL	
7 p.m.	New York Rangers at Buffalo » TNT
MEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL	
7 p.m.	Fairleigh Dickinson at Villanova » Fox Sports 1
7 p.m.	Bryant at St. John's » CBS Sports Network
8 p.m.	Colgate at Kentucky » ESPN2

WOMEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL	
7 p.m.	Davidson at North Carolina State » ACC Network
9 p.m.	Iowa State at Iowa » Fox Sports 1
SOCCER	
Noon	FIFA Intercontinental Cup, second round: Botafogo vs. Pachuca » BelN Sports
3 p.m.	UEFA Champions League: Crvena Zvezda at AC Milan » CBS Sports Network

During a difficult season for the Wizards, rookie Carrington is spreading the joy

WIZARDS FROM D1

about his relationship with the game. "So I'm just living every moment, loving it."

That mentality could be buoyed by Carrington's youthful exuberance. The newness of a rookie season can mask the repetitive grind of 82 games. But that innate love matters, potentially blunting the impact of future challenges and helping him stay focused during a season in which the Wizards (3-19) have the NBA's worst record.

"Guys who have love of the game are the ones who end up being really great players in this league," Wizards Coach Brian Keefe said.

Carrington hinted at that love after Washington's loss Thursday to the Dallas Mavericks — their 16th straight defeat, tying a franchise record — when asked how he maintained morale.

"The main thing I do is [remain] gracious of my position," he said. "I could be mad at our situation or how I'm playing or how [we're] playing, but I'm in the NBA. I get to play basketball

for a living. I literally think about that every time I even catch myself getting mad or upset. I play in the NBA."

His adoration for the game comes from early exposure. Carrington grew up in Baltimore, a proud basketball city, with a father embedded in the sport. Carlton Carrington II — or "Big Bub," as everyone calls him — was a prominent AAU coach.

He knows how deep his son's desire runs. Carrington slumped midway through his lone collegiate season at Pittsburgh. Panthers Coach Jeff Capel recalled Big Bub calling him to ask a favor: Limit Carrington's extra time in the gym.

The guard's dedication to the craft and willingness to work, the coach remembered Big Bub explaining, left him drained for games.

That work ethic captivated the Wizards, with Keefe saying he quickly noticed Carrington's intensity in the predraft process. Carrington just wants to hoop, the coach said, a sentiment the player echoed at the team's late-September media day when



GEOFF BURKE/IMAGN IMAGES

Bub Carrington, 19, got a chance to face one of his childhood idols — Kyrie Irving of the Mavericks — in the Wizards' loss Thursday.

asked about his rookie-year goals.

"Play," Carrington said.

He has gotten that opportunity, averaging 28.6 minutes per game. His stats — 9.2 points, 4.1 assists and 4.0 rebounds per game — are respectable figures

for a teenager. Every night exposes Carrington to new experiences: schemes, in-game situations and run-ins with onetime idols.

"I just met Kyrie Irving tonight," Carrington said after that Dallas game about guarding his

favorite player growing up. "It's not all bad."

The next game, against the Denver Nuggets two days later, matched Carrington up against another icon of his childhood, Russell Westbrook.

Before Carrington's professional debut, he had attended only one NBA contest — the 2017 All-Star Game in New Orleans. He showed up wearing his only NBA jersey: Westbrook's.

More than seven years later, they faced each other. Carrington was starstruck — as he was against Irving — but had to "lock in" to help Washington snap its prolonged losing streak.

Keefe was an assistant with the Oklahoma City Thunder for the first six seasons of Westbrook's career and called the former MVP one of his "all-time favorite people." He set up a postgame meeting between the guards.

The 36-year-old Westbrook's main advice was about routine, Carrington said. Throughout his career, Westbrook said, he always worked out at the same time pregame.

WIZARDS' NEXT THREE

at Cleveland Cavaliers		
Friday	7	Monumental
vs. Boston Celtics		
Sunday	6	Monumental
vs. Charlotte Hornets		
Dec. 19	7	Monumental

Radio: WTEM (980 AM) or WFED (1500 AM)

"That's unreal," Carrington said.

Keefe is usually hesitant to offer comparisons, believing they can place unfair expectations on a player. But he made an exception to highlight the similarities between his onetime and current protégés.

"They're competitors, and they have no fear," Keefe said before the game against the Nuggets. "That was very evident from a young Russell Westbrook 17 years ago to a young Bub Carrington now."

ANALYSIS

Browns might be stuck with Watson, but does he have to be the starting QB?

BY MARK MASKE

The Cleveland Browns reached the playoffs last season with Joe Flacco among the quarterbacks filling in for the injured Deshaun Watson.

They have been most competitive this season with Jameis Winston filling in for the injured-again Watson.

That raises the question of whether the Browns will replace Watson as their starter going into next season. But it is a complicated matter, given the salary cap issues arising from Watson's five-year contract, worth a guaranteed \$230 million.

Watson has two seasons remaining on that deal, which he received in conjunction with the March 2022 trade that sent him from the Houston Texans to the Browns. With the proration of his signing bonus for salary cap accounting purposes and the impact of the deal having been restructured, Watson is to count a little more than \$72.9 million against the Browns' cap in each of the next two seasons.

If the Browns were to release Watson in 2025, they would have to absorb a salary cap hit of nearly \$172.8 million (although it would be possible to spread that over two seasons, beginning with about \$118.9 million next season). They would also be obligated to pay the remaining \$92 million in cash due to him under his contract. That burdensome situation perhaps dictates that the Browns retain Watson for next season.

Any notion that the Browns might be able to void the remainder of Watson's contract may have dissipated with Friday's announcement by the NFL that it had closed its investigation of the latest allegations of sexual misconduct made against him, based on insufficient evidence.

Watson is sidelined for the remainder of this season after suffering a ruptured Achilles' tendon in his right leg during an Oct. 20 game against the Cincinnati Bengals. He has played in only 19 games in three seasons with the Browns, totaling 19 touchdown passes and 12 interceptions while rarely resembling the three-time Pro Bowl selection that he was with the Texans. The Browns have gone 9-10 in games that he has started, including 1-6 this season. He is the NFL's 32nd-rated passer among 34 qualified quarterbacks.

He played in six games in the 2022 season after serving an 11-game suspension for violating the personal conduct policy, resulting from a settlement between the NFL and the NFL Players Association following allegations made in more than two dozen lawsuits filed by women accusing him of sexual misconduct during massage therapy sessions. He played in six games last season before suffering a shoulder injury that required season-ending surgery.

Watson has denied the allegations against him and has not been charged with a crime. Anthony Buzbee, the attorney who has represented almost all of Watson's



PETER JONESEIT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jaguars tight end Evan Engram was fined for shoving Texans linebacker Azeee Al-Shaair after his hit on quarterback Trevor Lawrence.

accusers, announced in October that the woman in Texas who made the most recent allegations against him reached a settlement with him. Watson previously reached settlements with 23 of his accusers and one lawsuit was withdrawn, according to Buzbee.

The Browns probably need to retain Watson, given their salary obligations and the cap ramifications that would be associated with parting with him. But they don't need to play him. They certainly don't need to remain committed to him as the starter. Whether that means re-signing Winston with an opportunity to vie for next season's starting job or adding a different, modestly priced quarterback capable of being the starter, the Browns would be wise to explore their options.

No new salary cap figure yet

The NFL will not provide the salary cap figure for next season to teams during this week's league meeting in the Dallas area.

The league sometimes provides the cap number for the following season at the quarterly meeting in December. But that's not always the case, and it won't happen this time.

"Please note that although we will be discussing various Salary Cap-related topics during the meeting, we will not be able to share an anticipated range for next year's Cap as several elements of the 2025 Cap remain unresolved, including what we expect to be the last COVID-related adjustments," the NFL told teams last week in a memo.

The league and the NFLPA calculate the cap figure annually based on a percentage of revenue

that is determined through negotiations as part of the collective bargaining agreement. They also made adjustments to the cap to address the temporary drop in revenue during the coronavirus pandemic.

This season's salary cap was \$255.4 million. That was up from \$224.8 million during the 2023 season.

Another positive hiring cycle?

The NFL also is conducting a front-office accelerator program for minority GM candidates at the December meeting.

The league made gains in minority hiring, especially among head coaches, during the hiring cycle last offseason. Teams hired four minority head coaches among eight vacancies — Jerod Mayo by the New England Patriots, Antonio Pierce by the Las Vegas Raiders, Raheem Morris by the Atlanta Falcons and Dave Canales by the Carolina Panthers.

That gave the league nine minority head coaches heading into this season. That number has remained steady during the season with one minority head coach being fired — Robert Saleh by the New York Jets — while Thomas Brown was promoted to serve as the interim coach of the Chicago Bears.

Brown and defensive coordinators Aaron Glenn of the Detroit Lions, Brian Flores of the Minnesota Vikings, Vance Joseph of the Denver Broncos, Anthony Weaver of the Miami Dolphins and Ejiro Evero of the Panthers are among the top minority head coaching candidates for the upcoming hiring cycle. Flores is the former coach of the Dolphins and filed a

racial discrimination lawsuit against the NFL and teams in 2022.

Drug policies modified

The NFL and NFLPA agreed to changes to their drug policies, according to a memo sent to players and agents last week by the union. In its memo, the NFLPA called the modifications "beneficial."

The league and union increased the THC level for a positive test under the substances of abuse policy, according to the memo. That continued a trend of the NFL's policy becoming less punitive as it relates to marijuana. In 2020, the testing window for THC was narrowed from four months to two weeks at the start of training camp. The number of players subjected to testing for THC was reduced and the threshold for what constituted a positive test was raised from 35 to 150 nanograms per milliliter. It was raised to 350 nanograms as part of last week's changes.

Also according to last week's memo, the NFL and NFLPA agreed to reduced fines for positive tests under the substances of abuse policy.

They agreed that a player's team will be informed only of the penalty and that the violation was caused by a positive test and/or a missed test; the team no longer will be informed of the substance involved.

They agreed that a player's number of missed tests will be reset to zero following a period of time without additional missed tests under both the substances of abuse policy and the performance-enhancing substances policy. And they agreed that a player

will be fined \$15,000 for recording and posting the collection process on social media, under both the substances of abuse policy and the performance-enhancing substances policy.

And also ...

The NFL announced over the weekend that it had fined Jacksonville Jaguars tight end Evan Engram \$11,255 for unnecessary roughness during the Jaguars' game Dec. 1 against the Texans. Engram was penalized for hitting Texans linebacker Azeee Al-Shaair at the outset of the scuffle between the two teams following Al-Shaair's illegal hit on Jaguars quarterback Trevor Lawrence.

Al-Shaair was suspended for three games without pay, and his suspension was upheld on appeal. Lawrence was placed on injured reserve, probably ending his season. ...

The Raiders need a franchise quarterback. They could have one of the top few selections in the NFL draft in the spring. Colorado's Shedeur Sanders is expected to be among the top quarterbacks available. The pairing would make sense.

And now it apparently has the blessing of Sanders's father and coach at Colorado, Deion Sanders. Video surfaced last weekend of the Pro Football Hall of Famer telling Pierce at a Las Vegas event, reportedly held in February, that he wants the team to draft his sons. Safety Shilo Sanders also played for his father at Colorado.

"You are truly the best. ... Now I just need you to do one thing. I need you to draft those Sanders boys," Deion Sanders said to Pierce. ...

NFL power rankings

1. Lions (12-1): Dan Campbell just keeps going for it on fourth down, and Detroit just keeps winning.

2. Chiefs (12-1): How do they keep doing it? This time, a fortunate bounce on a field goal clinched their ninth straight AFC West title.

3. Eagles (11-2): It was closer than it probably should have been Sunday against the Panthers, but the Eagles kept rolling.

4. Vikings (11-2): They remained right on the heels of the Lions by intercepting Kirk Cousins twice in his homecoming game.

5. Bills (10-3): One game after clinching their fifth straight AFC East title, they suffered a misstep against the Rams at SoFi Stadium.

6. Steelers (10-3)

7. Ravens (8-5)

8. Packers (9-4)

9. Chargers (8-5)

10. Broncos (8-5)

11. Seahawks (8-5)

12. Commanders (8-5)

13. Texans (8-5)

14. Buccaneers (7-6)

15. Rams (7-6)

16. Dolphins (6-7)

17. Bengals (5-8)

18. Colts (6-7)

19. 49ers (6-7)

20. Saints (5-8)

21. Cardinals (6-7)

22. Falcons (6-7)

23. Cowboys (5-8)

24. Patriots (3-10)

25. Browns (3-10)

26. Bears (4-9)

27. Panthers (3-10)

28. Jaguars (3-10)

29. Titans (3-10)

30. Jets (3-10)

31. Giants (2-11)

32. Raiders (2-11)

George Atallah, the NFLPA's assistant executive director of external affairs, announced last week that he will leave the union to start his own venture in the new year.

"This has been the experience of a lifetime, highlighted by my relationships with player leaders, working alongside the best colleagues [and] others across business, labor and sports," Atallah wrote on social media.

Atallah joined the union alongside its previous executive director, DeMaurice Smith, who was elected in 2009 following the death of Gene Upshaw a year earlier and Richard Berthelsen's stint as interim executive director. ...

The NFL has been committed in recent years to putting games on streaming platforms, reasoning that it must meet younger audiences where they are. Those viewership numbers are growing. The Detroit Lions-Green Bay Packers game Thursday on Prime Video drew an average of 17.29 million viewers, according to Nielsen. It was the most-streamed NFL regular season game ever.

NFL NOTES

Dallas's Overshown could miss 2025

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dallas Cowboys linebacker DeMarvion Overshown could miss the 2025 season recovering from the right knee injury suffered in a loss to the Cincinnati Bengals, Coach Mike McCarthy said Tuesday.

McCarthy said Overshown has a "long road of rehab in front of him." The second-year player tore multiple ligaments when a Bengals lineman crashed into his leg in the Cowboys' 27-20 loss Monday night.

Overshown missed all of his rookie year in 2023 after tearing the ACL in his left knee in a preseason game. The latest injury came in his first game since a spectacular 23-yard interception return for a touchdown in a 27-20 victory over the New York Giants on Thanksgiving.

"DeMarvion is getting ready to have a big surgery in front of him," McCarthy said of the procedure planned this week. "His physical and football talent speaks for itself. He's such a bright light. He's got a great, infectious personality — a tough young man. He is definitely going to be missed."

The former Texas standout, drafted in the third round last year, was second on the team to star pass rusher Micah Parsons with five sacks when he went down.

The December timing of Overshown's injury means rehab is likely to extend past training

camp and into the regular season next year, after he turns 25.

Parsons was emotional when asked about Overshown after the Cincinnati game.

"I cried," he said. "It's like my little bro, bro. He doesn't deserve that either. Just to understand what he's going to go through and to be there for him physically, mentally. It's just so challenging because of the year he was having. I really just don't think that's fair either."

The loss of Overshown comes with defensive end DeMarcus Lawrence close to returning from a foot injury that has sidelined him since Week 4.

•**BENGALS:** Quarterback Joe Burrow's home was broken into during Monday night's game in the latest home invasion of a pro athlete, authorities said.

No one was injured in the break-in, but the home was ransacked, according to a report provided by the Hamilton County (Ohio) Sheriff's Office.

Deputies weren't immediately able to determine what items were stolen. A person who is employed by Burrow arrived at the Anderson Township home Monday night to find a shattered bedroom window and the home in disarray. The person called their mother, then 911 was contacted, according to the report.

Deputies reached out to neighbors in an attempt to piece together surveillance footage.

The homes of Kansas City Chiefs stars Patrick Mahomes

and Travis Kelce were broken into in October. In the NBA, Milwaukee Bucks forward Bobby Portis's home was broken into Nov. 2 and Minnesota Timberwolves guard Mike Conley Jr.'s home was burglarized Sept. 15 while he was at a Minnesota Vikings game.

•**49ERS:** The least productive four-game stretch of Deebo Samuel's career sent the frustrated wide receiver to social media.

In a now-deleted post on X, Samuel tried to give an explanation on why he has gained only 97 yards from scrimmage the past four games as the big plays that made him an all-pro in 2021 are no longer coming.

"Not struggling at all just not getting the ball!!!!!!!" he wrote on Monday.

Samuel deleted the post but not before it caused a bit of a social media firestorm. Asked if he wanted to expand on what he wrote, Samuel simply said: "You read what you read. A little frustrated, for sure."

Coach Kyle Shanahan said he would prefer if Samuel had kept his frustrations off social media but added it wasn't a distraction to the players and coaches in the building as the 49ers prepare to host the Los Angeles Rams on Thursday night.

•**BROWNS:** Cleveland placed cornerback Greg Newsome II (hamstring) on injured reserve and waived wide receiver Kadarius Toney, who made two critical mistakes in Sunday's loss to the Pittsburgh Steelers.

NATIONALS FROM D1

Rockies, Miami Marlins and Los Angeles Angels (who will pick second, followed by the Seattle Mariners, Rockies and St. Louis Cardinals).

Now, the Nationals will get another crack at a future star.

"It's a chance to add to an already fertile farm system," General Manager Mike Rizzo said. "And, when you look at the young base of players we have in the big leagues already, and that group that's on the cusp of coming to the big leagues, when you add this type of talent in your organization, it's really important."

The cold, dimly lit hotel ballroom where the lottery results were unveiled featured the following: Nationals World Series champion Matt Adams onstage as their representative and good-luck charm (even though he is not employed by the team); national cross-checker Reed Dunn pacing with his back to the podium as the selections whittled down to four, then three, then two; and, unsurprisingly, a bunch of fist pumps and quiet roars to the ceiling from members of the Nationals' front office and scouting brass when the Angels were announced as the team that would select second.

And also: a whole lot of pats on the back for Adams.

"Awesome to be able to represent the Nationals and bring the old 'Big City' luck to the organization," Adams said.

Dunn and senior director of amateur scouting Brad Ciolek have been part of multiple No. 1

picks, Dunn with the Nationals and Ciolek with the Baltimore Orioles. This will be the first time that Danny Haas, the head of the Nationals' scouting department who will enter his second draft in charge of the team's board, will help a franchise make the No. 1 pick.

Last year, the Nationals had the ping-pong balls generate their winning combination three times, but they were ineligible to select first because of a provision that disallows "payor clubs" — those that give rather than receive revenue-sharing dollars — from selecting in back-to-back lotteries. This time, there was no such obstacle.

"Freaking Danny Haas," a member of another team's front office said with a grin as he headed for the exit.

"Heavy expectations," Haas said when asked about the Nationals' history of No. 1 picks. "Big shoes to fill."

The Nationals ended up with the second pick in the 2023 draft, the first featuring a lottery, despite posting the worst record in baseball. They selected Crews after an LSU teammate, right-hander Paul Skenes, went off the board to the Pittsburgh Pirates at No. 1. This past summer, their first under Haas, they selected Wake Forest shortstop Seaver King with the 10th pick.

Washington added several members to its scouting department this offseason: Ron Tosten-son, from Texas, who has been cross-checking for almost 30 years, and Arnold Brathwaite, another longtime scout, from the

Mid-Atlantic.

"It's a mega group effort," Haas said. "Great meetings today, actually, with the analytics folks before we came in in preparation. Just exciting times."

The Nationals' farm system entered last season deeper than it has been in a long time, though it understandably is a bit thinner at the top following the promotions of Wood and Crews. The top of the system is now represented by three high-upside pitchers in the lower levels of the minors (Travis Sykora, Jarlin Susana and Alex Clemmey) and a handful of infielders (Brady House, Yohandy Morales and King).

Haas said the Nationals would have strong college and high school options to choose from with the top pick. He expects more high school players will go in the top 10 compared with last year, when just one did.

So much can change over the next seven months, but a consensus top five for 2025 has emerged from Baseball America and MLB.com, with two position players at the top: Texas A&M outfielder Jace LaViolette and high school shortstop Ethan Holliday — the brother of Jackson and the son of Matt. After them come three pitchers: UC Santa Barbara right-hander Tyler Bremner, Florida State left-hander Jamie Arnold and high school righty Seth Hernandez.

"We can pick number one in the draft, we can take whoever we want, we get the added bonus pool [for signing players] — and I never want to do it again," Rizzo said.

BASEBALL

Lifetime achievement honor sends Post columnist Boswell to Cooperstown

Writer to accept award during July ceremony at the Hall of Fame

BY SPENCER NUSBAUM

DALLAS — Thomas Boswell, whose 52-year career as sports-writer and columnist at The Washington Post included coverage of 44 consecutive World Series and saw the return of Major League Baseball to Washington in 2005 after a 33-year absence, was selected to be honored in the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.

Boswell was named the 2025 winner of the Baseball Writers’ Association of America’s Career Excellence Award on Tuesday, earning what the group considers “the most prestigious prize in baseball journalism.” He will be recognized during July’s induction weekend and included in an exhibit alongside other writers and broadcasters.

Boswell becomes the fourth Washington-based writer to earn the distinction, joining Shirley Povich, Bob Addie and Sam Lacy.

Boswell spent his entire career at The Post and for years served as the voice Washington readers sought amid sports triumph and heartbreak, particularly with his coverage of the Washington Nationals. He started at The Post in 1969, working first as a copy aide, then as a general assignment reporter, then as a beat writer and later as a columnist, a tenure that lasted more than a half-century.

Over that time, he traveled around the world — covering the sports calendar’s most significant events, including five Olympics, dozens of golf major championships and championship boxing matches — and became one of the country’s most distinguished sportswriters.

Though he formally retired in 2021, he continues to contribute columns periodically. Fittingly, he got the call about the Hall of Fame honor as he was wrestling over the last three paragraphs of a column on Juan Soto.

“I thought it was perfect that I had the dual reaction of being super happy about the election by other baseball writers — but also still being caught in that moment of doing the thing I’ve done all my life that I love so much,” Boswell

said. “Writing, creating, being right in the aggravation and difficulty of it, and the pleasure when the good phrase finally gives itself up to the chokehold. A perfect combination of the thing I love doing all my life and the call.”

Born in Washington and a graduate of St. Stephen’s School in Alexandria, Boswell landed his first byline by covering a high school football game between Carroll and DeMatha. He wrote about the Washington Senators before they left for Texas following the 1971 season and took over the Baltimore Orioles beat in the 1970s before becoming a columnist in 1984. He covered every World Series from 1975 to 2019, the year the Nationals won it.

A beloved member of The Post’s Sports department, where colleagues and readers knew him simply as “Boz,” Boswell served as a mentor for waves of journalists. Colleagues marveled at his literary sensibility and elevated perspective.

Dave Sheinin, who grew up idolizing Boswell and later worked alongside him at The Post, said they probably shared a press box for more than 100 World Series games — and not

once, to Sheinin’s memory, did he ever consult Boswell on what each would write. There was no need. Boswell would see something, know something or remember something that no one else would.

“He saw the game in ways that nobody else saw it,” Sheinin said. “He sort of personifies baseball writing to me.”

“It’s a fabulous recognition of the great work that The Post’s Sports department does all the time, and to have someone like Boz be the representative at a place like the Hall of Fame is just a tremendous honor for everybody,” said Matt Vita, The Post’s sports editor from 2009 to 2023.

“He was extremely smart, he saw baseball in a different light than most people, and we were very fortunate to have him as well as [the many writers who followed],” said George Solomon, who served as sports editor from 1975 to 2003. “He was a great representative of The Washington Post, in the same vein of Shirley Povich. I’m proud to have been his editor.”

When events warranted, as they often did, Boswell took pride in abandoning a partially finished column in the eighth in-

ning of a game, starting anew and still producing lyrical prose for the next day’s newspaper. He also picked up the fare for every taxi he shared with other writers, Sheinin said, and talked with every fan who approached him. He occasionally would draw the envy of New York Yankees reporters when the team’s manager, Joe Torre, would be eager to pick his brain.

His books, including “Why Time Begins on Opening Day,” “The Heart of the Order” and “How Life Imitates the World Series,” were revered works among baseball fans and writers.

“Tom Boswell is one of the greatest baseball writers who ever lived, and someone, my entire time as a baseball writer myself, I have read, looked up to, studied, genuinely cared about everything he thought,” the Athletic’s Jayson Stark said. “I’m so happy for him that we finally honored him. And I’m so happy for us that his name will be part of the writers’ wing because, as someone who is there myself, I know what it means to look at the names on that wall and see it as documentation of the history of our profession and the meaning of our profession — and he’s such

an important part of the history and the meaning of baseball.”

As he neared retirement, certain aspects of the work came into particular focus for Boswell. He cared more about the relationship he had with readers; he loved that, as Povich, Addie and Dave Brady did before him, he maintained relationships with the young writers; and he loved that D.C. got a team again and reached the World Series “so that fans got to experience what the game really is when you take it all the way through a season.”

In a column announcing his retirement in 2021, Boswell wrote that the 2004 American League Championship Series between the Boston Red Sox and New York Yankees was the best sporting event he had experienced. He figured Cal Ripken Jr.’s consecutive games played streak, which he also covered, had the best chance to be remembered the longest of “all the long haul” stories he chronicled.

As for when the Nationals clinched their trip to the World Series in 2019, he wrote: “I went down to the packed Nationals Park infield. And just slowly looked around, a full 360. No revelations, just a memory.”

BARRY SVRLUGA

No scribe captures spirit of the game quite like Boz

SVRLUGA FROM D1

Baseball Hall of Fame. That means he gets to speak before a gathering in Cooperstown, New York, next summer. That means so much to so many of us. It’s so deserved. It’s so overdue. Congrats, Boz.

There is much to be learned by watching a baseball game. There is even more to be learned by talking about it with those who know it from the inside. Push that thought further: Our understanding of an endlessly fascinating and complex sport is elevated by the people who can best watch the game, talk with those involved and then elevate the experience by putting words on a page.

At their best, those experiences are literary, advanced in thinking and in language. Boswell was and is among the best to get to the core of the sport, to dig out the details of how events happen and explain their impact on a player, a team, a town. Our comprehension of the sport is better for it. And our enjoyment of the learning — he helped there, too.

The BBWAA has voted on this award since 1962, seeking to recognize writers for

“meritorious contributions to baseball writing,” as the Hall says on its website. There is a corresponding award for broadcasting. The entire exercise makes sense: The honorees aren’t inducted into the Hall of Fame along with players, managers and executives. But they are recognized and honored, because baseball and storytelling go together like peanut butter and jelly.

Full disclosure: I and several of my colleagues — not to mention previous Career Excellence Award winners such as Jayson Stark and Dan Shaughnessy — worked to make sure Boswell’s career and case were duly considered by voters, who are BBWAA members for at least 10 years. While I have serious and unshakable misgivings about writers voting for Hall of Famers, I respect their dedication to and consideration of the process. Still, writers turning their exacting evaluations on their own kind is a little tricky.

Which makes Boz’s inclusion this year all the more gratifying. Writers of my generation — and generations younger than mine — grew up in a pre-internet age reading and understanding Boswell. That’s both informative



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Thomas Boswell, chatting with the Nationals’ Jayson Werth in 2016, covered 44 straight World Series.

and inspiring.

A collection of Boz’s essays, “Why Time Begins on Opening Day,” was published in 1984, when I was 13. Shoot it directly into my veins. It helped me understand baseball. It helped me understand writing. But it also was just flat-out entertaining.

In talking with friends and colleagues from the baseball writing world over the past year about Boswell, that’s what was so striking: his impact on so many writers not only of his generation but on those of us

who followed.

There are so many deserving ways to win this award — by being exceptional at reporting information and ferreting out transactions, by understanding strategy and drilling down on in-game moves, by drawing out and explaining the characters in a game filled with them, by understanding the sport’s history and its future, by being able to splice statistics in a way that helps illuminate the people who play the game.

Boswell damn near combined them all. He could think like Bill

James, the legendary statistician, and write like Roger Angell, the longtime New Yorker essayist. When he retired from The Post — and, yes, given that he filed a column Tuesday on Juan Soto signing with the Mets, “retired” is a loose term — I wrote about his approach to covering a game. It was proactive, not reactive, built on exhaustive research that — depending on how the game unfolded — could be central to what he wrote that day or completely discarded.

But it was always — *always* —

THOMAS BOSWELL

Mets’ dumb money can’t buy Cohen common sense

BOSWELL FROM D1

\$450 million) and the NBA (Jayson Tatum, \$314 million).

And Soto’s deal now dwarfs the present-day value — a calculation that acts as if no money were deferred — of the roughly \$460 million that the Dodgers gave to Shohei Ohtani, our modern Babe Ruth.

Soto has no blame in this gaudy excess. He is 26, and his career is a nearly flawless diamond. His closest statistical comparisons at his age are some of the best players, especially early-career players, ever: Bryce Harper, Frank Robinson, Ken Griffey Jr., Mike Trout, Eddie Mathews, Miguel Cabrera and Mickey Mantle.

But Cohen lost his price-value scale long ago. Make it simple: If the rest of Soto’s career matches those of the superstar players mentioned above, then Soto will end up in the Hall of Fame, yet the Mets contract will still be a stink-to-heaven overpay. We’ll get to the illustrative numbers later.

What’s ugliest right now is Cohen’s cynical disregard for the most basic appeal of sport — the level playing field. That’s for suckers.

Ever since Cohen bought the Mets in 2020, he has been a poster boy for this sports era. Ostentation in purchase prices is his trademark. Once, he tried to buy a work by Picasso from Las Vegas casino guy Steve Wynn so

he could set the world record price of \$139 million for a painting. Before the picture could change hands, Wynn stuck his elbow through the canvas while showing it off to friends. Oops, no deal.

Years later, Cohen bought that same painting anyway — for \$155 million. Sometimes, ego just has to have its say.

The Mets owner also once bought a Jeff Koons sculpture called “Rabbit” for \$91.1 million — another record price. I like Koons, too. But I settled for a pair of socks with a copy of his sculpture “Balloon Dog” on them for \$9.95.

My guardedly cheerful expectation is that everybody in this movie is going to get what they deserve. New York has great baseball fans; now, Mets followers, so often second-class citizens, get to see peak Soto. They may even win their first World Series title since 1986.

But modern baseball is a different sport than its may-the-best-team-win 20th-century ancestor. With its wild expanded 12-team playoffs and its insanely silly yet riveting short series, the soundtrack of October baseball should be the Red Queen screaming at Alice: “Now, here, you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that.”

The whole month can seem



KEVORK DJANSEZIAN/GETTY IMAGES

The Mets won the bidding for ex-Yankees outfielder Juan Soto with a 15-year deal worth \$765 million.

like madness, especially to teams built around a core of sluggers, such as Soto, Aaron Judge and Giancarlo Stanton with the Yankees last year. Foes can hope to pitch around or frustrate key hitters. One slugger may be irrelevant in a lopsided game or when few runners get on base.

Dominant power pitchers, however, cannot be avoided — as the Washington Nationals demonstrated in 2019. They *will* dominate the 30 or so batters they face in their starts. And they may even be used in the highest-leverage bullpen situation.

Because of this, Cohen is likely to end up looking like a callow rube at this baseball hustle. And more so with time.

Why? The Mets signed Soto for

15 years. I assumed that was about five too many. Then I did some digging. It may be more like 10 years too many — especially at \$51 million a year.

Remember those seven glamorous names mentioned earlier as similar to Soto? Add two more, Andruw Jones and Orlando Cepeda, to give us the nine men most like Soto.

If the last 10 years of Soto’s contract — starting with his age-31 season — are similar to those of the nine (seven of whom have retired), Soto will keep his dignity. But the Mets won’t.

As a group, the seven stars who have retired averaged only 137 home runs for the remainder of their careers starting with their age-31 season. That’s all. And that

ain’t good.

Robinson and Griffey were the “best.” Both played exactly 10 more seasons through age 40. Robby averaged 115 games, 21 homers and 68 RBI a season, and Junior managed 19 homers and 57 RBI a year. Mantle was typical — only 132 more homers, in six seasons.

How happy do you think the entire decade of the 2030s is going to be for Cohen if Soto gets paid \$510 million, all of it guaranteed, to hit 137 homers?

Want more data points? Look at Trout. The past two years, at ages 31 and 32, he was injured for two-thirds of the Angels’ games and hit .252 when he played. Harper was exceptional his first three years as a Phillie, including

an MVP season. But the past three years, at ages 29, 30 and 31, he is down to 123 games a year with 23 homers and 75 RBI. Elbow surgery has moved him from right field to first base. The Phils are happy with him, but they paid “just” \$330 million, not \$765 million.

Soto is one of my favorite hitters to watch — ever. I (really, really) hope I get to watch him bat .388 at age 38, like Ted Williams. Or hit 40 homers at 39, like Hank Aaron. But if Albert Pujols could get creaky and only hit .261 from age 31 onward, then old age still has its thumb on the wheel.

The good news for baseball is that while super-rich teams such as the Yankees and Dodgers can buy their way into the postseason almost every season, they don’t actually get to the World Series, much less win it, terribly often. I was amused by those who moaned this year about “another” Yankees-Dodgers Series. I covered the last one in 1981. Once every 43 years is fine with me.

As the Oldest Member, I’m invoking my option to imagine the future just the way I prefer it. Mets fans get plenty of contending teams with Soto but, like the Phillies with Harper, their squad doesn’t dominate the division. Cohen joins the long list of smart guys who turned out to be Dumb Money in baseball. MLB’s salary structure gets stretched out of shape (again), but the game’s accidental luck of stumbling into a fall format that promotes a loopy parity will keep the sport in its usual state.

What is that? Flawed enough to keep us continually griping about how it should be better. But entertaining, crazy and beautiful enough, as always, to keep us fascinated every year.

During Wise’s dominant campaign, three former players were never forgotten

BY MATT COHEN

So much of what has made Wise a football dynasty is the players who were there, a parade of talent that often marched on to Division I or professional football. But Friday night in Annapolis, where Wise lost to Quince Orchard in the Maryland Class 4A championship game, it was impossible not to think of the Pumas who weren’t.

First-year coach Steve Rapp held himself together as he led a saddened, stunned group through the handshake line and into the locker room. The coach had his play card tucked behind his back in his waistband. He always puts it there, where it sticks up just enough to show the

faces of Isaiah Hazel, Khyree Jackson and Anthony “AJ” Lytton printed on the back. All season, their jersey numbers — 1, 4 and 6 — were represented on the brim of Rapp’s ball cap and the back of the Pumas’ helmets. Rapp’s winter jacket bore their images.

Hazel, Jackson and Lytton were killed in a car crash last summer. Police said the car being driven by Hazel was hit by another vehicle around 3:15 a.m. on July 6 in Upper Marlboro. The last time they played together was the 2016 state championship game. Wise beat Quince Orchard that day for a second straight state title.

Eight years later — in a season dedicated to Hazel, Jackson and

Lytton — Wise fell to Quince Orchard on the same stage, coming up just short of another back-to-back.

“I think they’re always with us,” Rapp said after the loss. “I felt like we got it down near to the end. I felt like we was going to block that field goal and something was going to happen. It just didn’t roll our way. I think that winning a state championship at any high school, it takes some luck.”

Rapp coached all three players as the offensive coordinator at Wise, a role he started in 2013. This season, his first as Wise’s head coach, seemingly everything he did — and certainly everything he wore — honored his former players.

DaLawn Parrish had been the only coach in Wise history before he left for a job closer to home at Westlake. He passed the reins to Rapp, and the Pumas never skipped a beat, going 11-0 against Maryland opponents until they reached Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium.

The deaths of Hazel, Jackson and Lytton brought other Wise alumni back to the program. Rapp made sure of it. He hired Quinton Williams — the starting quarterback on those teams with Hazel, Jackson and Lytton — as quarterbacks coach just months after Williams finished a five-year playing career at Howard.

Williams said he took the job to honor his former teammates.

“I knew all three of those guys since I was in youth ball,” Williams said. “Growing up with them, all of our families were close. Living on in their name, keeping their name going is what I pride myself in doing. Those were my brothers, my family. The tradition, they’re going to be forever remembered here.”

Wise played three home games during the regular season and three more in the postseason. Each one was preceded by a moment of silence. The hash marks on the 1-, 4- and 6-yard lines were always painted yellow, a subtle memorial.

In the pouring rain of a state quarterfinal game against Dundalk, Wise draped No. 1, No. 4 and No. 6 jerseys underneath a

tent on the sideline. That evening, Wise brought out the families of Hazel, Jackson and Lytton to stand alongside Rapp for an extended recognition and the national anthem. A few younger relatives joined Wise’s captains for the coin toss.

Before kickoff, Rapp hugged each family member. This season meant more to him than most. Not only did it provide a chance to prove himself as a head coach, it gave him the opportunity to celebrate three players whom he loved. With every win, he wanted to honor them.

On Friday, the back of his jacket had a simple message surrounding the pictures of Hazel, Jackson and Lytton: “Wise Legends Never Die.”

HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL TOP 20

Maryland state champions and Dunbar move up in the penultimate rankings

FROM STAFF REPORTS

Last week, eight teams from The Washington Post’s coverage area played in a championship game, a slate featuring equal parts drama and season-capping dominance in Maryland and D.C.

There are three additions to the top 10 of these rankings — all teams that ended their seasons with trophies in hand. Arundel, up six spots to No. 7, is the highest ranked of the bunch after dominating previously unbeaten Linganore in the Maryland Class 3A championship game. Patuxent slots right behind at No. 8 following an unbeaten season — particularly impressive as the only team to emerge from the Southern Maryland Athletic Conference unscathed. And Dunbar, which has time and time again come up agonizingly short of a D.C. State Athletic Association championship, finally earned one with a defeat of Friendship that bumped the Crimson Tide up to No. 9.

There were two other local champions crowned: Quince Orchard, already the highest-

ranked public school, held on to its position at No. 4 after winning another Maryland Class 4A title, and North Point is up four spots to No. 12 following a dramatic defensive stand to win the Maryland 4A/3A championship.

Briar Woods represents the newest addition to the Top 20, moving off the bubble and into the rankings after securing a berth in the Virginia Class 5 championship game. The Falcons slot in at No. 16 this week ahead of a matchup with Maury on Saturday. They are one of two Virginia finalists in the Top 20, joining No. 6 Madison, which will play Oscar Smith for the Class 6 crown.

1. Archbishop Spalding (12-0)
Spalding won the Maryland Interscholastic Athletic Association championship for the third year in a row. **Last ranked:** 1 **Next:** Season complete.

2. DeMatha (10-1)
DeMatha’s Washington Catholic Athletic Conference title was its 25th. **LR:** 2 **Next:** Season complete.

3. Riverdale Baptist (10-0)
The retooled Crusaders went undefeated. **LR:** 3 **Next:** Season complete.

4. Quince Orchard (13-0)
For the third time in four seasons, the Cougars are Maryland Class 4A champions. They took down Wise, 24-13, to secure the program’s sixth state title. **LR:** 4 **Next:** Season complete.

5. Good Counsel (7-5)
Good Counsel advanced to a second straight WCAC championship game. **LR:** 6 **Next:** Season complete.

6. Madison (14-0)
After beating Lake Braddock by 23 points, the Warhawks — still unbeaten — are on to the Virginia Class 6 title game, where perennial contender Oscar Smith awaits. **LR:** 7 **Next:** 5 p.m. Saturday vs. Oscar Smith at James Madison.

7. Arundel (12-1)
The Wildcats put a cap on their magical season by comfortably

beating Linganore for the Maryland Class 3A title, 35-7. **LR:** 13 **Next:** Season complete.

8. Patuxent (14-0)
Patuxent had to earn every bit of its recently awarded Maryland Class 2A/1A championship, muscling past three-time defending champion Dunbar of Baltimore in the title game, 8-6. **LR:** 12 **Next:** Season complete.

9. Dunbar (12-1)
Coach Maurice Vaughn finally secured an elusive state championship when his Crimson Tide knocked off Friendship, 27-6, in the DCSAA Class AA title game. **LR:** 11 **Next:** Season complete.

10. Wise (11-2)
Wise came just a game short of a repeat state championship. **LR:** 5 **Next:** Season complete.

11. Gonzaga (7-4)
The Eagles went 2-2 in WCAC regular season play before a loss in the semifinals. **LR:** 8 **Next:** Season complete.

12. North Point (12-2)
In its most consequential moment, North Point’s defense stepped up. The Eagles stopped a two-point conversion to end Thursday’s Maryland Class 4A/3A championship game and bring a state title back to Waldorf. **LR:** 16 **Next:** Season complete.

13. St. John’s (5-5)
The Cadets were the fourth-best team in the WCAC this year. **LR:** 9 **Next:** Season complete.

14. Georgetown Prep (7-2)
Georgetown Prep’s season ended over a month ago with an Interstate Athletic Conference championship. **LR:** 14 **Next:** Season complete.

15. Friendship Collegiate (9-4)
The Knights couldn’t complete a DCSAA three-peat, falling to Dunbar. **LR:** 10 **Next:** Season complete.

16. Briar Woods (10-3)
The Falcons will play for the

Virginia Class 5 championship after beating L.C. Bird in the semifinals, 28-14. **LR:** Not ranked **Next:** 11:30 a.m. Saturday vs. Maury at James Madison.

17. Huntingtown (10-3)
Decatur denied Huntingtown in the Maryland Class 2A final for the second straight year. **LR:** 17 **Next:** Season complete.

18. Washington-Liberty (12-1)
The Generals had one of the best seasons in program history but fell in the region final. **LR:** 19 **Next:** Season complete.

19. Lake Braddock (11-3)
Lake Braddock’s season ended in the state semifinals with a 42-19 loss to Madison. **LR:** 15 **Next:** Season complete.

20. Broadneck (10-2)
The Bruins lost in last week’s Maryland Class 4A semifinals. **LR:** 20 **Next:** Season complete. **Dropped out:** No. 18 Tuscarora **On the bubble:** Champe, C.H. Flowers, Douglass, Tuscarora, Westlake

Longtime activist Edwards battles on

EDWARDS FROM D1

sun but embracing the harsh reality that it probably will be his last. Three terminal cancers — in his bone marrow, prostate and thyroid — are ravaging his body, leaving him in frequent pain and fatigued, but he has denied any medical treatment, combating the struggle with an upbeat attitude and the occasional Tylenol.

His weakened health hasn’t slowed his wisdom or wit. Get Edwards on the right topic, and that intimidating baritone overwhelms the room, with the cadence of a Baptist minister determined to save lost souls. He recently turned an audience of one into his classroom for nearly three hours, weaving through the evolution of sports activism and his personal journey, predicting the depth of future engagement for activism and name-dropping friends many Americans consider icons. Bill Russell. Jim Brown. Jackie Robinson. Arthur Ashe. Huey Newton. Angela Davis. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar.

Edwards said asking for more than what life has already given him is almost being greedy. But before he’s gone, he has a few more lessons to impart.

Ring with a story

During nearly four decades as an adviser to the 49ers, working closely with the likes of Bill Walsh, Ronnie Lott, Joe Montana and Kaepernick, Edwards earned four championship rings.

But the ring he chooses to wear on his right hand is instead the one he received from Coach Billy Donovan in 2007 after advising the University of Florida men’s basketball program on its way to back-to-back NCAA titles. It’s because it commemorates that America has, indeed, changed during his lifetime.

“In 1960,” Edwards said of the year he graduated from high school, “I couldn’t have even walked onto the campus at the University of Florida unless I had a rake or a mop in my hand.”

But for Edwards, the ring also reflects how forward movement isn’t always permanent. In the time since Edwards received that ring, this nation has elected its

first Black president, Barack Obama, for two terms. Since then, Donald Trump has been elected for two non-successive terms, and the Supreme Court, with a supermajority following Trump’s appointment of three conservative justices, has substantially weakened the Voting Rights Act; overturned *Roe v. Wade*, which established the constitutional right to an abortion; and struck down race-conscious affirmative action in college admissions.

“Progress is one of those concepts like history, like profit. At some point it comes down to who’s keeping the books,” Edwards said.

The University of Florida eliminated all diversity, equity and inclusion positions this year, drawing criticism from one of its sports legends, Pro Football Hall of Famer Emmitt Smith. And Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis (R) has aggressively attacked how race and African American history are taught in K-12 classrooms, with his administration imposing restrictions on books and going so far as rejecting an Advanced Placement African American studies class.

Edwards placed the ring back on his finger and said: “This would have been impossible in 1960. But is it enduring progress? Did the system change? Not really. Look and see where the university [is], where Florida is now as a state.”

Russell saw this coming

Of all the people Edwards has met in sports, academia or anywhere else, Russell “is probably the brightest individual I have ever encountered.”

Edwards first came to admire Russell as a kid growing up in East St. Louis, Illinois. He was disappointed when the St. Louis Hawks traded Russell after selecting him second overall because they feared the city couldn’t handle a Black franchise cornerstone. He followed him throughout his career with the Boston Celtics, with whom he won 11 championships in 13 seasons and earned a reputation as the greatest winner in the history of team sports.

But he later got to know Russell, who died in 2022, on a personal level, learning that his brilliance extended well beyond his ability on the basketball court. And in 2010, he watched as Russell gave what Edwards describes as the best speech he ever heard delivered. It was at the Final Four in Indianapolis, where both men had been invited to speak, and Russell’s keynote address was concise yet powerful. He told the audience to never be too scared to interact, that problems could be resolved with a better understanding of one another.



MICHAEL ZAGARIS/GETTY IMAGES

Harry Edwards organized the Olympic Project for Human Rights that influenced Tommie Smith and John Carlos’s 1968 protest.

“Fear has this capacity to metastasize, to become part of the culture,” Edwards recalled Russell saying. “And the next thing you know, we are afraid of each other. And once that happens, we’re up against the greatest enemy we will ever face as a society — ourselves. Do not be afraid.”

Edwards remembered the crowd quizzically applauding, stunned by the bluntness and brevity. But as Edwards flew back home to the Bay Area, the brilliance of Russell’s message started to sink in.

“Lo and behold, here we are in 2024, Bill Russell is gone, but the greatest problem we have in American society today, the greatest challenge that we’ve got to overcome is our fear of each other,” Edwards said. “Bill Russell was not just right. He was prophetic. He saw where America was headed.”

Women’s rights are next

Edwards has spent the bulk of his life anticipating where society is headed and in particular the role that athletes will play in taking it there.

Using his personal research, observations and trends to accurately predict several outcomes, Edwards foresaw violence at the Munich Olympics in 1972, Russia boycotting the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984 and an underbelly of drug use in American society eventual-

ly leading to the Len Bias tragedy. He told MLB Commissioner Peter Ueberoth in 1987 that baseball’s continued investment in Latin America would eventually lead to a rapid decline of American Black players without an equally aggressive commitment in those communities.

As he scans the current landscape within this country and sports, Edwards is confident that a sixth wave of sports activism will occur, with women at the forefront.

There have been five previous waves of sports activism since the start of the 20th century, Edwards said, all bound to the “cultural scaffolding” of an underlying movement for social justice and change. Led by the likes of Rube Foster, Jack Johnson and Paul Robeson, the struggle for legitimacy came first; followed by the struggle for access, which saw Jackie Robinson breaking MLB’s color barrier; and then the struggle for dignity and respect, which featured prominent, uncompromising athletes such as Smith, Carlos, Russell, Muhammad Ali, Jim Brown and Curt Flood. After a four-decade pause, which Edwards referred to as “the so-called post-racial America” period, the struggle for definitional authority was highlighted by Kaepernick taking a knee in protest of police brutality and racial inequalities. The most recent struggle for the

exercise of power saw NBA and WNBA players disrupt the corporate and political machine by demanding tangible efforts for change.

When he spoke in September, Edwards felt that just as the Black Lives Matter movement was sprouted under the Obama administration, a women-led wave would take place under the first female president in Kamala Harris. Contacted after the election, Edwards said he believes that another Trump presidency (during his campaign, Trump proposed eliminating the Department of Education, potentially endangering Title IX) will accelerate a movement that is quietly underway.

“You already have athletes who are suing because they feel they’ve been discriminated against once they became pregnant. People aren’t connecting it up, but that’s already out there,” he said.

“What’s going to happen when a young lady has a scholarship that she’s been offered to play basketball, to run track, and all of a sudden, September rolls around, she can’t take it. Why? Because she’s getting ready to have a baby. And what does a school do? What does she do? What happens to the scholarship?”

Progress comes at a cost

Previous waves of athlete activism have come with a considerable price. Foster died at 51, a decade after organizing the Negro Leagues and nearly 15 years before Branch Rickey signed Robinson to the Brooklyn Dodgers. Robinson broke the color barrier in baseball but died at 53; the burden of being the first and his unyielding passion for swift and more sweeping social change resulted in him suffering from an immeasurable toll. Smith and Carlos were banned from amateur track after their Olympic protest. Flood was forced out after fighting to establish free agency in baseball. Kaepernick lost his career.

“If you are fighting for what America promises and what America purportedly stands for,” Edwards said, “you have to recognize that things are the way they are and so often lacking because there are those powerful interests who want it that way.”

A former Black Panther party member, Edwards has outlived many of his contemporaries and encountered his own detractors over his esteemed career. He was fired from his position as an assistant professor at San Jose State after the Olympics protest, which prompted him to complete his doctorate in philosophy from Cornell in 5½ years. He also endured death threats and being investi-

gated by J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI.

“They had me down as armed and dangerous, which was nothing but a shoot-to-kill edict, in that day and age,” he said. “I’m blessed to simply still be here.”

Others will take his place

After decades of engaging in what Martin Luther King Jr. referred to as “the right to protest for right,” Edwards has entered another fight that he already has conceded.

In 2022, Edwards was diagnosed with myeloma, a cancer in the bone marrow that causes pain throughout the body. Over time, the other two cancers have developed. “There’s no elixir that I’m going to take that’s going to get rid of that,” he said. “I’m good with it. I have no problems with it. That’s part of the deal on this planet. Nobody gets out of life alive.”

Even as he understands the end is nearing, Edwards remains committed to working on projects that will last long after he’s gone, mixing in some productivity with his regular doctor visits. Edwards is completing a six-part documentary on the intersection of sports, race and activism called “The Struggle and the Power” and a 12-part video series called “The Last Lectures.”

“I’m very selective with what I do. I want them to be of some substance and consequence in terms of where I am. Because at this stage, this one is done. I’m finished,” Edwards said, while explaining why he has declined any treatment for his ailments. “Next thing you know, I’m standing up some place in the corner with a thousand-yard stare, lost in the corridors of my mind, trying to figure out whether I’m to use the restroom, my credit card or my fork. I’m not going to do that.”

Exhausted from the lengthy conversation, Edwards takes another sip of water, then braces himself to rise from his seat. Before gingerly walking toward his white Chrysler 300 to head home, he makes clear the movement won’t end with him. The struggle will continue.

“What history teaches me is that every generation is going to generate the leadership consistent with the conditions of that era. And typically, we don’t see them coming,” he continued. “I will absolutely guarantee you that leadership is on the way. And when she gets here, we can all look and say, ‘Of course, how could it have been anybody else, in any other way?’ So when you ask me, is there another Harry Edwards in the future? They’ll be different. But I’ll guarantee you one thing: They’re on their way.”

HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL

GIRLS' TOP 20

1. Bishop McNamara (1-0) Last ranked: 1

The Mustangs opened with a 10-point win over Fort Erie International Academy, a top program from Canada.

2. Sidwell Friends (2-0) LR: 2

Coach Tamika Dudley's team posted two narrow victories over out-of-area opponents. An Independent School League test against Georgetown Day awaits.

3. Bishop Ireton (1-1) LR: 3

The Cardinals took a loss to New York power Long Island Lutheran in their season opener but rebounded with a dominant win at Friends' Central (Pennsylvania) on Sunday.

4. Bullis (1-0) LR: 4

An 18-point win over Philadelphia's Neumann-Goretti has the Bulldogs riding high ahead of their bout with top-ranked McNamara.

5. St. John's (4-0) LR: 5

The Cadets escaped with a two-point win over Potomac School, then coasted to two double-digit victories against out-of-area foes.

6. Mount Zion Prep (5-1) LR: 6

The Warriors have won five straight since their season-opening loss to American Heritage.

7. Osbourn Park (3-0) LR: 7

Coach Chrissy Kelly's Yellow Jackets, embarking on an ambitious schedule, are off to a hot start.

8. Paul VI (3-1) LR: 8

The Panthers rolled to a 65-34 win over St. Mary's Annapolis at the Art Turner Memorial Showcase. Junior Lee Williams was named player of the game in the win.

9. Clarksburg (1-0) LR: 9

The Coyotes beat Urbana, 53-45, on the road to open the season.

10. Elizabeth Seton (3-1) LR: 10

The Roadrunners squeaked out a three-point win over Dallas's Legion Prep on Saturday.

11. Bethesda-Chevy Chase (1-0) LR: 11

Senior Frances Doyle and the Barons held Rockville to 15 points in a 46-point blowout.

12. Centreville (2-0) LR: 12

The Wildcats picked up a notable 51-39 victory over a strong Gainesville team. A road test against Edison awaits.

13. Virginia Academy (3-0) LR: 14

The Patriots took on No. 7 Osbourn Park on Tuesday night.

14. C.H. Flowers (0-0) LR: 13

It's finally game week for the Jaguars, who faced county rival Wise on Tuesday.

15. West Potomac (3-0) LR: Not ranked

A six-point win over Langley catapults the Wolverines into the rankings.

16. Robinson (3-0) LR: 18

A nine-point win over Marshall preceded blowout victories over Potomac (Virginia) and Bowie.

17. Good Counsel (1-3) LR: 17

The Falcons will continue their national schedule for much of December.

18. St. Mary's Annapolis (2-4) LR: 15

The Saints have taken some lumps early in an arduous schedule.

19. Langley (2-1) LR: 20

The Saxons fell to West Potomac but rebounded with wins over Stone Bridge and Woodgrove.

20. Potomac School (2-4) LR: 16

Three of the Panthers' losses are against top-10 teams.

On the bubble: Chantilly, Edison, Georgetown Visitation, Pallotti, South River

Records through Sunday.

— Nicky Wolcott



JOHN MCDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

Radford signee Georgia Simonsen, pictured shooting against Langley last season, is among the returning players leading Robinson.

NOTES

Robinson races to another fast start

Rams girls are unbeaten as experienced players lead much younger team

FROM STAFF REPORTS

Led by Radford signee Georgia Simonsen and a strong group of seniors, Robinson went 25-3 last season, claiming district and region titles before falling in the Virginia Class 6 quarterfinals. To build on that success this season with a much younger group, the Rams will have to lean on returning starters such as Simonsen and junior guard Madison Coutinho while integrating plenty of new faces. Coach TJ Dade doesn't expect it all to click instantly, but the Rams have started fast at 3-0 behind strong efforts from experienced leaders taking on more responsibility on the court and in the locker room. "Georgia's leadership has helped us tremendously to help bring the young kids along. It's a big void to fill because we had a great group of senior leadership last year," Dade said. "Maddie generates our energy, and defensively, I would say, she is our catalyst." Coutinho put up a team-high 15 points for Robinson in a season-opening win over Marshall before Simonsen delivered a pair of dominant performances, scoring 25 points in a victory over Potomac and 22 in a win against Bowie. Simonsen, a back-to-back region player of the year and an All-Met third-team selection last season, will continue to draw plenty of attention inside. Forward Jaymie Bevens, the only other senior on the roster, has stepped into a larger role while freshman London Augustin and junior Parker Lowden round out Robinson's starting five. The No. 16 Rams will be tested with a tough matchup at No. 19 Langley on Friday and will start league play in the competitive Patriot District not long after that. Injuries have hindered some early opportunities for Robinson to test different lineups, but Dade hopes to extend the rotation as more players gain experience. "The learning curve for the young kids is a challenge right now, but I love the group," Dade said.

Defense buoys Sidwell boys

The team identity for the Sidwell Friends boys revolves around tough-to-crack defense. That wasn't compromised in a 41-33 loss to Highland on Saturday, nor was it Sunday when, in the final matchup of the National High School Hoops Festival, the Quakers bounced back and took down Paul VI, 49-43. It was their third straight game to start the season holding their opponent to 43 points or fewer. This Sidwell team is 2-1 and differs a tad from the squads that Coach Eric Singletary led to Mid-Atlantic Athletic Conference and D.C. State Athletic Association titles the past three seasons. Those teams were generally older groups used to playing together, but this roster features a handful of new faces stepping into significant roles, including Bishop McNamara transfer Jalyn Collingwood and sophomore Ian Condon. The pair combined for 26 points in the win over Paul VI (2-1) and contributed to another strong defensive effort. "Now that I've got these new faces, I've found myself back to teaching like I was 10, 15 years ago," Singletary said after Sidwell's season opener against DeMatha on Nov. 30. "But it's a fun challenge, and I've been encouraged. They're picking up the concepts really well." That lessened continuity places more responsibility on the shoulders of senior point guard Acaden Lewis, a Kentucky signee who in many ways is the engine that makes Sidwell go. In Sunday's game, he scored 18 points and added a game-high five assists despite still working back from a preseason ankle sprain that kept him sidelined for multiple weeks. "It's new, and since I haven't really been on the court it's been a whole different challenge now," Lewis said. "Even when I'm off the court, I'm trying to watch practice and be talking to everyone. ... They picked me up when I was low, and I'm going to do the same to them."

— Emmett Siegel

Cardozo boys belong

Last week, Cardozo played in the Mayhem on Military event at St. John's to tip off its season. The Clerks went 1-1, losing to Glenelg Country before responding to beat St. Andrew's Episcopal — a win over a ranked opponent that Coach Omar Fox believes will put his team on the map.

But why was he happy to be invited? Well, it's an indication of how far the program has come. "It's one thing to be invited," Fox said. "It's another thing when you're going up against some of the best in the city, some of the established programs, and we match up pretty well. We still got some work to do, but overall, we showed well. It's a good step in the right direction." This is Fox's third season at Cardozo. Before he took over, the Clerks hadn't won more than three games in a season since 2015. After winning four games in its first season under Fox, Cardozo won 24 last season and earned the top seed in the D.C. State Athletics Association Class A tournament. Cardozo lost the championship game to Idea. It also made the D.C. Interscholastic Athletic Association championship game, which it lost to Jackson-Reed. Nothing was more crucial to the turnaround than the addition of guard Cameron Young. "It was a better opportunity for me to play, put myself out there," Young said of transferring to Cardozo from St. Charles. "I knew Coach O since I've been growing up. Once he said he got the job, it was like, 'I trust him a lot.'" Young said he has known Fox since he was 8, watching him coach an older AAU team that used the same gym to practice as his team. Young said he used to think Fox was "crazy" because he was an old-school coach with intense conditioning drills and sometimes yelled at his players. But then he played on an AAU team with Fox and began to understand his coaching style. They began to form a bond. Now a senior, the guard is averaging more than 25 points to start the season. "He still is crazy, but a lot of the stuff makes sense," Young said. "It inspires you to go harder every time."

— Matt Cohen

B-CC girls open with a rout

The Bethesda-Chevy Chase girls entered their season opener against Rockville on Friday looking to create a new identity. The Barons return several key players who helped the program advance to the Maryland Class 4A title game last season but lost two of their biggest rotation pieces to graduation. "[We're] just trying to build on where we were last year and

Players of the week

Caliyah DeVillasee, Good Counsel: A Cincinnati signee, DeVillasee was the focal point of Good Counsel's offense over the weekend. Despite the Falcons going 1-2, the senior guard shined with a 31-point outing against Rosedale Christian and 27 points against North Carolina's Good Better Best Academy. **Jamar Nix, Sherwood:** The sophomore forward dropped a game-high 20 points to help the Warriors down Whitman, 76-69. **Jordan Scott, South Lakes:** The returning All-Met first-team selection started right where he left off for the reigning Virginia Class 6 champion, scoring 32 points in a season-opening win over C.G. Woodson. **Josslyn Derricott, Coolidge:** The junior forward had a stellar start, scoring 29 total points in a 2-0 week to go with 28 rebounds, 15 blocks, 10 assists and four steals. continue to go from there," Coach Ryan Ingalls said. "We're trying to redefine who we are as a team ... but we do have a lot of girls with experience that saw what it took." A team's identity isn't forged in one game, but Ingalls walked away pleased with the Barons' performance in a 61-15 rout of the Rams in Bethesda. Senior guard Frances Doyle scored a team-high 19 points in the win, and the Barons' defense clamped down. "I thought we applied really good pressure," Ingalls said. "Our ability to get points in transition kind of set the tone for the year; that's what we're going to base our game on ... playing solid defense and getting points in transition." Several players flashed in the win — guard Elisha Robinson led the team in steals, and Sasha Barr contributed 12 points. Ingalls's team will face its first big test of the season Friday against Seneca Valley, another senior-laden team looking to make waves in Montgomery County. "Everybody made it pretty clear that we want to make [another] championship run, and the state championship is definitely the ultimate goal," Ingalls said. "Having that confidence that we know we can get there definitely helps."

— Noah Ferguson

BOYS' TOP 20

1. Gonzaga (1-1) Last ranked: 1

The Eagles defeated Oak Ridge (Florida) in their opener before a close loss to Columbus (Florida).

2. St. John's (4-1) LR: 3

Despite Wasatch Academy (Utah) handing them their first loss, the Cadets had a successful week.

3. Sidwell Friends (2-1) LR: 4

Kentucky signee Acaden Lewis led the Quakers with 18 points in their win over Paul VI.

4. Paul VI (2-1) LR: 2

Season-opening wins over Westfield and IMG Academy (Florida) came before a low-scoring loss against Sidwell.

5. Mount Zion Prep (10-0) LR: 5

The Warriors added wins Friday and Saturday.

6. Bullis (2-2) LR: 6

Bullis bounced back from a seven-point loss to Overtime Elite City Reapers with a 17-point win over William Penn (Pennsylvania).

7. DeMatha (2-1) LR: 10

The Stags had a strong weekend, going 3-0 against Eleanor Roosevelt, Brennan (Texas) and Highland.

8. South Lakes (3-0) LR: 9

Jordan Scott had 32 points in the Seahawks' first game. They met No. 16 Hayfield on Tuesday.

9. Georgetown Prep (2-2) LR: 8

Georgetown Prep lost to Wasatch Academy by 20 but ended the weekend on a positive note by beating Archbishop Wood (Pennsylvania) by nine. Center Sinan Huan had 26 points, eight rebounds and three blocks.

10. Bishop McNamara (0-3) LR: 7

McNamara was tripped up twice more by its difficult early-season schedule, falling to Westchester (California) and IMG Academy.

11. Bishop O'Connell (3-1) LR: 11

O'Connell beat a pair of opponents — St. John Paul the Great and Dunbar — by more than 30 points.

12. Jackson-Reed (3-1) LR: 12

The Tigers took home the title at the Xaverian Classic, knocking off Glenelg Country and Iona Prep (New York) in consecutive days. Forward JJ Massaquoi was named the tournament's MVP.

13. Friendship Tech (3-1) LR: 14

Friendship Tech shrugged off a season-opening loss and went 3-0 in blowouts.

14. Largo (0-0) LR: 13

Largo's season begins with four games this week, including a matchup with Bullis.

15. Blake (1-0): LR 15

The Bengals beat Gaithersburg, 97-56, in their opening game.

16. Hayfield (1-0) LR: 17

Hayfield beat Woodbridge, 81-35, in its opener.

17. Clinton Grace Christian (1-2) LR: 16

Clinton Grace lost games to Riverdale Baptist and Prince George Academy Blue by a combined four points.

18. St. Andrew's (2-2) LR: 18

It was a 2-1 week for St. Andrew's; its loss came by a single point to Episcopal despite a game-high 19 points from Karon Bailey.

19. Patriot (3-1) LR: Not ranked

The Pioneers made a quick run to the championship game of the Heathwood Hall Winter Classic.

20. C.G. Woodson (2-1) LR: 19

After losing to South Lakes by 22, Woodson bounced back against Edison and Yorktown.

On the bubble: Archbishop Carroll, Cardozo, Coolidge, Meade, Westfield

Records through Sunday.

SCOREBOARD

PRO FOOTBALL

NFL										
NFC										
	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA				
EAST										
Philadelphia	11	5	0	.686	376	234				
Washington	1	8	0	.113	376	296				
Dallas	5	8	0	.385	268	366				
N.Y. Giants	2	11	0	.154	194	293				
SOUTH										
Tampa Bay	7	6	0	.538	363	309				
Atlanta	4	8	0	.462	278	333				
New Orleans	5	8	0	.385	290	292				
Carolina	3	10	0	.231	233	388				
NORTH										
y-Detroit	12	1	0	.923	417	234				
Minnesota	11	2	0	.846	339	240				
Green Bay	9	4	0	.692	349	274				
Chicago	4	9	0	.308	254	278				
WEST										
Seattle	8	5	0	.615	302	285				
L.A. Rams	7	6	0	.462	264	292				
Arizona	6	7	0	.462	284	289				
San Francisco	6	7	0	.462	308	308				
AFC										
EAST										
z-Buffalo	10	3	0	.769	397	268				
Indianapolis	6	7	0	.462	267	298				
N.Y. Jets	3	10	0	.231	251	300				
New England	3	10	0	.231	221	307				
SOUTH										
Houston	8	5	0	.615	308	288				
Indianapolis	6	7	0	.462	267	298				
Jacksonville	3	10	0	.231	238	345				
Tennessee	3	10	0	.231	227	342				
NORTH										
Pittsburgh	10	3	0	.769	323	238				
Baltimore	8	5	0	.615	303	318				
Cincinnati	8	5	0	.615	302	310				
Cleveland	3	10	0	.231	232	335				
WEST										
z-Kansas City	12	1	0	.923	308	252				
Denver	8	5	0	.615	305	234				
L.A. Chargers	7	6	0	.538	277	207				
Las Vegas	2	11	0	.154	236	361				

y-clinched playoff spot ; z-clinched division

WEEK 14

THURSDAY'S RESULT

at Detroit 34, Green Bay 31

SUNDAY'S RESULTS

Jacksonville 10, at Tennessee 6
at Miami 32, N.Y. Jets 26 (OT)
at Minnesota 42, Atlanta 21
New Orleans 14, at N.Y. Giants 11
at Philadelphia 22, Carolina 16
at Pittsburgh 27, Cleveland 14
at Tampa Bay 28, Las Vegas 13
Seattle 30, at Arizona 18
at L.A. Rams 44, Buffalo 42
at L.A. Rams 38, Chicago 13
at Kansas City 19, L.A. Chargers 17
BYE: Baltimore, Denver, Houston, Indianapolis, New England, Washington

MONDAY'S RESULT

Cincinnati 27, at Dallas 20

WEEK 15

THURSDAY'S GAME

L.A. Rams at San Francisco (2 ½), 8:15

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Washington (-7½) at New Orleans, 1
Baltimore (-14½) at N.Y. Giants, 1
Cincinnati (-4½) at Tennessee, 1
Dallas at Carolina (-1½), 1
Kansas City (-4½) at Cleveland, 1
Miami at Houston (-2½), 1
N.Y. Jets (-3½) at Jacksonville, 1
Buffalo at Detroit (-1½), 4:25
Indianapolis at Denver (-4½), 4:25
New England at Arizona (-6½), 4:25
Pittsburgh at Philadelphia (-5½), 4:25
Tampa Bay at L.A. Chargers (-2½), 4:25
Green Bay (-3) at Seattle, 8:30

MONDAY'S GAMES

Chicago at Minnesota (-7), 8
Atlanta (-4½) at Las Vegas, 8:30

BASEBALL

MLB draft lottery

Lottery includes the eligible teams that did not qualify for 2024 postseason. After first round, lottery results won't affect picks Nos. 1-18, which will be in reverse order of 2024 winning percentage.

RESULTS

1. Washington
2. Los Angeles Angels
3. Seattle
4. Colorado
5. St. Louis
6. Pittsburgh
7. Miami
8. Toronto
9. Cincinnati
10. Chicago White Sox
11. Oakland
12. Texas
13. San Francisco
14. Tampa Bay
15. Boston
16. Minnesota
17. Chicago Cubs
18. Arizona
19. Baltimore
20. Milwaukee
21. Houston
22. Atlanta
23. Kansas City
24. Detroit
25. San Diego
26. Philadelphia
27. Cleveland
28. New York Mets
29. New York Yankees
30. Los Angeles Dodgers

ODDS

Listed in order of the odds of them getting the No. 1 pick, with their 2024 winning percentage in parentheses.
1. 22.45 percent -- Colorado (.377)
2. 22.45 -- Miami (.383)
3. 17.96 -- Los Angeles Angels (.389)
4. 10.20 -- Washington (.438)
5. 7.48 -- Toronto (.457)
6. 5.31 -- Pittsburgh (.469)
7. 5.67 -- Cincinnati (.475)
8. 2.45 -- Texas (.481)
9. 1.90 -- San Francisco (.494)
10. 1.50 -- Tampa Bay (.494)
11. 1.22 -- Boston (.500)
12. 1.09 -- Philadelphia (.506)
13. 0.82 -- St. Louis (.512)
14. 0.68 -- Chicago Cubs (.512)
15. 0.53 -- Seattle (.525)
16. 0.27 -- Arizona (.549)

TRANSACTIONS

NFL
Carolina Panthers: Signed WR Trenton Irwin to the practice squad. Placed RB Jonathan Brooks on injured reserve. Waived DL DeShawn Williams. Signed RB Velus Jones to a contract. Elevated DT Sam Roberts to the active roster. Released WR Dax Milne.
Cleveland Browns: Waived WR Kadarius Toney. Placed CB Greg Newsome II on injured reserve. Signed WRs Kaden Davis and Jaelen Gill, K Riley Patterson and OT Julian Pearl to the practice squad. Released DT Michael Dwyer down from the practice squad.
Las Vegas Raiders: Placed RB Zamir White on injured reserve. Signed QB Carter Bradley to the active roster and QB Jake Luton and DT Tyler Manoa to the practice squad. Released DT Marquan McCall from the practice squad.
Los Angeles Chargers: Signed WR Dez Fitzpatrick to the practice squad. Released OT Alex Leatherwood.
New England Patriots: Placed G Cole Strange on the active roster. Released WR K.J. Osborn. Signed K John Parker Romo to the practice squad. Released LB Keshaun Banks from the practice squad.
New Orleans Saints: Signed QB Ben DiNucci to a contract.
New York Giants: Signed DL Ross Blacklock, QB Tim Boyle and CBs Enoy Boye-Doe and Azizi Hearn to the practice squad. Placed CB Tre Hawkins III on injured reserve and C Jimmy Morrissey on the practice squad injured reserve.
Tampa Bay Buccaneers: Signed LB Deion Jones to the practice squad.
Tennessee Titans: Released T Leroy Watson. Signed LB Curtis Bolton, T Kellen Diesch and K Brayden Narveson to the practice squad.

NHL

New Jersey Devils: Assigned F Nathan Legare to Utica (AHL). Reinstated F Nathan Bastian from injured reserve.

Tampa Bay Lightning: Recalled D Steven Santini from Syracuse (AHL).

MLS

Colorado Rapids: Acquired eight natural MLS SuperDraft selections from Philadelphia in exchange for \$350,000 in general allocation CF. Transferred M Diego Gomez to Brighton & Hove Albion F.C. (English Premier League) for a transfer fee.
L.A. Galaxy: Exercised contract options on D Jalen Neal and Ms Mark Delgado, Tucker Lepley, Isaiah Parente and Gino Viti.
Nashville SC: Resigned D Josh Bauer to a two-year contract extension.

PRO BASKETBALL

NBA

EASTERN CONFERENCE

ATLANTIC	W	L	Pct	GB
Atlanta	19	5	.792	
Philadelphia	15	9	.625	4
Brooklyn	10	14	.417	9
Philadelphia	15	11	.378	11
Toronto	7	18	.280	12½

SOUTHEAST

Orlando	W	L	Pct	GB
Orlando	17	10	.630	
Miami	12	15	.450	2½
Atlanta	13	12	.520	3
Charlotte	7	17	.292	8½
Washington	3	19	.136	11½

CENTRAL

Cleveland	W	L	Pct	GB
Cleveland	21	4	.840	—
Milwaukee	13	11	.545	7½
Indiana	10	15	.400	11
Chicago	10	15	.400	11
Detroit	10	15	.400	11

WESTERN CONFERENCE

SOUTHWEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Memphis	17	8	.680	—
Houston	16	8	.667	¼
z-Dallas	16	8	.667	¼
San Antonio	12	12	.500	4½
New Orleans	5	20	.200	12

NORTHWEST

x-Oklahoma City	W	L	Pct	GB
Denver	18	5	.783	—
Minnesota	12	10	.545	5½
Portland	8	16	.333	10½
Utah	5	18	.217	13

PACIFIC

Golden State	W	L	Pct	GB
Golden State	14	9	.609	—
L.A. Clippers	14	11	.560	—
L.A. Lakers	13	11	.542	1½
Phoenix	11	11	.500	2
Sacramento	12	13	.480	3

x-Late game

MONDAY'S RESULT

New York 113, at Toronto 108

TUESDAY'S RESULTS

NBA Cup quarterfinals: Milwaukee 114, at Orlando 109

NBA Cup quarterfinals: Dallas at Oklahoma City, 12:30

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES

NBA Cup quarterfinals: Atlanta at New York, 7

NBA Cup quarterfinals: Golden State at Houston, 9:30

THURSDAY'S GAMES

Detroit at Boston, 7:30

Toronto at Miami, 7:30

Sacramento at New Orleans, 8

FRIDAY'S GAMES

Washington at Cleveland, 7

Indiana at Philadelphia, 7

Brooklyn at Memphis, 8

Charlotte at Chicago, 8

L.A. Lakers at Minnesota, 8

L.A. Clippers at Denver, 9

Phoenix at Utah, 9:30

San Antonio at Portland, 10

Bucks 114, Magic 109

Orlando	33	26	13	37	—	109
Milwaukee	25	35	20	34	—	114

ORLANDO	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Carter Jr.	34:00	2-5	4-4	3-11	5	6	8
da Silva	15:52	1-5	4-4	1-2	0	1	6
Bitadze	38:01	6-13	0-4	5-14	4	5	12
Caldwell-Pope	31:19	3-7	1-2	0-1	2	7	7
Suggs	37:41	12-26	5-6	3-9	1	2	32
Black	32:15	6-12	5-8	2-6	3	1	17
M.Wagner	19:11	6-6	0-4	1-3	1	1	13
Anthony	14:39	2-12	0-4	0-0	2	0	4
Howard	12:30	3-7	2-3	0-0	1	1	10
Houstan	4:29	0-0	0-0	0-0	1	0	0
TOTALS	240	41-93	21-27	15-46	19	21	109

Percentages: FG .441, FT .778. 3-Point Goals: 6-27, .222 (Suggs 3-11, Howard 2-5, M.Wagner 2-1, da Silva 0-1, Bitadze 0-2, Caldwell-Pope 0-2, Carter Jr. 0-2, Anthony 0-3). Team Rebounds: 10. Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 4 (Bitadze, Black, Carter Jr., Suggs). Turnovers: 13 (Suggs 4, Black 3, da Silva 3, Carter Jr. 2, M.Wagner). Steals: 11 (Suggs 4, Black 3, Bitadze, Caldwell-Pope, Carter Jr., M.Wagner). Technical Fouls: None. A: 17,341 (17,500).

MILWAUKEE	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Antetokounmpo	35:36	15-24	7-12	1-7	1	1	37
Prince	20:26	0-1	0-0	0-2	1	0	0
Lopez	28:25	3-7	0-4	0-6	0	2	7
Jackson Jr.	8:09	2-4	0-0	1-2	0	2	5
Lillard	38:44	8-15	10-12	1-2	9	28	28
Green	32:34	3-9	0-4	0-2	2	9	9
Portis	31:49	9-11	2-3	2-10	4	1	22
Trent Jr.	24:27	2-4	0-0	0-4	2	3	6
Middleton	19:47	0-2	0-0	0-4	8	2	0
TOTALS	240	42-77	19-25	5-37	27	114	114

Percentages: FG .545, FT .760. 3-Point Goals: 11-30, .367 (Green 3-8, Portis 2-3, Trent Jr. 2-4, Lillard 2-5, Jackson Jr. 1-3, Lopez 1-3, Middleton 0-1, Prince 0-1, Antetokounmpo 0-2). Team Rebounds: 6. Team Turnovers: None. Blocked Shots: 6 (Antetokounmpo 4, Green, Portis). Turnovers: 16 (Antetokounmpo 6, Lillard 4, Green 2, Lopez 2, Middleton 2). Steals: 9 (Middleton 3, Antetokounmpo 2, Lillard, Portis, Prince, Trent Jr.). Technical Fouls: None. A: 17,341 (17,500).

NBA LEADERS

Entering Tuesday's games.

SCORING

Antetokounmpo, MIL	G	FG	FT	PTS	AVG
Jokic, DEN	21	269	142	683	32.5
Jokic, DEN	19	233	105	613	29.3
Giannis-Alexander, OKC	23	240	160	688	29.8
Donic, DAL	18	180	94	517	28.7
Tatum, BOS	23	210	140	648	28.2
Davis, LAL	23	227	162	632	27.5
Fox, SAC	25	245	118	604	26.4
Edwards, MIN	23	211	82	607	26.4
Lillard, MIL	20	158	128	513	25.7
Brunson, NY	24	206	128	604	25.2
Towns, NY	22	196	110	553	25.1
Brown, BOS	19	165	96	475	25.0
Booker, PHO	23	182	150	573	24.9
Thomas, BKN	17	137	97	420	24.7
Wagner, ORL	25	220	119	610	24.4
Irving, DAL	22	198	69	535	24.3
Maxey, PHI	16	130	69	389	24.3
Herro, MIA	22	183	75	533	24.2
Cunningham, DET	21	188	73	502	23.9

FIELD GOAL PERCENTAGE

Gafford, DAL	FG	FGA	PCT
Allen, CLE	136	199	.683
Gobert, MIN	190	279	.681
Sabonis, SAC	183	294	.622
Antetokounmpo, MIL	269	440	.611
Zubac, LAC	165	274	.602
Poeltl, TOR	162	275	.593
Hart, NY	129	218	.592
Vucevic, CHI	209	356	.5

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815 **Legal Notices**

ABC LICENSE: Andy's Pizza Pollard St. LLC trading as Andy's Pizza Pollard, St. 501 N. Pollard Street, Suite C, (Arlington County) Arlington, VA 22203. The above establishment is applying to the VIRGINIA ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL (ABC) AUTHORITY for a Retail Restaurant/Caterer Wine, Beer, Mixed Beverage, On and Off Premises license to sell or manufacture alcoholic beverages. Andrew Brown. **NOTE:** Objections to the issuance of this license should be submitted to ABC no later than 30 days from the publishing date of the first of two required newspaper legal notices. Objections should be registered at www.abc.virginia.gov or (800) 552-3200.

Public Notice
Attention Allcare Patients: Office Consolidation Announcement
To our valued patients, effective 12/12/2024 we are consolidating our Allcare - Alexandria Richmond Hwy practice located at 6020 Richmond Hwy, Alexandria, VA into our new Allcare Alexandria- Duke Street located at 3117 Duke Street Alexandria, VA 22314 Tel: 703-751-8900. We remain committed to providing you with the same high-quality care and medical teams at our Duke Street location. If you would like to transfer your medical records to another provider or obtain copies, please contact us at 866-587-6274. Medical records are also maintained on your patient portal. Medical records will remain available for a minimum of six years. Reasonable fees for copying and mailing may apply in accordance with Virginia law. Thank you for trusting us with your healthcare needs. We look forward to continuing to serve you at our Duke Street location. For more information, please contact us at 844-315-9666.

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815 **Legal Notices**

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA, ALEXANDRIA DIVISION

In re: ENVIVA INC., et al., Chapter 11 Case No. 24-10453 (BPK Debtors.) (Jointly Administered)

NOTICE OF (I) ENTRY OF ORDER CONFIRMING THE AMENDED JOINT CHAPTER 11 PLAN OF REORGANIZATION OF ENVIVA INC. AND ITS DEBTOR AFFILIATES AND (II) OCCURRENCE OF EFFECTIVE DATE
PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that on November 13, 2024, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (the "Court") confirmed the Amended Joint Chapter 11 Plan of Reorganization of Enviva Inc. and its Debtor Affiliates (with all supplements and exhibits thereto, as it has been and may be amended, altered, modified, revised, or supplemented from time to time, the "Plan"), which is attached as **Exhibit A** to the Order Confirming the Amended Joint Chapter 11 Plan of Reorganization of Enviva Inc. and its Debtor Affiliates (Docket No. 1393) (the "Confirmation Order").

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that on December 6, 2024, the Effective Date of the Plan occurred. All conditions precedent to the Effective Date set forth in Article 3.6.4 of the Plan have been satisfied or waived in accordance with the Plan and the Confirmation Order.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that, except as otherwise set forth in the Plan, the Confirmation Order, or any other order of the Court, all requests for payment of an Administrative Claim must be Filed and served on the Reorganized Debtors, (a) with respect to Administrative Expense Claims other than Professional Fee Claims or that arise in the ordinary course of the Debtors' business, no later than 30 days after the Effective Date, (b) with respect to Professional Fee Claims, no later than 45 days after the Effective Date and (c) with respect to Administrative Claims arising under Unexpired Leases that are rejected pursuant to the Plan (including, without limitation, any Executive Contract or Unexpired Lease listed on the Schedule of Rejected Executive Contracts and Unexpired Leases), no later than 30 days after service of this notice (the "Administrative Claims Bar Date").

Holders of Administrative Expense Claims that are required to file and serve a request for payment of such administrative expense claims that do not file and serve such a request by the Administrative Claim Bar Date shall be forever barred, estopped, and enjoined from asserting such administrative claims against the Debtors, the Reorganized Debtors, or the property of any of the foregoing, and such administrative claims shall be deemed compromised, settled, released, and discharged as of the Effective Date without the need for any objection from the Reorganized Debtors or any notice to or action, order, or approval of the Court or any other entity.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that, pursuant to Article V of the Plan, except as otherwise provided in the Plan or in any contract, instrument, release, or other agreement or document entered into in connection with the Plan, the Plan shall serve as a motion under sections 365 and 1123(b)(2) of the Bankruptcy Code to assume Executive Contracts and Unexpired Leases, and all Executive Contracts or Unexpired Leases shall be assumed by and assigned to the applicable Reorganized Debtor or its designated assignees in accordance with the provisions and requirements of sections 365 and 1123 of the Bankruptcy Code without the need for any further notice to or action, order, or approval of the Court, regardless of whether such Executive Contract or Unexpired Lease is set forth on the Schedule of Assumed Executive Contracts and Unexpired Leases or other than: (1) those that are identified on the Schedule of Rejected Executive Contracts and Unexpired Leases; (2) those that have been previously rejected or assumed by a Final Order or otherwise in accordance with the Assumption and Rejection Procedures Order; (3) those that are the subject of a motion to reject Executive Contracts or Unexpired Leases that is pending on the Effective Date; (4) those that are subject to a motion to reject an Executive Contract or Unexpired

815 **Legal Notices**

Lease pursuant to which the requested effective date of such rejection is after the Effective Date; or (5) those that have previously expired or terminated pursuant to their own terms or by agreement of the parties thereto.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that, pursuant to Article V of the Plan, the Debtors reserve the right to alter, amend, modify, or supplement the Schedule of Assumed Executive Contracts and Unexpired Leases and the Schedule of Rejected Executive Contracts and Unexpired Leases at any time through and including 60 Business Days after the Effective Date.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the release, exculpation, and injunction provisions set forth in, among others, Articles VIII.D, VIII.E, VIII.F, and VIII.G of the Plan, are immediately effective as of the Effective Date and binding on all Persons and Entities to the extent set forth therein.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the Plan, the Plan Documents, and the Confirmation Order are immediately effective and enforceable and deemed binding upon the Debtors, the Reorganized Debtors, all Entities that are parties to or are subject to the settlements, compromises, releases, discharges, and injunctions described in the Plan and the Confirmation Order, each Entity acquiring property under the Plan or the Confirmation Order and any and all non-Debtor parties to Executive Contracts and Unexpired Leases with the Debtors, any Holder of a Claim or Interest, and each of their respective heirs, executors, administrators, successors, and assigns, whether or not: (a) the Claim or Interest is impaired under the Plan; (b) such Holder has accepted or rejected the Plan; (c) such Holder has failed to vote to accept or reject the Plan; (d) such Holder is entitled to a distribution under the Plan; (e) such Holder will receive or retain any property or interests in property under the Plan; or (f) such Holder has filed a Proof of Claim in the Chapter 11 Cases.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that copies of Confirmation Order, the Plan, the Plan Supplement, and related documents can be viewed and/or obtained by: (a) accessing the Court's website at <https://ecf.vaeb.uscourts.gov>; or (b) from the Debtors' Claims Agent, Verita Global, at <https://www.veritaglobal.net/enviva> or by calling (888) 249-2695 (USA or Canada) or (510) 751-2601 (International). Note that a PACER password is needed to access documents on the Court's website.

Please take further notice that your rights may be affected. You should read the Plan and the Confirmation Order carefully and discuss it with your attorney. If you have one. If you do not have an attorney, you may wish to consult with one.

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS NOTICE, PLEASE CONTACT VERITA GLOBAL BY CALLING (888) 249-2695 (USA AND CANADA) OR (510) 751-2601 (INTERNATIONAL). YOU MAY ACCESS DOCUMENTS AND CASE INFORMATION AT: [HTTPS://WWW.VERITAGLOBAL.NET/ENVIVA](https://www.veritaglobal.net/enviva)

Dated: December 6, 2024, Alexandria, Virginia, Respectfully submitted, */s/ Jeremy S. Williams*, Michael A. Condlies (VA 27807), Peter J. Barrett (VA 46779), Jeremy S. Williams (VA 77469), Adelyn C. Wyatt (VA 97746), **KUTAK ROCK LLP**, 1021 East Cary Street, Suite 810, Richmond, Virginia 23219-0020, Telephone: (804) 644-1700, Facsimile: (804) 783-6192 -and- Paul M. Basta (admitted pro hac vice), Andrew M. Parlen (admitted pro hac vice), Michael J. Calomisi (admitted pro hac vice), **PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON LLP**, 1285 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10019-6064, Telephone: (212) 373-3000, Facsimile: (212) 757-3990, *Counsel to the Debtors and Debtors in Possession*

¹ Due to the large number of Debtors in these jointly administered Chapter 11 Cases, a complete list of the Debtor entities and the last four digits of their federal tax identification numbers is not provided herein. A complete list may be obtained on the website of the Debtors' Claims and noticing agent at <https://www.veritaglobal.net/> enviva. The location of the Debtors' corporate headquarters is: 7500 Old Georgetown Road, Suite 1400, Bethesda, MD 20814.

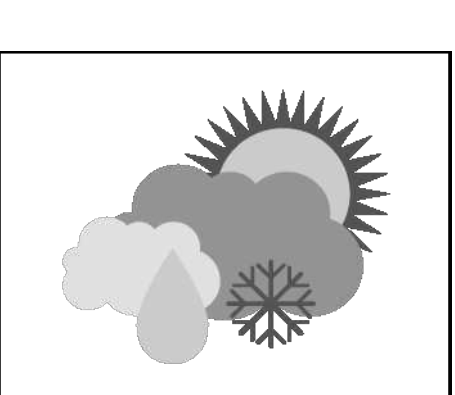
² Capitalized terms used but not otherwise defined herein shall have the meanings ascribed to them in the Confirmation Order or the Plan, as applicable.

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**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
REAL PROPERTY**
1030 15th Street NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20005
Lots 845, 847, 848 in Square 198
(Including all Easements)

By virtue of a Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing ("Deed of Trust") recorded among the land records of the District of Columbia, on August 24, 2017 as Instrument #2017094222 in accordance with Public Law 90-566, a default having occurred thereby and after notice recorded among the same land records on November 13, 2024 as Instrument #2024106925 and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustees who were appointed by Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustees recorded on October 17, 2024 as Instrument #2024097631 will offer to sell at public auction, within the offices of HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC. 5335 Wisconsin Avenue NW Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015 202-463-4567 on **December 17, 2024 AT 12:30 PM**, the land and premises, situated in the District of Columbia and designated as being Lots 845, 847, 848 in Square 198 and more particularly described in said Deed of Trust.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$1,500,000 by cashier's check will be required at time of sale. Settlement shall occur within 30 days. There will be no adjustments for real estate taxes, water and sewer charges or fees, special assessments, District of Columbia fines or liens, etc. Purchaser pays interest on the purchase price at note rate 8.65 percent from the day of sale to the day of settlement. The Purchaser assumes all risks of loss following the sale. Purchaser pays all conveyance fees, recordation tax, transfer tax, outstanding taxes, special assessments, District of Columbia fines or liens, water bills, water and sewer liens. Purchaser purchases the Property subject to all leases, superior liens or loans, etc. The property is sold in "AS IS, WHERE IS CONDITION AND SUBJECT TO ALL FAULTS", as of the day and time of sale including any tenant or tenancy. Pursuant to the terms of the Deed of Trust, all personal property of the Borrower located at or about the Property shall be subject to and part of the public auction described above. Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the holder of the Note, or their respective agents, successors, and assigns, make any representations or warranties with respect to the Title, the Property, the Zoning Classification, and the existence of a Certificate of Occupancy or Business License. Should the Substitute Trustees be unable to convey good and marketable title, then, in that event, the Substitute Trustees and Purchaser mutually agree that the Purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be the refund of the deposit to the Purchaser. If the Substitute Trustees determine, in their sole and absolute discretion, that the final bid is not commensurate with the value of the Property, they may reject the bid and withdraw the Property from sale. Should the Substitute Trustees be unable to convey good and marketable title, then, in that event, the Substitute Trustees and Purchaser mutually agree that the Purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be the refund of the deposit to the Purchaser. The Substitute Trustees do not guarantee title or the Purchaser's ability to obtain Title Insurance or financing. Upon refund of the deposit, the sale shall be void and of no effect. The Substitute Trustees, their attorneys and/or the note holder shall not be liable individually or otherwise for any matters relating to this sale, title and/or the property. The defaulting Purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the Property. The Substitute Trustees will not deliver possession of the Property to the successful bidder, who shall be solely responsible for obtaining physical possession of the Property. The original Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure is recorded among the Land Records of the District of Columbia on October 18, 2024 as Instrument Number 2024098122. Additional terms and conditions will be announced at the time of the sale. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.

Steven M. Buckman
Jason S. Guetzkow
Substitute Trustees



HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC.
5335 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Ste 440
Washington, DC 20015
202-463-4567
www.hwesauctions.com

Dec 4,6,9,11,13 2024 0012477498

840 **Trustees Sale - DC**

BuckmanLegal, PLLC
1808 Florida Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20009
202-351-6100

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
REAL PROPERTY**
1111 19th Street NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20036
Lot 90 in Square 140
(Including all Easements)

By virtue of Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing ("Deed of Trust") recorded among the land records of the District of Columbia, on October 5, 2017 as Instrument #2017110903 in accordance with Public Law 90-566, a default having occurred thereby and after notice recorded among the same land records on November 13, 2024 as Instrument #2024106926 and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustees who were appointed by Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustees recorded on November 7, 2024 as Instrument #2024104996 will offer to sell at public auction, within the offices of HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC. 5335 Wisconsin Avenue NW Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015 202-463-4567 on **December 17, 2024 AT 12:45 PM**, the land and premises situated in the District of Columbia and designated as being Lot 90 in Square 140 and more particularly described in said Deed of Trust.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$1,000,000 by a cashier's check will be required at time of sale. Settlement shall occur within 30 days. There will be no adjustments for real estate taxes, water and sewer charges or fees, special assessments, District of Columbia fines or liens, etc. Purchaser pays interest on the purchase price at note rate 8.65 percent from the day of sale to the day of settlement. The Purchaser assumes all risks of loss following the sale. Purchaser pays all conveyance fees, recordation tax, transfer tax, outstanding taxes, special assessments, District of Columbia fines or liens, water bills, water and sewer liens. Purchaser purchases the Property subject to all leases, superior liens or loans, etc. The property is sold in "AS IS, WHERE IS CONDITION AND SUBJECT TO ALL FAULTS", as of the day and time of sale including any tenant or tenancy. Pursuant to the terms of the Deed of Trust, all personal property of the Borrower located at or about the Property shall be subject to and part of the public auction described above. Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the holder of the Note, or their respective agents, successors, and assigns, make any representations or warranties with respect to the Title, the Property, the Zoning Classification, and the existence of a Certificate of Occupancy or Business License. If the Substitute Trustees determine, in their sole and absolute discretion, that the final bid is not commensurate with the value of the Property, they may reject the bid and withdraw the Property from sale. Should the Substitute Trustees be unable to convey good and marketable title, then, in that event, the Substitute Trustees and Purchaser mutually agree that the Purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be the refund of the deposit to the Purchaser. The Substitute Trustees do not guarantee title or the Purchaser's ability to obtain Title Insurance or financing. Upon refund of the deposit, the sale shall be void and of no effect. The Substitute Trustees, their attorneys and/or the note holder shall not be liable individually or otherwise for any matters relating to this sale, title and/or the property. The defaulting Purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the Property. The Substitute Trustees will not deliver possession of the Property to the successful bidder, who shall be solely responsible for obtaining physical possession of the Property. The original Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure is recorded among the Land Records of the District of Columbia on November 14, 2024 as Instrument Number 2024107203. Additional terms and conditions will be announced at the time of the sale. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.

Steven M. Buckman
Jason S. Guetzkow
Substitute Trustees



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Dec 4,6,9,11,13 2024 0012477520

840 **Trustees Sale - DC**

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**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
REAL PROPERTY**
1341 G Street NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20005
Lot 60 in Square 252
(Including all Easements)

By virtue of Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing ("Deed of Trust") recorded among the land records of the District of Columbia, on August 24, 2017 as Instrument #2017094222 in accordance with Public Law 90-566, a default having occurred thereby and after notice recorded among the same land records on November 13, 2024 as Instrument #2024106924 and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustees who were appointed by Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustees recorded on October 17, 2024 as Instrument #2024097631 will offer to sell at public auction, within the offices of HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC. 5335 Wisconsin Avenue NW Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015 202-463-4567 on **December 17, 2024 AT 12:15 PM**, the land and premises situated in the District of Columbia and designated as being Lot 60 in Square 252 and more particularly described in said Deed of Trust.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$1,000,000 by a cashier's check will be required at time of sale. Settlement shall occur within 30 days. There will be no adjustments for real estate taxes, water and sewer charges or fees, special assessments, District of Columbia fines or liens, etc. Purchaser pays interest on the purchase price at note rate 8.65 percent from the day of sale to the day of settlement. The Purchaser assumes all risks of loss following the sale. Purchaser pays all conveyance fees, recordation tax, transfer tax, outstanding taxes, special assessments, District of Columbia fines or liens, water bills, water and sewer liens. Purchaser purchases the Property subject to all leases, superior liens or loans, etc. The property is sold in "AS IS, WHERE IS CONDITION AND SUBJECT TO ALL FAULTS", as of the day and time of sale including any tenant or tenancy. Pursuant to the terms of the Deed of Trust, all personal property of the Borrower located at or about the Property shall be subject to and part of the public auction described above. Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the holder of the Note, or their respective agents, successors, and assigns, make any representations or warranties with respect to the Title, the Property, the Zoning Classification, and the existence of a Certificate of Occupancy or Business License. If the Substitute Trustees determine, in their sole and absolute discretion, that the final bid is not commensurate with the value of the Property, they may reject the bid and withdraw the Property from sale. Should the Substitute Trustees be unable to convey good and marketable title, then, in that event, the Substitute Trustees and Purchaser mutually agree that the Purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be the refund of the deposit to the Purchaser. The Substitute Trustees do not guarantee title or the Purchaser's ability to obtain Title Insurance or financing. Upon refund of the deposit, the sale shall be void and of no effect. The Substitute Trustees, their attorneys and/or the note holder shall not be liable individually or otherwise for any matters relating to this sale, title and/or the property. The defaulting Purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the Property. The Substitute Trustees will not deliver possession of the Property to the successful bidder, who shall be solely responsible for obtaining physical possession of the Property. The original Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure is recorded among the Land Records of the District of Columbia on October 18, 2024 as Instrument Number 2024098130. Additional terms and conditions will be announced at the time of the sale. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.

Steven M. Buckman
Jason S. Guetzkow
Substitute Trustees



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<div><div><div>HOLLAND & KNIGHT LLP</div><div>800 17TH STREET N.W., SUITE 1100</div><div>WASHINGTON, DC 20006</div><div>PHONE 202.469.5178</div></div><div><div>SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE</div><div>COMMERCIAL OFFICE BUILDING</div><div>WITH LOWER-LEVEL RETAIL</div></div><div><div>1800 M STREET, NW</div><div>WASHINGTON, DC 20036</div></div></div>			
<p>Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in that certain Deed of Trust, Assignment of Rents and Leases, Collateral Assignment of Property Agreements, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing from 1800 M Street Owner, LP and 1800 M Street TRS, LP, each a Delaware limited partnership ("Borrower"), dated as of December 8, 2021, and recorded with the District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds ("Land Records") as Instrument No. 2021161852, assigned to 1800 M Property Owner LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("Assignee") by Assignment and Assumption of Interest Under Deed of Trust, Assignment of Rents and Leases, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing recorded in the Land Records on November 15, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024107581 (collectively, the "Deed of Trust"), and those certain Notices of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property, which were recorded in the Land Records on November 19, 2024 as Instrument Nos.: 2024108568 and 2024108570 pursuant to Sections 42-815 and 42-818 of the D.C. Code, the holder of the indebtedness secured thereby (the "Beneficiary"), having appointed June L. Marshall and Philip T. Evans as Substitute Trustees (collectively, the "Substitute Trustees") by instrument duly executed, acknowledged and recorded among the Land Records as Instrument No.: 2024107582, default having occurred under the terms of said Deed of Trust and at the request of the Beneficiary, the undersigned Substitute Trustees, either of whom may act, will offer the following property for sale at Public Auction:</p> <div><div><div>Sal</div><div>ale to be held at the Offices of Alex Cooper Auctioneers, Inc.</div><div>4910 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Suite 100</div><div>Washington, DC 20016</div><div>On Friday, December 20, 2024 at 11:00 a.m.</div></div></div>			
<p>PROPERTY DESCRIPTION (the "Real Estate"):</p> <p>All of that certain lot or parcel of land situated, lying and being in the District of Columbia, and being more particularly described as follows:</p> <p>Parcel I: Lot 95 in Square 140 in a subdivision made by Knickerbocker Properties, Inc. VII, as per plat recorded in Liber 185 at folio 6 in the Office of Surveyor of the District of Columbia.</p> <p>Parcel II: TOGETHER WITH the benefits of that certain Easement Agreement, by and between Square 140 Associates, The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, Gustave Ring, et al, dated October 18, 1982, and recorded December 16, 1982 as Instrument No. 32590.</p> <p>Parcel III: TOGETHER WITH the benefits of that certain Easement Agreement, by and between Square 140 Associates, The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, 1850 M Limited Partnership, et al, dated October 18, 1982, and recorded December 16, 1982 as Instrument No. 32591.</p> <p>FIXTURES, TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE PROPERTY</p> <p>Pursuant to the Deed of Trust, Beneficiary holds a security interest and lien on all of the tangible and intangible assets of Borrower and will sell at public auction on the same date and at the same time and place, all of the personality, fixtures, plans and property agreements of Borrower located on or about or related to the Real Estate that is subject to the security interest and lien of Beneficiary and not owned by any third party and excepting therefrom any cash or cash accounts or the like in the possession of Beneficiary or to which Beneficiary has rights or holds a security interest (such cash or cash accounts or the like to remain the property of Beneficiary).</p> <p>TOGETHER WITH any and all buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances now erected on the Real Estate, including, without limitation, all equipment, apparatus, machinery and fixtures of any kind or character forming a part of said buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances and located in, upon or about the Real Estate and any buildings thereon, all as more particularly described in the Deed of Trust (collectively with the Real Estate, the "Property"). The "Property" does not include any property owned by any tenants at the Property.</p> <p>CONDITIONS OF SALE:</p> <p>The Property will be sold in an "AS IS/WHERE IS" condition without any warranty as to condition, express or implied, and without any representation or warranty as to the accuracy of the information furnished to prospective bidders by the Substitute Trustees or any other party, if any, and without any other representations or warranty of any nature. In particular, neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Beneficiary make any representation or warranty with respect to: (1) title to the Property; (2) the existence, nonexistence, or continued existence, validity, scope or nature of any zoning, land use, development, site plans, occupancy or other governmental permits or approvals; (3) fitness for any particular purpose or use; (4) flood zone designations; (5) compliance with any and all zoning or building laws, regulations and ordinances; (6) the fitness for habitation or the structural integrity or condition of any buildings or improvements; (7) ingress, egress or access to the Property or any portion thereof, whether vehicular, pedestrian or otherwise; (8) the rights of parties in possession, if any, or the existence, validity, terms, conditions or other matters with respect to any lease of all or any portion of the Property; (9) the existence of any security deposits or rental payments; (10) the environmental condition of the Property or the compliance of the Property with federal, state and local laws and regulations concerning the presence or disposal of hazardous substances; (11) compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act or any similar law; or (12) the condition of the Property, either patent or latent, of any nature whatsoever.</p> <p>Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Beneficiary shall have any obligation to obtain possession of the Property. It shall be the purchaser's obligation, at the purchaser's sole cost, to obtain possession of the Property.</p> <p>Conveyance shall be by Substitute Trustees' Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or implied. RISK OF LOSS, INSURABLE OR OTHERWISE, SHALL PASS TO THE PURCHASER IMMEDIATELY AND AUTOMATICALLY AT THE TIME OF SALE. Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Beneficiary shall have any obligation to obtain or maintain any insurance coverage with respect to the Property.</p> <p>The Property shall be sold subject to: (1) the rights of any tenant in possession of all or any portion of the Property under its lease if such rights have priority over the Deed of Trust; (2) any easements, restrictions, declarations, site plans, and restrictive covenants of record affecting the same, including, but not limited to any and all condominium restrictions, declarations, bylaws and plats and amendments thereto; (3) any and all disclosures and conditions on any plats of record affecting all or any portion of the Property; (4) any encroachments, overlaps, boundary line disputes and other matters which could be disclosed by an accurate survey of the Property; (5) any matters which would be disclosed by a physical inspection of the Property; (6) any and all environmental conditions, problems and/or violations, if any, that may exist on, affect or relate to the Property or any buildings or improvements thereon; (7) any and all zoning laws, regulations, PUD overlays, and ordinances or governmental permits or approvals affecting the Property (including without limitation any housing or building code violations, the existence of any lead paint, asbestos or radon or any other hazardous or toxic substances); and (8) all unfunded lease commissions, if any, and all unfunded lease and capital improvement costs, if any, all of which shall be the sole responsibility of the successful purchaser. The successful purchaser waives and releases the Substitute Trustees and the Beneficiary and each of their respective affiliates, agents, successors and assigns from any and all claims the successful purchaser may now have or may have in the future whatsoever relating to all or any portion of the Property, including without limitation: (1) any environmental condition or violation affecting all or any portion of the Property; (2) any existing or future building or zoning code problems or violations, and (3) the accuracy or validity of any information described herein. Acceptance of the Substitute Trustees deed to the Property by the successful purchaser shall constitute a waiver of any and all claims against the Substitute Trustees or Beneficiary concerning any of the foregoing matters. Certain occupancy leases to the United States Government, or agencies thereof, may require the consent of the tenant to the assumption of such leases, and compliance with applicable law concerning the assignment of rights under Government contracts.</p> <p>IMPROVEMENTS:</p> <p>The Property is believed to be improved by a ten (10) story commercial office building with lower-level retail.</p> <p>TERMS OF SALE:</p> <p>ALL CASH. This advertisement, as amended or supplemented by any oral announcements during the conduct of the sale, constitutes the Substitute Trustees' entire terms upon which the Property shall be offered for sale, sold or purchased. The Substitute Trustees reserve the unqualified right to postpone the sale, withdraw the Property from sale, in whole or in part, at any time before sale or to release the Property, in whole or in part, from the Deed of Trust at any time before the sale. If the Substitute Trustees determine in their sole discretion that the final bid is not commensurate with the value of the Property, they may reject the bid and withdraw the Property from sale. If any dispute arises among the bidders, the Substitute Trustees shall have the sole and final discretion either to determine the successful bidder or to reoffer and resell the Property. A deposit in the amount of Two Million Dollars (\$2,000,000) will be required at the time and place of sale as a condition to bidding. Such deposit must be by cashier's check or certified check or in such other form as the Substitute Trustees may determine in their sole discretion, which check shall be payable to "June L. Marshall, Trustee, and Philip T. Evans, Trustee." The deposit must be increased to 5% of the purchase price within 2 business days after the foreclosure sale and delivered to the Substitute Trustees in the same form of funds as the initial deposit; provided, however, that the Substitute Trustees may require that the successful purchaser wire transfer the entire amount of the deposit in escrow to a title insurance company approved by the Substitute Trustees, pursuant to an escrow agreement in form satisfactory to the Substitute Trustees. The Beneficiary, or its nominee or its assignee, shall be exempted by the Substitute Trustees from submitting any bidding deposit. In the event the successful purchaser fails to deliver the additional deposit as and when required, the initial deposit will be forfeited. The Substitute Trustees will, as a condition of the sale, require all potential bidders except the Beneficiary to show their deposit before any bidding begins. The retained deposit of the successful purchaser shall be applied, without interest, to the successful purchaser's credit at settlement; provided, however, that in the event the successful purchaser does not consummate the purchase in accordance with the terms of sale as herein provided, such deposit, at the option of the Substitute Trustees, will be forfeited. The successful purchaser shall settle and comply with the sale terms within thirty (30) days after date of sale unless said period is extended by the Substitute Trustees at the sole discretion of the Substitute Trustees. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. The balance of the purchase price over and above the retained deposit, with interest thereon at the interest rate then being charged under the notes secured by the Deed of Trust on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to date of settlement (as hereinafter specified), will be due at settlement by bank wire transfer; and if not so paid, the Substitute Trustees reserve the right to retain the deposit and resell the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser, after such advertisement and on such terms as the Substitute Trustees may deem proper, and to avail themselves and the Beneficiary of any legal or equitable rights against the defaulting purchaser. The purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profit resulting from any resale of all or any portion of the Property.</p> <p>All outstanding real property taxes shall be the sole responsibility of the successful purchaser. All other taxes and assessments, including, but not limited to, ground rents, other public charges, sewer charges, water rents, regular and special assessments and utilities payable on an annual or any other basis shall be adjusted as of the date of the foreclosure sale and paid by the successful purchaser at settlement. The successful purchaser shall pay in full all costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including, without limitation, (i) examination of title and conveyancing charges, (ii) all recordation taxes, fees and charges, (iii) all transfer taxes, fees and charges, (iv) title insurance premiums, if any, (v) notary fees, (vi) settlement and escrow fees, and (vii) all other fees, costs and charges incident to settlement. Settlement will be handled by Chicago Title Insurance Company in Washington, DC.</p> <p>Neither the Substitute Trustees, the Auctioneer or the Beneficiary or its affiliates are liable individually or otherwise for any matter relating to the sale or to the Property, except that if title to the Property cannot be transferred in accordance with the terms hereof for any reason, such liability is limited solely to the return of the purchaser's deposit. There shall be no other rights or remedies against the Substitute Trustees, the Auctioneer and/or the Beneficiary or any of their respective affiliates, agents, successors and assigns, either in law or equity.</p> <p>NOTE: The material contained herein describing the Property has been obtained from sources believed to be reliable; however, no express or implied warranty is made as to the accuracy of any description. All dimensions or areas referred to herein are approximate.</p> <p>For further information regarding the sale and the Property, please contact the offices or visit the website of the Auctioneer.</p> <div><div><div>JUNE L. MARSHALL</div><div>PHILIP T. EVANS,</div><div>Substitute Trustees</div></div><div><div>ALEX COOPER</div><div>auctioneers</div><div>4910 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 100</div><div>Washington, DC 20016 • 202.364.0306</div><div>www.alexcooper.com</div></div></div> <div>Dec 9,11,13,17,19 20240012478649</div>			

840 Trustees Sale - DC	840 Trustees Sale - DC
<div><div><div>McCabe, Weisberg & Conway, LLC</div><div>312 Marshall Avenue, Suite 800</div><div>Laurel, MD 20707</div><div>www.mwc-law.com</div></div><div><div>SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF</div><div>APARTMENT BUILDING</div><div>BELIEVED TO CONTAIN 6 UNITS</div></div><div><div>"ANACOSTIA NEIGHBORHOOD"</div><div>known as</div><div>1521 V STREET, SE</div><div>WASHINGTON, DC 20020</div></div></div>	
<p>Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, and Security Agreement dated July 21, 2023 from 1521 V ST SE LLC, a District of Columbia limited liability company ("Borrower"), to the trustees named therein and recorded on July 26, 2023 among the records of the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia (the "Records") as Document No. 2023063554 (the "Deed of Trust"), the holder of the indebtedness secured by said Deed of Trust ("Noteholder") having subsequently appointed Laura H.G. O'Sullivan, Michael T. Cantrell, as Substitute Trustees ("Trustees") in the place of the original trustees under the Deed of Trust by a Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustees recorded on November 1, 2024 as Document No. 2024103159 among the Records, default having occurred under the terms of the Deed of Trust and at the request of the Noteholder, and pursuant to a Notice of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property or Condominium Unit filed on November 19, 2024 as Document No. 2024108559 among the Records in accordance with D.C. Code § 42-815 and the applicable laws of the District of Columbia, the Trustees will offer for sale to the highest qualified bidder at a public auction within the office of ALEX COOPER AUCTIONEERS, INC., 4910 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 100, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 on</p> <div><div><div>THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 2024</div><div>at 1:35 P.M.</div></div></div>	
<p>the following described land and premises (the "Land"):</p> <p>Lot numbered Nine Hundred Seven (907), in Square numbered Fifty Seven Seventy Nine (5779), in the subdivision made by Edmond V. Lawrence and Mary A. Lawrence, as per plat recorded in the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia in Liber 47 at Folio 7.</p> <p>NOTE: At the date hereof the above described land is designated on the Records of the Assessor of the District of Columbia for assessment and taxation purposes as Lot 907 in Square 5779.</p> <p>The Improvements comprise an apartment building believed to contain a total of six (6) apartment units. It is located in the Anacostia neighborhood.</p> <p>TERMS OF SALE</p> <p>Summary terms of sale: A deposit in the amount of One Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$100,000.00), payable by certified or cashier's check, will be required of the purchaser at the time and place of sale. Within two (2) business days after the date of the sale, the purchaser of the Property shall deliver a certified or cashier's check to the Trustees to increase the purchaser's deposit to an amount that is equal to ten percent (10%) of the full amount bid by such purchaser at the sale. The balance of the purchase price, together with interest thereon at the default rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date of settlement, shall be due from the purchaser by wire transfer or certified check within forty-five (45) calendar days from the date of sale, unless such closing deadline is extended in writing by the Trustees. Time is of the essence. If settlement is delayed for any reason, there shall be no abatement of interest on the unpaid purchase price. Settlement shall be held at such place as may be agreed to by the Trustees. In the event the Noteholder, or an affiliate or subsidiary thereof, is the successful bidder at the sale, such party will not be required to make a deposit or to pay interest on the unpaid purchase money. The Trustees reserve the right to withdraw the Property from sale, to reject any and all bids at the sale, and to extend the time for settlement, at their discretion.</p> <p>The Property is being sold in an "AS IS" condition and without any warranties or representations of any kind, either express or implied, as to the value, nature, condition, use or description of the Property or the improvements thereon. The Property is also being sold subject to: (a) any existing building and zoning code violations; (b) any environmental problems and conditions, lead paint conditions, encroachments and/or violations which may exist on or with respect to the Property; (c) any senior liens, encumbrances, easements, conditions, restrictions, agreements, declarations and covenants of record which are not extinguished as a matter of law by the foreclosure sale; (d) any rights of redemption; and (e) such state of facts that an accurate survey or physical inspection of the Property might disclose, if any. The purchaser is responsible for conducting its own due diligence regarding the Property.</p> <p>All senior liens, real estate taxes, water charges and municipal charges and assessments owed against the Property which are not extinguished as a matter of law by the foreclosure sale shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser and shall be paid for by the purchaser at settlement. The cost of all documentary stamps, recordation taxes, transfer taxes, document preparation costs, title examination costs and other costs associated with conveying the Property to the purchaser shall also be the sole responsibility of the purchaser and shall be paid for by the purchaser at settlement.</p> <p>The purchaser at the foreclosure sale shall assume the risk of loss for the Property immediately after the sale takes place. It shall be the purchaser's responsibility to obtain possession of the Property after the closing. The purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any rent relating to the Property until the Purchaser pays the entire purchase price and closes on its purchase of the Property.</p> <p>In the event the purchaser fails to increase the deposit or go to settlement and pay the entire purchase price as required herein, in addition to any other legal or equitable remedies available to the Trustees and the Noteholder, the Trustees may declare the aforementioned deposit forfeited by the purchaser and resell the Property at the purchaser's sole risk and expense. In such event, the defaulting purchaser shall be liable for the payment of any deficiency in the purchase price sustained by the Trustees and/or the Noteholder, all costs and expenses of both sales, attorneys' fees, and any other damages sustained by the Trustees and/or the Noteholder, including, without limitation, all incidental damages. In the event a resale of the Property results in a sale in excess of the amount originally bid by the defaulting purchaser, the defaulting purchaser waives any and all claims, rights and interest to any such excess amount and shall not be entitled to any distribution whatsoever from the resale proceeds or a return of any portion of the purchaser's forfeited deposit.</p> <p>If the Trustees are unable to convey the Property as described above, the purchaser's sole remedy at law or in equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit, without interest thereon. Upon refund of the deposit to the purchaser as aforesaid, the sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Trustees, the Noteholder or the Auctioneer conducting the sale of the Property.</p> <p>The parties' respective rights and obligations regarding the terms and conduct of the sale shall be governed by the laws of the District of Columbia. (File #24-800378)</p> <p>Additional terms and conditions may be announced at the time of sale. All inquiries regarding the sale should be directed to Paul R. Cooper at 410-977-4707.</p> <div><div><div>Laura H.G. O'Sullivan, Michael T. Cantrell,</div><div>Substitute Trustees</div></div><div><div>ALEX COOPER</div><div>auctioneers</div><div>4910 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 100</div><div>Washington, DC 20016 • 202.364.0306</div><div>www.alexcooper.com</div></div></div> <div>Dec 9,11,13,16,18 20240012478101</div>	

840 Trustees Sale - DC	840 Trustees Sale - DC
<div><div><div>McCabe, Weisberg & Conway, LLC</div><div>312 Marshall Avenue, Suite 800</div><div>Laurel, MD 20707</div><div>www.mwc-law.com</div></div><div><div>SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF</div><div>GARDEN-STYLE APARTMENT BUILDING</div><div>BELIEVED TO CONTAIN 12 UNITS</div></div><div><div>"DEANWOOD NEIGHBORHOOD"</div><div>known as</div><div>4725 MINNESOTA AVENUE, NE</div><div>WASHINGTON, DC 20019</div></div></div>	
<p>Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, and Security Agreement dated July 21, 2023 from 4725 Minnesota Ave NE LLC, a Delaware limited liability company ("Borrower"), to the trustees named therein and recorded on July 26, 2023 among the records of the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia (the "Records") as Document No. 2023063626 (the "Deed of Trust"), the holder of the indebtedness secured by said Deed of Trust ("Noteholder") having subsequently appointed Laura H.G. O'Sullivan, Michael T. Cantrell, as Substitute Trustees ("Trustees") in the place of the original trustees under the Deed of Trust by a Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustees recorded on November 1, 2024 as Document No. 2024103160 among the Records, default having occurred under the terms of the Deed of Trust and at the request of the Noteholder, and pursuant to a Notice of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property or Condominium Unit filed on November 19, 2024 as Document No. 2024108563 among the Records in accordance with D.C. Code § 42-815 and the applicable laws of the District of Columbia, the Trustees will offer for sale to the highest qualified bidder at a public auction within the office of ALEX COOPER AUCTIONEERS, INC., 4910 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 100, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 on</p> <div><div><div>THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 2024</div><div>at 1:25 P.M.</div></div></div>	
<p>the following described land and premises (the "Land"):</p> <p>Lot numbered Nine (9) in Square numbered Fifty One Hundred Sixty One (5161), in the subdivision made by Cary W. Brincefield and Leatrice J. Brincefield, as per plat recorded in the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia in Liber 145 at Folio 200.</p> <p>Subject to a 35 foot easement and right of way for storm and sanitary sewer and drainage purposes as granted to the District of Columbia by Deed of Easement recorded among the Land Records of the District of Columbia on April 19, 1960 in Liber 11407 at Folio 426 as Instrument No. 09830.</p> <p>NOTE: At the date hereof the above described land is designated on the Records of the Assessor of the District of Columbia for assessment and taxation purposes as Lot 0009 in Square 5161.</p> <p>The Improvements comprise a garden-style apartment building believed to contain a total of twelve (12) apartment units. It is located in the Deanwood neighborhood across the street from the Deanwood metro stop.</p> <p>TERMS OF SALE</p> <p>Summary terms of sale: A deposit in the amount of One Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$100,000.00), payable by certified or cashier's check, will be required of the purchaser at the time and place of sale. Within two (2) business days after the date of the sale, the purchaser of the Property shall deliver a certified or cashier's check to the Trustees to increase the purchaser's deposit to an amount that is equal to ten percent (10%) of the full amount bid by such purchaser at the sale. The balance of the purchase price, together with interest thereon at the default rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date of settlement, shall be due from the purchaser by wire transfer or certified check within forty-five (45) calendar days from the date of sale, unless such closing deadline is extended in writing by the Trustees. Time is of the essence. If settlement is delayed for any reason, there shall be no abatement of interest on the unpaid purchase price. Settlement shall be held at such place as may be agreed to by the Trustees. In the event the Noteholder, or an affiliate or subsidiary thereof, is the successful bidder at the sale, such party will not be required to make a deposit or to pay interest on the unpaid purchase money. The Trustees reserve the right to withdraw the Property from sale, to reject any and all bids at the sale, and to extend the time for settlement, at their discretion.</p> <p>The Property is being sold in an "AS IS" condition and without any warranties or representations of any kind, either express or implied, as to the value, nature, condition, use or description of the Property or the improvements thereon. The Property is also being sold subject to: (a) any existing building and zoning code violations; (b) any environmental problems and conditions, lead paint conditions, encroachments and/or violations which may exist on or with respect to the Property; (c) any senior liens, encumbrances, easements, conditions, restrictions, agreements, declarations and covenants of record which are not extinguished as a matter of law by the foreclosure sale; (d) any rights of redemption; and (e) such state of facts that an accurate survey or physical inspection of the Property might disclose, if any. The purchaser is responsible for conducting its own due diligence regarding the Property.</p> <p>All senior liens, real estate taxes, water charges and municipal charges and assessments owed against the Property which are not extinguished as a matter of law by the foreclosure sale shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser and shall be paid for by the purchaser at settlement. The cost of all documentary stamps, recordation taxes, transfer taxes, document preparation costs, title examination costs and other costs associated with conveying the Property to the purchaser shall also be the sole responsibility of the purchaser and shall be paid for by the purchaser at settlement.</p> <p>The purchaser at the foreclosure sale shall assume the risk of loss for the Property immediately after the sale takes place. It shall be the purchaser's responsibility to obtain possession of the Property after the closing. The purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any rent relating to the Property until the Purchaser pays the entire purchase price and closes on its purchase of the Property.</p> <p>In the event the purchaser fails to increase the deposit or go to settlement and pay the entire purchase price as required herein, in addition to any other legal or equitable remedies available to the Trustees and the Noteholder, the Trustees may declare the aforementioned deposit forfeited by the purchaser and resell the Property at the purchaser's sole risk and expense. In such event, the defaulting purchaser shall be liable for the payment of any deficiency in the purchase price sustained by the Trustees and/or the Noteholder, all costs and expenses of both sales, attorneys' fees, and any other damages sustained by the Trustees and/or the Noteholder, including, without limitation, all incidental damages. In the event a resale of the Property results in a sale in excess of the amount originally bid by the defaulting purchaser, the defaulting purchaser waives any and all claims, rights and interest to any such excess amount and shall not be entitled to any distribution whatsoever from the resale proceeds or a return of any portion of the purchaser's forfeited deposit.</p> <p>If the Trustees are unable to convey the Property as described above, the purchaser's sole remedy at law or in equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit, without interest thereon. Upon refund of the deposit to the purchaser as aforesaid, the sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Trustees, the Noteholder or the Auctioneer conducting the sale of the Property.</p> <p>The parties' respective rights and obligations regarding the terms and conduct of the sale shall be governed by the laws of the District of Columbia. (File #24-800377)</p> <p>Additional terms and conditions may be announced at the time of sale. All inquiries regarding the sale should be directed to Paul R. Cooper at 410-977-4707.</p> <div><div><div>Laura H.G. O'Sullivan, Michael T. Cantrell,</div><div>Substitute Trustees</div></div><div><div>ALEX COOPER</div><div>auctioneers</div><div>4910 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Suite 100</div><div>Washington, DC 20016 • 202.364.0306</div><div>www.alexcooper.com</div></div></div> <div>Dec 9,11,13,16,18 20240012477898</div>	

840 Trustees Sale - DC	840 Trustees Sale - DC
<div><div><div>TRUSTEE'S SALE</div><div>Of Valuable Real Estate located in the</div><div>District of Columbia</div><div>known as</div><div>5001-5005 Hanna Place, SE, Washington, DC 20019</div></div></div>	
<p>By virtue of a certain Deed of Trust, Assignment of Rents and Security Agreement duly recorded in the Land Records of the District of Columbia on July 10, 2023, as Instrument No. 2023057590 (the "Deed of Trust") and in accordance with the Notice of Foreclosure dated and recorded November 7, 2024, Public law 90-566, and at the request of the party secured by the Deed of Trust, the Substitute Trustee deed of Trust, will sell, at public auction, at the office of HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS INC., 5335 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015, on December 12, 2024, at 10:35 A.M., some or all of the property described in said Deed of Trust, including certain land and premises, situate in the District of Columbia, and being now known for purposes of assessment and taxation as Lot 0014, Square 5341, and more particularly described as follows:</p> <p>BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED as Lot Numbered (Fourteen) 14 in Square numbered Fifty-three Hundred Forty-one (5341), in a subdivision made by Eli Busada, as per plat recorded in Liber 118 at Folio 125, of the Records of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia.</p> <p>The improvements are known as 5001-5005 Hanna Place, SE, Washington, District of Columbia 20019.</p> <p>Tax ID: Lot 0014, Square 5341 (the "Property").</p> <p>Terms of Sale</p> <p>The Property will be sold "WHERE IS" and in "AS IS" condition and the purchaser shall assume the risk of loss or damage to the property after the time of the foreclosure sale. Neither the Trustee, the party secured by the Deed of Trust, the auctioneer, nor any of their respective agents, successors or assigns (collectively, the "Selling Parties") make any representation or warranties, express or implied, with respect to the Property, or any tenancies or parties in possession, including without limitation, the description, use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, habitability, marketability, or insurability (hazard or title), subdivision, zoning, environmental condition, compliance with building codes or other laws (such as Americans with Disabilities Act), ordinances or regulations, fitness for a particular purpose, or merchantability of all or any part of the Property. The purchaser waives and releases the Selling Parties from any and all claims the purchaser or the purchaser's successors or assigns may have now or may have in the future relating to the sale or the condition of the Property. The Property will be sold subject to rights of parties in possession, any building or housing violations, easements, agreements, restrictions, terms, rights of way, covenants, conditions, rights of redemption, other encumbrances, statutes, if any, affecting the Property, whether or not of record and all statutes, ordinances or court rules, including any lien for unpaid condominium assessments pursuant to D.C. Code § 42-1903.13, if applicable, to the extent such things have priority over the Deed of Trust and to the extent such things survive the foreclosure sale. The Property is also sold subject to a post-sale audit of the status of the loan. All interested bidders are specifically encouraged to review all federal, state and local statutes, ordinances, and court rules concerning the Property and to contact the appropriate governmental authorities prior to the sale date regarding the Property, including without limitation, encumbrances, liens, violations, permitted uses and the requirements, if any, for registration, obtaining possession, cure of violations, construction, completion, or development. The Trustee will not deliver possession to the purchaser, who shall be solely responsible for obtaining possession of the property.</p> <p>A deposit of the lesser of \$30,000.00 or ten percent (10%) of the winning bid amount will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in the form of a certified check, cashier's check, or in such other form as the Trustee may determine, in his sole discretion. Whenever the purchaser is also the party secured by the said Deed of Trust, payment of the required deposit and purchase price is made by crediting the amount thereof to the indebtedness. The balance in cash or immediately available funds, with interest at thirteen and ninety-nine hundredths per centum (13.99%) per annum from the date of sale to the date of settlement or the balance of the proceeds are received by the Trustee, whichever is later, shall be paid within thirty (30) days after the date of sale. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. The party secured by the Deed of Trust shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER.</p> <p>Real property taxes, water charges, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, to be adjusted for the current year to date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. All costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including, without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing, all recordation taxes and charges, all transfer taxes and charges, title insurance premiums, notary fees, settlement fees and all other costs incident to settlement shall be at the cost of the successful purchaser. Conveyance of the Property shall be by Trustee's Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or implied, specifically including marketability or insurability (hazard or title), unless otherwise required by statute, court rule or the Deed of Trust. In the event the Trustee is unable for any reason to convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy at law or in equity shall be to be request and receive a return of the deposit. Upon return of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Trustee.</p> <p>Compliance with terms of sale shall be made within thirty (30) days after the date of sale or the deposit shall be forfeited. In the event of a default, all expenses of this sale (including attorneys' fees and trustee's commission) shall be charged against and paid out of the forfeited deposit as determined by the Trustee unless expressly prohibited by statute, court rule or the Deed of Trust. The Trustee may then re-advertise and resell the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser (such risk and cost shall include any attorneys' fees or costs in connection with all litigation, including appeals, involving the Property or the proceeds of a resale; or contesting the Selling Parties' right to conduct a resale; or seeking to invalidate this sale unless expressly prohibited by statute, court rule or the Deed of Trust; and, if the defaulting purchaser has received any 'rent' from any occupant or tenant of the Property such amount received shall be promptly delivered to the Trustee; or, without reselling the Property, the trustee may avail himself of any legal or equitable remedies against the defaulting purchaser). In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive the surplus, if any, even if such surplus results from improvements to the Property by said defaulting purchaser. This advertisement, as amended or supplemented by any oral announcements during the conduct of the sale, constitutes the entire terms upon which the property shall be offered for sale.</p> <div><div><div>Benjamin P. Smith, Trustee</div></div></div> <div><div><div>FOR INFORMATION CONTACT:</div><div>Shulman Rogers, P.A.</div><div>12505 Park Potomac Avenue, 6th Floor</div><div>Potomac, MD 20854</div><div>(301) 230-5241</div></div></div> <div><div><div>HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC.</div><div>5335 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Ste 440</div><div>Washington, DC 20015</div><div>202-463-4667</div><div>www.hwestauctions.com</div></div></div> <div>Dec 2,4,6,9,11 20240012475817</div>	



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Prince Georges County

851

Prince Georges County

BWW Law Group, LLC
6003 Executive Blvd., Suite 101
Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND
ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**

**12104 AUGUSTA DRIVE
GLENN DALE, MD 20769**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated March 26, 2007, recorded in Liber 27645, Folio 146 among the Land Records of Prince George's County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$403,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, 14735 Main St., Upper Marlboro, MD, 20772 (Duval Wing entrance, located on Main St.), on

DECEMBER 17, 2024 AT 11:52 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Prince George's County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$15,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 370207-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,
Substitute Trustees

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Bethesda, MD 20814
(301) 907-8000
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**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY**

**1316 SPLIT ROCK LANE
FORT WASHINGTON, MD 20744**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Pablita Mackey dated November 10, 2004 and recorded in Liber 21000, folio 373 among the Land Records of Prince George's County, MD, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, 14735 Main St., Upper Marlboro, MD, 20772 (Duval Wing entrance, located on Main St.), on

DECEMBER 17, 2024 AT 11:42 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with the buildings and improvements thereon situated in Prince George's County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. Tax ID #05-0273342.

The property, which is improved by a dwelling, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$36,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for Prince George's County. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received in the office of the Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. There will be no reduction of interest due to overpayment of deposit. Adjustment of all real property taxes (excluding recapture of previously reduced or exempt taxes) and any other public charges or assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer charges, and ground rent to be adjusted to date of sale and paid at execution of the deed, except where the secured party is the purchaser, and thereafter assumed by the purchaser. All due and/or unpaid private utility, water and sewer facilities charges, condo/HOA assessments and Columbia Assoc. assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, are payable by the purchaser without adjustment. Cost of all documentary stamps, transfer taxes, recaptured taxes (including but not limited to agricultural taxes), and settlement expenses shall be borne by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. Additional terms to be announced at the time of sale. If the Trustees are unable to convey good and marketable title, the purchaser's sole remedy in law and equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit without interest. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement, subject to order of the court, the entire deposit (including any amount received over the advertised deposit amount) shall be forfeited to the Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive the surplus, if any, even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulting purchaser and the defaulting purchaser shall be liable to the Trustees and secured party for reasonable attorney's fees and expenses incurred in connection with all litigation involving the Property or the proceeds of the resale. Defaulting purchaser waives personal service of any document filed in connection with such a motion on him/herself and/or any principal or corporate designee, and expressly agrees to accept service of any such document by regular mail directed to the address provided by said purchaser at the time of the foreclosure auction. Trustees' file number 24-003040-MD-F-1.

Diane S. Rosenberg, Mark D. Meyer, et al., Trustees

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**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY**

**10307 BUENA VISTA AVENUE
LANHAM, MD 20706**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Everard V. Hughes and Berinda Menefee-Hughes dated February 23, 2006 and recorded in Liber 24597, folio 617 among the Land Records of Prince George's County, MD, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, 14735 Main St., Upper Marlboro, MD, 20772 (Duval Wing entrance, located on Main St.), on

DECEMBER 17, 2024 AT 11:40 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with the buildings and improvements thereon situated in Prince George's County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. Tax ID #20-2214369.

The property, which is improved by a dwelling, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$23,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for Prince George's County. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received in the office of the Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. There will be no reduction of interest due to overpayment of deposit. Adjustment of all real property taxes (excluding recapture of previously reduced or exempt taxes) and any other public charges or assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer charges, and ground rent to be adjusted to date of sale and paid at execution of the deed, except where the secured party is the purchaser, and thereafter assumed by the purchaser. All due and/or unpaid private utility, water and sewer facilities charges, condo/HOA assessments and Columbia Assoc. assessments, to the extent such amount survive foreclosure sale, are payable by the purchaser without adjustment. Cost of all documentary stamps, transfer taxes, recaptured taxes (including but not limited to agricultural taxes), and settlement expenses shall be borne by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. Additional terms to be announced at the time of sale. If the Trustees are unable to convey good and marketable title, the purchaser's sole remedy in law and equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit without interest. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement, subject to order of the court, the entire deposit (including any amount received over the advertised deposit amount) shall be forfeited to the Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive the surplus, if any, even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulting purchaser and the defaulting purchaser shall be liable to the Trustees and secured party for reasonable attorney's fees and expenses incurred in connection with all litigation involving the Property or the proceeds of the resale. Defaulting purchaser waives personal service of any document filed in connection with such a motion on him/herself and/or any principal or corporate designee, and expressly agrees to accept service of any such document by regular mail directed to the address provided by said purchaser at the time of the foreclosure auction. Trustees' file number 24-003098-MD-F-1.

Diane S. Rosenberg, Mark D. Meyer, et al., Trustees

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Parker, Simon & Kokolis, LLC
110 North Washington Street, Suite 500
Rockville, MD 20850
(301) 656-5775

**Trustee's Sale of
Valuable Fee Simple Property located in
PRINCE GEORGE'S Maryland,
known as
12301 LONGWATER DRIVE
MITCHELLVILLE, MD 20721**

By virtue of the power and authority contained in a Deed of Trust from NICE BELLE PROPERTIES, LLC to Craig A. Parker and Thomas J. Kokolis. Trustees, dated APRIL 24, 2008 and recorded in Book 29744 at Page 425 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S County Maryland, and at the request of the party secured thereby, default having occurred in the terms and conditions thereof, the Trustees named in said Deed of Trust, will sell at public auction located at the front of the Duval Wing of the Courthouse Complex, 14735 MAIN STREET, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772 on **December 16, 2024 at 11:00 am**, all that Fee-Simple lot of ground and the improvements thereon identified as Tax ID No. 07-0820738 and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

TERMS OF SALE The bid which yields the highest price for the Property will be accepted by the Trustees. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Trustees absolutely reserve the right to postpone the sale and/or cancel the sale at any time until the auctioneer announces that the Property is "sold" and the deposit in the required amount and form is received by the Trustees.

A deposit in the amount of \$50,000.00 will be required at the time of sale. Such deposit must be by cashier's check or certified check or such other form as the Trustees may determine in their sole discretion. The Noteholder secured by the Deed of Trust, Assignment of Rents and Security Agreement (or any related party) shall be exempted by the Trustees from submitting any bidding deposit. The Trustees will, as a condition of the sale, require all potential bidders, except the Noteholder, to show their deposit before any bidding begins. The retained deposit of the successful purchaser shall be applied, without interest, to the successful purchaser's credit at settlement, provided, however, that in the event the successful purchaser fails to consummate the purchase in accordance with the terms of sale as herein provided, such deposit, will be forfeited. The terms of sale must be complied with and settlement consummated thereon within 30 days from date of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S County, Maryland unless extended at the sole discretion of the Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event settlement is delayed for any reason. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. The balance of the purchase price over and above the retained deposit, with interest thereon at a rate of 8% from the date of sale through the date of receipt of the balance of the purchase price, will be due at settlement in cash or certified funds; and if not so paid, the Trustees reserve the right to retain the deposit and resell the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser, after such advertisement and on such terms as the Trustees may deem proper, and to avail themselves and the Noteholder of any legal or equitable rights against the defaulting purchaser.

The Property is sold subject to the lawful rights, if any, of parties in possession, if such rights have priority over the Deed of Trust, Assignment of Rents and Security Agreement, and to any and all covenants, conditions, restrictions, easements, rights of way, encumbrances, liens, agreements and limitations of record having priority over the Deed of Trust, Assignment of Rents and Security Agreement. The Property will be sold "WHERE IS" and in "AS IS" condition without any warranty as to condition, express or implied, and without any representation or warranty as to the accuracy of the information furnished to prospective bidders by the Trustees or any other party and without any other representations or warranty of any nature. The sale is also subject to postsale audit of the status of the loan. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the Property will be sold without representation or warranty as to (i) title to the Property, (ii) the nature, condition, structural integrity, or fitness for a particular use of any improvements, fixtures or personal property included within the Property, (iii) the environmental condition of the Property or the compliance of the Property with federal, state and local laws and regulations concerning the presence or disposal of hazardous substances, (iv) compliance of the Property with the Americans with Disabilities Act or any similar law, or (v) compliance of the Property with any zoning laws or ordinances and any and all applicable safety codes, and acceptance of the Deed to the Property by the successful purchaser shall constitute a waiver of any claims against the Trustees or the Noteholder concerning any of the foregoing matters. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the Property.

Conveyance shall be by Trustee's Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or implied, specifically including marketability or insurability (hazard or title), unless otherwise required by statute, court rule or the Deed of Trust, Assignment of Rents and Security Agreement. The risk of loss or damage by fire or other casualty to the Property from and after the date of sale will be upon the successful purchaser. Adjustment of all taxes, ground rents, public charges, assessments, sewer, water, drainage and other public improvements will be made as of the date of sale and are to be assumed and paid thereafter by the successful purchaser, whether assessments have been levied or not. Any condominium fees, homeowners association dues, assessments or capital contributions, if any, payable with respect to the Property shall be assumed after the date of sale by the successful purchaser. All costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including, without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing, all recordation taxes and charges, all transfer taxes and charges, title insurance premiums, notary fees, settlement fees and all other costs incident to settlement shall be at the cost of the successful purchaser. In the event the Trustees are unable for any reason to convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy at law or in equity shall be to request and receive a return of the deposit. Upon return of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Trustees. This advertisement, as amended or supplemented by any oral announcements during the conduct of the sale, constitutes the entire terms upon which the Property shall be offered for sale.

Craig A. Parker and Thomas J. Kokolis,
Trustees

300 E. Johns Road
Hampton Place, Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21206
410-789-9797

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**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND
ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**

**127 DUVAL LANE
EDGEWATER, MD 21037**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated April 9, 2013, recorded in Liber 26067, Folio 446 among the Land Records of Anne Arundel County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$255,341.80, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Anne Arundel County, at the Court House Door, 8 Church Circle, Annapolis, MD 21401, on

DECEMBER 17, 2024 AT 9:49 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Anne Arundel County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$22,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 338446-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,
Substitute Trustees

LICENSE NOS. A000113, A000176, A000177, A000193,
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Anne Arundel County

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Rockville, MD 20852
(301) 961-6555

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE
OF REAL PROPERTY AND
ANY IMPROVEMENTS THEREON**

**2900 MARLIN DRIVE
RIVA, MD 21140**

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated February 4, 2008, recorded in Liber 19916, Folio 223 among the Land Records of Anne Arundel County, MD, with an original principal balance of \$1,600,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the Circuit Court for Anne Arundel County, at the Court House Door, 8 Church Circle, Annapolis, MD 21401, on

DECEMBER 17, 2024 AT 9:45 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with any buildings or improvements thereon located in Anne Arundel County, MD and more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.

The property, believed to be waterfront, and any improvements thereon, will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit of \$56,000 in the form of certified check, cashier's check or money order will be required of the purchaser at time and place of sale. Balance of the purchase price, together with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note, or any modifications thereto, from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Sub. Trustees, payable in cash within ten days of final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court. There will be no abatement of interest due to the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THE PURCHASER. Adjustment of all real property taxes, including agricultural taxes, if applicable, and any and all public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer, ground rent and front foot benefit charges, to be adjusted to date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for any recapture of homestead tax credit. All transfer taxes and recordation taxes shall be paid by Purchaser. The purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. Condominium fees and/or homeowners association dues, if any, shall be assumed by the purchaser from the date of sale. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including, but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into any repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to the sale. In any such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the Purchaser's sole remedy, in law or equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. If purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, subject to order of court, purchaser agrees that property will be resold and entire deposit retained by Sub. Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser waives personal service of any papers filed in connection with its failure to settle within ten days of ratification and expressly agrees to accept service by first class mail at the address provided by the Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale. The defaulted purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulted purchaser. Sub. Trustees will convey either marketable or insurable title. If they cannot deliver one or the other, or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is return of the deposit without interest. (Matter No. 365641-1)

Howard N. Bierman, Carrie M. Ward, et al.,
Substitute Trustees

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20 years, 10 new recipes

In this milestone edition, we're sharing
cookies worth celebrating
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COOKIE PROJECT
Quilt Block Sugar Cookies are
fun for the whole family. **E8-9**

20 YEARS OF COOKIES
Take a trip back in time with
a look at past covers. **E14**

Put the power of preserved lemon to work in a chicken and orzo skillet



Aaron Hutcherson
DINNER IN MINUTES

It's almost hard to believe that it's already December. It feels like just the other day that I took over this column. And now we're approaching the end of my first calendar year of sharing recipes with you every week. It's been both a joy and a challenge, particularly recently as I, along with the rest of the Food staff, have been developing, testing and publishing our annual slew of Thanksgiving and Christmas recipes and articles.

TL;DR: I'm dealing with burnout. (Don't worry. I'm taking some time off soon.) But a recent conversation with Bobby Flay reminded me that you can always find new sources of inspiration if you seek them out. Despite my years in this field, there is still so much about food and cooking for me to explore, be they cooking techniques, dishes or ingredients. And with each new adventure can come a rekindled passion and curiosity to learn and share those findings with the world. This time, what I found was tucked away in a jar of preserved lemons.

Preserved lemons are citrus that have been salted and allowed to ferment for weeks, which softens the rind, mellows the acidity, and transforms the fruit into an ingredient that is savory, sour, salty and complex. "They're especially popular in Middle Eastern, Indian and North African food, though the cuisine often most associated with them is Moroccan," recipes editor Becky Krystal wrote. Sure, I'd eaten them in chicken tagines before, but this is the first time I ventured to cook with them myself.

Whenever I encounter an ingredient for the first time, my first step is always to give it a taste. (I also sometimes do this with ingredients I'm already familiar with, just to remind my



PHOTOS BY PEGGY CORMARY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY CAROLYN ROBB FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



Preserving lemons transforms the fruit into an ingredient that is savory, sour, salty and complex.

palate of their characteristics.) With preserved lemons, first give them a rinse to remove any excess salt. That initial bite made me excited for a dish — with chicken, pasta and feta — that

up until then was only an idea.

Channeling the regions where preserved lemons are popular, this one-pan meal starts with chicken thighs seasoned with cumin and oregano. Once

browned, the thighs are set aside, making way to toast orzo pasta until it's slightly nutty alongside quartered artichoke hearts. Next, stock or broth, half a preserved lemon, and a touch of sweetness in the form of honey join in on the fun along with the browned chicken thighs.

As the skillet simmers, the preserved lemon works to season the entire dish, imbuing the meal with its fermented citrus flavor as the orzo softens and the chicken cooks all the way through. The finishing touch is crumbled feta cheese for a creamy tang on top.

When this idea of a dish became reality, it unlocked a new flavor profile I hadn't encountered in my own cooking — all thanks to the preserved lemon. I have added a log to the fire of my cooking creativity, keeping it burning for recipes to come.

Skillet Chicken Thighs With Preserved Lemon and Orzo

4 to 6 servings

This Middle Eastern-inspired one-pot meal features chicken thighs seasoned with cumin and oregano, along with orzo pasta, artichoke hearts and preserved lemon. Popular in North African, Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cuisines, preserved lemon brings salty, savory and complex flavor to the entire skillet. The dish gets finished with crumbled feta cheese for a hint of creamy tang.

Storage: Refrigerate for up to 3 days.

Where to buy: Preserved lemons can be found in well-stocked supermarkets, Mediterranean markets and online.

Active time: 30 mins; **Total time:** 45 mins

From staff writer Aaron Hutcherson.

Ingredients

- 1 teaspoon ground cumin
- 1 teaspoon dried oregano
- ½ teaspoon garlic powder
- ½ teaspoon fine salt
- ½ teaspoon freshly ground black pepper
- 4 to 6 bone-in, skin-on chicken thighs (2 to 2½ pounds total), trimmed of excess fat, if desired
- 1 tablespoon extra-virgin olive oil
- 8 ounces (1 to 1¼ cups) dried orzo pasta
- One (14-ounce) can quartered artichoke hearts, drained
- 2½ cups no-salt-added or low-sodium chicken stock or broth
- ½ preserved lemon, rinsed, thinly sliced and seeds removed (see Where to buy)
- 1 tablespoon honey
- Crumbled feta cheese, for serving

Steps

- In a small bowl, combine the cumin, oregano, garlic powder, salt and pepper. Pat the chicken dry and sprinkle both sides with the seasoning mixture. In a large (12-inch) nonstick skillet or sauté pan over medium-high heat, heat the oil until shimmering. Add the chicken skin side down and cook until browned, about 5 minutes. Flip, and cook until browned on the other side, about 5 minutes. Transfer the chicken to a plate.
- Add the orzo and artichoke hearts to the skillet and cook, stirring frequently, until the orzo is fragrant and lightly toasted,

about 2 minutes. Add the stock or broth, preserved lemon, and honey, and stir to combine. Return the chicken, along with any accumulated juices, to the skillet, nestling it into the mixture skin side up. Bring the mixture to a simmer, then cover, reduce the heat to medium, and cook until the orzo is tender, most of the liquid is absorbed and the chicken is cooked through (an instant-read thermometer inserted into the thickest part of the thigh without touching the bone should register at least 165 degrees), about 13 minutes. Remove from the heat and let rest for 3 to 5 minutes. (The orzo will continue to absorb the liquid.) Sprinkle feta cheese on top and serve hot, family-style.

Substitutions

- Dried oregano >> other dried herbs, or twice as much fresh oregano.
- Bone-in, skin-on chicken thighs >> boneless, skinless chicken thighs.
- Orzo >> any small pasta shape.
- Canned quartered artichoke hearts >> frozen quartered artichoke hearts.
- Honey >> agave, maple syrup or granulated sugar.
- Feta >> fresh goat cheese (chèvre).

Nutrition | Per serving (1 chicken thigh plus ⅔ cup of the orzo mixture), based on 6: 526 calories, 35g carbohydrates, 13gmg cholesterol, 30g fat, 2g fiber, 29g protein, 8g saturated fat, 496mg sodium, 6g sugar

Recipe tested by Aaron Hutcherson; email questions to food@washpost.com



REY LOPEZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY CAROLYN ROBB FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Thai panang curry paste punches up this soup



G. Daniela Galarza

EAT VORACIOUSLY

In the summer of 2020, well before Americans had access to coronavirus vaccines, and while many businesses remained closed to the public, Wedchayan “Deau” Arpapornnopparat and his wife, Tongkamal “Joy” Yuon, opened a pop-up restaurant in Los Angeles. They named it Holy Basil, after the perennial shrub whose purple-tinged green leaves flavor many Thai stir-fries. Even before the pop-up turned into a food hall stall and spawned a sit-down restaurant, Arpapornnopparat and his team were starting nearly every dish with one of several homemade Thai curry pastes.

Years ago, following a recipe from a friend, I made red Thai curry paste from scratch with a mortar and pestle. Though it took me well over an hour of slicing and pounding and pulverizing and sneezing, I didn't regret it. The dishes I made with that base of herbs, chiles and spices were incredible. But these days, short on time and energy, I reach for cans or jars of prepared curry paste when I'm looking to add the tastes of Thai chiles, lemongrass, galangal, ginger, garlic and makrut lime to saucy curries. I love how just a spoonful of this base of flavor can transform a pot of simple ingredients into something spectacular.

One day earlier this year, as I attempted to make sense of my messy pantry, I saw a can of pumpkin puree next to a can of coconut milk next to a can of Maesri panang curry paste.

That's the night this recipe for Panang Curry Pumpkin Noodle Soup — sweet, salty, sour and spicy — was born.

But was it good enough to print? Would a Thai cook scoff at this combination? I contacted Arpapornnopparat, who was named a best new chef by Food & Wine magazine this year. When I reached him, he was at a gala for the Los Angeles Times's 101 best restaurants. (Holy Basil is 33rd on this year's list.)

“Canned curry pastes are convenient but are better if you add more aromatics,” Arpapornnopparat told me. His panang curry dishes start with red curry paste that's then augmented with peanuts, cumin and coriander. Makrut lime leaves lend it a deeper, husky fragrance. “It's traditional with meat, beef or pork in Thailand,” he said.

Holy Basil's panang features short ribs, but Arpapornnopparat has also used the thick, nutty sauce with kabocha squash. Usually it's served over rice, but noodles aren't out of the question. Because it's milder than other Thai curries, it's popular throughout Southeast Asia. In the United States, you can find it with chicken or fish. In San Francisco, chef Pim Techamuanvivit incorporated it into a plant-based dish with purple asparagus and carrots. As soon as I get back to Los Angeles next year, I'm lining up for some of Arpapornnopparat's panang. Until then, I'll be slurping this soup.

This is from our Eat Voraciously newsletter, which delivers a quick dinner recipe four days a week, Monday through Thursday. Sign up at wapo.st/evnewsletter.

Panang Curry Pumpkin Noodle Soup

4 servings (makes 6 cups, without noodles)

Thai panang curry paste, with notes of peanut, coriander and cumin, gives this pumpkin soup its complex sweet-sour flavor. The paste contains red chiles; it's easy to adjust the heat level to your liking by adding more or less.

This recipe calls for store-bought curry paste; look for Mae Ploy or Maesri brands. Optionally, to enhance and deepen this soup's fragrance, add one or two makrut lime leaves, fresh or frozen, along with the curry paste. Pluck them out before serving.

Don't skip the lime juice finish; it offsets the richness of the creamy coconut broth. Serve this soup with chopsticks and a spoon for easier eating.

Storage: Refrigerate for up to 4 days.

Where to buy: Thai panang curry paste, such as Mae Ploy or Maesri brands, can be found in cans and jars at well-stocked supermarkets, Asian markets or online.

Total time: 30 mins

From staff writer G. Daniela Galarza.

Ingredients

- 1 tablespoon coconut oil or vegetable oil
- 3 shallots (7 ounces total), thinly sliced, divided
- 2 garlic cloves, minced or finely grated
- One (2-inch) piece fresh ginger, peeled and grated
- 3 tablespoons red Thai panang curry paste (see Where to buy and Notes), plus more as needed
- One (15-ounce) can light coconut milk
- One (15-ounce) can pumpkin or butternut squash puree (not pie filling)
- 2 cups chicken or vegetable broth, preferably low-sodium, plus more as needed
- 10 ounces dried long noodles, such as lo mein
- 1 tablespoon coconut or light brown sugar, plus more as needed
- 1 tablespoon fish sauce, plus more as needed
- 8 sprigs fresh cilantro, for garnish
- Lime wedges, for serving

Steps

- Bring a large pot of water to a boil over high heat.
- Meanwhile, in a medium (3-quart) pot over medium-high heat, heat the oil until shimmering. Add three-quarters of the sliced shallots and cook, stirring often, until starting to brown, about 2 minutes. Stir in the garlic, ginger and curry paste, and cook, stirring frequently, until very fragrant, about 1 minute more.
- Stir in the coconut milk, pumpkin or butternut squash puree, and broth until combined. If you prefer your soup thinner, add more broth until the desired consistency is reached. Bring the

soup to a lively simmer and cook, stirring often, until the flavors have melded, and some of the fat from the coconut milk has risen to the surface, about 10 minutes.

- Add the noodles to the boiling water and cook according to the package instructions. Drain, rinse and set aside.
- Add the sugar to the soup, decrease the heat to low and stir in the fish sauce. Taste, and add more curry paste, sugar and fish sauce, if desired, until the soup tastes well-balanced in spice, sweetness and saltiness.
- Divide the noodles and soup among four bowls, top with the remaining sliced shallots and the cilantro, and serve hot, with lime wedges on the side.

Substitutions

- Canned pumpkin or butternut squash >> fresh squash, sweet potatoes or carrots, cooked and mashed, or pureed with an immersion blender into the soup base (before the noodles are added).
- Light coconut milk >> one (5.4-ounce) can coconut cream plus 1 cup water.
- Lo mein >> any dried long noodle, such as udon, ramen or spaghetti.
- Noodles >> cooked rice.

Notes

- You can substitute Thai red curry paste for panang, but for the best flavor, add 1 to 2 tablespoons of peanut butter or sesame paste, such as tahini, and 1 teaspoon ground cumin.

Nutrition | Serving note: Per serving (1½ cups): 466 calories, 80g carbohydrates, 0mg cholesterol, 12g fat, 5g fiber, 14g protein, 9g saturated fat, 692mg sodium, 16g sugar

Recipe tested by Kara Elder; email questions to food@washpost.com



Joe Yonan

WEEKNIGHT VEGETARIAN

He is away. His column will resume when he returns.

HOLIDAY COOKIES 2024



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

20 years in, the cookie edition is still a treat

BY BECKY KRystal

As the short days and cold nights of late fall and early winter begin to settle around us, I'll take any excuse to celebrate. But as my favorite time of the year rolls around for 2024, I don't need to stretch to find a reason to mark the occasion: This is The Post's 20th collection of holiday cookies. The annual package, beloved by readers and staffers alike, began in 2005, and with our most recent entry, we have officially cracked 400 total recipes in this sweetest of traditions. In looking through our archive of old recipes and seeking out new ones, I've never once thought, "That's it, we're done." There are

always more cookies to dream up and enjoy, new voices to bring into the fold. And there's always, always a need to put a smile on everyone's faces, which a bounteous, colorful platter of cookies inevitably does. Our definition of "holiday cookie" knows no bounds. Yes, there are many iterations of the expected gingerbread, rum balls and sugar cookies, and we've continued to return to the well with variations that incorporate different twists and unique flavors. To that foundation, we've sought to add sometimes surprising, always delightful treats (bars and confections included) that are just as worthy of a place in your cookie canon. My own personal new classics include soft and chewy sugar cookies inspired by

golden milk, rosemary-scented biscotti reminiscent of a forest in winter, and sesame blossoms that swap the typical peanut butter for tahini. This year's batch of 10 recipes similarly strikes the balance between old and new, familiar and fresh. We reached out to some of our favorite chefs, recipe developers and authors, and in return they're offering takes on spiced German pfeffernüsse, buttery whipped shortbread, cardamom-scented Persian cookies, no-bake Taiwanese snowflake crisps and more. (New this year: All recipes that were not already vegan or gluten-free include substitutions and variations to meet those requirements.) The cookie project is one for the whole family, especially

for fans of jigsaw puzzles: Lauren Dozier's Quilt Block Sugar Cookies (Pages E8-E9) are fun to assemble and almost too pretty to eat, except they're too delicious not to. As always, our package would not be successful without the hard work of my fellow editors, as well as our dedicated testers, tasters, photographers, designers and stylists. And, of course, we couldn't do it without you, our readers. It's in large part due to your enthusiasm (your emails asking me for the day this package drops!) that we have been able, willing and excited to bring you this extravaganza year after year. Here's to many more years of many more cookies. And now on to our newest recipes.

RECIPES

- Noon Tokhmorghi (Crispy Egg Yolk and Walnut Cookies) **E4**
- Gingersnap and Orange Cream Sandwiches **E5**
- Slice-and-Bake S'mores Cookies **E6**
- Mango Raspberry Polvoron **E6**
- Black and White Cookies **E7**
- Quilt Block Sugar Cookies **E8-9**
- Pfeffernüsse **E10**
- Whipped Shortbread Spritz Cookies **E10**
- Stollen-Inspired Taiwanese Snowflake Crisps **E11**
- Five-Spice Cranberry Thumbprint Cookies **E12**

GLUTEN-FREE

Noon Tokhmorghi (Crispy Egg Yolk and Walnut Cookies)

28 servings (makes 28 small cookies)
Light as air, these gluten-free, cardamom-spiced noon tokhmorghi pair perfectly with tea. While they are traditional for Nowruz, or Persian New Year, the crispy egg yolk and walnut cookies are a welcome treat for any occasion.
Storage: Refrigerate in an airtight container for up to 1 week.
Active time: 30 mins; **Total time:** 45 mins
Adapted from "Maman and Me" by Roya Shariat and Gita Sadeh (Princeton Architectural Press, 2023).



Roya Shariat, left, and Gita Sadeh

- Ingredients**
- 3 large egg yolks, at room temperature
 - 1/3 cup (40 grams) confectioners' sugar
 - 1/2 teaspoon ground cardamom
 - 1/2 cup (60 grams) finely chopped walnuts
- Steps**
- Position a rack in the middle of the oven and preheat to 350 degrees. Line a large sheet pan with parchment paper.
 - In the bowl of a stand mixer fitted with the whisk attachment, or using a hand mixer and a large bowl, beat the egg yolks on high speed, until the mixture is creamy, pale yellow and tripled in volume, 7 to 10 minutes.
 - Stop the mixer to add the con-

fectioners' sugar, then beat on medium until fully incorporated, 2 to 3 minutes. Add the cardamom and beat on medium until well combined, about 1 minute. If using a stand mixer, remove the bowl from the mixer base.

- Using a flexible spatula, gently fold in the walnuts until evenly distributed. The mixture should not look runny; it should be almost like taffy, with walnuts in every spoonful.

- Use a 1-teaspoon measuring spoon to scoop the mixture onto the prepared sheet pan, spacing the portions about 1/2 inch (1.3 centimeters) apart. (A 1/2-teaspoon measure can help you gently scoop the mixture out of the inside of the larger teaspoon.) Bake for 9 to 11 minutes, or until the cookies are puffed, with light brown edges.
- Let cool on the pan for 5 minutes before transferring the cookies, still on the parchment,

to a wire rack.

Substitutions

- Walnuts >> pistachios or pecans.
- Cardamom >> other warming spices, such as cinnamon or nutmeg.

Variations

- For vegan cookies, substitute 1/4 cup (60 milliliters) chilled aquafaba and 1/4 teaspoon cream of tartar for the egg

yolks, and beat for about 4 minutes, until creamy and tripled in volume. The cookies may need to bake for the higher end of the range given here, about 11 minutes. Our yield was 22 cookies.

Nutrition | Per cookie: 26 calories, 2g carbohydrates, 20mg cholesterol, 2g fat, 0g fiber, 1g protein, 0g saturated fat, 1mg sodium, 1g sugar
Recipe tested by Debi Suchman and Kristen Hartke; email questions to food@washpost.com



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; PORTRAIT BY FARRAH SKEIKY

HOLIDAY COOKIES 2024



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; PORTRAIT BY YUMI MATSUO

NUT-FREE

Gingersnap and Orange Cream Sandwiches

32 servings (makes 32 sandwich cookies)

Gingersnaps are an enchanting winter cookie, but this recipe takes them to another level as a sandwich filled with a bright, citrusy buttercream to balance the depth and complexity of the wafers. The classic treat is nostalgic, cozy and compelling, with warming spices, deep molasses notes and a satisfying snap.



Caroline Schiff

Freeze the tightly wrapped dough disk (defrost in the refrigerator overnight) or baked gingersnaps (unfilled) for up to 2 months.

Active time: 1 hour 25 mins; **Total time:** 2 hours, plus chilling and cooling time

From pastry chef Caroline Schiff.

Ingredients

For the cookies

- Scant 2½ cups (315 grams) all-purpose flour, plus more for dusting
- 1 tablespoon pumpkin pie spice
- 1 teaspoon ground ginger
- ¾ teaspoon baking soda
- ½ teaspoon fine salt
- ½ cup plus 2 tablespoons (125 grams) granulated sugar
- 8 tablespoons (1 stick/ 113 grams) unsalted butter, softened
- ⅓ cup (80 milliliters) heavy cream
- ¼ cup (85 grams) unsulfured molasses
- 1 large egg yolk
- ½ teaspoon vanilla extract

For the filling

- 8 tablespoons (1 stick/ 113 grams) unsalted butter, softened
- 2¼ cups (284 grams) confectioners' sugar
- Finely grated zest of 1 large orange (about 1½ teaspoons)
- 1½ tablespoons fresh orange juice (from the same orange)
- ½ teaspoon vanilla extract
- ½ teaspoon fine salt

Steps

- Make the cookies: In a medium bowl, thoroughly whisk together the flour, pumpkin pie spice, ginger, baking soda and salt, until well combined and no lumps remain.
- In the bowl of a stand mixer fitted with the paddle attachment, or in a large bowl if using a hand mixer, mix the granulated sugar and butter on low speed just to break up the butter. Increase the mixer speed to medium and beat the mixture until fully combined, about 1 minute. Stop the mixer, and scrape the sides and bottom of the bowl. Add the cream, molasses, egg yolk and vanilla, and mix on low until fully com-

- bined, 1 to 2 minutes, stopping to scrape the bowl as needed. (The mixture will look curdled.)
- Add the flour mixture and mix on low speed until a uniform dough forms, 1 to 2 minutes, stopping to scrape the bowl as needed. The dough will be very soft and sticky. Turn the dough out onto a large piece of plastic wrap or well-floured parchment paper, and, using another piece of wrap or parchment paper, or the overhang of the piece the dough is on, shape it into a disk about ⅓-inch (1¼-centimeter) thick. Wrap the disk tightly in plastic wrap or parchment paper, and refrigerate until firm, for at least 1 hour and up to 6 days.
- When you're ready to bake, position racks in the upper and lower thirds of the oven and preheat to 350 degrees. Line two large sheet pans with parchment paper.
- Place a large piece of parchment paper on the countertop and generously flour it. Unwrap the dough — but save what it was wrapped in — and place it on the floured paper. The dough will have firmed up, and will be cool to the touch but still pliable. If the dough is too stiff, let it soften at room temperature for 5 to 10 minutes, and try rolling it out again. (Or give it a few whacks with your rolling pin.) Generously dust the top of the dough with more flour, spread out the reserved wrap or a fresh piece of parchment paper on top, and use a rolling pin to roll the dough out into a circle ⅓-inch (6-millimeter) thick and about 14 inches (36 centimeters) wide. Rotate the dough a quarter-turn as needed to try to get a more-or-less even circle, but don't worry too much if the dough looks more irregular. If the top of the dough starts getting glossy, it's about to get sticky, so be sure to

dust it with more flour as needed; be sure to check the dough on the bottom as well.

- Using a 2-inch (5-centimeter) round cookie cutter, punch out circles of dough. (If the dough is sticking to the cutter, dip the cutter into a little flour, in between punching out the cookies.) Use a small offset spatula to transfer the cookies to the prepared pans, spacing them 1 inch (2½ centimeters) apart, as the cookies will spread a bit during baking. If desired, gather up any scraps of dough, wrap, refrigerate for at least 1 hour and reroll.
- Transfer both pans to the oven and bake for 12 to 14 minutes, or until the cookies are set in the middle and slightly browned around the edges, rotating from top to bottom and front to back halfway through. Transfer the pans to wire racks and let cool completely.
- Make the filling: While the dough is chilling (or the cookies are baking and cooling), in the bowl of a stand mixer fitted with the paddle attachment, or in a large bowl with a hand mixer, mix the butter, confectioners' sugar, orange zest and juice, vanilla and salt on low speed until incorporated. Increase the speed to high and beat until pale, fluffy and smooth, about 2 minutes, stopping to scrape the sides and bottom of the bowl a couple of times. You should get about 1½ cups. Keep the buttercream at room temperature for up to 8 hours.
- When the cookies have fully cooled, turn half of them over. Using a butter knife or a small offset spatula, spread about 2 teaspoons of the buttercream on each upturned cookie, then top with a plain cookie, and gently press together to form a sandwich.

Substitutions

- To make these gluten-free >> use 2½ cups (364 grams) of a cup-for-cup gluten-free flour blend, such as Bob's Red Mill.

Variations

- Skip the buttercream to yield up to 64 plain gingersnap cookies.
- To make vegan cookies, substitute nondairy butter for the dairy butter (in the dough and filling) and nondairy milk for the heavy cream. In the dough, increase the baking powder to 1½ teaspoons, and eliminate the egg yolk.

Nutrition | Per cookie sandwich: 158 calories, 23g carbohydrates, 24mg cholesterol, 7g fat, 0g fiber, 1g protein, 4g saturated fat, 79mg sodium, 15g sugar

Recipe tested by Olga Massov, Kristen Hartke and Ben Weiner; email questions to food@washpost.com

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HOLIDAY COOKIES 2024

NUT-FREE

Slice-and-Bake S’mores Cookies

48 servings (makes 48 cookies)

Get that quintessential s’mores flavor, no campfire required, with these decadent chocolate slice-and-bake cookies, enriched with cocoa powder, chopped milk chocolate, lightly crushed meringue cookies and graham cracker pieces.



Laurie Ellen Pellicano
Make ahead: Freeze the shaped, wrapped logs for up to 1 month. Let the dough soften on the counter just until it’s easier to cut, and add 1 to 2 minutes to the baking time.
Storage: Store in an airtight container, preferably tin, at room temperature for up to 2 weeks.
Where to buy: Store-bought meringues can be found in the bakery or prepared cookie sections of some supermarkets, including Trader Joe’s and Whole Foods.
Active time: 45 mins; **Total time:** 3 hours 30 mins
From baker Laurie Ellen Pellicano of Laurie Ellen cookies.



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; SELF-PORTRAIT BY LAURIE ELLEN PELLICANO

Ingredients

- 1½ cups (190 grams) all-purpose flour
- ⅓ cup (30 grams) Dutch-process cocoa powder, sifted
- ½ teaspoon baking soda
- 1¼ cups (165 grams) finely chopped milk chocolate
- 1½ cups (80 grams) coarsely chopped graham crackers (from about 6 crackers)
- 1½ cups (50 grams) store-bought or homemade meringue cookies, lightly crushed (see Where to buy and Substitutions)
- 11 tablespoons (1 stick plus 3 tablespoons/150 grams) unsalted butter, softened
- ¾ cup (165 grams) packed light brown sugar
- ¾ teaspoon fine salt
- 1 large egg, at room temperature, lightly beaten
- ½ teaspoon vanilla extract

Steps

- In a medium bowl, whisk together the flour, cocoa powder and baking soda until well combined. In another medium bowl, stir together the chocolate, graham cracker pieces and crushed meringues until combined.
- In the bowl of a stand mixer fitted with the paddle attachment, or using a hand mixer and a large bowl, beat the butter, sugar and salt together on medium speed until light and a little fluffy, about 3 minutes. Scrape down the sides and bottom of the bowl and the attachment with a flexible spatula. Return the mixer to low speed and gradually stream in the beaten egg, followed by the vanilla. Stop the mixer, scrape down the bowl and the attachment again, and mix on low until fully incorporated, about 30 seconds.
- Turn off the mixer, add the flour mixture, then mix in short bursts on low speed a few

times until about halfway mixed. Add the chocolate mixture and mix on low to combine. (The mix-ins will help jostle the flour, encouraging it to mix without you having to stop and scrape as much.) Stop the mixer when nearly combined and scrape down the bowl and attachment once more, paying extra attention to the bottom of the bowl and the attachment where unmixed bits like to hide. Return the mixer to low speed until fully combined, just a few more seconds.

- If using a stand mixer, remove the bowl from the mixer base and, using a flexible spatula, fold the mixture a few times to ensure it’s nice and uniform. Wrap the dough in plastic wrap, patting into a rectangle that is about 2 inches (5 centimeters) tall, 5 inches (13 centimeters) wide and 7 inches (18 centimeters) long. Transfer to the refrigerator until just starting to firm up, which will make it easier to shape, about 30

minutes.

- Remove the dough from the refrigerator, cut in half lengthwise, and, working with one half on a cutting board, roll the rectangle back and forth, shaping it into an 8-inch (20-centimeter) log about 2 inches (5 centimeters) in diameter. Use a little water to keep your hands from sticking too much to the dough, as needed. Wrap the dough in parchment paper, twisting the ends to seal, and set on a large sheet pan. Repeat with the other half of the dough. Refrigerate until firm, about 2 hours.
- When ready to bake, position two racks as close to the middle of the oven as you can and preheat to 350 degrees. Line two large sheet pans with parchment paper.
- Remove one log from the fridge and transfer to a cutting board. Using a sharp chef’s knife, cut the cookies into about ⅓-inch-thick (scant 1-centimeter) slices. Arrange on the prepared pans, spacing the cookies

about 2 inches (5 centimeters) apart. If they crumble a little, that’s okay. Just squish them back together and reshape as needed.

- Bake for 12 to 14 minutes, or until matte and no longer puffy, rotating the pans from front to back and top to bottom after about 8 minutes.
- Remove from the oven and let cool on the pan for a few minutes before transferring to a wire rack. Repeat the slicing and baking with any remaining dough, ensuring the pans are cool before reusing.

Substitutions

- Meringues >> freeze-dried marshmallows, though they melt and can create some small craters in the cookies. Just watch them in the oven and pull them before that happens.
- To make these gluten-free >> use 1½ cups (210 grams) of a cup-for-cup gluten-free flour blend, as well as gluten-free graham crackers, such as Pamela’s.

- Prefer bigger pieces of chocolate? >> Leave them coarsely chopped.
- Want the chocolate to melt into the dough? >> Grate it.

Variations

- For vegan cookies, substitute 1½ cups (75 grams) vegan mini marshmallows, such as Dandies, for the meringues. Place on a small sheet pan and freeze for at least 4 hours. When the marshmallows are hard, use the end of a rolling pin to lightly crack them into smaller pieces. (They can be stored in the freezer until ready to use.) Add 1½ teaspoons cornstarch to the flour mixture. Substitute nondairy milk chocolate for the regular milk chocolate, nondairy butter for the regular butter and ½ cup nondairy yogurt for the egg.

Nutrition | Per cookie: 66 calories, 9g carbohydrates, 11mg cholesterol, 3g fat, 0g fiber, 1g protein, 2g saturated fat, 61mg sodium, 8g sugar

Recipe tested by Matt Brooks, Kristen Hartke and Ben Weiner; email questions to food@washpost.com

GLUTEN-FREE

Mango Raspberry Polvoron

12 servings (makes 12 cookies)

These two-toned polvoron, or no-bake Filipino shortbread cookies, are fruity, nutty and naturally gluten-free. Made with coconut and almond flours, melted butter, and a duo of freeze-dried mango and raspberry, these treats taste like a tropical holiday.



Arlyn Osborne
Storage: Refrigerate in an airtight container for up to 2 weeks, or freeze for up to 3 months. Let the frozen cookies sit at room temperature for 30 minutes before serving, if desired.
Where to buy: Freeze-dried mango and raspberries can be found in most supermarkets and online.
Total time: 35 mins, plus freezing time
From cookbook author Arlyn Osborne, based on a recipe in her book, “Sugarcane: Sweet Recipes From My Half-Filipino Kitchen” (Hardie Grant, 2024).



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; PORTRAIT BY KELSEY CHERRY

Ingredients

- About ½ cup (20 grams) freeze-dried mango
- About ⅔ cup (15 grams) freeze-dried raspberries
- ½ cup (55 grams) coconut flour
- 1 cup (80 grams) milk powder (nonfat or whole)
- Scant ½ cup (40 grams) almond flour
- ⅓ cup (67 grams) granulated sugar
- Pinch fine salt
- 8 tablespoons (1 stick/113 grams) unsalted butter

Steps

- Have ready a 12-cup muffin tin.
- Using a spice or coffee grinder, process the mango into a fine powder; transfer to a medium bowl. Wipe out the grinder, repeat with the raspberries, and transfer to another medium bowl.
- In a medium (10-inch/25-centimeter) nonstick skillet over medium heat, toast the coconut flour, stirring occasionally, until golden, 3 to 5 minutes. Transfer to a third medium bowl. To this bowl,

add the milk powder, almond flour, sugar and salt, and whisk until well combined.

- In the same skillet over medium-low heat, melt the butter. Pour the melted butter into the coconut flour mixture and stir with a fork, smashing the butter into the mixture, until well combined.
- Transfer half of the flour mixture (about 175 grams) to the bowl with the mango powder, and half to the bowl with the raspberry powder. Stir and smash each mixture separately

with a fork until well combined.

- Add ½ tablespoon of the raspberry mixture (as a single pile) to each well of the muffin tin, followed by ½ tablespoon of the mango mixture (as a single pile). Repeat this sequence two more times, or until you use all the remaining mixtures. (Think of arranging the piles in an alternating pattern like you might for the batter of a marbled quick bread.)
- Using a spoon or a small wooden dowel, press the mixture

down into each well until compact and level.

- Freeze until firm, about 45 minutes.
- Using a small offset spatula, carefully separate the polvoron from the tin, turn them over and arrange them on a platter with the smooth, designed sides facing up. (Alternatively, transfer them to paper cupcake liners for serving.) Let sit on the counter for 30 minutes before serving, or transfer to an airtight container and refrigerate or freeze until needed.

Substitutions

- Vegan? >> Use 4 tablespoons (56 grams) of nondairy butter and 1 cup (100 grams) coconut milk powder.
- Freeze-dried mango and raspberries >> any other freeze-dried fruit.

Nutrition | Per cookie: 165 calories, 15g carbohydrates, 11mg cholesterol, 10g fat, 3g fiber, 4g protein, 5g saturated fat, 56mg sodium, 8g sugar

Recipe tested by Joe Yonan; email questions to food@washpost.com

HOLIDAY COOKIES 2024

NUT-FREE

Black and White Cookies

12 to 15 servings (makes 12 to 15 cookies)

Black and white cookies are a classic of the Jewish American bakery, and for good reason. They have a delightfully springy, cakelike texture and are adorned with a decadent, dual-toned icing that resembles a half-moon and melts in the mouth like fudge. Some people prefer to nibble one side of the cookie followed by the other, while others like to start in the middle to get a little of both icings in every bite. However you eat them, the cookies are destined to become a classic in your home, too.



Leah Koenig

Storage: Refrigerate in an airtight container for up to 1 week. Freeze the baked cookies, with or without the icing, for up to 2 months.

Active time: 40 mins; **Total time:** 1 hour 5 mins
From cookbook author Leah Koenig.



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; PORTRAIT BY SOPHIE BARBASCH

Ingredients

For the cookies

- 2½ cups (315 grams) all-purpose flour, sifted
- ¾ teaspoon baking powder
- ½ teaspoon fine salt
- 8 tablespoons (1 stick/ 113 grams) unsalted butter or nondairy butter, softened
- 1 cup (200 grams) granulated sugar
- 1 large egg
- 2 large egg yolks
- 1½ teaspoons vanilla extract
- ½ cup (80 milliliters) whole or reduced-fat milk, or nondairy milk

For the icing

- Generous 2½ cups (270 grams) confectioners' sugar, sifted
- 2 tablespoons whole or reduced-fat milk, or nondairy

- milk, plus more as needed
- 1 teaspoon fresh lemon juice
- ½ teaspoon vanilla extract
- 2 tablespoons Dutch-process cocoa powder

Steps

- Make the cookies: Position racks in the upper and lower thirds of the oven and preheat to 350 degrees. Line two large sheet pans with parchment paper.
- In a medium bowl, whisk together the flour, baking powder and salt until well combined.
- In a stand mixer fitted with the paddle attachment, or using a hand mixer and a large bowl, beat the butter and sugar together on medium speed until light and fluffy, about 2 minutes. Add the egg, egg yolks and vanilla, and beat again on medi-

um until combined. (It's okay if the batter looks a bit lumpy or curdled at this stage.) Scrape down the sides and bottom of the bowl. Reduce the speed to low and stir in half of the flour mixture, followed by the milk and the remaining flour mixture, scraping down the sides and bottom of the bowl as needed, to form a very soft dough. (It will almost look like cake batter, so don't be alarmed.)

- Using a No. 20 disher or 1-tablespoon measure, scoop out 3-tablespoon portions of dough, each weighing around 55 grams (scant 2 ounces), and arrange them on the prepared sheet pans, spaced about 2 inches apart. Bake for 13 to 15 minutes, or until very light golden around the edges but still pale on top, rotating the

pans from front to back and top to bottom halfway through. The tops of the cookies should feel set when lightly pressed with your finger. Remove from the oven and carefully transfer the cookies to a wire rack to cool completely.

- Make the icing: In a large bowl, combine the confectioners' sugar, milk, lemon juice and vanilla and stir to form a thick and spreadable (but not loose or liquidy) icing. If the icing is too thick to spread, stir in additional milk, 1 teaspoon at a time, until the desired consistency is reached.
- Scoop about half of the icing into another medium bowl and add the cocoa powder. Whisk to combine, adding more milk as necessary, 1 teaspoon at a time, until the same thick-but-

spreadable consistency is reached.

- Working with one fully cooled cookie at a time, flip it over and use a butter knife or small offset spatula to glaze half of the cookie's flat (not the domed) side with the white icing. To avoid the colors bleeding into each other, allow the white icing to set for about 10 minutes before moving on to repeating with the black icing.
- Set the iced cookies back on the wire rack, iced sides up, and let them finish setting, about 10 minutes. Serve at room temperature.

Substitutions

- To make these gluten-free >> use 2½ cups (364 grams) of a cup-for-cup gluten-free flour blend, such as Bob's Red Mill. In

testing, these took closer to 20 minutes to bake.

Variations

- For a vegan cookie, use non-dairy butter and milk in place of the dairy. For the cookie dough, add ¼ cup cornstarch with the flour, increase the baking powder to 1¼ teaspoons, add ½ teaspoon baking soda, and increase the sugar to 1¼ cups (225 grams). Eliminate the egg and egg yolks in the dough, and instead use 1 teaspoon apple cider vinegar, increasing the milk to ½ cup plus 2 tablespoons (155 milliliters) as well.

Nutrition | Per cookie, based on 15: 271 calories, 48g carbohydrates, 54mg cholesterol, 7g fat, 1g fiber, 3g protein, 4g saturated fat, 111mg sodium, 31g sugar

Recipe tested by Simone Flournoy, Olga Massov, Kristen Hartke and Ben Weiner; email questions to food@washpost.com



Crumbly Lemon Crème Bars



Rye Molasses Cookies



Savory Pecan, Parmesan and Thyme Shortbread



Spiced Cranberry-Orange Zinger Cookies



Reindeer Gingersnaps



Tate's Chocolate Chip Cookies



Grandma's Gluten-Free Sugar Cookies



Corn Linzer Cookies

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Warm up your holidays with quilt-like cookies

The fun of this recipe, which calls for a simple dough, is in the assembly

BY LAUREN DOZIER

I was born and raised in the Appalachian Mountains, where intricate quilts were carefully displayed at local arts fairs or familiarly folded across a friend's family couch. I grew up hearing about beloved ancestors who became storied textile artists and quilters in their day. There's a power and a tenderness to the medium used to comfort and to preserve stories. This recipe became a fun and intimate way to honor the art I grew up around.

The spark started last fall, when I was thinking a lot about the playful polymer clay projects I loved as a kid and the colorful canes many artists use to make jewelry. Could I combine those concepts with a slice-and-bake cookie method, similar to classic checkerboard sugar cookies, and layer rows for a patchwork effect? That path was messy and time-consuming, so I tried cutting out each individual shape to form a patch. This method was cleaner and quicker, and it felt like playing with tiles or putting together a puzzle. A classic sugar cookie recipe is perfect for this, as it's malleable and forgiving.

I usually work with a version of the Ohio star quilt pattern, which is geometric and simple, and instantly recognizable. Once you nail the basics, it's easy to make it your own. I've seen parents make these cookies with their kids, and friends swap them at gatherings. Play with your favorite hues, represent your alma mater or just experiment with color schemes.



Lauren Dozier



These triangles will go into the V-shaped spaces between the points of the stars.



To ensure your sides are



Gently roll over your completed blocks with a rolling pin or small bottle or jar.



If you have leftover dough



POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; PORTRAIT BY TYLER CINO MARADIAGA



even, trim the edges or nudge the dough into a neat square.



gh, try making quilt or checkerboard cookies with fewer colors.

Quilt Block Sugar Cookies

12 servings (makes 12 cookies, plus extra from scraps)

Cookies and crafting come together in this colorful and customizable cookie project. These charming quilt blocks are the star on top of any holiday dessert display. The recipe uses a simple cut-out sugar cookie dough, making assembly approachable and forgiving. Plus, there is no chill time needed to ensure each cookie holds its shape.

A simple 1-inch (2½-centimeter) square cookie cutter is the only tool required to create the pattern of a classic star quilt block. However, a multi-square cookie cutter (a larger square broken into a series of smaller ones) significantly speeds up the process. If you have neither of those, a sharp knife and straight edge will do the trick, though it will be more time-consuming. Assemble the cookies directly on the sheet pans, as it's difficult to transport the dough without the block falling apart.

You will probably have leftover dough (but not enough of the different colors for the full pattern). See the recipe for tips on how to use it.

Make ahead: Refrigerate the colored dough portions in an airtight container (or wrapped in plastic wrap) for up to 4 days.

Storage: Store in an airtight container at room temperature for up to 1 week, or freeze for up to 2 months.

Where to buy: Multi-square cookie cutters are available online, including on Etsy. Gel food coloring can be found at well-stocked supermarkets, cake decorating stores and online.

Total time: 2 hours 15 mins, plus cooling time

From food writer Lauren Dozier.

Ingredients

- 3 cups (375 grams) all-purpose flour, plus more as needed
- 2 teaspoons baking powder
- ½ teaspoon fine salt
- 16 tablespoons (2 sticks/ 227 grams) unsalted butter, softened
- 1 cup (200 grams) granulated sugar
- 1 large egg, at room temperature
- 1½ teaspoons vanilla extract
- 3 to 4 assorted gel food colorings

Steps

- In a medium bowl, whisk together the flour, baking powder and salt until well combined.
- In a stand mixer fitted with the paddle attachment, or using a hand mixer and a large bowl, beat together the butter and sugar on medium-high speed, until smooth and somewhat lightened, about 1 minute, scraping the sides and bottom of the bowl and the attachment as needed. Add the egg and vanilla, and beat again on medium-high until combined, 1 minute more. Scrape down the bowl one more time.
- On low speed, gradually add the flour mixture to the mixer bowl, about ½ cup at a time, until almost, but not fully, combined. The dough will look a little dry or crumbly; that's okay. It will finish coming together once you add the food colorings.
- Divide the dough into four equal portions, about 215 grams each (approximately the size of a baseball), leaving one in the mixer bowl and transferring the rest to small individual bowls. These are the portions for your four colors of dough. You can leave one batch uncolored so the other three colors pop and feel balanced; if you'd like to do that, make the dough still in the mixer bowl the plain batch. Return the mixer to medium-high and beat for 30 seconds, until the dough comes together. Transfer to a small bowl. Working from your intended lightest to darkest color to avoid them bleeding into each other, return one portion of dough at a time to the mixer bowl and add 2 to 3 drops of food coloring, depending on the desired vibrancy. Mix on medium-high until the color is evenly distributed. The dough should be moist but not sticky, and easy to handle. If the dough is too soft or tacky, stir in a little more flour until it comes together. As you work, return each colored batch to the individual bowls.
- Before you start assembling the cookies, position a rack in the middle of the oven and preheat to 350 degrees. Line 2 large sheet pans with parchment paper.
- Lightly flour your work surface and a rolling pin. Starting with any color (though the plain dough works especially well), roll out the dough to a thickness of about ¼ inch (6 millimeters). Using either a 1-inch (2½-centimeter) cookie cutter or a larger square cutter that you can break into smaller squares, cut out 12 1-inch (2½-centimeter) squares. (Alternatively, use a ruler and sharp knife, though this may take significantly longer.) This will be the center of your quilt block. Transfer 6 of the squares each to the two prepared sheet pans, with the corners in the north, south, east and west positions so that the square is oriented like a diamond or kite. Keep in mind that you will be building out 3-inch (7½-centimeter) cookies, so leave plenty of space on all sides.
- Repeat the rolling with a second color of dough, reflouring the work surface and rolling pin as needed. Cut out 12 more 1-inch (2½-centimeter) squares. Slice each square on the diagonal twice (from corner to corner), so that you have a total of 48 small triangles, equal in size. Each triangle will have one long side, and two approximately equal, shorter sides. Building the cookies on the sheet pan as you work,

arrange the base (longest side) of each triangle against the four sides of the square. The resulting shape will be one larger square. The dough is fairly malleable, so don't be afraid to manipulate and pinch the pieces as you work to get them into the right size or shape, which will become more apparent as you attach the segments to one another.

- Roll out a third color of dough. Cut out 24 1-inch (2½-centimeter) squares and cut each square into 4 triangles, for a total of 96 small triangles. These triangles will serve as the "points" of the star. Continuing to build each cookie on the sheet pans, place one of the shorter sides of each triangle against the shorter sides of one of the previous triangles, orienting pairs of triangles on each side of the square so that they form a V-shaped notch. This will create your central star shape.
- Roll out the fourth and final portion of dough. Cut out 24 more 1-inch (2½-centimeter) squares and slice diagonally (only once this time), resulting in 48 larger triangles. With the longest side facing outward, place each triangle, point down, into the open V-shaped space between the prongs of the stars.
- To fill in the corners and complete the block, roll out additional portions of your first or second color, or a combination. (This prevents having the same color next to each other in the finished cookies.) For example, you can use your first color for 6 of the cookies, and your second color for the remaining 6. Cut out 48 small (approximately ¾-inch/2-centimeter) squares in the color(s) of your choice and set one into each of the four corners of the cookies. To ensure the sides are even, you can use a 3-inch (7½-centimeter) square cookie cutter to trim the edges, or simply slice with a sharp knife or bench scraper. If you have only a little excess sticking out, you can use the side of a knife or a bench scraper to nudge the dough into a neat square.
- Gently roll over your completed blocks with a rolling pin or small bottle/jar until all the sections are an even thickness. (Alternatively, gently press with the flat bottom of a dry-ingredient measuring cup until the separate sections are nearly level.) If you need to even back out the sides to create straight edges, repeat the trimming or nudging as described earlier.
- Bake one sheet at a time for 7 to 9 minutes, or until the cookies slightly puff and the segments adhere to one another. They may not look firm but will continue to set. If the sides of the cookies are more rounded than straight or slightly uneven, you can use the side of a knife or bench scraper to gently nudge them back into squares as soon as they come out of the oven. Let cool on the pans for at least 10 minutes, then transfer to a wire rack to cool completely.
- If you have leftover dough, you can make some bonus quilt/checkerboard cookies with fewer colors or shapes. Or make kaleidoscope cookies: Press or stack the scraps together, roll to a thickness of ¼ inch (6 millimeters) and cut into any size or shape you like before baking.

Substitutions

- To make these gluten-free >> use 3 cups (417 grams) cup-for-cup gluten-free flour blend.

Variations

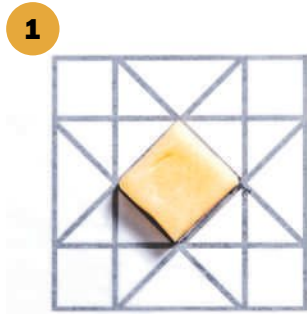
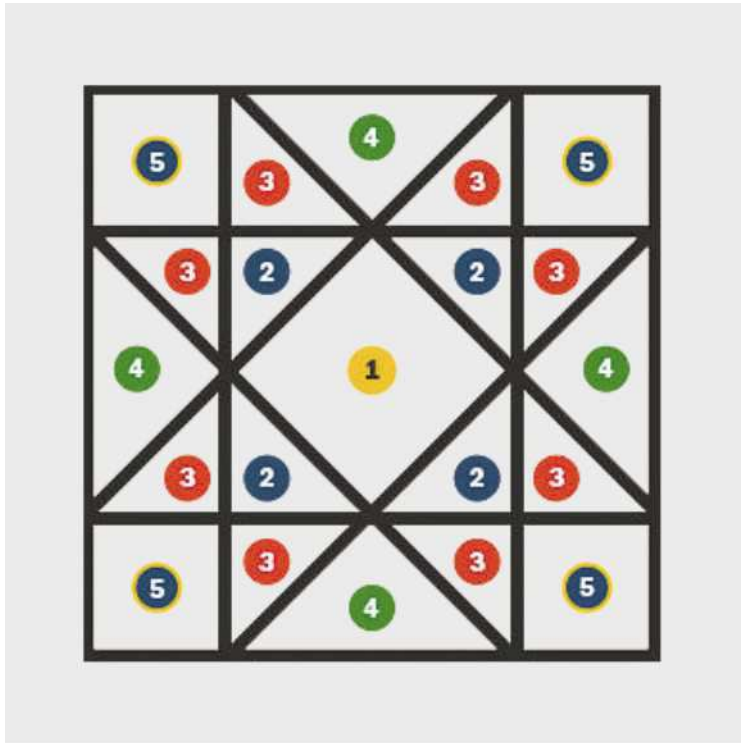
- For vegan cookies, add 2 tablespoons cornstarch and ½ teaspoon baking soda along with the flour. Eliminate the egg, and use nondairy butter instead of regular butter.

Nutrition | Per quilt cookie (not including bonus cookies): 212 calories, 27g carbohydrates, 37mg cholesterol, 11g fat, 1g fiber, 3g protein, 6g saturated fat, 120mg sodium, 11g sugar

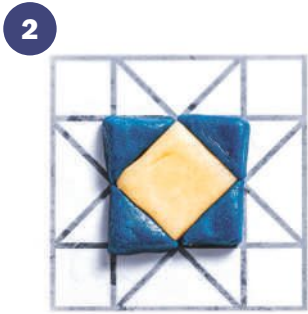
Recipe tested by Becky Krystal, Marissa Vonesh, Kristen Hartke and Ben Weiner; email questions to food@washpost.com

A color-coded guide:

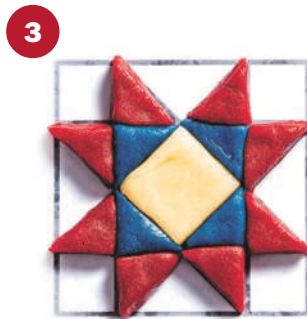
Use this template and our step-by-step photos to help you assemble the Quilt Block Sugar Cookies. The numbers below correspond to the colored doughs in the images and their respective order in the recipe.



Dough 1: Start with a square in the center to form a diamond.



Dough 2: Add small triangles to create a center block.



Dough 3: Add small triangles to form the star points.



Dough 4: Set large triangles in the notches between the points.



Doughs 1 or 2: Set squares into the corners.



Trim the edges and roll over the blocks to gently flatten.



Nudge the sides back into place to form an even square.



Bake the assembled cookies one sheet at a time and enjoy!



You can start building your quilt blocks with any color dough, but the plain batch works especially well here.

HOLIDAY COOKIES 2024

Pfeffernüsse

40 servings (makes about 40 cookies)

A classic of Old World holiday baking, these German pfeffernüsse (peppernuts) have all the ingredients of a seasonal favorite cookie, including a dough rich with spices that pair well with earthy molasses and cocoa, plus a tangy lemon icing. They store well, and, as with any gingerbread cookie, their flavor improves over time.



Nikki Phelps

Storage: Store in an airtight container or cookie tin in a dark, cool spot (not the refrigerator) for up to 2 weeks. The cookies will change from crisp to a more cakelike consistency. The baked cookies do not freeze well.

Active time: 45 mins; **Total time:** 1 hour 15 mins, including refrigeration
From baking instructor Nikki Phelps.

Ingredients

For the cookies

- 6 tablespoons (85 grams) unsalted butter
- About 1/3 cup (80 grams) packed light brown sugar
- 1/3 cup (80 milliliters/113 grams) molasses
- 2 3/4 cups (350 grams) all-purpose flour
- 1/2 cup (50 grams) almond meal or flour
- 2 tablespoons unsweetened cocoa powder (natural or Dutch-process)
- 1 teaspoon baking powder
- 1/2 teaspoon baking soda
- 1/2 teaspoon ground anise or star anise
- 1/2 teaspoon ground cinnamon
- 1/2 teaspoon ground cloves
- 1/2 teaspoon ground ginger
- 1/2 teaspoon ground nutmeg
- 1/2 teaspoon freshly ground black pepper
- Pinch fine salt
- 2 large eggs, at room temperature, lightly beaten

For the icing

- 1 cup (130 grams) confectioners' sugar
- 1 tablespoon fresh lemon juice, plus more as needed
- Sprinkles, nonpareils, crushed pink peppercorns or other decorations of your choice (optional)

Steps

- Make the cookies: In a small (2-quart/2-liter) saucepan over medium heat, melt the butter with the brown sugar and molasses, stirring until the sugar dissolves. Remove from the heat and let cool until just warm to the touch.
- In a large bowl, whisk together the all-purpose flour, almond meal or flour, cocoa powder, baking powder, baking soda, anise, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg, black pepper, and salt until well combined.
- Once the butter mixture has cooled, add it to the flour mix-

ture. Using a wooden spoon, mix until crumbly. Add the eggs and, using your hands, knead the mixture to form a soft dough with no dry spots remaining. Continue kneading into a shiny, pliable ball.

- Set out two large pieces of plastic wrap. Divide the dough in half, with each portion weighing about 14 ounces (390 grams). Roll each portion into a log measuring about 1 1/2 inches (about 4 centimeters) in diameter and about 10 inches (about 25.5 centimeters) long. Tightly wrap each log in parchment paper or plastic, tucking in the ends of the wrap. Transfer to the refrigerator to chill for at least 30 minutes and up to 2 days.
- Position a rack in the middle of the oven and preheat to 350 degrees. Line a large sheet pan with parchment paper.
- Remove one dough log from the refrigerator, set on a cutting board and unwrap. Cut the log into 1/2-inch-thick (1.3-centime-

ter) slices. Using your hands, roll each slice into a smooth ball about the size of a walnut (20 grams/3/4 ounce). As you go, arrange the balls on the prepared sheet pan spaced about 1 inch apart. They will not spread much during baking. Repeat with the second log. (If your sheet pan isn't large enough to hold all the cookies, bake one log at a time. Leave the second log in the refrigerator while you prepare the first for baking. Repeat the cutting and shaping while the first round of cookies is in the oven.)

- Bake for about 15 minutes, or until the cookies are slightly domed and lighten in color, but are still soft to the touch. Don't worry if some of them are slightly cracked. Let rest on the sheet pan for 10 minutes, then transfer to a wire rack to cool completely.
- Make the icing: Sift the confectioners' sugar into a medium bowl. Add the lemon juice and, using a small whisk or fork,

whisk until smooth with no lumps remaining. The icing should drip slowly from the whisk or fork. If it's too thick, add more lemon juice as needed.

- Return the cooled cookies to the sheet pan. Using a pastry brush, coat the top of each cookie entirely with the icing. (Alternatively, use a fork, with the tines inserted into the bottom, to dip each cookie upside down into the icing.) Return to the sheet pan and decorate with the sprinkles or other decorations of your choice, if using. Let the cookies dry on the sheet pan for about 30 minutes. Once the frosting has hardened, serve or store the cookies in an airtight container.

Substitutions

- Instead of the blend of spices listed here >> try pumpkin spice or five-spice powder.
- Not a fan of the freshly ground black pepper? >> Skip it.
- All-purpose flour >> spelt or rye

- flour, or a mix.
- Almond meal/flour >> ground walnuts, hazelnuts or pecans.
- Gluten-free? >> Use 2 3/4 cups (420 grams) of a cup-for-cup gluten-free flour blend.
- Molasses >> honey, maple syrup or agave, though the flavor and color will be different.
- Fresh lemon juice >> bottled lemon juice.

Variations

- For vegan cookies, use nondairy butter instead of the regular butter. Replace the eggs with up to 1/4 cup (60 milliliters) water (you may not use it all), kneading 1 tablespoon in at a time until a soft dough forms with no dry spots remaining. Bake for about 13 minutes, or until described in the recipe.

Nutrition | Per cookie: 88 calories, 15g carbohydrates, 14mg cholesterol, 3g fat, 0g fiber, 2g protein, 1g saturated fat, 40mg sodium, 7g sugar

Recipe tested by Becky Krystal, Kristen Hartke and Ben Weiner; email questions to food@washpost.com



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; SELF-PORTRAIT BY NIKKI PHELPS

NUT-FREE

Whipped Shortbread Spritz Cookies

48 to 64 servings (makes 48 to 64 cookies, depending on the press)

These melt-in-your-mouth shortbread cookies are all about texture and the rich taste of butter. Using a cookie press to make them into all manner of shapes will have you creating your own assortment reminiscent of a tin of Danish butter cookies, but infinitely more delicious.



Camilla Wynne

Storage: Store in an airtight container at room temperature for up to 2 weeks, or freeze for up to 2 months.

Where to buy: Cookie presses are available at baking supply stores and online.
Active time: 30 mins; **Total time:** 1 hour
From cookbook author Camilla Wynne.

Ingredients

- 2 sticks (16 tablespoons/227 grams) unsalted butter, softened
- 1/2 cup (63 grams) confectioners' sugar
- 1 teaspoon vanilla extract
- 1 2/3 cups (210 grams) all-purpose flour
- 1/4 cup (32 grams) cornstarch
- 1/4 teaspoon fine salt

Steps

- Position a rack in the middle of the oven and preheat to 300 degrees. Have ready two large sheet pans (no need to line them).
- In the bowl of a stand mixer fitted with the paddle attachment, or using a large bowl and a hand mixer, beat together the butter and confectioners' sugar on medium-high speed until pale and very creamy, 2 to 4 minutes, scraping the sides and bottom of the bowl as needed. (Alternatively, mix vigorously by hand in a large bowl with a wooden spoon.) Add the vanilla extract and beat on medium-

high until combined. Sift in the flour, cornstarch and salt, and mix on low until combined, scraping the bowl to make sure everything is incorporated.

- Transfer the dough to a cookie press, and press according to the manufacturer's instructions. Press cookies directly onto the unlined sheet pans as close together as possible. If the dough isn't sticking to the pans, try refrigerating it until slightly firmer, 5 to 10 minutes. (Chilling the pans can help as well.) Bake one sheet at a time, 15 to 18 minutes, or until firm to the touch and just golden.
- Transfer to a wire rack and let

cool on the pan for 5 minutes. Using a small offset spatula, transfer to a wire rack and let cool completely. Repeat the baking and cooling with the remaining cookies.

Variations

- For a stronger vanilla flavor (and cute specks), replace the vanilla extract with 1 teaspoon vanilla paste or the scraped seeds of 1 vanilla bean.
- Scoop variation: When the dough is ready, use a No. 30 (1-ounce/28-gram) cookie scoop to portion 30-gram balls onto parchment-lined sheet pans. Alternatively, use a mea-

suring spoon to scoop 2-tablespoon portions, rolling into smooth balls. Increase the baking time to 30 minutes. The yield is about 28 cookies.

- Piping bag variation: When the dough is ready, fit a piping bag with a medium star tip (such as Ateco #845) and fill with dough. Pipe rosettes onto parchment-lined sheet pans. Increase the baking time to 25 to 30 minutes. The yield is about 32 cookies.
- Vegan variation: Replace the dairy butter with a nondairy butter. Because nondairy butter tends to be softer than regular butter, chill the dough and sheet pans in the freezer for 5 to

10 minutes before using the cookie press.

- Gluten-free variation: Replace the all-purpose flour with a gluten-free all-purpose flour blend, increasing the amount to 2 cups (280 grams). Omit the cornstarch. Chill the dough and sheet pans in the freezer for 10 minutes before using the cookie press, then chill the pressed cookie dough on the pans for an additional 15 minutes before baking.

Nutrition | Per cookie, based on 64: 43 calories, 4g carbohydrates, 8mg cholesterol, 3g fat, 0g fiber, 0g protein, 2g saturated fat, 9mg sodium, 1g sugar

Recipe tested by Becky Krystal; email questions to food@washpost.com



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; PORTRAIT BY MICKAEL BANDASSAK

HOLIDAY COOKIES 2024

Stollen-Inspired Taiwanese Snowflake Crisps

24 to 36 servings (makes one 8-inch slab)

Similar in spirit to puffed rice cereal treats, these no-bake Taiwanese snowflake crisps inspired by stollen are a delightful fusion of East and West. Each bite will be a little different, thanks to the pops of sweetness from the nutty marzipan, the marshmal-



Kat Lieu

lows and the dried white mulberries. The freeze-dried strawberries add color and tang, and instead of the spices usually found in stollen (such as cardamom), Japanese whisky (or bourbon) adds a hint of warmth.

You'll find that one of these crisps, with their nuanced flavors and fun textures, is never enough. Be sure to pair these sweet treats with a hot cup of tea or coffee. Any number of berry and nut combinations will work here; for inspiration, see Variations.

Storage: Store in an airtight container at room temperature for up to 1 week, or freeze for up to 2 months.

Where to buy: Dried white mulberries can be purchased online, or in specialty health or gourmet food stores.

Active time: 25 mins; **Total time:** 55 mins, plus cooling time
From cookbook author Kat Lieu.



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; PORTRAIT BY GABRIELLA NICCOLE

Ingredients

- 6 tablespoons (75 grams) unsalted butter
- 1½ teaspoons shiro (white) miso
- About 4 cups (225 grams) mini marshmallows
- 1 tablespoon nonfat milk powder or buttermilk powder, plus more for dusting
- 1 tablespoon whisky, preferably Japanese, or bourbon (see Substitutions)
- 40 buttery salted snack crackers, such as Ritz (about 140 grams)
- ½ cup (50 grams) dried white mulberries
- ½ cup (55 grams) slivered almonds, plus more for topping
- ½ cup (11 grams) freeze-dried strawberries
- ⅓ cup (80 grams) marzipan,

diced into ¼-inch (6-millimeter) cubes, plus more for topping

- Nonstick cooking spray

Steps

- Fully line an 8-inch (20-centimeter) square baking dish or pan with two overlapping pieces of parchment paper, leaving a generous overhang on all sides. (If you're nervous about sticking, you can grease the dish or pan with a little butter.) Use metal binder clips to secure the overhang, if needed.
- Place the butter in a large (at least 4-quart/4-liter), heavy-bottomed saucepan or pot over medium-high heat. Once the butter has melted, use a brush to grease all the way up the sides of the

pot. Continue cooking the butter until it begins to brown lightly and smell nutty, about 5 minutes total. Add the miso, stirring until incorporated. Add all the marshmallows and turn off the heat. Using a flexible spatula, stir until the marshmallows melt. If the marshmallows aren't melting completely, return the heat to low, then, once they are fully melted, immediately turn off the heat.

- Add the milk or buttermilk powder and whisky or bourbon, stirring until incorporated. Add the crackers, white mulberries, slivered almonds, freeze-dried strawberries and diced marzipan. Using the same flexible spatula, stir until all the ingredients are coated in the melted-

marshmallow mixture. Try not to break the crackers too much.

- Transfer the mixture to the prepared baking dish. Grease a sheet of parchment paper with nonstick cooking spray and place it greased side down over the mixture. Once it's cool enough to the touch, use your hands to manipulate the mixture beneath the parchment paper. Stretch and knead to distribute throughout, then press into an even layer in the dish, about 1-inch (2½-centimeter) thick. Remove the top sheet of parchment and crumble a bit of marzipan over the top, pressing lightly to adhere. Sprinkle with more slivered almonds, then dust with milk or buttermilk powder.

- Cover loosely with a clean dish towel or piece of foil and let rest at room temperature until fully set, about 30 minutes. Use a sharp knife to cut the slab into 24 to 36 even pieces, and serve.

Substitutions

- To make these vegan >> use nondairy butter, vegan marshmallows and vegan crackers, and skip the milk powder. Most store-bought marzipan is vegan, but homemade may not be. Check the labels and/or recipe.
- To make these gluten-free >> look for gluten-free crackers.
- Dried white mulberries >> dried cranberries, tart dried cherries or golden raisins.
- No alcohol? >> Leave it out, or substitute nonalcoholic almond

extract.

- Miso >> ⅛ teaspoon fine salt, added with the marshmallows.

Variations

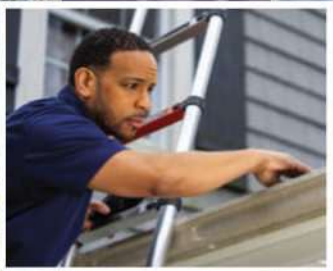
- For matcha-flavored crisps, substitute matcha powder for the milk or buttermilk powder, and dust with matcha powder.
- For chocolate-flavored crisps, substitute cocoa powder for the milk or buttermilk powder, and use chocolate cookies or wafers instead of the crackers.
- Substitute the listed dried berries and nuts with your favorite dried fruits and nuts.

Nutrition | Per square, based on 36: 81 calories, 11g carbohydrates, 5mg cholesterol, 4g fat, 1g fiber, 1g protein, 1g saturated fat, 45mg sodium, 6g sugar

Recipe tested by Debi Suchman; email questions to food@washpost.com



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HOLIDAY COOKIES 2024

GLUTEN-FREE, NUT-FREE, VEGAN

Five-Spice Cranberry Thumbprint Cookies

30 servings (makes 30 cookies)

Filled with tart cranberry jam and topped with a drizzle of sweet glaze, these vegan, nut-free and gluten-free thumbprint cookies are an allergy-friendly holiday treat that everyone can enjoy. The secret ingredient: five-spice powder, which brings depth of flavor, warmth and seasonal cheer with a minimal-ingredient approach. Tiger nut flour, made from a tuber and not an actual nut, creates a naturally gluten-free cookie that requires only one flour. Leave out the glaze, if you want, but it's highly recommended.



Mimi Council **Make ahead:** The dough can be made and refrigerated up to 2 days in advance. Let soften on the counter until scoopable, if needed. **Storage:** Store in a cool, dry spot, uncovered (to best preserve the texture), such as on a cookie platter, for up to 5 days. Freezing is not recommended. **Where to buy:** Tiger nut flour is available at some specialty food stores and online. **Active time:** 30 mins; **Total time:** 50 mins From cookbook author Mimi Council.



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; SELF-PORTRAIT BY MIMI COUNCIL

Ingredients

For the cookies

- 1 cup (205 grams) vegetable shortening
- ¾ cup (170 grams) unbleached organic raw cane sugar, such as Florida Crystals or Field Day brands
- 1 teaspoon vanilla extract
- 2 tablespoons coconut milk (from a can or carton)
- ½ teaspoon five-spice powder
- ¼ teaspoon ground cinnamon
- 3 cups (340 grams) tiger nut flour, clumps broken up (see Where to buy and Substitutions)
- About ⅔ cup (6 ounces/170 grams) cranberry jam or

preserves (see Substitutions)

For the glaze

- About 1 cup (120 grams) confectioners' sugar, sifted
- 2 tablespoons water, plus more as needed

Steps

- Make the cookies: Position racks in the upper and lower thirds of the oven and preheat to 350 degrees. Line two large sheet pans with parchment paper.
- In the bowl of a stand mixer fitted with the paddle attachment, or using a hand mixer and a large bowl, mix the shortening, cane sugar and vanilla

on medium-low speed until no chunks of shortening remain, about 1 minute. Increase the speed to medium and beat until the mixture is light and fluffy, 3 to 4 minutes, scraping down the sides and bottom of the bowl as needed. Add the coconut milk, five-spice powder and cinnamon, and continue mixing on medium until incorporated. Add the tiger nut flour and mix on medium-low until a stiff dough forms, about 1 minute.

- Using your hands or a 1-tablespoon measuring spoon, form the dough into 30 balls (about 1½ tablespoons/25 grams each) and place them on the prepared sheet pans (15 per

sheet). Press your thumb into the center of each ball to create an indent. (If they crack at all, smooth and press the dough back together.) Fill each indent with about 1 teaspoon of the cranberry jam or preserves; it will look like a lot, but it will fill in the indent as the cookies spread during baking.

- Bake for 15 to 17 minutes, or until the cookies are dry and the edges are golden brown, rotating from front to back and top to bottom halfway through. Let cool completely on the sheet pans.
- Make the glaze: When the cookies have cooled completely, in a small bowl, whisk together the

confectioners' sugar and water to form a smooth glaze that can be easily drizzled. If the glaze is too thick, add more water as needed; or if the glaze is too thin, more confectioners' sugar until the desired consistency is achieved.

- Drizzle the glaze over the tops of the cooled cookies and let it set, ideally overnight, before serving.

Substitutions

- Vegetable shortening >> regular or nondairy butter.
- Coconut milk >> your favorite milk, such as cow's, almond or oat.
- Five-spice >> allspice, cloves or

your favorite spice blend, such as pumpkin or apple pie.

- Cranberry jam >> any jam or preserves flavor you like, such as apricot, strawberry, blueberry or cherry. (Using jelly or canned cranberry sauce is not recommended.)
- Tiger nut flour >> about 2½ cups (400 grams) cup-for-cup gluten-free flour blend, such as Namaste Perfect Flour Blend.
- Organic cane sugar >> granulated sugar.

Nutrition | Per cookie: 172 calories, 19g carbohydrates, 0mg cholesterol, 9g fat, 1g fiber, 0g protein, 3g saturated fat, 0mg sodium, 15g sugar

Recipe tested by Anna Rodriguez and Becky Krystal; email questions to food@washpost.com

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HOW TO

Swaps to help you elevate your sweets

BY BECKY KRystal

If you love to experiment with recipes to make your own signature creations, cookies are one of the best things to play around with. While I don't necessarily recommend making fundamental changes in, say, the amount of sugar or type of fat, the fact that cookies so often rely on easily interchangeable ingredients leaves a lot of room for flexibility.

The most obvious items to swap are add-ins (inclusions, in baker-speak), meaning ingredients that are typically stirred in or sprinkled on top. (Think nuts, chocolate, candy and dried fruit.) Extracts and essences are another category ripe for experimentation. And while a huge overhaul of the flour called for in a recipe is not usually wise, you can do some partial substitutions to add texture and flavor.

With that in mind, here are some ingredient upgrades to consider, inspired by some of our favorite recipes from our 400-plus holiday cookie archive ([wapo.st/cookie-archive](https://www.washingtonpost.com/cookie-archive/)), where the capitalized recipe names can also be found).

1. Heath toffee bits

Use in place of: Chocolate chips or chunks, or chopped chocolate.

Also consider: Crisped chocolate pearls.

Recipe inspiration: Chocolate Chip Crunch Cookies.

What's better than pieces of chocolate in a cookie? Pieces of chocolate *and* toffee. Try supplementing or replacing the chocolate in your recipe with Heath toffee bits for a delightfully crunchy texture and caramel flavor. If you can find them, buy the pieces with the chocolate coating, or chop up a regular Heath bar. (Uncoated toffee bits are also a fun add-in.)

2. Five-spice powder

Use in place of: Cinnamon, nutmeg, pumpkin or apple pie spice.

Also consider: Cardamom, garam masala, ras el hanout.

Recipe inspiration: Walnut and Five-Spice Thumbprint Cookies.

This Chinese spice blend typically is made of cinnamon, fennel seeds, Sichuan peppercorns,



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST
FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

White Chocolate, Rosemary and Almond Biscotti, the recipe for which can be found at [wapo.st/cookie-archive](https://www.washingtonpost.com/cookie-archive/).

cloves and star anise. It works well in place of any other warming spice or blend. Try it in ginger-snaps, gingerbread or even oatmeal raisin cookies.

3. Rose water

Use in place of: Vanilla extract, almond extract.

Also consider: Orange blossom water.

Recipe inspiration: Golden Milk Sugar Cookies.

Know your audience, because not everyone loves rose water. Also important to note is that a little goes a long way, so when swapping it in place of an extract, start with a smaller amount. Trying rose (or orange blossom) water in a glaze or drizzle is a low-stakes way to go, as it's easy to adjust to taste on the fly — or start over if you really have to. But with the right amount and the right recipe, its floral flavor can make a cookie sing.

4. Brown butter

Use in place of: Regular melted butter, oil.

Also consider: Melted ghee.

Recipe inspiration: Pistachio Shortbread With Pomegranate Glaze.

Brown butter is melted butter taken to the next level. By heating it until the milk solids darken, you create new flavors and aromas reminiscent of nuts and caramel. Because water is driven off in the process of making brown butter, you'll need to start off with slightly more regular butter (about 1 table-

spoon per stick) than called for in the recipe to get the same volume as you would if you only melted it.

5. Candied orange peel

Use in place of: Other dried fruit, such as raisins, cranberries, cherries or apricots.

Also consider: Crystallized ginger.

Recipe inspiration: White Chocolate, Rosemary and Almond Biscotti.

Candied orange peel brings a pleasantly bitter edge to baked goods, whereas most other dried fruit leans completely sweet. It also has slightly more chew, which can bring additional textural interest to a cookie. Fold it into biscotti, drop cookies, blondies, soft gingerbread or anything fruitcake-adjacent.

6. Rye flour

Use in place of: All-purpose flour.

Also consider: Whole-wheat flour, spelt flour.

Recipe inspiration: Raspberry Rye Cookies.

Rye flour does not form gluten in the same way that all-purpose flour does, so it's usually not suitable for a complete one-to-one replacement of wheat. Especially with cookies, though, you can try swapping out a smaller amount of the all-purpose flour with rye. Start by subbing in up to ⅓ rye flour, for a richer, nutty flavor and more rustic texture. Rye pairs well with chocolate, molasses and warming spices.

Champagne can make a holiday out of any day. Here are 7 to choose from.



Wine
DAVE
MCINTYRE

The vast majority of champagne sold in the United States — and maybe around the world — this year will be purchased in December, and much of it will be consumed in the year’s waning hours on New Year’s Eve. That’s fine, but it’s also a shame, because it means we are limiting champagne to a ceremonial ritual and ignoring its beauty as wine.

If we just want bubbles for a toast, we can buy and enjoy the cheap stuff. Champagne is special. (And there is good cheap champagne, as I discovered in my recent foray to Costco.) Here are five things to know as you buy and enjoy champagne this holiday season — and beyond.

1. Can any sparkling wine be called ‘champagne’?

Yes. If you’re hosting a dinner party and you offer your guests a glass of any ol’ bubbly and call it champagne, they’d be uncouth to call you out on it. Though given the popularity and quality of prosecco, franciacorta, cava and other sparkling wines, there’s no shame in offering them under their own names.

Technically, champagne is the sparkling wine from the Champagne region of northern France. Consider this my obligatory nod to the trademark protection hawks in the CIVC, the champagne trade bureau. As far as I know, they haven’t yet gone after consumers for calling a generic sparkling wine “champagne.”

2. Is champagne really that different from other sparkling wines?

Yes, and to understand why, we need to know how champagne is made. The champagne method, now usually called the traditional method (nod to those trademark hawks), involves aging the fermented wine on the lees (spent yeasts) produced during the second fermentation that adds the bubbles. Longer aging also gives the wine a brioche flavor. Your wine geek friends might toss out the word “autolytic.” If they do, just slap them down by saying, “Yeah, I get the brioche.” If you don’t know what I mean by brioche, go to Trader Joe’s, buy a loaf and toast a slice. An almond croissant from a good French bakery is another analogy for that wonderful character of champagne.

Many other sparkling wines are made by the same method, but with different grapes and often with less time on the lees. As such, they lack the complexity of champagne.

3. Is champagne only for celebrations and toasts?

No. Champagne is a great food wine. Think salty (caviar, oysters) or crunchy and salty (french fries, popcorn, potato chips). But there’s much more. “I like blanc de blancs with fish, oysters, crudos and delicate buttery flavors,” says Elli Benchimol, a sommelier and owner of Apéro champagne bar and La Bohème restaurant in D.C.’s Georgetown neighborhood. Blanc de blancs are champagnes made entirely of white grapes, almost always



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; FOOD STYLING BY LISA CHERKASKY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Although many consume champagne only during special occasions, it has a beauty and complexity that should be celebrated year-round.

chardonnay.

A blanc de noirs — a white wine made from red grapes, typically pinot noir, by pressing the juice off the skins early — can “go all the way up to squab and gamey dishes,” Benchimol says. “It’s still pinot noir, after all.”

Rosé champagnes can gain their color from a few hours of skin contact, giving them a measure of substance akin to lighter red wines, Benchimol explains. “We paired a rosé with duck tortellini in an orange sauce, like duck à l’orange, and it was fantastic,” she adds.

4. Should I stock up on champagne?

Champagne sales are likely to be robust this holiday season, as consumers anticipate higher prices from tariffs promised by the incoming Trump administration. Champagne, a quintessentially French luxury product, is always an easy target in a trade dispute with the European Union. So prices are likely to rise next year, making this holiday season a good time to lay in a few bottles for your cellar.

5. I’m new to champagne. Where should I start?

“Think about what you like in a still wine,” Benchimol says. “If you like sauvignon blanc or chablis, start with a blanc de blancs. If you’re into white burgundy, you’re probably into vintage champagne. But if you like pinot noir and nebbiolo, like I do, then you want blanc de noirs.”

Benchimol paused before saying, with a note of mischief in her voice, “If you’re a cabernet sauvignon drinker, leave the champagne to us.”

While we can all agree that champagne is special, specific champagne preferences are very personal. Some people prefer bubbles by small growers, who

make wine from their own vineyards rather than purchased grapes, believing these bottles are more distinctive from the “house style” of the major producers. Others favor a blanc de blancs as an expression of chardonnay, or blanc de noirs for pinot noir. The current vogue is for bone-dry wines labeled “extra brut” or “brut nature.” You may have a sentimental favorite from a first date or family celebration. My own list of favorites is too long; I only wish I could afford to drink champagne more often. These are some gems from my recent tastings.

Canard-Duchêne Cuvée Léonie Brut

★★★★
Champagne, France, \$47
This pinot-dominant cuvee hits the classic champagne profile, with flavors of red berries and a toasty, yeasty backbone. Alcohol by volume: 12 percent. Bottle weight: 825 grams.

Imported by Thiénot USA. Distributed locally by Breakthru Beverage Group.

GREAT VALUE Champagne Mandois Brut Origine

★★★★
Champagne, France, \$53
Rich texture and exotic spice give this wine structure, length and excitement. The flavors unspool flirtatiously across your palate: Roasted peach and pear suggest warmth and holiday cheer, then mandarin orange flashes a hint of excitement, and clove a whiff of danger. Each sip ends with a smile, and an invitation for another. ABV: 12 percent. BW: 820 grams.

Imported by Albert Bichot USA. Distributed locally by RNDC.

Domaine Collet Nord-Sud

★★★★
Champagne, France, \$66
This delightful 50-50 blend of

chardonnay and pinot noir trips across the palate with joy. Domaine Collet is a grower domaine in its ninth generation, tracing family roots to 1744. Its 15 acres of vineyards are certified organic. This wine has energy, tension and a lot of character. ABV: 13 percent. BW: 840 grams.

Imported by Weygandt-Metzler. Distributed locally by Prestige Ledroit.

Taittinger Brut La Française

★★★★
Champagne, France, \$73
Light and delicate, this wine shows white flowers and an appealing herbal note. The Taittinger vintage 2015 (\$120) is a turbocharged version, with similar flavors but greater depth and complexity. ABV: 12.5 percent. BW: 830 grams.

Imported by Kobrand. Distributed locally by RNDC.

Gaston Chiquet Tradition Premier Cru

★★★★
Champagne, France, \$75
Apple pie in a glass? That’s simplistic for such a lovely wine, but the first impression is a definite flavor of roasted apple, with toasty brioche character. There’s also red currant and dried fruit, a leanness coming from a preponderance of red grapes. Meunier and pinot noir combined make 65 percent of the blend, with chardonnay rounding out the rest. This is a grower champagne, meaning the producer uses only its own grapes. The vineyard is certified sustainable under the French system, though that isn’t noted on the label. ABV: 12.5 percent. BW: 855 grams.

Imported by Skurnik Wines & Spirits. Distributed locally by Prestige Ledroit.

Veuve Fourny & Fils Blanc de Blancs Extra Brut Premier Cru

★★★★
Champagne, France, \$75

The Fourny family is in its fifth generation in Vertus, in the heart of the Côte des Blancs, where chardonnay achieves its ultimate voice in champagne. This blend comes from several premier cru parcels with an average vine age of 40 years, contributing complexity and depth to the wine. Orchard fruit flavors are braced by a saline minerality that would make this an excellent partner for fish, especially sushi. ABV: 12 percent. BW: 840 grams.

Imported by Kermit Lynch Wine Merchant. Distributed locally by Prestige Ledroit.

Louis Roederer Collection 244

★★★★
Champagne, France, \$80
Many champagne houses create a

multivintage blend as an example of house style, but of course the blends do vary somewhat depending on the conditions of the vintage that comprises the main portion of the blend. Louis Roederer is among producers who distinguish their blends. Collection 244 is the 244th time this storied house has blended its multivintage wine. The QR code on the back label takes me to a webpage that explains the base vintage of 2019, a record-setting dry and hot year, makes up just over half the blend, with the rest from reserve wines dating back to 2012. Another code tells me my bottle was disgorged in May 2023 and released to the market that November, so I know it hasn’t been languishing in a warehouse somewhere. The wine itself is lithe and lively, with suggestions of white flowers, apples and cherries, and a saline note that adds crispness on the finish. It is absolutely delicious. ABV: 12.5 percent. BW: 845 grams.

Imported by Maisons Marques & Domaines USA. Distributed locally by RNDC.

Prices are approximate. For availability, check Wine.com, Wine-searcher.com and the websites and social media feeds of the wineries, importers, distributors, and your favorite local wine store. You can also ask your local retailer to order wines from the distributors listed. Bottle weight is included, because this is the single most important contributor to wine’s carbon footprint. Have wine questions for Dave McIntyre? Send them to Food@washpost.com.

Legend

- ★ Good: The wine delivers what it promises at a fair price. If it says chardonnay, it tastes like chardonnay.
- ★★ Excellent: A wine with character and added interest. May elevate your eyebrows at the first sip.
- ★★★ Extraordinary: An exciting wine that stands out from others in its class. Fist-pumping, table-thumping good.
- ★★★★ Sublime: Otherworldly. May have you thinking, “So this is what they were talking about.”



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FROM LEFT: Canard-Duchêne Cuvée Léonie Brut; Champagne Mandois Brut Origine; Gaston Chiquet Tradition Premier Cru; Veuve Fourny & Fils Blanc de Blancs Extra Brut Premier Cru; Taittinger Brut La Française; Domaine Collet Nord-Sud; and Louis Roederer Collection 244.

HOLIDAY COOKIES 2024

20 years of holiday cookies

BY BECKY KRYSTAL, FOOD SECTION COVER PAGES BY THE WASHINGTON POST

In 2005, The Post’s Food section published its first holiday cookie package. Since then, this annual feature has become a beloved tradition for staffers and readers alike. With 20 years and more than 400 recipes under our belt, we’re sharing a colorful retrospective of the covers of every print section. These pages featured sweets covering a wide array of ingredients, cuisines and styles. Enjoy this delicious trip back in time, and visit wapo.st/cookie-archive to remind yourself of some old favorites and to find new recipes to look forward to as well.



2005



2006



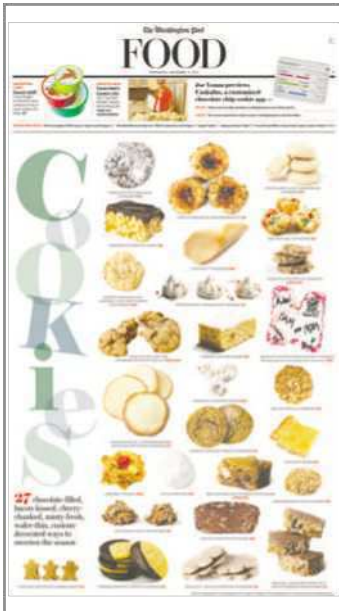
2007



2008



2009



2010



2011



2012



2013



2014



2015



2016



2017



2018



2019



2020



2021



2022



2023



2024

Cranes are brought in to clear debris on March 29, three days after the container ship Dali crashed into the Francis Scott Key Bridge in Baltimore. The bridge collapsed, and six men died.



ENDURING IMAGES OF 2024



CAROLYN VAN HOUTEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

As we wonder at the events of the past year,
here is a look back through the eyes of photographers

BY
MICHAEL E.
RUANE

Nature, in all its beauty and violence, reminded us that we inhabit a planet where powerful forces beyond our control can overwhelm and fascinate, level a forest and bring a sense of peaceful belonging.



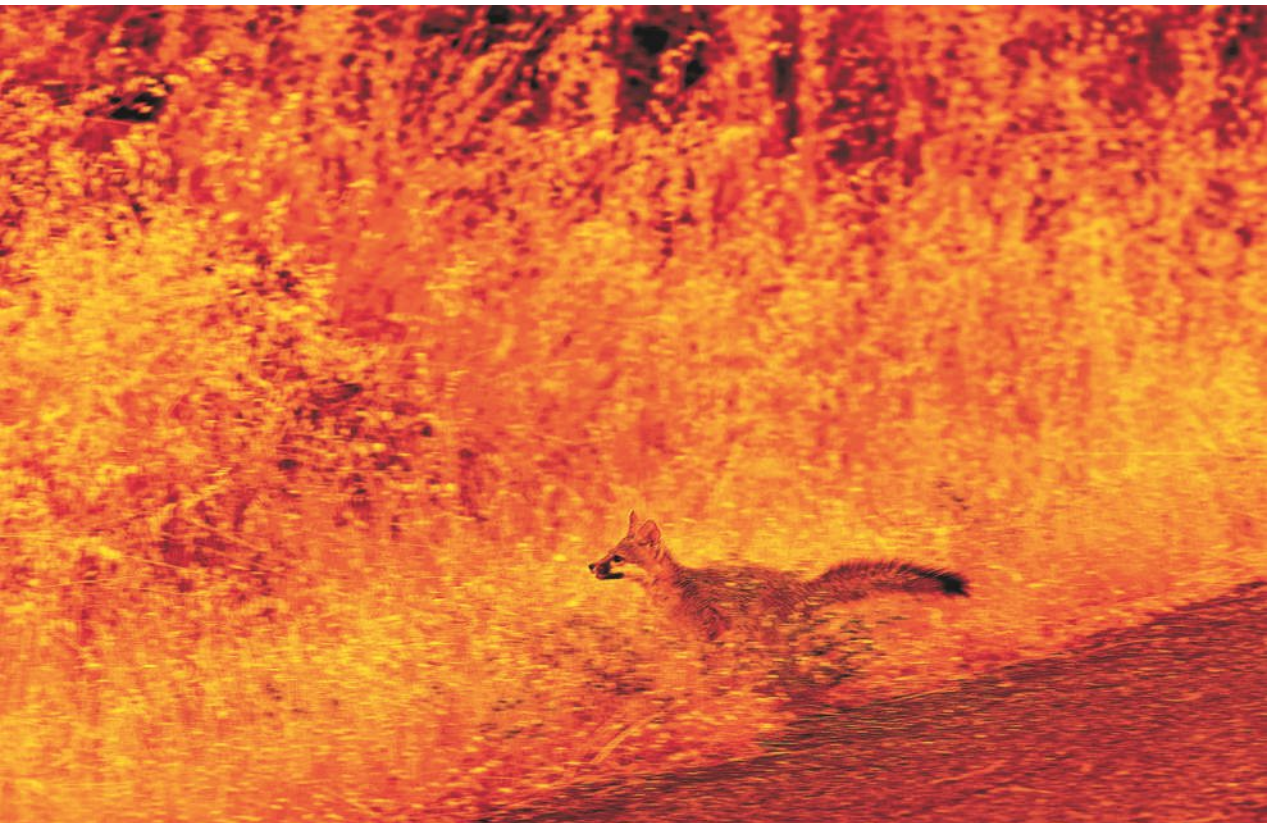
JONATHAN DRAKE/REUTERS

“It ended up being the most dramatic image of the day, with a single dwelling standing amidst an entire forest laid down like toothpicks.”

Freelance photojournalist Ted Richardson, on covering the aftermath of Hurricane Helene in his home state of North Carolina



TED RICHARDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



NOAH BERGER/AP



CAROLYN VAN HOUTEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Clockwise from left: An image taken on Sept. 27 by a drone shows trees downed by extreme winds that were part of storms in Buncombe County, North Carolina.

An animal runs through grass as it flees the flames of the Park Fire in Cohasset in Butte County, California, on July 25. The fire burned more than 429,000 acres in the state.

Marie Rexford, a 61-year-old Inūpiat resident, breathes in the air of her hometown, Kaktovik, Alaska, on June 28. Kaktovik is the only human settlement within the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Shiite Muslim pilgrims in Karbala, Iraq, are sprayed with water to cool off on Aug. 23. Each year, millions of Shiites march to Karbala for Arbæen, marking the end of 40 days of mourning for the death of Imam Hussein, prophet Muhammad’s grandson.

A man clings to a car stuck on a road flooded by Tropical Storm Helene on the outskirts of Boone, North Carolina, on Sept. 27. Helene had made landfall in Florida as a hurricane a day before, and it dumped historic rainfall on Georgia, the Carolinas and other states, spurring flash flooding and leaving scores of people dead.



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

Around the world, alas, we saw people suffering. War seemed to be everywhere. Ukraine. Gaza and Lebanon. And climate change affected farmers globally, including in Afghanistan.



CAROLYN VAN HOUTEN/THE WASHINGTON POST



Clockwise from above: Taliban police officers destroy a poppy field on May 18 in Parwan province, Afghanistan, where farmers are facing problems with alternative crops two years after the Taliban banned opium.

Protesters rally on a highway in Tel Aviv on Sept. 1, seeking to pressure the Israeli government to reach a deal for the release of hostages held in the Gaza Strip by Hamas militants.

Ivana Skakye, 2, recovers in the burn center of the Lebanese Hospital Geitaoui on Oct. 18 in Beirut. Her family's home in Deir Qanoun al-Nahr was damaged in an Israeli strike.

People rush toward aid packages dropped in the Gaza Strip on April 23. It has been hard to bring assistance to the Palestinian enclave amid the war with Israel.





HEIDI LEVINE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



LORENZO TUGNOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

We could not stop arguing about politics. The country came within an inch of another assassination. An aging president campaigned, then dropped out. One candidate was a felon, claimed immigrants were eating pets, and denied he had lost the last election. Another, a woman of color, spoke of dangers to democracy and the need for unity. But the price of cereal was high. Jan. 6 was an afterthought. America chose accordingly.



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

From top: President Joe Biden speaks on Aug. 19 at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, where he praised Vice President Kamala Harris as a person of integrity.

Biden and Annie Tomasini, his deputy chief of staff, are seen in Marine One as he returns to the White House on Feb. 5.

Biden delivers remarks in the Oval Office on July 24. He discussed his decision, announced three days before, to withdraw from the presidential race and support Harris to succeed him as the Democratic nominee.



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

“I remember approaching the Oval Office and passing by staff members in tears as he prepared to deliver these remarks. I remember peering in and could see sadness on the faces of his family.”

Washington Post staff photographer Demetrius Freeman, on covering President Joe Biden’s speech on withdrawing from the presidential race



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

From top: At the Ellipse in Washington on Oct. 29, Vice President Kamala Harris made a “closing argument” for her presidential campaign. The location is the same spot where Donald Trump addressed supporters before the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol.

Parishioners gather as Harris attends New Birth Missionary Baptist Church in Stonecrest, Georgia, on Oct. 20.

And members of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority listen to Harris’s concession speech on Nov. 6 at Howard University. Howard is Harris’s alma mater, and she is a member of the historically Black sorority.



MICHAEL A. MCCOY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST





PHOTOS BY JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

“Without really realizing that maybe I was in danger where I was, being up front, I just remember standing there telling myself that, kind of like a clock, I needed to turn just a little bit and shoot a picture in every direction. Because everything I see right now, everything that’s going around me, is going to matter.”

Post staff photographer Jabin Botsford, discussing how he documented the attempted assassination of former president Donald Trump at a campaign rally

Clockwise from left: Secret Service agents rush Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump from public view after shots are fired at a campaign rally on July 13 in Butler, Pennsylvania, in what authorities called an assassination attempt.

Trump, with wife Melania Trump, celebrates at an election watch party on Nov. 6 in West Palm Beach, Florida.

Trump greets supporters at a campaign rally at the Winthrop Coliseum in Rock Hill, South Carolina, on Feb. 23.

Trump leaves court in New York on May 30 after being found guilty on 34 counts of falsifying business records to conceal a hush money payment to an adult-film actress. He is the first former U.S. president convicted of a crime.



America remained haunted by its past, yet encouraged and troubled by its present. Stories of the suffering and death of Native American children forced to attend government or church-run boarding schools came alongside images of migrant children playing at a playground and the aftermath of yet another school shooting.



LI QIANG FOR THE WASHINGTON POST





ALEX KENT/GETTY IMAGES



ROBB HILL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST



CHRISTIAN MONTERROSA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES



JAHÍ CHIKWENDU/THE WASHINGTON POST

Clockwise from top left: Lei Muhan, 10, plays near her home in Los Angeles on May 3, a month after her family's arrival in the United States. Chinese migrants are entering America in record numbers.

Pro-Palestinian demonstrators barricade themselves inside Columbia University's Hamilton Hall in New York on April 30. New York police officers later breached the building and arrested students.

María del Carmen Castellón, the widow of Miguel Luna, a worker who died when the Francis Scott Key Bridge in Baltimore collapsed, visits Luna's grave in Glen Burnie, Maryland, on Sept. 15. He was one of six men who died in March when a container ship hit and damaged the bridge.

A girl and her mother watch law enforcement and first responders at Apalachee High School in Winder, Georgia, on Sept. 4. A 14-year-old was charged in a shooting there that killed four people.

Hajime White, a doula, snuggles with her 2-month-old grandson after an event in Warren, Arkansas, on March 23 celebrating the mothers and babies she has helped in recent years. Arkansas has one of the nation's worst maternal mortality rates.

Clarita Vargas, 64, exits St. Mary's church on the Colville Reservation in Omak, Washington, on Feb. 20. Vargas was 8 when she was forced to live at St. Mary's Mission, a Catholic-run Indian boarding school, where, she said, she was sexually abused.

At the Summer Olympics, photographers caught athletes in the defiance of gravity — gymnast Simone Biles floating upside-down over the balance beam and surfer Gabriel Medina hovering above the waves like an apparition with a surfboard. And athletes burst with speed in the pool and on the track.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST



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JEROME BROUILLET/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Clockwise from top left: Sha'carri Richardson crosses the finish line, nailing the U.S. team's win in the women's 4x100-meter relay race at the Stade de France in Saint-Denis France on Aug. 9.

American Katie Ledecky dives in for the women's 400-meter freestyle final in Paris on July 27.

Team USA's Noah Lyles celebrates after winning Olympic gold in the men's 100-meter race at the Stade de France on Aug. 4.

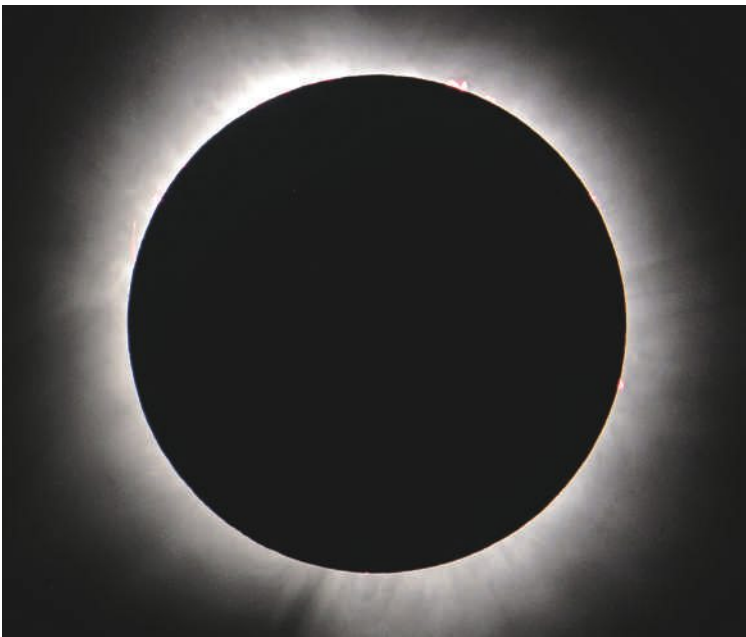
Brazil's Gabriel Medina and his tethered board appear to perform parallel levitations above the South Pacific Ocean during a men's surfing round at Teahupo'o, Tahiti, on July 29.

Team USA's Simone Biles competes on the beam during the women's artistic gymnastics team final at Bercy Arena in Paris on July 30. Biles, who has five gymnastics elements named after her, led the U.S. women's gymnastics team to Olympic gold that day.

Please give thanks for the sun and moon playing peekaboo across a swath of North America. Thanks, too, for Mardi Gras, the Kentucky Derby and transgender pride in the Pacific nation of Tonga. And for all the fun that broke out this year, despite everything else.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST



JONATHAN NEWTON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Millions across North America gathered April 8 to watch a solar eclipse. This image was captured in Russellville, Arkansas.

LEFT: Spectators dance in the infield before the 150th running of the Kentucky Derby at Churchill Downs in Louisville on May 4.



MATTHEW ABBOTT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



JONAS GUSTAVSSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: A model shows off a fall outfit at the Vetements show at Paris Fashion Week on March 1.

CENTER: Miss Galaxy is a beauty pageant for Tonga's leitis, or transgender women. Giovanna Mafi, a 24-year-old contestant, is fitted by her designer, Maile Tonga, right, and Phedeas Malupo, standing left, a leiti assistant to the Tongan royal family, in Nuku'alofa, Tonga, on July 8.



CHRISTIANA BOTIC FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

“I think what came through in my photographs [was] the fragile beauty of Stumpy. And I think in a lot of ways that’s why people rallied around the cherry blossom tree ... everybody just loves an underdog.”

Post staff photographer Matt McClain on capturing images of the famous “Stumpy” before it was removed from the Tidal Basin in Washington



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Cherry blossoms bloom on “Stumpy” on March 17, a few weeks before the bedraggled cherry tree and others were removed from an area around the Tidal Basin in Washington as part of a sea wall construction project. During peak Stumpy mania, thousands of people stopped by to hug or take a selfie with the tree.

LEFT: St. Mary’s Academy graduate LaTrisha Baptiste, center, and daughter Klein McCullum, 2, watch the SMA Cougar Marching Band at a parade in New Orleans on Jan. 28. The band formed in 1937, making it the oldest Black girls band marching in the city.