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ELECTION 2024

Biden clan grapples with calls to back out

Family members remain determined but frustrated amid increasing pressure

BY MATT VISER

President Biden had just arrived back at the White House following a weekend at Camp David with his family, walking through the doors from the South Lawn shortly after 7 p.m. He had 45 minutes before he was to deliver remarks about the Supreme Court's decision to grant immunity to Donald Trump for official acts he took as president.

The president motioned to his son Hunter, who was standing nearby, asking him to listen and join the fine-tuning of the remarks that would be loaded into the teleprompter and delivered to a nation that had grown deeply skeptical of the president's mental acuity in the aftermath of a stumbling, meandering debate performance four nights prior.

Hunter's presence that evening raised eyebrows among some White House staff members, who saw it as a troubling sign that a politically problematic family member was taking a renewed part in official business. But for those in and close to the family, it was the latest sign that Hunter had stabilized his life and was assuming a role he had long held inside his father's orbit as a

SEE BIDEN ON A10

Backup plans: Donors fund bid to vet potential VP candidates. **A10**

Supreme Court: Biden may back a revamp, a big shift for him. **A11**

PARIS OLYMPICS

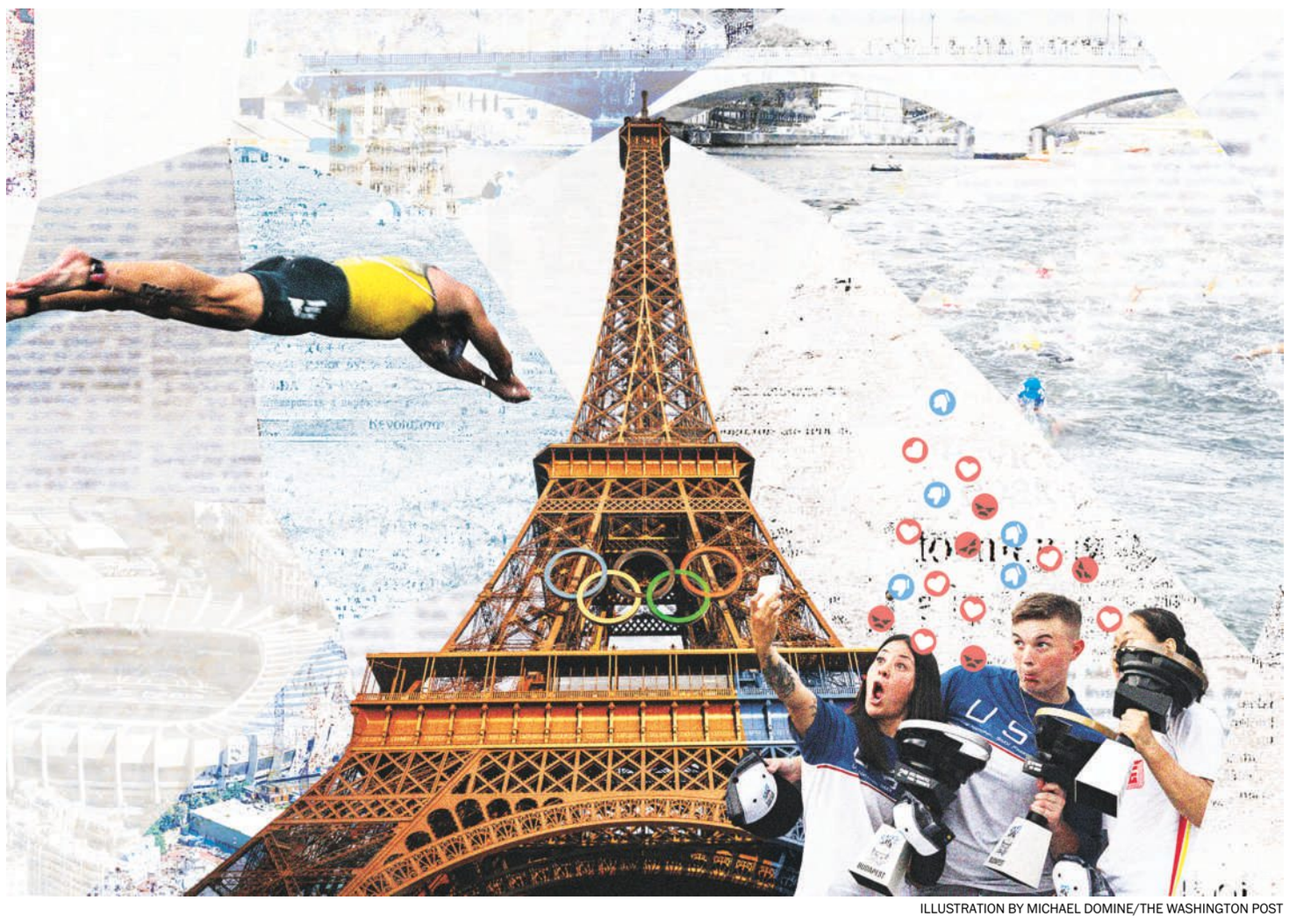


ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL DOMINE/THE WASHINGTON POST

The Olympics, at a crossroads

After scandals, pandemic and political controversy, officials hope for reboot

BY LES CARPENTER

For parts of three decades, Bob Costas was the television face of the Olympics in the United States, leading NBC's coverage of 11 Games and talking Americans through celebration, scandal and even a bomb in Atlanta. Eight years after his last Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, Costas believes the Games have lost some of the magic that once made them mandatory viewing.

Maybe it's because the past three Olympics were held in distant Asian time zones while America slept. Or perhaps it's the sense that the two most recent Games, held in pandemic Tokyo and Beijing, seemed to happen less because of sport and more to meet the contractual obligations of sponsors and television networks. Or it might be the uncomfortable stench of human rights abuse swirling about the Beijing Games in 2022, followed four days later by Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

The Olympics, he said, need "to get their groove back."

The miracle of 1984
Ueberroth's Los Angeles Games saved the dying Olympics. **D1**

SEE OLYMPICS ON A20

Trump security requests rebuffed

REPEATED DENIALS OVER 2-YEAR SPAN

Secret Service at times has cited resource limits

BY JOSH DAWSEY AND CAROL D. LEONNIG

Top officials at the U.S. Secret Service repeatedly denied requests for additional resources and personnel sought by Donald Trump's security detail in the two years leading up to his attempted assassination at a rally in Pennsylvania last Saturday, according to four people familiar with the requests.

Agents charged with protecting the former president requested magnetometers and more agents to screen attendees at sporting events and other large public gatherings Trump attended, as well as additional snipers and specialty teams at other outdoor events, said the people, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe sensitive security discussions. The requests, which have not been previously reported, were sometimes denied by senior officials at the agency, who cited various reasons, including a lack of resources at an agency that has long struggled with staffing shortages, they said.

Those rejections — in response to requests that were several times made in writing — led to long-standing tensions that pitted Trump, his top aides and his security detail against

SEE TRUMP ON A13

Wide reliance on Microsoft is questioned after outage

BY CRISTIANO LIMA-STRONG AND CAT ZAKRZEWSKI

A cascading computer outage that grounded planes, stymied hospitals and disrupted critical public services exposed the depth of the global economy's dependence on a single company: Microsoft.

Regulators and lawmakers across the political spectrum raised alarm that the sprawling outage that knocked out Windows showcases the danger of so much power concentrating into one firm, which drives governments, businesses and critical infrastructure around the world.

The system failure ricocheted across the globe, as credit card systems went down in Australia, airlines in India handed out handwritten plane tickets, and courts in the United States delayed hearings, including one in the sex crimes case of Hollywood mogul Harvey Weinstein. And the impact reverberated across the giant's many clients in the public sector, with the Social Security Administration closing its local offices through the weekend and the Federal Communications Commission reporting disrup-

SEE MICROSOFT ON A9

Markets: The IT crash is unlikely to deal a major economic blow. **A9**

Debunked: A conspiracy theory about CrowdStrike resurfaces. **A9**



HEATHER AINSWORTH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Mike Lindgren, who aligns politically with the Democratic Socialists of America, and his mother, Jennifer Lindgren, a former police officer and supporter of former president Donald Trump.

School helped turn him liberal. His mom is a staunch conservative. Will their bond survive?

BY HANNAH NATANSON
IN ITHACA, N.Y.

Two nights before he was supposed to graduate from college, Mike Lindgren called his mother with a warning.

Jennifer Lindgren, 53, was packing her pink suitcase for an early-morning flight from her home outside Chicago to Ithaca College in Upstate New York. In her son's four years at the liberal arts school, she had never visited.

"Mom, this is the heart of liberal America," Mike said into his iPhone, urging her to tread cautiously as she navigated his deep-blue college town. "You've got to be careful."

Mike was half-joking, but only half. He and his conservative mother agree on almost nothing. She is a fervent Donald Trump supporter; he plans to vote for independent presidential candidate Cornel West this fall. She believes the events of Jan. 6, 2021, were staged by the government; he calls that day a violent insurrection. She is a former police officer, protective of law enforcement; he believes much of American policing is systemically racist.

It wasn't always this way.

SEE FAMILY ON A6

SHEILA JACKSON LEE 1950-2024

Outspoken champion of racial, gender equality

Long-serving Texas congresswoman led effort to recognize Juneteenth as federal holiday

BY EMILY LANGER

Sheila Jackson Lee, a Texas Democrat who during three decades in the U.S. House of Representatives became one of the most prominent Black members of Congress and a ubiquitous champion of African American and women's rights, died July 19 at a hospital in Houston. She was 74.

Her death was confirmed by her family. Rep. Jackson Lee announced in June that she had pancreatic cancer. She had been treated years earlier for breast cancer.

Rep. Jackson Lee, the daughter of a hospital orderly and a night-shift vocational nurse, grew up far from Texas, in the New York City borough of Queens. She received a bachelor's degree from Yale University and a law degree from the University of Virginia before moving with her husband to Texas, where he was from, and where she began her political career as a municipal judge and a member of the Houston City Council.

She was first elected in 1994 to her Houston-based congressional seat, which was once held by the charismatic African American congresswoman Barbara Jordan. Rep. Jackson Lee quickly established herself as an outspoken advocate for racial and gender equality, voting rights and the revision of the criminal justice system.



JOSHUA ROBERTS/GETTY IMAGES

Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Tex.) announced in June that she had been diagnosed with pancreatic cancer.

She was a lead sponsor of legislation that in 2021, after decades of lobbying by advocates, recognized as a federal holiday June 19, or Juneteenth, a date that has come to memorialize the end of slavery in the United States.

She also spearheaded legislation that in 2022 reauthorized the Violence Against Women Act, which was enacted in 1994 but expired in 2019. The original law

SEE JACKSON LEE ON A8

METRO
A 13-year-old girl in D.C. charged with murder hits an officer in court.

BOOK WORLD
Two new releases delve into why millennials are hesitant to have kids.



SPORTS
No "charity-pity" here. There's money to be made in women's sports.

ARTS & STYLE
Actor Glen Powell is tearing his way up the A-list. Can he stay there?



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Even as denim has its moment, Levi's finds itself trying to catch up.

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Tossing Trump's case was risky for Cannon — for now

Legal repercussions may be short-lived, experts say, if ex-president wins

BY ANN E. MARIMOW

Judge Aileen M. Cannon's stunning dismissal this past week of the most serious charges faced by Donald Trump put her on shaky legal ground, according to experts, who say she is on track to be reversed on appeal and could even be removed from the case — an extraordinary but not unheard of step.

Because of the political calendar, however, any legal repercussions could be short-lived.

Trump's alleged mishandling of classified national security records and obstruction of government efforts to retrieve the material may not matter if the former president and current Republican nominee is elected in November. If he gets back to the White House, Trump could pressure his Justice Department to close the case. He could also promote Cannon to the very appeals court that will soon examine her decision to toss the case.

Cannon's finding that special counsel Jack Smith was improperly appointed by Attorney General Merrick Garland to investigate Trump conflicts with numerous past court decisions and the nation's long history — during both Democratic and Republican administrations — of allowing independent prosecutors to handle high-profile instances of alleged wrongdoing.

Smith has filed notice of his plans to appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit, which reviews decisions from the Florida district where Cannon, a relatively inexperienced judge appointed by Trump in 2020, sits.

The court has already rebuked her twice for her handling of other aspects of the classified documents case, sending what Yale Law School professor Akhil Amar described as a message that her decisions had been "way out of line."

The question now, Amar said, is how quickly and dramatically the appeals court acts on the latest ruling, which dismissed the entire indictment for Trump and his two co-defendants.

"They may not want to stick their head in a buzz saw if they can just let the case take its slow, deliberative course," he said.

In her 93-page decision, Cannon said there is no specific statute authorizing the attorney general to appoint a special counsel. She also said the Constitution requires someone with Smith's authority to be confirmed by the Senate.

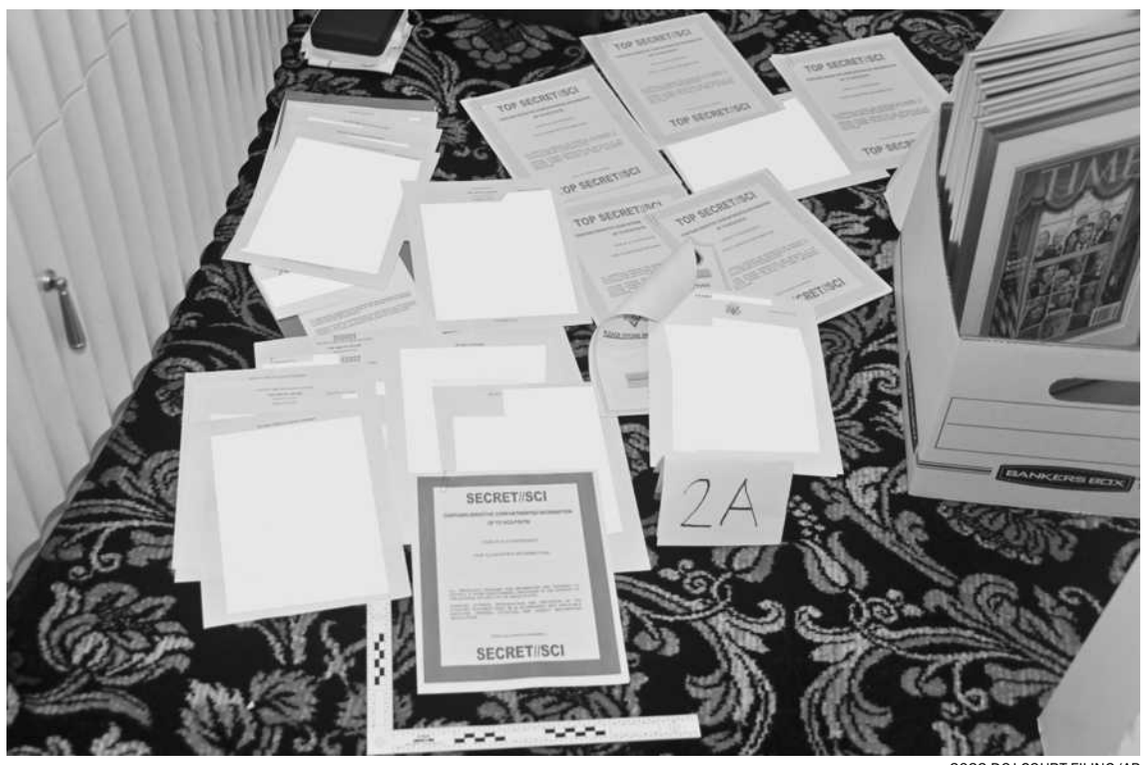
The judge acknowledged the tradition of special-attorney-like figures in moments of political scandal involving high-level government officials, from Watergate to Iran-contra to Russia's attempts to interfere in the 2016 election.

But Cannon said the practice of appointing such independent prosecutors has been inconsistent and based on a "spotty historical backdrop." Smith, she wrote, is "a private citizen exercising the full power of a United States Attorney, and with very little oversight or supervision."

Conservative legal groups have long questioned the constitutionality of special counsel appointments. Cannon repeatedly cited Justice Clarence Thomas, who raised the issue in a solo opinion this month as part of the Supreme Court's decision granting Trump broad immunity from prosecution for official acts. That Supreme Court case focused on Smith's separate election interference prosecution of Trump in D.C.

She also embraced the arguments in a law review article by Gary Lawson of Boston University School of Law and Steven G. Calabresi, a Northwestern law professor and a co-founder of the Federalist Society, with which Cannon is affiliated.

Other legal experts, however, have joined former Justice Department officials and Smith's legal team in saying her ruling ignores the history of special counsel appointments and flouts Supreme Court precedent.



2022 DOJ COURT FILING/AP

A photo of documents seized during the Aug. 8, 2022, FBI search of former president Donald Trump's Mar-a-Lago estate. Judge Aileen M. Cannon dismissed the cast last week.

Most notably, the high court in 1974 unanimously required President Richard M. Nixon to hand over recordings to a special prosecutor as part of the Watergate investigation. In that opinion, the justices endorsed the office, citing several statutes under which the attorney general had "delegated the authority to represent the United States in these particular matters to a Special Prosecutor with unique authority and tenure."

While lower-court judges are bound to follow the Supreme Court's lead, Cannon took the unusual step of finding she was not required to abide by that aspect of the high court's opinion in *U.S. v. Nixon,* saying the case did not directly address the validity of the office of special counsel.

Michael J. Gerhardt, a University of North Carolina law professor who teaches about constitutional conflicts between presidents and Congress, said Cannon cannot just brush aside a unanimous high court ruling.

"For a trial judge to ignore it is judicial malpractice," he said, describing her most recent decision as part of a "pattern of bias that leads her to endorse wacky or unfounded arguments, and that's a problem if you're a judge."

Until the late 1990s, authority for an independent prosecutor was found in a federal law that many analysts believed was problematic in part because it required a panel of judges to appoint the independent counsels. The law was replaced by Justice Department regulations written according to specific statutes, according to former acting solicitor general Neal Katyal, who drafted the rules in consultation with Congress when he worked for then-Attorney General Janet Reno.

Separately, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit has twice rejected challenges to the use of special counsels. First, in a 1987 opinion upholding the appointment of Lawrence Walsh to investigate the Iran-contra scandal, and more recently in 2019, upholding the appointment of former FBI director Robert S. Mueller III to probe Russian election interference and possible ties between those efforts and the 2016 Trump campaign.

Former deputy attorney general Rod J. Rosenstein, who appointed Mueller, said the fact that special counsels are accountable to the attorney general is significant. Just as rank-and-file federal prosecutors are subject to oversight in handling their assigned cases, the special counsel can be overruled by the attorney general, said Rosenstein, who also was part of independent counsel Kenneth Starr's Whitewater trial team investigating President Bill Clinton and first lady Hillary Clinton in the 1990s.

"The Attorney General's authority to overrule the special counsel is critical," Rosenstein said, "because in my opinion it would be unconstitutional to make a prosecutor fully independent."

Bruce Fein, another former high-level Justice Department official, worked in the office of legal counsel during the Nixon administration when then-acting attorney general Robert H. Bork appointed Leon Jaworski as the Watergate special prosecutor. Fein recalled deep concerns about the department's internal ability to investigate the Nixon administration and a strong awareness of the need for independence.

Contrary to Cannon's opinion, Fein said, the position of special counsel was specifically designed to strengthen separation of powers by preventing the executive branch from covering up its own crimes. While Garland appointed Smith to reassure the public that the investigation of Trump would be shielded from politics, Fein emphasized that Smith is still subject to oversight by the attorney general and must follow Justice Department policies and regulations.

Garland has met with Smith and the other special counsels he has appointed multiple times throughout their investigations, according to people familiar with the meetings, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss them.

The appeals court has already shown skepticism of Cannon's handling of Trump's case in its earlier blunt reversals.

In September 2022, the 11th Circuit unanimously granted the Justice Department a reprieve from Cannon's order barring them from reviewing documents with classified markings seized from Mar-a-Lago, Trump's Florida home and private club. Three months later, a different 11th Circuit panel said Cannon was wrong to appoint an outside expert to decide whether any of the seized documents should be shielded from criminal investigators.

In both cases, two of the three judges on the panel were nominated by Trump.

But Cannon's decision to appoint the special master nevertheless delayed the case — just as her dismissal of the indictment will at the very least push any possible trial past the coming presidential election. Such delays have been a primary part of Trump's legal strategy in this and his other criminal cases.

"Everything points in one direction," Fein said of Cannon. "She is trying to ensure that Trump cannot be tried before November in hopes that if he's elected he'll shut down the prosecution."

It is not known how soon Smith will file an appeal or whether as part of it he will ask the 11th Circuit to take Cannon off the case. Such a move, while unusual, would not be unprecedented. The D.C. Circuit in 2006 removed a trial court judge from a case involving Native American oil and gas royalties, finding that the judge appeared biased against the Interior Department. It was the third time a sitting judge had been removed by the D.C. Circuit.

At a hearing in her Fort Pierce, Fla., courtroom last month, Cannon acknowledged that precedent seemed to support Garland's appointment of Smith even as she pressed prosecutors about whether there had been "any actual oversight" by the attorney general.

Less than two weeks later, Thomas issued his concurring opinion in Trump's immunity case that called into question the validity of the appointment of Smith.

Even though the Florida indictment was not before the justices, Thomas seemed to speak directly to Cannon: "If this unprecedented prosecution is to proceed, it must be conducted by someone duly authorized to do so by the American people. The lower courts should thus answer these essential questions concerning the Special Counsel's appointment before proceeding."

Cannon gave her answer Monday, declaring Smith's appointment invalid. Adding to the drama was the fact that her opinion landed on the opening day of the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee, where Trump — ear bandaged for an injury sustained during a failed assassination attempt — was feted by the party faithful before accepting the nomination.

Trump praised Cannon by name in his convention speech, referring to her as a highly respected federal judge.

Whatever the 11th Circuit decides may be appealed to the Supreme Court, which issued several notable rulings favorable to Trump this term — including the sweeping grant of immunity.

It is not clear how the justices would view Cannon's conclusion on the special counsel issue, however. Legal experts said it was telling that no other justice joined Thomas's separate opinion.

One justice, Brett M. Kavanaugh, has been highly critical of the now-expired independent counsel law and the Supreme Court's decision upholding that statute. As a young lawyer, Kavanaugh was part of independent counsel Starr's team. During oral arguments in Trump's immunity case, Kavanaugh called the 1988 ruling known as *Morrison v. Olson* "one of the court's biggest mistakes."

But Amar, the Yale law professor, said those concerns do not necessarily translate to the separate position Smith occupies. Like Kavanaugh, Amar is critical of the former law because it required a panel of judges to appoint the independent counsel. The special counsel process avoids that problem and offers an antidote, he said, because the prosecutor is selected by the executive branch and can be fired by the attorney general.

Even as he and other legal experts predicted Cannon's ruling would be overturned, Amar also said her legal future could be bright.

If Trump is reelected and Republicans take control of the Senate, he said, Cannon could be tapped for the appeals court or even to the Supreme Court, if there is a vacancy.

Perry Stein contributed to this report.

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POLITICS & THE NATION



PHOTOS BY JOANNA SLATER/THE WASHINGTON POST

A sign at a convenience store in Brookline, Mass., explains a tobacco sales bylaw. A handful of communities in the state have implemented generational tobacco bans, a concept also under consideration in places including Britain and New Zealand.

Some Massachusetts communities are trying to say goodbye to tobacco products — forever

Regulations aim to phase out smoking and other nicotine use by banning sales to younger generations

BY JOANNA SLATER

BROOKLINE, MASS. — The idea was ingenious, Richard Lopez thought: a slow but relentless way to phase out tobacco for good.

Lopez chairs the board of health in Reading, Mass., a town of 25,000 north of Boston. Last month, the board adopted a regulation to create what advocates call a "nicotine-free generation."

Anyone born in 2004 or later will not be allowed to buy cigarettes or nicotine products in Reading when they turn 21, the legal age to purchase.

The policy will not affect older smokers, who are free to continue their habit, Lopez said. But with each passing year, more people will be banned from buying. It's "an endgame for tobacco and nicotine," he said.

Reading isn't alone: Five other communities in Massachusetts have taken the same step in recent months, building on the example set by Brookline, a Boston suburb, in 2020. At least two other cities in the state are contemplating joining them.

The moves put Massachusetts at the forefront of a global movement. Britain is considering banning cigarette sales to those born in 2009 or later. New Zealand, meanwhile, had adopted a similar ban but reversed course after a change in leadership.

It's not clear whether the push by a handful of communities in Massachusetts to gradually ban tobacco will spread or fizzle out. Buyers can avoid the restrictions simply by going a mile or two to another town. But proponents say that other limits on tobacco — think banning smoking in restaurants or raising the age to purchase cigarettes to 21 — also started small.

Opponents have taken note. Peter Brennan is executive director of the New England Convenience Store and Energy Marketers Association, a group that represents more than 7,000 retailers in the region along with their suppliers. "You don't have to be a nicotine user to think this is a little bit ridiculous," Brennan said. "It's virtue signaling of the worst kind by these boards of health."

Local officials moved "so quickly that most people in the towns don't even know it happened," he added.

Nationally, adult smoking rates have trended down for decades and dipped below 11 percent for the first time in 2023, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Smoking remains the leading cause of preventable death in the United States, killing 480,000 people each year, more than car accidents, murders, suicides and drug overdoses combined.

Anti-tobacco activists have been alarmed by the growing popularity of e-cigarettes and flavored nicotine pouches that they say are geared to appeal to young people. One in 10 high school students reported using e-cigarettes, also known as vapes, last year. Only 2 percent reported smoking cigarettes.

That the push for a generational ban on tobacco found traction in Massachusetts — a liberal state with a history of innovation in public health — is perhaps unsurprising. Back in 2005, the town of Needham, a Boston suburb, became the first place in the country to raise the legal age to purchase tobacco products to 21. Years later, the rule began to spread within the state and was ultimately enacted nationwide during the Trump administration.

In Brookline, an affluent town of 63,000, the proposal to gradually ban tobacco sales was spearheaded by Katharine Silbaugh, a law professor, and Anthony Ishak, a pharmacist. In 2020, the town voted to adopt a bylaw banning nicotine sales to anyone born in the 21st century.

The rule went into effect in late 2021, giving Brookline the distinction of being the only place in the world where a tobacco-free generation policy is in force. (Balanga City in the Philippines had adopted the policy in 2016, but tobacco companies launched a lawsuit that later blocked its implementation.)

Brookline, too, faced a legal fight. In March, however, the state's highest court ruled against the convenience store owners who had challenged the new rule. It dismissed their arguments that the bylaw was unconstitutional and that municipalities lacked the authority to institute such restrictions.

Other cities and towns had been watching closely. In relatively quick succession, Stoneham, Wakefield, Melrose, Winchester, Malden and Reading adopted their own generational bans on sales of tobacco and e-cigarettes. The rules will take effect on Jan. 1, as people born in 2004 start turning 21. The cities of Medford and Newton are also exploring similar moves.

Maureen Buzby has worked as a regional tobacco control coordinator for several of the towns for more than a decade. She described her job as a game of whack-a-mole, trying to stay ahead of an industry that continues to find cheap and sleek ways to deliver nicotine.

Prior restrictions on tobacco were "Band-Aids," Buzby said. By contrast, the generational ban "really protects younger people" without taking "anything away from anyone who's already 21."

Critics disagree. "These Prohibition-style policies simply won't work," said David Spross, executive director of the National Association of Tobacco Outlets. People over 21 are "legally able to make every other kind of adult rational decision."

In Brookline, the bylaw is a source of pride for some and deep frustration for others. In 2022, the town issued $300 fines to four tobacco retailers after inspections revealed they weren't complying with the rule, said Sigalle Reiss, Brookline's public health director. Subsequent checks, however, did not find any violations.

Customers born after Jan. 1, 2000 — the cutoff date in Brookline — often react with anger and incomprehension to the news that they can't purchase tobacco products, staff at three gas stations said.

"They say, 'I can drink alcohol and buy marijuana, what is this?'" said Zameen Khan, who has worked at a Brookline gas station and convenience store for 30 years. He directs their attention to the notice posted on the window detailing the rule and suggests they go one town over.

Omar Audy, 49, owns two gas stations in Brookline with his father, Elias, who was one of the plaintiffs in the case challenging the bylaw. He estimates that their tobacco sales have dropped by 30 percent since 2021.

"An adult should be able to do this," Audy said with exasperation. "I feel very guilty telling people who are 24 they can't buy cigarettes. How fair is that?"

As Audy fumed, a bearded man in flip-flops entered the small convenience store. Audy had informed him earlier that he couldn't buy tobacco. "I'm 24!" the man said angrily. "It's crazy, no?"

A few minutes later, a woman in a T-shirt and jean shorts came up to the cash register. She was down to her last cigarette. The ban didn't apply to her — she was born in 1996 — but she expressed cautious approval. "I guess it's healthier," she said. "I wish I had never started smoking."

Brennan, executive director of the convenience store association, didn't rule out further legal challenges. He said the group was exploring its options, including a possible appeal of the March decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Reiss, the Brookline official, said it is too early to tell if the ban is having real-world impact. Public health policy is more effective when applied across multiple geographies, she said, but "you have to start somewhere."

Brookline is a place that is willing to "push the envelope a little bit" to create a healthier community, Reiss added. "I guess I'm pretty proud."



A store in Brookline on July 3. Those born after Jan. 1, 2000, can't purchase tobacco products in the Boston suburb, leading to mixed feelings among many community members.

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Deputy is charged in killing of Black woman

BY JONATHAN EDWARDS



Sean Grayson was indicted in the July 6 shooting of Sonya Massey in Springfield, Ill.

An Illinois sheriff's deputy has been charged with first-degree murder for allegedly shooting an unarmed Black woman in her house after she called 911 to report a prowler.

Sean Grayson, 30, was one of two Sangamon County sheriff's deputies who went to 36-year-old Sonya Massey's house in Springfield, Ill., early on July 6. Within a half-hour, Grayson had shot Massey in the face and — as she lay dying — told another deputy not to bother with trying to save her, prosecutors allege.

On Wednesday, Grayson was indicted on charges of first-degree murder, aggravated battery with a firearm and official misconduct after a weeks-long investigation by the Illinois State Police and the Sangamon County State's Attorney's Office. At prosecutors' urging, Circuit Judge Ryan Cadagin denied Grayson bond and ordered that he be jailed. Records show he's at the Menard County Detention Facility.

Grayson, who was fired Thursday after his indictment, faces life in prison if convicted on the murder charge.

Sangamon County State's Attorney John Milhiser and Grayson's attorney, Dan Fultz, declined to comment on the case.

Civil rights attorney Ben Crump, who's representing Massey's family, said his clients have endured "unimaginable pain and suffering" for what he called "the heinous actions" of a guardian Massey had called on to help her.

"Sonya Massey called 911 for protection, but instead was tragically shot by Illinois Sheriff's Deputy Sean Grayson," Crump wrote Friday on X, the social media site formerly known as Twitter. "He not only took her life but also discouraged his partner from giving aid."

Around 12:50 a.m. on July 6, Grayson and another deputy responded to Massey's 911 call about a prowler near her house in Springfield, prosecutor Mary Rodgers wrote in a sworn affidavit. They allegedly went into her home to get more information and make sure it was safe.

While inside, Grayson noticed a pot on the stove and allowed Massey to remove it to prevent an accidental fire, Rodgers said. Meanwhile, the other deputy searched Massey's house and found nothing dangerous, she added.

Grayson then made a comment about the pot, which held heated water, Rodgers said, and Massey responded by setting it down on the kitchen counter while Grayson was still in the living room.

Despite having cover and being some distance away from Massey, Grayson allegedly pulled his gun and threatened to shoot Massey in the face. Massey put her hands in the air and said "I'm sorry" as she ducked behind the counter between them, the prosecutor said.

Grayson came toward her and "aggressively yelled" at Massey, Rodgers said. Massey grabbed the pot and tossed out the water, according to an Illinois State Police memo obtained by the New York Times.

Then, Grayson allegedly fired three times at Massey, hitting her once in the face.

Only then did Grayson turn on his body camera, Rodgers said, contrasting his actions with those of the other deputy, who turned on his camera upon arriving at Massey's house.

After Grayson shot Massey, his fellow deputy said he was going to get a medical kit from his vehicle, Rodgers said. Grayson allegedly told him not to bother given the severity of Massey's injury. The other deputy nevertheless rendered aid and stayed with Massey until EMTs arrived, she said.

Medics took her to HSHS St. John's Hospital in Springfield, where she died.

That day, the Sangamon County Sheriff's Office asked the Illinois State Police to investigate the shooting.

A use of force expert with the Illinois State Police watched the body-camera footage of both deputies and determined Grayson's shooting was not justified, Rodgers said. The expert compared the shooting "to an officer intentionally and unnecessarily putting himself in front of a moving vehicle and then justifying use of force because of fear of being struck," she added.

Grayson's "disregard of his training as a law enforcement officer, and his disregard for human life, shows by clear and convincing evidence that he is a danger to persons in the community," Rodgers said.

Massey weighed 110 pounds and, according to prosecutors, wasn't a physical threat to Grayson, who's 6-foot-3 and 228 pounds.

On Wednesday, Massey's family met with prosecutors and state police to get an update on the investigation and watch the deputies' body-cam footage, according to a news release from the Sangamon County state's attorney. Prosecutors plan to publicly release those videos on Monday.

Grayson was arraigned Thursday during his first court appearance. His next hearing is on Aug. 26.

Illinois Gov. JB Pritzker (D) on Thursday called Massey's death a "devastating occurrence and tragedy."

"We've seen too much of this where an innocent person — unarmed — who actually called for assistance was the target and victim of a shooting by a police officer," Pritzker said.

Later, the governor said, "The tragedy of this is heartbreaking."

Daniel Wu contributed to this report.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Former president Donald Trump made several false claims during his 92-minute speech at the Republican National Convention on Thursday.

Trump's long acceptance speech was full of ad-libs — and falsehoods



The Fact Checker

GLENN KESSLER

Former president Donald Trump's 92-minute speech accepting the Republican presidential nomination on the final night of his party's national convention rambled, often incoherently, through a hit parade of his favorite falsehoods, many of them ad-libbed instead of drawn from his prepared remarks. This is an excerpt from a fact check examining 34 claims that caught our attention, in the order in which Trump made them. (You can find the full fact check online.)

As is our practice, we do not award Pinocchios for a roundup of statements made during convention events.

"The biggest tax cuts ever."

This is one of Trump's favorite falsehoods. Trump's tax cut amounted to nearly 0.9 percent of the gross domestic product, meaning it was far smaller than President Ronald Reagan's tax cut in 1981, which was 2.89 percent of GDP. Trump's tax cut is the eighth-largest tax cut in the past century — and even smaller than two tax cuts passed under President Barack Obama. Trump's tax cut was heavily tilted toward the wealthy and corporations.

"The biggest regulation cuts ever."

Trump's claim of the most or biggest regulation cuts cannot be easily verified and appears to be false. There is no reliable metric on which to judge this claim — or to compare him with previous presidents. Many experts say the most significant regulatory changes in U.S. history were the deregulation of the airline, rail and trucking industries during the Carter administration, which are estimated to provide consumers with $70 billion in annual benefits.

"We have an inflation crisis that is making life unaffordable, ravaging the incomes of working and low-income families and crushing, just simply crushing, our people like never before."

The monthly inflation headlines are often about the year-over-year inflation rate, as measured by changes in the consumer price index. Inflation reached a high of 9 percent in June 2022. Annualized inflation has dropped significantly since then. The year-over-year figure in June was 3.0 percent.

Inflation initially spiked because of pandemic-related shocks — increased consumer demand as the pandemic eased, and an inability to meet this demand because of supply chain issues, as companies had reduced production when consumers hunkered down during the pandemic. Indeed, inflation rose around the world — with many peer countries doing worse than the United States — because of pandemic-related shocks that rippled across the globe.

Wage growth lagged inflation initially in Biden's term, but it has since caught up. Wages have risen 19.4 percent, compared with cumulative inflation of 19.2 percent. That's basically treading water, but it's not as dire as Trump claims.

"I will end the devastating inflation crisis immediately, bring down interest rates, and lower the cost of energy. We will drill, baby, drill."

Trump has proposed a number of policies that economists consider to be inflationary, such as a proposal for across-the-board tariffs. Trump has also suggested he would impose a 60 percent tariff on all Chinese goods. While Trump frequently claims tariffs are paid by countries, that's wrong; the cost of the tariffs generally are passed on to consumers, so it is a form of tax.

The Federal Reserve sets interest rates and Biden has respected its independence, even as it kept interest rates high to keep inflation in check. Cutting interest rates too rapidly could spark inflation.

The Wall Street Journal, in its quarterly survey of forecasters this month, reported "most economists believe inflation, deficits and interest rates would be higher during a second Trump administration than if Biden remains in the White House."

It also defies economic logic to claim that higher oil production will bring prices down. Domestic oil production and natural gas production are already at record highs under Biden.

"We'll start paying off debt and start lowering taxes even further."

Trump falsely asserts the national debt would be reduced by money generated by oil and natural gas reserves in the ground. But most of the money is earned by oil producers, not the federal government. The federal government might own some of the land and earn leasing fees. Such fees on U.S. federal lands, federal waters and Native American lands amounted to about $20 billion in fiscal 2022, according to CRFB. The government also earns fees from taxes on sales, with a substantial portion already dedicated to transportation projects. All told, the federal government earns about $100 billion per year from fees and taxes on fossil fuel, according to a 2022 report from Resources for the Future, a nonprofit research group.

The United States had a budget deficit almost four times as high — $383 billion — just in the first two months of fiscal 2024 (which began Oct. 1), showing the folly of Trump's logic.

"People don't realize I brought taxes way down, way, way down. And yet we took in more revenues the following year than we did when the tax rate was much higher."

This is poppycock. Before the pandemic, government revenue under Trump was always supposed to go up year after year, despite the tax cut. That's because the tax cut merely slowed the growth of revenue; it did not reduce it. As predicted by congressional budget analysts, revenue went way down from what had been anticipated before Congress approved Trump's tax cut, which (along with higher spending) was the reason the federal budget deficit soared despite a good economy — when ordinarily that would mean a reduced budget deficit.

"They [Democrats] used covid to cheat [in the election] and [we're] never going to let it happen again."

More than 60 lawsuits were filed over the 2020 election, but not a single court identified fraud.

"Just a few short years ago under my presidency, we had the most secure border [in the history of our country]."

Annual apprehensions at the U.S.-Mexico border totaled 310,531 in fiscal year 2017, which included part of the Obama administration, and that was the lowest since 1971. But then the numbers spiked in Trump's term, reaching 859,501 in fiscal year 2019, the highest since 2009. Apprehensions plunged in April 2020 because of lockdowns at the start of the pandemic.

"We had the greatest economy in the history of the world."

One of Trump's favorite falsehoods is that he created the greatest economy in U.S. history, but he amps it here to encompass the whole world. That's ridiculous.

By just about any important measure, the pre-pandemic economy under Trump did not do as well as it did under Presidents Harry S. Truman, Lyndon B. Johnson and Bill Clinton. The gross domestic product grew at an annual rate of 2.3 percent in 2019, slipping from 2.9 percent in 2018 and 2.4 percent in 2017. But in 1997, 1998 and 1999, GDP grew 4.5 percent, 4.5 percent and 4.7 percent, respectively. Yet even that period paled in comparison with the 1950s and 1960s. Growth between 1962 and 1966 ranged from 4.4 percent to 6.6 percent. In postwar 1950 and 1951, it was 8.7 percent and 8 percent, respectively.

The unemployment rate reached a low of 3.5 percent under Trump, but for several months in 2023, the unemployment rate under Biden fell to as low as 3.4 percent. The unemployment rate dipped as low as 2.5 percent in 1953.

"We had no inflation."

There was inflation under Trump — about 1.9 percent per year. That was pretty good, but it was 1.4 percent per year under Obama.

"We've suffered the worst inflation we've ever had."

Inflation under Biden has been the highest in four decades, but 9 percent is not the worst in history. It was 18 percent in 1946, more than 12 percent in 1974, more than 13 percent in 1979 and 12.5 percent in 1980. Many other years were at or near 9 percent.

"Our cities are flooded with illegal aliens. Americans are being squeezed out of the labor force and their jobs are taken. And by the way, you know who's taking the jobs? The jobs that are created, 107 percent of those jobs are taken by illegal aliens."

Trump falsely says that undocumented immigrants are taking jobs from U.S. citizens. Employment for the native-born population has increased by more than 7.2 million under Biden, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Meanwhile, employment of foreign-born workers increased about 5 million from February 2021 through June, BLS says. The agency says this figure includes more than just undocumented immigrants; it also includes legally admitted immigrants, refugees and temporary residents such as students and temporary workers.

"Under this administration, groceries are up 57 percent, gasoline is up 60 and 70 percent. Mortgage rates have quadrupled."

These numbers are inflated. Food prices overall have risen 21.4 percent since Biden took office, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics data that measures inflation for dairy products, meats, and fruits and vegetables.

As for gasoline, the price of crude oil was unusually low when Trump was in office because the coronavirus pandemic flattened economies around the world. After mass vaccination helped reopen many economies, demand increased again. But supply was lacking because oil producers decreased their production levels. The retail price of gasoline was $2.64 per gallon in January 2021 when Trump left office. The price of regular gasoline now averages $3.52 per gallon, according to AAA. That's an increase of 33 percent. (On an inflation-adjusted basis, gasoline now is slightly higher than the average of $3.20 over the past 106 years.)

As for mortgage rates, that is the result of Federal Reserve policy designed to tamp down inflation. But they did not quadruple. The average 30-year rate was 2.96 percent in 2021 and now is about 7 percent.

"We have more liquid gold under our feet than any other country by far. We are a nation that has the opportunity to make an absolute fortune with its energy."

This is false. According to the Energy Information Administration, the United States has proven crude oil reserves of 44 billion barrels, which would put the country in 10th place. Venezuela, with 304 billion barrels of oil reserves, is in first place, followed by Saudi Arabia (259 billion), Iran (209 billion), Canada (170 billion) and Iraq (145 billion). The United States ranks fourth in the world in natural gas reserves.

"This is the only administration that said we're going to raise your taxes by four times what you're paying now."

This is false. For five years, Biden has been consistent in saying he will not raise taxes on people making less than $400,000 per year, which leaves about the top 2 percent of taxpayers. Biden reiterated this pledge in the budget plan he released earlier this year.

"I'm going to protect Social Security and Medicare. Democrats are going to destroy Social Security and Medicare because all of these people, by the millions, they're coming in."

This is false. Undocumented immigrants improve the health of Social Security and Medicare by paying payroll taxes without receiving benefits. In a fact check, we calculated the figure for Social Security payments made by undocumented immigrants is about $27 billion. For Medicare, it should be at least $6 billion, as the Medicare tax is about 23 percent of the Social Security tax.

"They're coming from everywhere. They're coming at levels that we've never seen before. It is an invasion, indeed. And this administration does absolutely nothing to stop them. They're coming from prisons, they're coming from jails. They're coming from mental institutions and insane asylums."

This is fantasy. Immigration experts know of no such effort by other countries. As someone who came to prominence in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Trump appears to be channeling Cuban leader Fidel Castro's 1980 Mariel boatlift. About 125,000 Cubans were allowed to flee to the United States in 1,700 boats — but there was a backlash when it was discovered that hundreds of refugees had been released from jails and mental health facilities.

Helen Fair, research associate at the Institute for Crime & Justice Policy Research in Britain, which tracks the world prison population (except for a handful of countries), says the numbers keep growing. In 2013, 10.2 million people were in prison — and that had grown to 10.77 million in 2021. A preliminary estimate for February 2024, not ready to be published, indicates the population has grown even more. "In short, I would disagree with Donald Trump's assertion," she said.

"Meanwhile, our crime rate is going up."

This is false. Violent crime rates, especially for homicide in large cities, have fallen sharply during Biden's presidency, after a surge during the pandemic. The violent crime rate is believed to be near its lowest level in 50 years.

"In Venezuela, Caracas. High crime, high crime ... Really a dangerous place, but not anymore. Because in Venezuela, crime is down 72 percent."

There is no reliable data on crime in Venezuela — the government stopped publishing official data in 2015 — so it's unclear where Trump gets this number. But it's higher than what even the government says. In May, Venezuelan security officials announced that crime indicators had fallen by 25.1 percent compared with 2023, claiming that security forces had been successful in large-scale operations against criminal groups. Some experts believe the impossible-to-verify numbers are intended to boost the sagging popularity of the Nicolás Maduro government.

"We defeated 100 percent of ISIS in Syria and Iraq, something that was said to take five years. 'Sir, it will take five years, sir.' We did it in a matter of a couple of months."

It took the United States and coalition partners more than two years to defeat the Islamic State (ISIS) after Trump took office. In fact, President Barack Obama set up virtually all the structure that did the key fighting against the Islamic State under Trump, and more fighters were trained and munitions dropped under Obama than under Trump.



SARA STATHAS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Balloons and confetti sit on the red-carpeted floor after the conclusion of the party's 2024 convention.

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PENNSYLVANIA GOVERNOR

Josh Shapiro

Ain't Got Sh*t Done

Governor Josh Shapiro has made "Get Sh*t Done," profanity and all, the official slogan of his administration. But despite his pledge to bring people together and work across the aisle in the legislature, Shapiro has struggled to govern.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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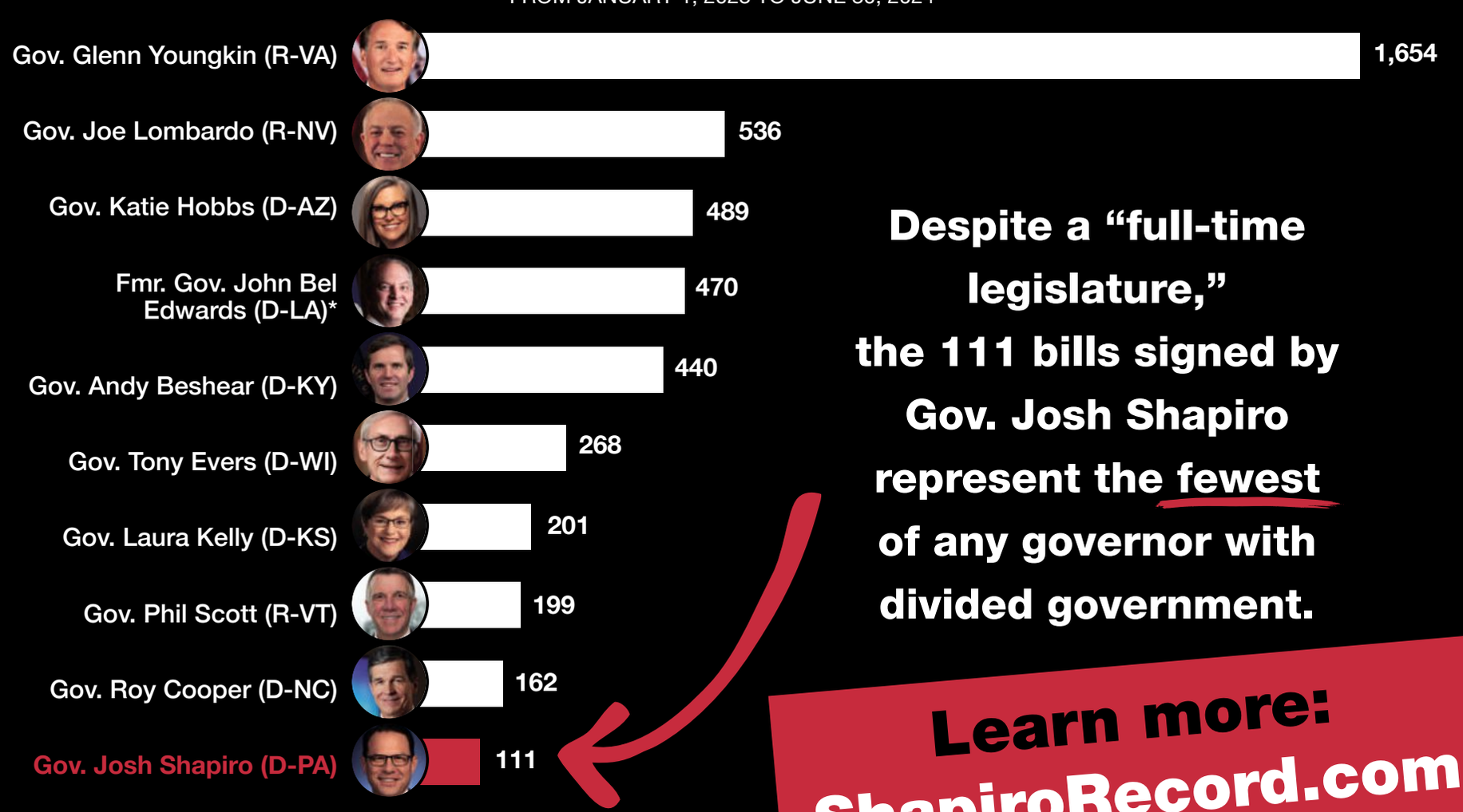
Mr. Success Finally Confronts Failure

Shapiro Last In Nation Among States With Divided Government

Despite having a "full-time legislature," from the beginning of his term through the end of June 2024, Gov. Josh Shapiro enacted the fewest laws of any governor with divided government. His inability to persuade his own party to get to work and pass his priorities—including scholarships for disadvantaged kids in failing schools—resulted in a lack of legislative accomplishments, making him the least productive governor of the Keystone State in at least 50 years.

LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF GOVERNORS WITH DIVIDED GOVERNMENT

FROM JANUARY 1, 2023 TO JUNE 30, 2024



Despite a "full-time legislature," the 111 bills signed by Gov. Josh Shapiro represent the fewest of any governor with divided government.

Learn more: ShapiroRecord.com

*Despite leaving office on January 8, 2024, John Bel Edwards was still more productive than Josh Shapiro during the full window of this study. Source: LegiScan, bills passed and signed in each state, https://legiscan.com/

COMMONWEALTH FOUNDATION

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He brought home a nation's divide

FAMILY FROM **A1**

For much of his childhood, Mike said, he parroted his mother's right-wing opinions without question, in line with the rest of their immediate family, which mostly leaned right. But after Mike failed several classes as a freshman in public high school, Jennifer sent him to the Leelanau School, a private boarding school in Michigan that promised a hands-on, "inclusive" approach to learning. There, surrounded by teachers and classmates he described as liberal, Mike said he grew more curious about his peers' worldviews — and correspondingly less sure of his own. By the time he matriculated at Ithaca College, he was leaning left, he said. Living on campus solidified the shift. He would graduate college feeling closest, politically, to the Democratic Socialists of America, which aims to abolish capitalism in the United States.

Both Mike and his mother saw his education as the culprit — in different ways. Jennifer, a former patrol officer, came to believe the teachers and classmates at Mike's private school influenced him to adopt viewpoints at odds with her own.

"He was indoctrinated," she said.

But Mike decided the "indoctrination" he underwent actually took place at home, fueled by his family's diet of Fox News, Trump speeches and Alex Jones. What his boarding school did, Mike said, was "counter-indoctrination": It showed him there was more than one way to see things, leaving him the power to choose.

Mike's education took place amid a swelling national debate over what and how schools should teach about race, history, sex, gender and faith. Between his senior years of high school and college, legislators in red states passed nearly 80 laws restricting what educators can say about race, sexual orientation and gender identity, a Washington Post analysis found. And the summer of Mike's college graduation, Oklahoma started requiring that all schools teach the Bible. At the same time, conservative politicians, pundits and parents began alleging teachers were pushing left-wing beliefs about LGBTQ+ people, policing, race and history onto students.

On the campaign trail, Donald Trump railed against the "liberal indoctrination of America's youth" and promised to end federal funding for schools teaching "transgender insanity" or "other inappropriate racial, sexual or political content." South Dakota Gov. Kristi L. Noem (R) and former Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson wrote an op-ed declaring "defeating anti-American indoctrination" in schools the "biggest cultural challenge of our lifetime."

As political charges of school indoctrination surged, Jennifer worried its effects were fracturing her family.

She fought more with Mike after he went away to college, and they spoke less. When they did talk, in minutes-long phone calls, they skirted an expanding list of topics too hot to touch: from the coronavirus vaccine, to the Black Lives Matter protests, to transgender rights, to presidential politics.

By his junior year of college, Mike noticed he wasn't talking or laughing freely with his mother as he remembered doing when he was little. It felt like he couldn't discuss anything that mattered with Jennifer. Like he had to hide parts of himself from his mother.

Jennifer, meanwhile, resented the way Mike questioned her beliefs, treating her as if she was stupid. And she watched as political disagreements ripped apart her town and threatened other relationships in her family: A stranger yelled at her for her Trump bumper sticker. A cousin stopped speaking to her after she posted "All Lives Matter" on Facebook.

A few months before Ithaca College's graduation, she called Mike and told him they had to fix this. They had to stop fighting all the time. She didn't want to lose her son, not over politics.

On the Saturday morning in late May when Jennifer arrived at the Syracuse airport with Mike's grandfather and sister, Mike was standing at the base of an escalator waiting, shifting foot to foot.

"Hi," he said, moving in to hug his mom.

"Did you get taller?" Jennifer asked, stepping back to look at him. "When was the last time I saw you, Christmas?"

It was her first time seeing Mike in months. Her first time visiting the state of New York: a liberal slice of the country foreign to her, but where her son had found a home. It was his first real chance to show her, up close, what he was making of his life.

And it was their first real test since Jennifer called demanding a solution. Could they accept each other, even if they didn't understand each other anymore?

"Yeah," Mike answered his mother. Turning toward the baggage claim, he warned, "I don't really have a good plan" for the trip.

Gripping the handle of her pink rolling suitcase, Jennifer followed her son into the weekend.

Jennifer realized Mike was in trouble when she saw his ninth-grade report card: a slew of C's, D's and F's. She knew Mike was smart, and she was sure he could do better. Her distractible son just needed a different way to learn. More one-on-one attention. Lessons that required him to use his whole body, not just his brain.

She and Mike's father — who are divorced — sought help from a Chicago-based education consultant, who evaluated Mike and recommended the Leelanau School, which offers "kinesthetic, visual, and verbal learning" that engages "all your senses," per the school website. At the tiny boarding school in Northern Michigan, where tuition and board cost up to $72,000 per year, teachers give lessons targeted as much to students' "sight, sound and smell" as their brains. During a typical class day, students might wade into the river to learn about "aquatic life cycles," or shoot slingshots to understand parabolic motion. The Leelanau website promises to celebrate "everyone's unique learning styles in a culture of acceptance."

Perfect, Jennifer decided, for her son. Mike's grandparents got on board, too, agreeing to help pay tuition.

So, at the start of Mike's sophomore year in 2017, Jennifer drove from Illinois to Glen Arbor to settle him into the wooded, 40-acre campus fronting Lake Michigan. She recalled him as angry and tearful throughout the six-hour car ride; Mike said in an interview that it felt like he was being sent away as punishment.

At first, he disliked the new school. He struggled to adjust to the super-small, unusual classes, which could involve anything from a fishing trip to looking at rocks. It was weird, Mike said, to take exams based on conversations rather than written questions.

And Mike felt out of place among his peers. Early on, he remembered, he tried making comments popular with his friend circle back home: Dinging Hillary Clinton for her private email server, for example, or calling Trump the GOAT, short for "Greatest of All Time." Such opinions stemmed partly from his mother, he said, but also from "alt-right" corners of the internet and the irregular drip of Daily Wire articles he read at the time.

But, where kids at his old school had laughed or agreed, Leelanau students didn't seem to like what Mike was saying. They told Mike his comments weren't "okay," Mike recalled. Especially one student, Jack Simermeyer, who lived in Mike's suite and who happened to be gay — something Mike made fun of at the time, he said.

Jack, now 23, said in an interview that he remembers Mike using the f-word a lot: slinging the homosexual slur like a nickname, greeting him at night with, "'Sup, f-----?" Other times, Mike asked rude questions about sex acts or found ways to make "my gayness the butt of the joke," Jack said. But Jack never complained to adults at the school. He didn't find Mike's behavior threatening, he said, just ignorant. He judged that Mike was hunting for reactions: He wanted to "trigger the libs," Jack said.

"He wasn't my favorite person," Jack said, "but the way I viewed him — he just didn't know. He wasn't aware. He hadn't had the exposure to other people where you can build tolerance."

Instead of reporting Mike, Jack decided to teach him. He explained the f-word was hurtful. He argued with Mike about politics and other current events, once pushing back, for example, when he heard Mike satirizing queer identities by claiming he identified as "an attack helicopter."

Eventually, Mike started listening — out of simple curiosity.

"The discourse that was happening, I wanted to stop rejecting it," he said in an interview. "I wanted to ask more questions. Why were things the way they were?"

By Mike's junior year, Jennifer started to notice changes in her son, too. When she called to tell him she was planning a visit to Leelanau, he paused on the line before blurting out a warning: Do not wear your Trump sweatshirt.

"And don't ever say 'former president Trump' while you're here," Jennifer recalls Mike saying. "I don't want you to say anything about Trump."

Jennifer was shocked. A little hurt. She hadn't been planning to bring the Trump gear anyway — why would she? Her political views had nothing to do with visiting her son at school. Mike should have known that.

When she arrived on campus a few days later, making sure to leave the sweatshirt at home, she was further startled by how casually the teachers and students dressed and behaved toward one another: They wore jeans, she said, and used first names. It was all so different from the conservative Catholic school she grew up attending. One day, Mike told her, school leaders let students out of class to protest for more gun control.

Both Mike and Jack said they guessed most Leelanau teachers were liberal based on the ways they decorated their classrooms or occasional comments they dropped in casual conversations. Still, both emphasized, they never received explicitly political education at Leelanau. Instead, educators canvassed left- and right-wing arguments in class, making sure students understood both sides.

The Leelanau School did not respond to requests for comment.

Driving home, Jennifer wondered if most of Mike's classmates and teachers at Leelanau leaned left.

But she dismissed the thought before she finished the drive. The school seemed so good for Mike in other ways: His grades were up. He was more articulate. He spent less time playing video games. And she really *liked* his teachers: They clearly cared about her son and were able to work with him in one-on-one ways his public school hadn't.

What, Jennifer thought, did politics really matter?

Soon it was Mike's senior year, and time for him to choose a subject to investigate for his thesis project. Intrigued by swirling rumors of a mysterious disease just beginning to inflict fatalities on Wuhan, China, Mike chose to research the coronavirus.

He set out in January 2020 to assess just how far the illness might spread. Through hours of painstaking research online, he learned with his chemistry teacher's help to distinguish between scientific reports, reliable news sources and social-media-fueled rumors.

He came away convinced that covid had the potential to disrupt the entire globe — and that Americans should listen closely to National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases chief Anthony S. Fauci. By contrast, Mike became increasingly alarmed by conservative politicians' skepticism around the virus, especially Trump's. When Trump insisted the virus would "miraculously [go] away," compared covid favorably to the flu or called the risk to the American people "very low," Mike bristled. Such commentary, he was beginning to fear, would cost millions of lives.

As Mike raced to finalize his senior project, the virus began proving his worst projections true. Covid surged into the United States with a vengeance, forcing schools nationwide to shut their doors. Including Leelanau.

Come late spring, Mike headed home to finish his senior year by Zoom — and to find his mother repeating every right-wing theory he'd come to detest.

A couple of months before the 2020 presidential election, Jennifer was parking at the grocery store when a stranger stopped his car, jumped out and started screaming at her. It was a few seconds before Jennifer realized what he was yelling about: the Trump sticker on her bumper.

Around the same time, scrolling on Facebook, Jennifer noticed a cousin had posted to complain about police treatment of Black Americans, writing, "Black Lives Matter." Stung by what she saw as a harsh reflection on her own career in law enforcement, Jennifer replied in the comments that, the way she saw it, "All Lives Matter."

The ensuing torrent of abuse from the cousin and her friends drove Jennifer to quit Facebook, she said. The next time she saw the cousin at a family function, they stayed on opposite sides of the room, not speaking. Jennifer couldn't help recalling how she used to change the cousin's diapers.

But suddenly, ties like that didn't seem to matter. America — like her town, like her extended family — was more split over politics than Jennifer had ever known it.

When Mike came home, so did the division.

One evening after dinner, Mike wandered into Jennifer's bedroom and sat down on a large beige couch, a favorite childhood haunt for both Mike and sister Grace. Jennifer turned to face him, looking away from a television screen playing Fox News.

Mike began talking through what happened that day: inevitably, about covid. Jennifer told her son about a video she'd seen online showing military tanks taking over cities in lockdown. The person who posted the video, she told him, feared the government might use the virus as an excuse to enforce martial law.

"That s---'s crap," Mike recalled responding, alarmed. He suggested she look at the resources he'd relied on for his covid presentation instead: the World Health Organization, for example, or bulletins from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Jennifer felt a burr of alarm. She didn't agree with what her son was saying. And she didn't appreciate the implication she was being duped. Just when had Mike become so confident his information was right, and hers wrong?

"Let's just go to bed," she said, after several silent minutes.

Soon, the meetings became a nightly ritual. It was a way to process a world that seemed to be spinning into chaos — and, increasingly, a measure of just how differently mother and son viewed that world.

At first, their evening discussions centered on covid. But when George Floyd was killed by police and demonstrations erupted across dozens of major cities, their conversations veered in a new direction. Jennifer cited theories — since debunked — positing Floyd died of a drug overdose, not because of a policeman's knee on his neck. Pointing to fires and looting in some places, she argued the protesters were destroying cities. She objected to the way she felt Black activists were painting all cops as evil and racist. She knew policemen, she had worked nearly two decades in the force — and she wasn't evil, or racist.

To Mike, though, Floyd's death was undeniable proof of the racism baked into American structures and institutions. He deemed the protests, even those that turned violent, a long-overdue reckoning.

Neither budged. They both clung close to their opinions, convinced the other was wrong.

Mike had never argued like this with his mother. He was worried for her health, dismayed by her opposition to pandemic safety measures such as masking. He felt as if she wasn't listening to him; like suddenly, she didn't believe him anymore.

Jennifer, meanwhile, was wondering when her son stopped respecting her. She never remembered behaving so rudely to her own parents, Reagan devotees who raised her with a Republican flag in the front yard and Fox News on the television. Her whole life, she had retained their views without question.

In the spring of 2020, Mike learned he'd been admitted to Ithaca College with a scholarship. Teachers told him it was a great school. He thought Upstate New York looked beautiful. And anything that took him away from Chicago and the nightly bickering, Mike felt, was a good option.

He decided to go, with Jennifer's full support. Although she knew little about Ithaca, she was thrilled by the prospect of a college degree. She also hoped that, with a little distance, the fights might stop.

Instead, they changed subjects.

In almost weekly phone calls, Mike and Jennifer kept clashing over politics: First, Mike unsuccessfully tried to persuade his mother to support Joe Biden. Then they disagreed over the Jan. 6, 2021, insurrection at the U.S. Capitol — then over the coronavirus vaccine, which Mike signed up for as soon as he finished his first semester of college. But what he viewed as lifesaving, Jennifer deemed life-threatening. She refused Mike's demands she get the shot, pointing to reports from Tucker Carlson that the vaccine might cause health problems, even death.

His in-person visits to see his mother dwindled to twice, then once per year.

During one call a few months into Mike's senior year of college, he told Jennifer he didn't like law enforcement. The sentence knocked the air from her diaphragm. She finished the call blinking through tears, fighting to keep tremors from her voice. She had always believed her children were proud of the way she'd served her state. The minute Mike disconnected, she turned to her second husband, Dave.

"I just want to pull my hair out," she remembers saying. Why, she wanted to know. Why was Mike saying things that hurt so bad?

Dave looked at her. "Oh," she recalls him saying, "it must be that school."

And for the first time, Jennifer



HEATHER AINSWORTH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



COURTESY OF MIKE LINDGREN

ABOVE: Mike Lindgren, third from right, spends time with his mother, Jennifer Lindgren, his sister, Grace Lindgren, and his grandfather, Michael Goding, during their visit to Ithaca, N.Y., for Mike's graduation from Ithaca College in May. LEFT: Mike, seen in 2019, attended the Leelanau School in Glen Arbor, Mich.



JENNIFER LINDGREN

Mike has dinner with his mother and grandfather in July 2021.

asked herself the question: Was his education the reason Mike had turned out so differently?

Had the teachers and students at Leelanau exposed her son to left-leaning viewpoints he never would have encountered otherwise? Yes, she decided. Had Mike become an unrecognizable version of the little boy she could still remember carrying in her arms, the kid she once saw as her devoted sidekick? Yes.

Still, hadn't Mike also grown from a collector of D's and F's into a straight-A student? Hadn't Mike's teachers and classmates spurred his confidence and curiosity, developing him into a brave young man whose openness to new opinions she admired, despite everything? Wasn't he at college now because of what he learned at Leelanau?

She tried to remind herself of all of this whenever calls with Mike grew tense. To stay patient with her son, even when it felt as if he was making fun of her. Mostly, she tried to avoid broaching topics she suspected might spark disagreement.

Then in a phone call late last year, mother and son somehow started chatting about drag queen story hours: events where drag performers read books aloud to children at school or public libraries. Jennifer was horrified. She couldn't understand why anyone would think it was appropriate to confuse fragile young children by introducing them to the concept of cross-dressing before they were ready.

But Mike laughed at her, she recalled. "Well, what's wrong with that?" he kept asking over the phone.

In another first for Jennifer, she hung up on her son.

Early this year, Jennifer phoned Mike yet again. This time, with a message.

"You," she told him, "don't understand where I'm coming from."

She wasn't some brainwashed idiot, repeating Republican rhetoric like a robot, she said. She didn't believe conservatives were perfect or that they made all the right decisions — and he shouldn't think Democrats were perfect, either. What Jennifer tried to do, she said, was "look for good people doing the right thing."





PHOTOS BY HEATHER AINSWORTH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Jennifer takes a selfie with Mike as he greets a friend after his graduation from Ithaca College on May 19. LEFT: Mike says goodbye to his mother and grandfather at Syracuse International Airport. It was his mother's first trip to the state of New York.

What *they* couldn't do, she added, was let politics come between them. Their relationship was more important than their disagreements, she said.

Mike told her he hadn't understood how she picked candidates to support. He promised he'd try to be less dismissive of her views.

He'd been thinking lately about the nature of indoctrination. He still believed he'd been indoctrinated into right-wing views growing up. But so, he said, was his mother. And she wasn't to blame: There was an entire ecosystem of conservative politicians and pundits ready and eager to influence public opinion, Mike thought. His family was just one of many caught in the cogs of a large, well-organized machine.

On the phone, he told his mother he had a favor to ask. Would she please, just once, try reading the Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post or the New York Times?

"Have you ever considered," he said, "that media in general sometimes put out there what they want you to believe, not what is really going on?"

Jennifer said she never thought about it that way. Recalling some of the more vitriolic Infowars segments she had watched, she conceded: Perhaps Mike had a point. She promised her son she would try.

Three months later, Mike stood pointing at a red-awninged building in Ithaca Commons, a slice of downtown near his campus crammed with cafes, bookstores and boutique clothing shops. It was the day before graduation, and he was a few minutes into giving his mother, grandfather and sister a tour.

"So this," Mike said, pointing, "is the weed shop."

Jennifer, wearing diamond earrings and a turquoise cardigan, nodded. Mike was testing her, she thought. She called this behavior "poking the bear" or "picking the scab": little moments when Mike would lob ostensibly left-leaning viewpoints or activities, knowing it might set her off.

But now, she knew how to respond.

She swept an arm out, pointing out chattering crowds, people queued in front of packed restaurants, a vendor handing out free pizza, a street performer in a three-piece suit barking into a microphone. "Is it like this every weekend?" she asked.

"In the summer, yeah," Mike said, grinning.

"So eclectic around here, isn't it?" She smiled back, hugging herself and rising to her tiptoes. "Mish-mashy."

It was their new approach. The tolerance they'd reached. Maybe they were going to disagree sometimes. Maybe even most of the time. But Jennifer wanted to know about Mike's world — if he would let her in. And Mike could see Jennifer was open to learning — provided he made the effort to understand her, too.

He was her son, and she was his mother, and that mattered more than politics.

The next day, Mike approached the stage in a billowing blue graduation gown to collect a degree in journalism. His mother bounced on her toes, hands intertwined at her waist.

Onstage, part of Mike couldn't really believe what was happening.

Ever since he'd flunked classes his freshman year of high school, higher education had felt out of reach: something for people who were good at school, not for him. He looked toward where he thought his mother and family were sitting amid the vast crowd. If his mother hadn't supported him, Mike thought — hadn't picked out Leelanau, driven him there despite his opposition, worked with his grandparents to pay for the school — he wouldn't be where he was, crossing the stage.

If she had to do it over, Jennifer was asking herself as she watched from the crowd as her son's small blue figure accepted a tiny diploma, would she send Mike to Leelanau again?

Yes, she realized, she would.



SHEILA JACKSON LEE | 1950-2024



J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/AP

JACKSON LEE FROM **A1**

provided protections for women against domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking. Under Rep. Jackson Lee's leadership, it was expanded, among other ways, to specifically address Native American, transgender and immigrant women.

Critics accused Rep. Jackson Lee of drawing attention to herself, in addition to her causes. She offered dizzying arrays of amendments that had little to no chance of passing and, according to C-SPAN data, was among the members who spent the most time speaking on the House floor, including when the chamber was empty.

At the annual State of the Union address, she made it her practice to arrive hours in advance to secure an aisle seat from which to be seen on TV interacting with the president as he made his way to and from the podium.

Also complicating Rep. Jackson's Lee reputation were accounts of her mistreatment of staff members, whom she reportedly required to chauffeur her around Washington, dispatched on personal errands, phoned after midnight and scolded harshly for what she regarded as their shortcomings.

Her office was known for having one of the highest turnover rates on Capitol Hill. In 2023, during an unsuccessful run for mayor of Houston, she expressed regret when a recording emerged of her insulting her campaign staff in a profanity-laced tirade.

Rep. Jackson Lee said she attempted to ignore the criticism aimed at her and attributed it, at least in part, to sexism and racism.

"I have been in the skin of a woman and an African-American, and I understand the injustices we have to live through," she told the Texas Tribune in 2017. She added, "I just take it with a smile because I love the institution" of Congress.

Politicians are often labeled, fairly or unfairly, as "workhorses" or "showhorses." In many estimations, Rep. Jackson Lee fell squarely in the latter category. Robert Stein, a professor of political science at Rice University in Houston who followed Rep. Jackson Lee's career for decades, said she was a "showhorse" — but not in a negative way.

"She was a showhorse for the causes she cared about," Stein said, also remarking that "she staked out a career in the Congress that I think suited her and her abilities."

In response to criticism that Rep. Jackson Lee was a publicity-seeking politician who demanded too much of her staff, Stein cited what he described as a double standard for men and women in politics. "If this was a White male, we would have said he was a great politician," he said. "When she's a Black woman from [Queens] who moves to Houston — nobody ever gave her a break."

Admirers lauded Rep. Jackson Lee for pushing causes that she believed in even when she was unlikely to see them prevail. Foremost among those causes was the campaign to obtain reparations for African Americans as a means of redressing the enduring consequences of slavery.

In 2021, Rep. Jackson Lee successfully pushed H.R. 40, a bill to create a commission on the matter of reparations, through the Judiciary Committee. That committee vote was as far as the proposal had advanced on Capitol Hill since then-congressman John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) began advocating reparations more than three decades earlier.

"We're asking for people to understand the pain, the violence, the brutality, the chattelness of what we went through," Rep. Jackson Lee said. "And, of course, we're asking for harmony, reconciliation, reason to come together as Americans."

Within the House, Rep. Jackson Lee served as chief deputy Democratic whip and was a member of the Homeland Security and Budget committees, in addition to the Judiciary Committee.

Back in her district, she was known as a consummate politician, always on hand for weddings and funerals.

Rep. Jackson Lee took pride in her reputation for showing up, whether at local gatherings or the State of the Union address. It was her job, she said, to represent her constituents as forcefully as she could.

In 2009, when President Barack Obama made his first address to a joint session of Congress, Rep. Jackson Lee was ready when the transportation secretary, Ray LaHood, appeared in the chamber.

"As he walked down the aisle, I made the final push for Houston being in the president's budget … and for Houston being the first city that Secretary LaHood visited, and what were the results? We got in the president's '09 budget … and he made our city the first city to visit," Rep. Jackson Lee told the Texas Tribune. "I hosted him the entire day."

Tragedy opened door to education that helped vault her to Congress

Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Tex.) on Capitol Hill during President Bill Clinton's 1998 impeachment. She denounced the trial as "a sledgehammer to catch a fly."

Chance at an education

Sheila Jackson, one of two children, was born in Queens on Jan. 12, 1950.

Her father had been an artist for Marvel Comics in the 1940s, but he lost his job when White colleagues returned to theirs after serving in World War II, according to the Houston Chronicle. He later worked as a day laborer and as a hospital orderly. Her mother cared for premature babies at a hospital affiliated with the Salvation Army.

Rep. Jackson Lee attended New York City public schools as they started to desegregate in the 1950s and '60s. She was bused to predominantly White schools, she recounted, where she overcame discrimination to become involved in student government.

Her junior year, she ran for student council vice president but was elected secretary, a position that she assumed her classmates deemed more appropriate for a female student, she told the Chronicle.

She did not know if she would have the opportunity to attend college until she received a scholarship established at New York University for Black students after the 1968 assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Years later, reflecting on the tragedy that made it possible to pursue her education, she told the New York Times that she was a beneficiary of the "hills and valleys, the broken bodies and broken hearts, the loss of life of many who have gone on before me."

She later transferred to Yale, where she studied political science and graduated in 1972, and where she met her future husband, Elwyn Lee, whom she married the next year. She received her law degree from the University of Virginia in 1975.

The couple resided for three years in Washington, where she worked for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, convened to investigate King's death and the slaying of President John F. Kennedy in 1963.

Rep. Jackson Lee and her husband then moved to Houston, where she practiced law and mounted three unsuccessful bids for local judgeships. She received an appointment to the municipal bench before winning an at-large seat on the Houston City Council in 1989.

In 1994, she challenged Rep. Craig Washington (D), elected in 1989 to fill the seat left vacant when Rep. Mickey Leland (D) was killed in a plane crash in Ethiopia. Rep. Jackson Lee defeated Washington, 63 percent to 37 percent in the primary, then easily won the general election in her highly Democratic district.

Upon her election to the House, Rep. Jackson Lee was awarded a seat on the Judiciary Committee, which under Republican leadership voted, along party lines, to support the impeachment of President Bill Clinton in 1998. Clinton was accused of lying under oath about his affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

Rep. Jackson Lee was one of Clinton's most ardent defenders, remarking that "I know oppression when I see it" and denouncing Clinton's impeachment trial in the Senate as "a sledgehammer to catch a fly." He was acquitted in 1999.

In 2019, Rep. Jackson Lee stepped down as chairman of a Judiciary subcommittee and as chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation amid accusations that she fired an aide who had also worked for the foundation and who threatened to sue the foundation over an alleged sexual assault by a supervisor.

Rep. Jackson Lee denied having retaliated against the woman and was reinstated in 2021 as chairman of the subcommittee on crime, terrorism and homeland security.

In her 2023 run for Houston mayor, the nation's fourth-largest city by population, Rep. Jackson Lee had the endorsements of former president Clinton and his wife, Hillary Clinton, but she was soundly defeated in a nonpartisan runoff by a longtime Democratic state senator, John Whitmire, who attracted support from centrist Democrats, Republicans and independents with an emphasis on public safety.

In the 2024 congressional election, Rep. Jackson Lee defeated a Democratic challenger, former Houston City Council member Amanda Edwards, in the March primary.

Survivors include her husband, of Houston; two children, Jason Lee of Chicago and Erica Carter of Houston; a brother; and two grandchildren.

Reflecting on the forceful approach she took to work on behalf of her constituents and causes, Rep. Jackson Lee told the Times in 1999 that she needed to "make a difference."

"I don't have wealth to write a check," she said. "But maybe I can be a voice arguing consistently for change."

"She was a showhorse for the causes she cared about. … She staked out a career in the Congress that I think suited her and her abilities."

Robert Stein, a professor of political science at Rice University in Houston who followed Rep. Jackson Lee's career for decades

After outage, global reliance on Microsoft comes under fire

MICROSOFT FROM A1

tions to the 911 call service that forced some local dispatchers to switch to analog phone systems.

The outages were traced to a defective update from the cybersecurity company CrowdStrike, which was shipped to Windows systems across the globe, triggering the mass outages. In a blog post Saturday, Microsoft estimated that the update affected 8.5 million devices, which amounts to less than 1 percent of computers running Windows.

But the episode is resurfacing concerns that Microsoft's grip over global systems is opening up federal agencies and businesses to unnecessary risk — raising questions about whether the power of one of the world's most sophisticated political operators should be curtailed.

"These incidents reveal how concentration can create fragile systems," Federal Trade Commission Chair Lina Khan, a Democrat whose agency is looking into consolidation among cloud computing services, said in a Friday post on X.

"The impact of today's outages was defined by the reach of CrowdStrike; not the reach of Microsoft," said Microsoft spokeswoman Kate Frischmann.

Microsoft's email, cloud storage and video conferencing products have long been workplace staples nationwide, including within the federal government, for which the company is a major supplier. But prominent security lapses, coupled with mounting regulatory concerns about the tech giant's power in our economy, are testing the company's oftentimes friendly relationships in Washington.

The pervasiveness of Microsoft's software in government IT systems reentered the spotlight earlier this year, after major hacks exposed federal officials' emails, prompting lawmakers on Capitol Hill to haul in the company's president, Brad Smith, to testify. A scathing report by the federal government's Cyber Safety Review Board found that a "cascade of avoidable errors" and a security culture "that requires an overhaul" contributed to the events.

CrowdStrike CEO George Kurtz said Friday that the outages were "not a security or cyber incident" and that the company was "working with all impacted customers to ensure that systems are back up and they can deliver the services their customers are counting on."



KENA BETANCUR/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

The Windows outage on Friday took out screens in Times Square in New York, as well as payment systems, flights, court cases, public services and federal agencies. Microsoft estimated Saturday that the faulty CrowdStrike update affected 8.5 million devices worldwide.

Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella said in a statement Friday that the company is "working closely with CrowdStrike and across the industry to provide customers technical guidance and support to safely bring their systems back online."

But the flare-up is already fueling calls for the federal government to diversify the pool of vendors that conduct its daily operations, serving as a potential boon to Microsoft's competitors.

The outage "is the result of a software monopoly that has become a single point of failure for too much of the global economy," said George Rakis, executive director of NextGen Competition, whose group advocates for more stringent antitrust enforcement. He accused Microsoft of squelching competition by locking in customers and called for it to be "broken up."

Spence Purnell, director of technology policy at the Reason Foundation libertarian think tank, said that while government officials often "ironically" complain about tech monopolies, "they help prop up Microsoft's hold on government contracting through vendor lock-in."

The outages are also poised to deepen scrutiny of the company's dominance on Capitol Hill.

Lawmakers on at least three congressional panels — the House Oversight, House Homeland Security, and House Energy and Commerce committees — requested Friday that Microsoft and CrowdStrike brief members about how the outage took place and how it impacted agencies.

"This incident highlights how dependent we have become on IT for every aspect of our lives, and how a single defect can have a ripple effect across the entire economy," Homeland Security Committee Chairman Mark Green (R-Tenn.) said in a statement.

At least one Republican committee member, Rep. Michael McCaul (Tex.), learned of the outage as he faced his own flight disruptions while returning from the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee, according to a spokesperson.

Rep. William Timmons (R-S.C.), who sits on the House Oversight Committee, called for immediate hearings on the incident, saying on X that it "lays bare the multiple choke points in our IT and Cyber infrastructure."

Microsoft's regulatory troubles have been piling up around the globe as it pushes more aggressively into new technologies, including artificial intelligence. Federal agencies reached a deal last month clearing the FTC to investigate its relationship with OpenAI. Regulators in Europe and the United Kingdom have been eyeing the relationship. The moves signal a shift for the company, which avoided much of the "techlash" directed at companies during the Trump presidency and first years of the Biden administration.

Microsoft has deep lobbying and public-relations resources to neutralize the fallout of the outage. Over three decades, Microsoft has built perhaps the most sophisticated public policy shop of any tech company, learning from its missteps during its antitrust battles with the U.S. government in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Under the leadership of Smith, the company has sought to portray itself as more diplomatic and willing to engage with policymakers about their concerns than tech peers. Smith's reputation as the industry's de facto ambassador to Washington will probably be tested by the outage fallout.

Frischman confirmed the company was briefing policymakers in D.C. on Friday about the incident, but she declined to say which government officials the company was contacting.

The White House told The Post that Biden was briefed on the incident and that his team was in touch with CrowdStrike. Microsoft was in touch with White House officials on Friday, according to a person familiar with the matter, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe the private conversations.

After the hacks earlier in the year, numerous congressional committees and lawmakers called on federal agencies to investigate and evaluate their reliance on the company's tools. Those calls gained fresh urgency after Friday's outages.

"It's a failure that demands swift answers," Sen. Rick Scott (R-Fla.), who in May urged federal agencies to probe Microsoft's security lapses, said in a social media post on Friday.

Sen. Eric Schmitt (R-Mo.), who recently grilled the Pentagon over plans to invest more in Microsoft products, wrote a letter to the Defense Department on Friday warning that the outage shows that "consolidation and dependence on one provider can be catastrophic" to IT systems.

Defense Department spokesperson Jessica Anderson said the agency is monitoring its networks for possible impacts but does not comment on their status for security reasons.

The FTC itself was impacted by the outage, and employees were working to resolve issues on Friday.

Khan rose to the helm of the FTC with tough rhetoric about dismantling the power of tech giants, and under her leadership the agency brought an antitrust case against Amazon and challenged mergers in the sector, including Microsoft's purchase of Activision. Microsoft ultimately prevailed in court, and the deal closed last year.

Khan warned on a recent episode of "The Daily Show" that some companies have become so powerful that they suffer few consequences when they harm consumers.

"Now we're living with regular reminders of the consequences of prioritizing 'efficiency,' where an errant update shuts off the global economy for a day, or a hack stops millions of Americans from filling their prescriptions for weeks," said an FTC official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the agency's sensitive work, which includes inquiries involving Microsoft. "The dominant firms are often too big to care because their customers have no one left to turn to for better service."

Jeff Stein contributed to this report.

Crash unlikely to deal major economic blow but is reminder of broader risks

BY ABHA BHATTARAI AND RACHEL SIEGEL

The software update that hobbled large swaths of the world Friday also sent a shock wave through the global business and financial systems, reminiscent of the sudden early pandemic closures.

However, little lasting economic carnage is expected to linger from the outage that halted business at banks, hospitals, airlines, government agencies and small businesses that depend on Microsoft.

Many companies are expected to report financial losses from the event, but it's too early to tell what the final tally will be. Stocks fell Friday, with all three major indexes slipping by nearly 1 percent. Shares of CrowdStrike, the cybersecurity firm at the middle of the meltdown, took a particularly big hit, falling by more than 11 percent and shaving off billions of dollars from the company's value.

Yet experts said the incident isn't likely to have obvious economic ripples, at least not yet — a day's worth of grounded flights, canceled surgeries and inaccessible bank accounts aren't enough to disrupt the country's robust growth. But they cautioned that the outage, sparked by a botched software update by CrowdStrike, has exposed the precariousness of an economy built on a handful of interconnected technology systems.

"This is global capitalism at work, and it's a fundamental economic effect of the internet we've built," said Bruce Schneier, a security technologist and fellow at Harvard University's Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society. "We have a very brittle system where companies are rewarded for maximum profitability. And how do you do that? With monopolization, with having no inefficiencies, with running lean — and the thing about that is that it's really great as long as it works. But when it fails, it fails badly."

The shock to the global economy comes just as many industries are rebounding from years-long pandemic-related disruptions that snarled supply chains and led to widespread shortages and price increases.

This week's outage puts a spotlight on "what we're already worried about": a world and global economy that becomes increasingly vulnerable to supply shocks, said Diane Swonk, chief economist at KPMG.

"That makes for a world that's more susceptible to bouts of inflation," she added. "We saw it in the extreme — which we've adjusted to — in the pandemic."

More immediately, the outage shut down payments systems around the country, with customers reporting cash-only purchases at grocery stores, gas stations and even zoos.

At Rojo Car Wash in Norwood, Mass., an employee said its credit card systems had been down all day Friday, resulting in lost revenue. "Cars see the 'cash only' sign and they just move past," she said. "It's been going like that all day."

Still, although the incident raises a raft of concerns across the economy, experts say so far it seems unlikely to leave a discernible mark on the otherwise-strong economy, one marked by a robust job market and solid growth.

It won't factor into the Federal Reserve's decisions to cut interest rates or overhaul the economic platforms of GOP and Democratic candidates. But it underscored the looming risks from outside the financial world that can quickly ripple through major industries and small businesses alike.

"We've built a decentralized internet to withstand nuclear war, and yet what we weren't prepared for is what we're seeing now — a single point of failure felt around the world," said Tyler Moore, a cybersecurity professor at the University of Tulsa. "We could be dealing with the effects of this for a long time, and the drag to the economy could be significant if that goes on."

Speaking on "60 Minutes" in February, Fed Chair Jerome H. Powell said the work of protecting and defending financial institutions is never finished. He has often cited a major cyberthreat as one of the things he worries about or that could suddenly undermine the Fed's mission.

"The attackers are always improving their game and the defenders have to be improving their game all the time," Powell said. "And you've got to keep investing and staying caught up or getting ahead. That'll never stop. There will never be a moment when you can take a breath and think, 'Yeah, we've got this.'"

The Fed has vast reach supervising and regulating America's financial system, and on Friday morning, a spokesman said that "critical" Federal Reserve systems were operating normally and that the central bank was working along with "affected firms and other government agencies" to assess the situation.

The outage's consequences seemed minimal among the Fed's peers, too. Norway's central bank said it had resolved some technical problems that affected liquidity operations, BNN Bloomberg reported, though the extent to which that was connected to the broader outages was unclear.

The New York Stock Exchange was also working normally, though the markets flashed red at the tail end of a week of losses.

Jeremy Kress, an expert on bank regulation at the University of Michigan, said the banking system appeared under control. But the sudden meltdown served as a reminder of the hazards of online failures. Kress pointed to a push from some regulators to increase the amount of capital banks must have on hand for cyber outages.

Others in the industry said guarding the country's financial system from cyberattacks and other tech outages has been a top priority in recent years. This week's meltdown, they said, reinforces the need to prepare not just for nefarious attacks but also for run-of-the-mill tech updates and other protocols that can unwittingly ripple across the industry.

"For the last several years, the question has been, what do we do when we have a single point of failure?" said Jason Healey, a senior research scholar at Columbia University who focuses on cyber conflict studies. "If we all share the same software and one thing goes down, we all get affected. That's what we're seeing here, and we need to be prepared so these situations don't drive us off a cliff."

Speaking on CNBC on Friday morning, Rohit Chopra, director of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, said there were no major issues with critical payments or banking services. But he said the country was "getting a taste" of what can happen when the financial sector and other major industries rely so heavily on a handful of cloud and tech companies. Chopra pointed to ransomware attacks over the past few months that affected health-care firms, auto dealers and others.

"This is the type of situation that can really create issues across the economy," he said. "I'm pretty hopeful that what we will see today is inconvenience more than chaos. But of course we're just getting a taste of it."

Debunked CrowdStrike conspiracy theory returns

BY EVA DOU

When the booming Austin-based cybersecurity company CrowdStrike made headlines this past week for causing a calamitous global outage, the response was quick and sharp from some supporters of Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump.

They recalled that when he was president, Trump had blamed CrowdStrike for an alleged Democratic coverup in Ukraine, a narrative that was broadly debunked at the time but showed itself to still have legs. On social media Friday, fresh conspiracy theories blossomed about how and why the company triggered so much news in the immediate wake of Trump accepting the Republican nomination Thursday night.

There has been no evidence to suggest any link between the outage and the Republican National Convention. CrowdStrike CEO George Kurtz said a defect in an update — not a cyberattack — caused the worldwide mess.

But the global woe brought unexpected new life to a conspiracy theory involving Russia, Ukraine and the Democratic National Committee that took up considerable oxygen during Trump's presidency and figured prominently in his first impeachment inquiry.

CrowdStrike then seemed an unlikely candidate for political controversy. Founded in 2011 by two former McAfee executives, the company sells cybersecurity software to Fortune 500 companies and federal and state agencies. Its first product, Falcon, an update of which was cited for Friday's outage, detects security breaches in Windows or Mac computers. The company also advises clients on how to improve cybersecurity.

After a 2019 initial public offering, CrowdStrike cracked into the S&P 500 last month. While hawking its corporate services, CrowdStrike made its name investigating prominent hacks. In 2015, CrowdStrike linked a cyberattack on Sony Pictures to North Korea.

CrowdStrike got embroiled in politics in 2016, when the Democratic National Committee hired it to investigate the hacking of DNC computers a year earlier. The company concluded it had "high confidence" that a unit linked to Russia's military intelligence arm was responsible for the attack.

Trump repeatedly asserted that Ukraine, not Russia, had interfered in the election, a view that alarmed some of his aides, concerned that he might have been influenced by Russia. The Washington Post reported in 2019 that a former senior White House official recalled that Trump said he knew Ukraine was the real culprit because "Putin told me."

In a phone call in July 2019 that became a key part of the evidence in Trump's first impeachment, the then-president urged Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky to investigate both former vice president Joe Biden and CrowdStrike. "I would like you to do us a favor," he said. "… I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say CrowdStrike …"

The House Intelligence Committee's Trump-Ukraine impeachment inquiry report reflected that Trump aides had tried to disabuse him of the notion. Trump's former Russia expert Fiona Hill told the committee that former homeland security adviser Tom Bossert and former national security adviser H.R. McMaster repeatedly told Trump that the CrowdStrike conspiracy theory was "completely 'debunked,' and that allegations Ukraine interfered in the 2016 U.S. election are false."

Social media posts on Friday reflected that the CrowdStrike controversy was still well and alive among a section of the public.

"Today is not the first time that CrowdStrike has caused huge misery for the country, and even the world," Hans Mahncke, a YouTube commentator, wrote in a post on X that drew thousands of likes.

Max Blumenthal, editor of the independent website Grayzone, which has faced criticism for misleading reports, on X called CrowdStrike "the shady firm hired by the DNC to find Russia responsible for hacking its server," and former CBS correspondent Lara Logan said CrowdStrike had been "lying for years."

On X, Facebook and other social media platforms, hundreds of other users piped up with fresh criticism of CrowdStrike's 2016 report on the DNC, with some calling it a "hoax" and others speculating about whether the firm could help to "steal" the upcoming election.

ELECTION 2024

Top donors fund VP vetting independent of party's Biden stance

This article is by Tyler Pager, Leigh Ann Caldwell, Toluse Olorunnipa and Yvonne Wingett Sanchez

Major Democratic donors are funding a preliminary vetting process for potential vice-presidential nominees should President Biden exit the race, according to four people familiar with the process, suggesting that influential figures in the party are growing increasingly restless and concerned about the time remaining to mount a national campaign.

In recent days, people involved in the effort have contacted the teams of top Democratic figures, including Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro and Kentucky Gov. Andy Beshear, the people said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive effort. The donors are also interested in vetting North Carolina Gov. Roy Cooper, Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer and Arizona Sen. Mark Kelly.

It is unclear whether the subjects of the vetting are participating in the effort, which is independent of the Biden campaign and the Democratic National Committee. A vetting process typically includes a deep review of a potential candidate's governing record, public statements, personal finances and other personal and private activities to help decision-makers weigh the potential risks of each selection, but the specifics of this particular effort are not known.

The Biden campaign and a spokesperson for Shapiro declined to comment. Spokespeople for Beshear and Whitmer did not respond to requests for comment.

A person familiar with Kelly's political operation was unaware of outreach from outside donors involving any sort of vetting for the Democratic ticket. Kelly has heard from many supporters since the presidential debate urging him to seek higher office, the person said, but "what they are hearing back is, Kelly supports Biden and Harris."

Vetting potential vice-presidential candidates usually takes months, so the group of donors, who have not been identified, decided to begin that process earlier this month. If Biden drops out, many Democrats think Vice President Harris would become the front-runner to replace him, and should she secure the nomination, she would have to select a running mate under a compressed timeline to ensure the Democratic ticket meets all state ballot deadlines. The vice president has repeatedly said she fully supports Biden as the party's nominee.

One potential pitfall of the donor-run process is that its sponsors could be barred from directly coordinating with the Democratic presidential campaign, under election laws designed to ensure campaigns' independence. That means the donors would likely have to share their findings in a public manner in order for the campaign to benefit from them.

Yet such vetting is usually guided by strict confidentiality, in part to ensure the privacy of the individuals involved. It is not clear how the donors might navigate that obstacle.

In recent weeks, Harris has appeared with many of the Democrats who are being viewed as potential running mates should she take over the top of the ticket. A day after the debate, Harris was in Nevada with Kelly. She has twice appeared at campaign events in North Carolina with Cooper, and she campaigned with Shapiro last weekend in Pennsylvania.

Biden, who is isolating in Rehoboth Beach, Del., after contracting covid-19, remains publicly defiant, insisting he will return to the campaign trail this week after he recovers from the virus. His campaign has responded to increasing calls for him to drop out of the presidential race by announcing new events designed to show that he has no plans to step aside. His campaign has 10 scheduled fundraisers over the last 10 days of July.

Saturday began relatively quietly for Biden, after a dramatic Friday when a dozen lawmakers called for the president to step aside, but his allies were bracing for more such calls this week and seeking to showcase his determination to continue his campaign. The renewed push by Biden's allies sets up a potential collision between the president's campaign and lawmakers who have urged him to leave the race by this weekend.



KEVIN MOHATT/REUTERS

Vice President Harris and Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro (D) visit the Reading Terminal Market in Philadelphia on July 13.

On Saturday, Rep. Mark Takano (D-Calif.) added his name to a list of Democrats going public with their calls for Biden to withdraw, after expressing that sentiment privately.

"Joe, I love and respect you," Takano said in his statement, which called for Harris to take over as the Democratic presidential candidate. "But the stakes are too high to fail. It's time to pass the torch to Kamala."

The Washington Post reported two weeks ago that Takano had privately called for Biden to step aside. Several more Democrats are weighing taking the step of turning their private desire for a Biden exit into a public declaration.

Some have suggested they are on the cusp of doing so next week if Biden does not signal by Monday that he is moving to drop out of the race. Biden allies are urging fellow Democrats to give the president time to reach a decision on his own, but some lawmakers say privately they may be forced to take the dramatic step of coming out against their party's presumptive nominee months before the November election because Biden has remained defiant.

On Saturday, a group of Democratic donors planned to host a virtual fundraiser for Sen. Jon Tester (D-Mont.), Rep. Mike Levin (D-Calif.) and Rep. Hillary J. Scholten (D-Mich.), all of whom have called for Biden to step aside, according to an individual involved in the effort. Some of the donors previously hosted Rep. Angie Craig (D-Minn.) after she called for Biden to step aside.

"It's just another indication that donors are ready and willing to support" incumbents who call for Biden to end his campaign for reelection, the donor said.

But Biden's campaign is suggesting he will be ramping up his activity, as aides try to show that he is determined to forge ahead with his reelection drive. The president is expected to travel to Austin to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act next week. The event, originally scheduled for July 15, was postponed after the attempted assassination of Republican nominee Donald Trump.

Biden is also preparing for a critical visit to Washington by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who is scheduled to address a joint session of Congress on Wednesday. The two leaders have had a tense relationship, and Netanyahu's handling of the war in Gaza has further soured things between them.

Before his covid diagnosis last Wednesday, Biden was planning to visit multiple states in the coming week to showcase his vigor and prosecute the case against Trump. While he said in a statement Friday that he still plans to return to the campaign trail within days, his doctor said he continues to battle a hoarse voice and loose cough, symptoms that could make it difficult for him to make his case to the public.

The White House declared a "lid" on Saturday morning, indicating that Biden would not have any public activity before Sunday. The president was last seen in public Wednesday, when he traveled to his Rehoboth Beach home to isolate after testing positive.

The White House has said Biden's symptoms are improving, and he has held calls with foreign leaders and received briefings from staff in private.

He has also been joined by a small group of longtime aides, including senior adviser Steve Richetti, who has been fielding some of the calls from lawmakers concerned about Biden's candidacy.

During Biden's isolation, the efforts to push him aside have intensified.

The flood of a dozen statements by lawmakers Friday urging Biden to drop out of the race prompted a shift in tone from the campaign, which had often met such calls with defiance and at one point dismissed Democrats with concerns as the "bed-wetting brigade." On Friday, the campaign suggested it respects those with different opinions on the best path forward — which now includes almost 40 Democratic members of Congress — even as it disagrees with them.

"While the majority of the caucus and the diverse base of the party continues to stand with the president and his historic record of delivering for their communities, we're clear-eyed that the urgency and stakes of beating Donald Trump means others feel differently," a campaign spokesperson said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive matter. "We all share the same goal."

If Biden steps aside, though, there is no guarantee that Harris would be the nominee. Many Democrats who fear a messy process to replace him, however, support the idea. In private conversations earlier this month, members of the Congressional Black Caucus made clear that they would immediately back Harris if Biden were to step aside.

But some Democrats worry about the appearance of immediately crowning Harris without input from rank-and-file party members. Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), former House speaker, is among those in that camp, expressing her concerns to fellow members of a California Democratic House delegation during a luncheon on July 10.

Pelosi did not oppose Harris ultimately becoming the nominee, according to two people familiar with the meeting, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a private conversation. Instead, she cautioned that elected Democrats and voters might be angered by the appearance of "party elites" forcing Biden out of office only to immediately crown a nominee.

Olorunnipa reported from Rehoboth Beach, Del. Wingett Sanchez reported from Phoenix. Marianna Sotomayor contributed to this report.

For the Biden family, events feel akin to a 'Game of Thrones' war

BIDEN FROM **A1**

confidant and sounding board.

As remarkable as the past few weeks have been in the wider political universe, they have been equally turbulent inside the tight-knit Biden family, unfolding as the latest chapter in the clan's long story of resolve amid tumult. Family members have flashed through a range of emotions, people close to them say — sadness, anger, determination — and are deeply frustrated by what they see as the betrayal and second-guessing of a man who has spent a half-century as a dedicated leader of the Democratic Party.

This picture of the Biden family in its patriarch's hour of peril is based on interviews with multiple people with direct knowledge of the family's thinking and private actions. They spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive matters related to the president's inner circle.

Family members have often been with Biden in recent weeks as he seeks to ride out the political storm stemming from his debate performance. First lady Jill Biden joined him for a campaign swing in Pennsylvania. After he was diagnosed with covid-19 on Wednesday and with calls escalating by the day that he reconsider his decision to stay in the race, she joined him at their home in Rehoboth Beach, Del.

Hunter, who lives in California, flew out to meet Biden when the president was in Las Vegas recently for campaign events. They have remained in close contact, with Hunter following daily, often hourly, developments on calls with his father and acting as a sounding board and a gut check. Other family members have been exchanging their usual daily phone calls and frequent text messages.

But in a family where any member can call an emergency meeting, no one has summoned the clan to discuss the patriarch's political future, despite the extensive speculation from outsiders about some grand family council.

The family's anger is driven in part by a conviction that Biden could have moved beyond a bad performance in a 90-minute debate if so many Democrats had not immediately joined forces against him. They have come to view the past few weeks as a "Game of Thrones"-style war among various factions of the party, with the loudest calls on him to depart coming from those he has fought against in previous battles. The tone some in the party are taking in their effort to push him out has only stiffened Biden's resolve to stay in, they say.



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Hunter Biden's role in official matters is seen by the family as a sign that he has stabilized his life. He follows daily, often hourly, developments on calls with his father and acts as a sounding board.

"It's like they don't know he's Irish," said one person close to the family.

The most striking development in this private world may be the return of Hunter Biden to a central, supporting role, just weeks after his criminal trial made him a source of personal worry and political peril. When he was convicted on June 11 of felony charges related to lying on a gun-purchase form, the family rallied behind him. His father called to make sure he was okay, then flew to Wilmington, Del., to embrace him on an airport tarmac.

But overnight, the father-son roles have been reversed: As Joe Biden fights for his political life, Hunter has talked with his father frequently, providing support amid a clamor of skeptical Democrats.

In interviews, several people close to family members said that, contrary to frequent depictions of Hunter and Jill Biden as irrational cheerleaders prevailing on the president to stay in while his political advisers press him to reconsider, the family dynamics are far more nuanced. The president throughout has been clear that he is not withdrawing, and they have affirmed all along that they are behind him no matter what. Biden may yet change his mind, and those close to the family say they would support that decision, too.

When it comes to Hunter Biden, the past few weeks have shown how a father and a son, each well versed in tragedy and trauma, have handled a series of extraordinary difficult moments, their own and each other's.

"The thing both of them care about more than anything else is not harming the other," said one person close to the family. "It all has a Shakespearean quality to it."

Surviving a legal blow

On June 11, at around 11:15 a.m., a federal jury in Delaware found Hunter Biden guilty of felony gun charges. His crime was lying on a form when he bought a gun in 2018, but the week-long trial laid bare, in sometimes painful detail, his humiliating and distasteful behavior when he was in the throes of a drug addiction.

Hunter hugged each member of his legal team after the verdict, thanking them and comforting his top defense attorney, Abbe Lowell, and whispering, "It's all right."

He then gathered with his friends and family in a crowded room nearby for what several who were there describe as an emotional scene where Hunter was stoic even as many were in tears after a devastating verdict that shocked some in his camp.

"Look, guys, I'm going to be okay. This isn't hell," Hunter said, according to people who were there. "My addiction was hell. Whatever happens, I'm standing here today, and that's what matters."

The president, who was in Washington, called his son and hastily made plans to fly to Wilmington to see Hunter. They met on the tarmac at the Delaware Air National Guard base, embracing each other before Hunter flew back to his home in Los Angeles with his wife and young son, Beau.

That evening, the president and first lady personally called some of those who had attended the trial to thank them and to ask how they thought Hunter was doing.

The answers that came back were that he seemed surprisingly strong. It was an unquestionably significant legal setback, one that could result in a prison sentence, but he seemed to have achieved some sense of personal stability.

Joe Biden soon left for the Group of Seven conference in Italy, joined by several of Hunter's older daughters, including Naomi, who had testified at the trial.

The weekend at Camp David

About two weeks later, as the president's fateful debate performance played out in Atlanta, Hunter was home in California. Jill Biden was with her husband. Biden's grandchildren were scattered around the country.

Afterward, they knew the debate had not gone well and worried about the impression it left. But it did not alter their approach to the campaign.

Many outside the family thought Biden faced an immediate decision about whether to stay in the race, but that seems never to have been a question for the president himself. He saw the debate simply as a setback in an otherwise sound campaign, a hurdle in a life full of them. That attitude was adopted by the family largely without discussion.

"There is no walking into this as if he's like, 'Should I get out, should I not get out?' That's just not who Joe Biden is," said one person close to the family. "It's not like he was teetering until he talked to Hunter and Jill."

By late Saturday night, some 48 hours after the debate, the whole family was at Camp David — not for some emergency council, but for a prearranged gathering in the days before Independence Day. Just weeks earlier, the question was how Hunter was faring against his detractors; now it was how Joe would face his.

The tone of that weekend, in private moments without political advisers, set the course for the tumultuous weeks to come: Biden was staying in and the family was backing him. The question was how to proceed with the race, not whether to.

Many in the family, like their patriarch, believe the election remains close. They dismiss polls that show otherwise and do not believe an alternative candidate would fare any better against Trump. Deep in Biden's psyche is the conviction that he is an underdog who has consistently been underestimated by party leaders, only to prove them wrong.

But family members resist the idea that they are the ones driving the decision. They resent any notion that they are propping up the president. He is capable of making these weighty decisions as he always has, they say, with their input and backing.

There is also a redemptive quality to the family discussions.

Five years ago, when Biden decided to run for president, the family was deeply fractured in the aftermath of his son Beau's death, dealing with divorce, affairs and addiction. Hunter was in some ways more distant from his father than he'd ever been.

This post-debate gathering at Camp David showcased a family that was largely united, with Hunter as present in his father's life as he was before a drug addiction tore him away.

Clear-eyed about the danger

When they returned to the White House after the weekend at Camp David, the family stayed close. They celebrated the Fourth of July together. Ashley Biden was dancing on the portico, hugging her father's waist from behind. One granddaughter, Maisy, wore a white T-shirt with "I [heart] Joe" written on it.

Jill stood by his side. They looked on as fireworks burst in the sky.

Hunter flew back to Los Angeles on July 5 and his father flew to Wisconsin for a campaign event. They have remained in close contact.

Biden remains certain he is the party's best option, according to those close to the family, and they support him in that. But they also recognize that things can change quickly in politics and that Biden could be 100 percent in until he's 100 percent out.

"Hunter would support anything his dad wanted to do and he trusts his dad's judgment," one person close to the family said. "If his dad said, 'I can hand this off and I can't do it,' Hunter would say, 'Dad, you're the best, I love you, I trust you and I support you.'"

Of anyone in the family, Hunter has faced the most scrutiny as a result of his father's presidency. That arguably gives him an incentive to hope his father pulls out rather than endure a vitriolic reelection race potentially followed by four more years of an unwelcome spotlight. But if Biden pulled out and Trump were to win, some family members worry that he would use the Justice Department to target Hunter.

In recent days, those close to the family have become more combative as a growing number of Democrats have publicly called for him to step aside. If Biden gets out, they say, he should make the decision based on his own political gut and not because of external pressures from figures such as George Clooney, former president Barack Obama or former House speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.).

Still, those in the family orbit say Biden's relatives are not oblivious to the storms roaring around him, making the days ahead, even for them, difficult to predict.

"They are not in a bubble. They don't have their head in the sand," one person close to the family said. "They've been very clear-eyed about this from the beginning. And that has continued."

Biden may back Supreme Court revamp. It would be a big shift.

A roundup of efforts to expand bench, set term limits, adopt ethics codes

BY TOBI RAJI



OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

President Biden congratulates Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson in April 2022, moments after the Senate confirmed her to be the first Black woman to sit on the Supreme Court.

President Biden is seriously considering endorsing a set of proposals that would revamp the Supreme Court, including legislation to establish term limits and impose a binding code of ethics on the justices. It is a major shift for Biden, a former Senate Judiciary Committee chairman who through his long political career has generally opposed attempts to make substantive changes to the high court.

Biden is also weighing whether to call for a constitutional amendment to eliminate broad immunity for presidents and other constitutional officeholders.

Each of the proposals would face steep obstacles in a deeply divided Congress. While many Democrats and some outside experts say there is enough evidence of ethics breaches by the justices and partisan activity around the court to warrant changes, many Republicans say those critics are simply unhappy with the court's strongly conservative decisions.

It is for that reason that retired federal judge Thomas B. Griffith, who served on a bipartisan commission appointed by Biden that studied potential changes but did not reach consensus, is skeptical.

"I'm suspicious of any efforts at so-called reform of the court that seem to be rooted and grounded in disappointment with decisions of the court," said Griffith, a judicial appointee of President George W. Bush who emphasized that he had not seen any specific proposals Biden is considering.

Retired federal judge Nancy Gertner, who was nominated to the bench by President Bill Clinton and also sat on the commission, said it was "terribly important" for Biden to legitimize what she believes would be much-needed change.

"We have the most powerful, least accountable Supreme Court of any Western democracy," she said. "Now it's up to Congress to actually go forward on the reform effort. And yes, it will be difficult, and it may take multiple sessions, but it needs to begin."

Here's what Biden has said in the past about Supreme Court accountability and what others have proposed.

Biden in 2019: 'We'll live to rue that day'

Democratic calls for an overhaul reached a boiling point in 2016 after then-Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) refused to consider President Barack Obama's pick to replace the late justice Antonin Scalia, citing the upcoming presidential election even though it was nearly eight months away.

The seat remained empty until President Donald Trump was inaugurated 10 months later. He nominated Neil M. Gorsuch, maintaining the court's 5-4 conservative split.

Democrats were equally enraged when McConnell went on to push Amy Coney Barrett's nomination through just two months before the 2020 presidential election. Biden, then the Democratic nominee, pleaded with Senate Republicans to wait until the winner of the election was inaugurated. But Barrett was confirmed as the successor to the late justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg on Oct. 26, eight days before the election, creating a 6-3 conservative supermajority.

Despite growing calls for change from members of his party, Biden told Iowa Starting Line in 2019 that he did not support efforts to expand the Supreme Court, "because we'll live to rue that day," he said.

Three months later, during a Democratic primary debate, Biden said: "I would not get into court-packing. We add three justices; next time around, we lose control, they add three justices. We begin to lose any credibility the court has at all."

He told the New York Times editorial board that he did not support term limits, either.

And he did not publicly shift from that position after Barrett's nomination.

What other Democrats have pushed

As many as 15 other Democrats running for president in 2020 — including the current vice president, a Cabinet official and two members of the Senate Judiciary Committee — either supported or said they were open to imposing term limits on the justices and expanding the court, according to a Washington Post tally that year.

Pete Buttigieg, who became Biden's transportation secretary, backed expanding the Supreme Court from nine to 15 justices. Under that plan, Democrats and Republicans would each name five justices, and those 10 would name an additional five.

Buttigieg, the former mayor of South Bend, Ind., also expressed support for term limits.

"We need to reform the Supreme Court in a way that will strengthen its independence and restore the American people's trust in it as a check to the Presidency and the Congress," his campaign website said.

Sens. Cory Booker (N.J.) and Amy Klobuchar (Minn.), who oversee judicial nominations as members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, said they were open to expanding the court. But, like then-Sen. Kamala D. Harris, they didn't get into any specifics of how they would do it. Booker and Harris also said they were open to imposing term limits.

What Biden did as president

On Oct. 22, 2020 — the same day Republican senators advanced Barrett's nomination out of the Senate Judiciary Committee — Biden announced on CBS's "60 Minutes" that if he were elected president he would create a bipartisan commission to study the issue of making structural changes to the court.

The commission submitted its 294-page report in December 2021. Members presented arguments for and against the proposals, including expanding the size of the Supreme Court, establishing term limits for the justices and imposing a code of conduct on the justices. The report did not take a position on those ideas but did note that "there is profound disagreement among commissioners" about court expansion.

The commission concluded that while Congress has broad authority to establish and change the size of the Supreme Court, it would be hard to ensure that the issue doesn't become politicized.

"We were charged not with coming up with recommendations but with plumbing the issues deeply and issuing a report," Gertner said.

Griffith, who published an oped in The Post shortly after the report was finalized criticizing term limits and court expansion, said the proposals that Biden is said to be considering would encroach on judicial independence. "We need to be doing everything we can to preserve judicial independence and not give in to the temptation to believe that judges are just partisans in robes," he said. "The judiciary is, in many ways, the crown jewel of our democratic republic. . . . I think that's a very dangerous path to go down."

What Democrats in Congress have tried

Democratic lawmakers have held hearings, proposed legislation and introduced articles of impeachment that, in their view, would hold the Supreme Court accountable. None have gained support from Republicans, however, or seem likely to garner the votes needed for passage anytime soon.

In July 2023, the Senate Judiciary Committee voted along party lines to advance legislation that would impose a binding code of ethics on the nine justices. The action came after news reports revealed that Justice Clarence Thomas accepted but did not disclose decades of luxury vacations and private jet travel funded by Republican donor and Dallas billionaire Harlan Crow.

Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-R.I.), the chairman of the subcommittee that oversees the federal courts, is the lead sponsor of the bill, known as the Supreme Court Ethics, Recusal and Transparency Act. It would require the court to strengthen its recusal requirements and bring its hospitality and financial disclosure rules in line with those of Congress, among other parts of government.

Whitehouse is also the lead sponsor of the Supreme Court Biennial Appointments and Term Limits Act, which would create 18-year terms, adding a new justice to the bench every two years.

Rep. Hank Johnson (D-Ga.), a ranking subcommittee member on the House Judiciary Committee, has introduced several companion bills in the House and the Judiciary Act of 2023, which would expand the Supreme Court by adding four seats.

The Judicial Ethics Enforcement Act of 2024, introduced by Rep. Melanie Stansbury (D-N.M.) in April, would authorize the creation of an inspector general's office to investigate allegations of misconduct in the judicial branch.

On July 10, Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.) introduced articles of impeachment against Thomas and Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., who drew headlines this spring after reports that politically charged flags were flown on his properties. Alito, who like Thomas is a staunch conservative, has said he had nothing to do with the flags and that his wife raised them.

Ocasio-Cortez said impeachment, which almost certainly will not advance, was necessary "to contain the threat this poses to our democracy and the hundreds of millions of Americans harmed by the crisis of corruption unfurling within the court."

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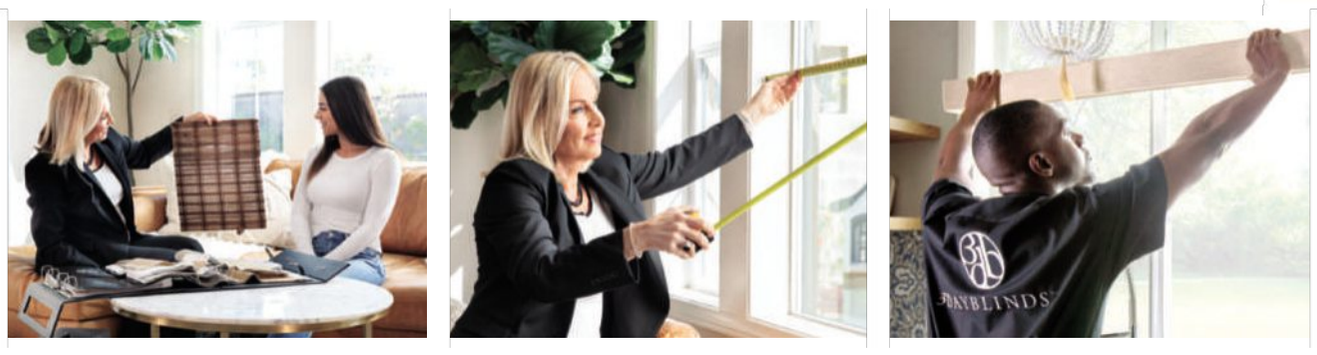
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ELECTION 2024

Harris speaks at sold-out event on Cape Cod, raises $2 million for Biden

Vice president criticizes Trump and Vance over stance on LGBTQ rights

BY ABBIE CHEESEMAN AND MAEGAN VAZQUEZ

PROVINCETOWN, MASS. — Vice President Harris attended a sold-out campaign fundraiser on Cape Cod on Saturday, amid growing calls for President Biden to step aside as his party's 2024 presidential nominee.

Some 37 congressional Democrats have called on Biden to drop out of the 2024 race, and several have urged the president to pass the torch to Harris. Biden has been off the campaign trail after receiving a covid diagnosis earlier in the week, and the window is narrowing for the Democratic Party to consider a new nominee ahead of the party's national convention.

Since the night of his halting debate performance last month, the vice president has repeatedly defended Biden, stating that he is the party's nominee and encouraging others to "fight for him."

As arguably the heir apparent for the nomination should the president step aside, Harris would need to shore up voter and donor support quickly if Biden exits the race. At Saturday's event, Harris struck a similar tone of optimism for the campaign and support for the president.

"I'm testifying as a firsthand witness," she said, raising her hands in the air, "with every decision [Biden] makes in the Oval Office, I'm telling you he thinks about how it will impact everyday working Americans."

"We are going to win," Harris declared to enormous applause. "It's not going to be easy. … It takes believing in something and then going for it."

Harris also criticized former president Donald Trump's attempt to convey a message of "unity" at the Republican National Convention — a word used on both sides of the aisle after last weekend's assassination attempt against him.

"If you claim to stand for unity, then you need to know it's more than just a word," Harris said.

Tickets for Harris's event in Provincetown — a longtime hub for artists on Cape Cod that's a popular beach getaway for the LGBTQ community — ranged from $150 to $150,000. The fundraiser, hosted by event planner Bryan Rafanelli, was announced before the presidential debate late last month.

Harris recounted how her parents would take her to marches for "freedom and equality. Not for some, but for all," she said. "So when it comes to the fight for LGBTQ rights, as much as anything, I know it to be a fundamental fight for freedom."

Harris also warned the guests that if Trump wins in November, "he will once again implement policies that target the LGBTQ community." She added that Trump's running mate, Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), will "undoubtedly be a rubber stamp" for Trump's "extremist anti-LGBTQ agenda."

Rafanelli said that more than 1,000 people were in attendance and that more than $2 million had been raised

"Back in 2012, we were fighting for the recognition of our marriages and it was Joe Biden who listened to our voices and stood up for our community," Rafanelli said at Saturday's event. "Let me be clear, if we do not win this election, we will be fighting for a lot more than marriage equality. We will be fighting for our right to exist."

He added that Harris "is not just a politician, she's a trailblazer, a symbol of progress …[she] has consistently fought for the LGBT community."

Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg, Gov. Maura Healey of Massachusetts, Boston Mayor Michelle Wu and actor Jennifer Coolidge were among the attendees of the event.

Upon departure, a reporter shouted a question about whether the president was "doing okay." She gave a thumbs up.

Vazquez reported from Washington. Nicole Markus in Washington contributed to this report.

Lower heat still means GOP roasts Democrats

Formerly fringe voices placed front and center for convention speeches

BY HANNAH ALLAM, YVONNE WINGETT SANCHEZ AND PATRICK MARLEY

The Republican nominee for governor of North Carolina has said that acceptance of gay people would help bring civilization's end, that transgender people should be arrested for their choice of bathrooms and that "some people need killing."

But when Mark Robinson took the stage during prime time at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee this past week, he told stories of his hardscrabble youth and encouraged his audience to believe in the American Dream of economic uplift.

"There is hope," Robinson said to loud cheers. "And I am proof."

The Milwaukee convention, say party leaders from Donald Trump on down, was all about unity, bringing the country together days after the former president narrowly missed being assassinated. And in some of the speeches, there was evidence of a toned-down approach, with figures who normally trade in divisive and conspiracy-fueled rhetoric making gestures toward more inclusive themes. The convention came as the Trump campaign touted the GOP as a party for all, and attempted to expand the electoral map.

But the gathering also underscored how speakers with views once considered fringe have seeped into the conservative mainstream. Researchers who study far-right movements say their prominence reflects the scope of radicalism that courses through the party and is likely to inform a second Trump presidency should he win in November.

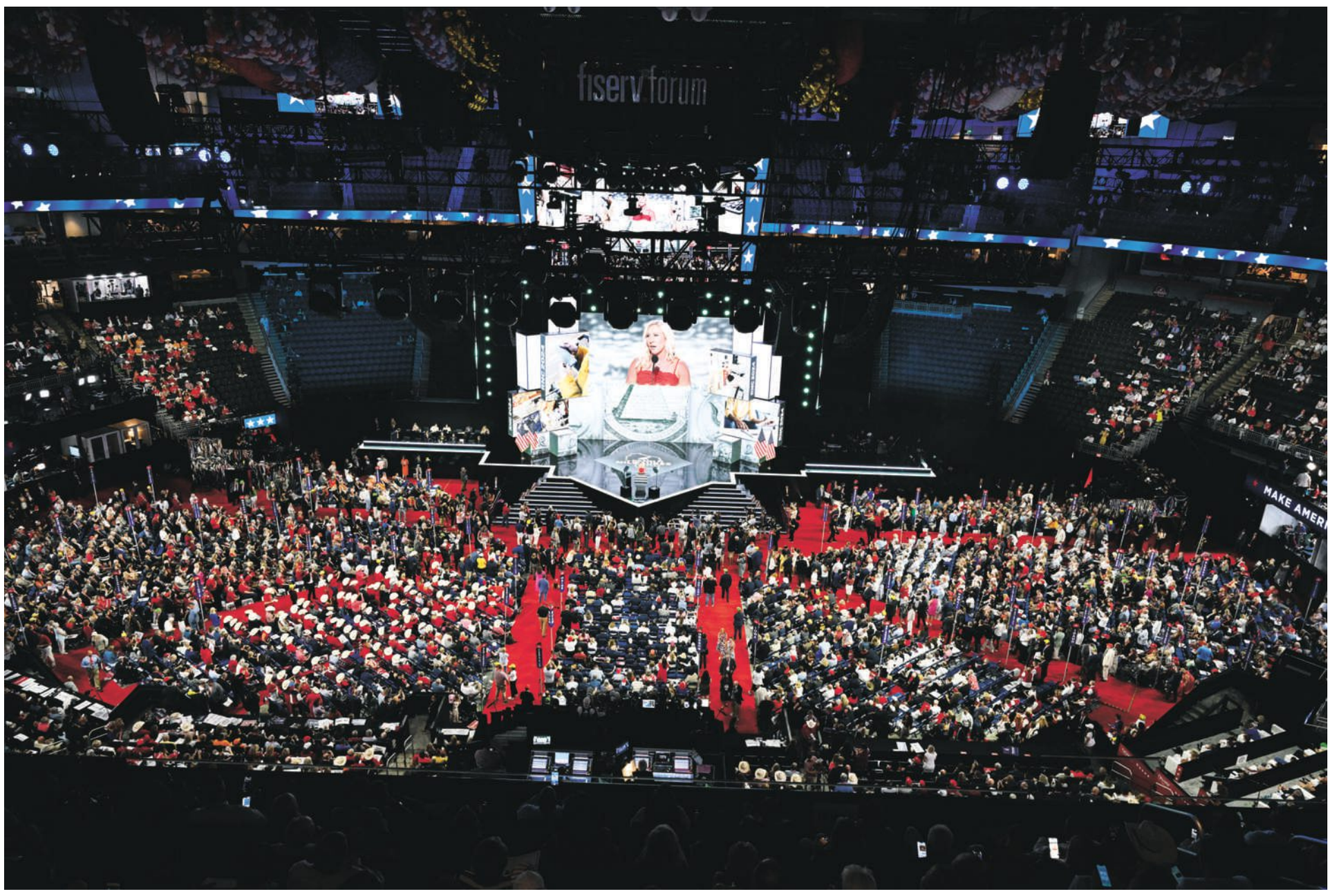
"Extremism is currency," said professor John Horgan, director of the Violent Extremism Research Group at Georgia State University. "There's no good political or strategic reason to root it out when it is a shortcut to ensuring political engagement. It mobilizes followers, generates funds, and effectively demonizes the other side."

From the opening night of the convention, appeals for restraint have mixed uneasily with far more combative language, including chants of, "Fight! Fight! Fight!" — Trump's words when he reappeared, bloodied, after the attack Saturday.

Analysts say a stew of extreme ideologies simmers under the softer image the RNC projected this past week of a party that would make room for any MAGA-style patriot, whether a rap-world model or a Nicaraguan immigrant or a Sikh attorney. And despite efforts to mute the most extreme rhetoric, hostility has still bubbled up, with speakers winning applause for verbal attacks on transgender people and migrants, among others.

Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Tex.) focused his speech on violence committed by undocumented immigrants and accused Democrats of allowing them into the country to gain votes, a theory unsubstantiated by the facts.

"Every day, Americans are dying — murdered, assaulted, raped by illegal immigrants that the Democrats have released," he said. Delegates held up signs reading "Mass Deportation Now."



KAITLYN DOLAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) speaks during the Republican National Convention on Monday in Milwaukee. She disparaged Democrats for observing Transgender Visibility Day and said the party allowed "millions of illegal aliens to pour in." Other speakers included Tucker Carlson, who promulgates the great replacement theory.

Robinson, a rising GOP star who's in a tight race for governor of North Carolina, has a history of anti-LGBTQ+ language and Christian nationalism. He drew outrage for a speech at a church last month in which he said, "Some people need killing." Mike Lonergan, Robinson's campaign spokesman, said on X that the candidate's words referenced World War II enemies and were taken out of context in a "gutless and dishonest smear."

Speaking the same night was Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.), who has promoted far-right ideologies including white nationalism, Christian nationalism, Islamophobia and various conspiracy theories. Greene has said that if she had led the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol, "it would've been armed" and "we would have won." At the RNC, she ridiculed Democrats for observing Transgender Visibility Day, for allowing "millions of illegal aliens to pour in" and for failing to provide "unity."

Charlie Kirk, head of the influential right-wing student group Turning Point USA, was also given a prominent speaking slot. Kirk promotes a Christian nationalist movement that seeks religious influence in all aspects of government and society. When he spoke to the convention, he stuck mostly to economic anxieties among young Americans.

In a brief interview on the floor of the convention Wednesday, Kirk said that appeals for unity do not conflict with repeated calls from Republicans to "Fight, fight, fight."

"We're rallying to his immediate rallying cry. It also means that we're not going to give up, that we're going to continue to push forward," Kirk said. "We're going to continue to organize and we're not going to allow President Trump getting shot to ruin our movement."

Spokespeople for the RNC did not return messages seeking comment.

The delegates who announced the vote tallies for Trump that preceded his official nomination included GOP figures with extremist ties. Idaho's Dorothy Moon, for example, ran a letter-writing campaign for a militia group leader who was involved in an armed standoff with federal agents. Another delegation head, Arizona's Shelby Busch, recently told a gathering that she would "lynch" a Jewish county official she has been critical of, later describing the phrase as "political hyperbole."

The Washington Post reported that Republicans involved with the convention included several who were present for the rally and attack on the U.S. Capitol. Ed Martin, the deputy policy director of the convention platform committee, was in the mob outside the Capitol. At least three other people photographed in the crowd that day are serving as delegates.

Although both Democrats and Republicans engage in political mudslinging, observers say there is a fundamental difference — especially during the Trump era.

"I agree with the call to bring down the temperature. But the fact of the matter is, where the temperature is really high is on the far right and with figures" including convention headliners, said Heidi Beirich, co-founder of the nonprofit Global Project Against Hate and Extremism. "It's not a normal thing to hear Democrats talking about televised military tribunals or going after your enemies or killing people."

Within the convention, white-supremacist or anti-government symbols of the sort that are sometimes visible at Trump rallies were scarce among attendees, though one woman sported a dress designed like an "Appeal to Heaven" flag, which is associated with Christian nationalism and political violence. All week, far-right provocateurs such as Benny Johnson and Laura Loomer roamed the halls and posted on social media.

Trump "blew me a kiss from the stage," Loomer, a self-described white nationalist and Islamophobe, boasted alongside a video showing Trump sending her an air kiss and exchanging pleasantries after his speech.

Texas delegate Adolpho Telles, 74, noted that the gathering also featured more establishment Republican figures, such as former U.N. ambassador Nikki Haley and Sen. Marco Rubio of Florida, along with some surprise appearances that were interpreted as gestures toward national unity.

"We had a Teamster union boss here, and that just floored me," said Telles, a retired accountant. "I didn't expect that."

Telles said he didn't think calls for unity and the chants of "Fight, fight, fight" sent contradictory messages, explaining that Republicans were not calling for literal combat.

"A physical fight — that's never accepted, okay?" he said. "But when we have fights, and if I disagree with you, we're going to have discussions and maybe we walk away agreeing not to agree. But that's okay, too."

The Trump factor

In the buzz over Trump's arrival at the RNC on Monday — his first public event since the attack — cameras skimmed over a familiar face sitting in the same row as the former president.

Tucker Carlson, the former Fox News host, was ousted last year but still occupies a powerful perch in the conservative movement. Beirich, the extremism monitor, said Carlson was arguably the single biggest catalyst for mainstreaming the great replacement theory, which imagines the engineered replacement of White Christian Americans.

The ideology has inspired mass shootings, including the 2019 attack on shoppers at a Walmart in El Paso that killed 23 and injured dozens.

Carlson's Thursday night speaker slot at the RNC sent an alarming message, said Freddy Cruz, a program manager at Western States Center, an anti-extremism watchdog group.

"It's essentially giving a green light to a lot of these ideas," Cruz said. "This isn't simply a conspiracy theory when you're talking about the great replacement theory. This has had real-world consequences."

Trump himself has a history of disparaging Black and Hispanic people, Muslims, women, and many other groups. His running mate, Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), also has espoused far-right talking points, playing down the seriousness of the Capitol attack and using replacement theory language in statements about immigration.

Trump's address Thursday was anticipated as a barometer for the GOP's seriousness about dialing back the heat. The former president told an interviewer after the shooting that he was overhauling the "humdinger" of a speech he initially planned to deliver and instead was thinking about it as "a chance to bring the whole country, even the whole world, together."

Beirich said the messages of Trump and his allies at the RNC and on the Truth Social platform don't point to a different tack — only more bombast and conspiratorial thinking.

"They've changed our culture," Beirich said of the MAGA movement's impact. "They've coarsened it, racialized it, and heightened discussions about political violence in a way that was unacceptable before."

Mixed messages

Republican appeals for unity after the assassination attempt arrived so abruptly that some convention speakers struggled to keep up.

Sen. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.) said he'd quickly rewritten remarks to align with the healing theme, but then the older version of his speech was loaded into the teleprompter.

That, he explained to PBS, was why his intended message of "unity" instead accused Democrats of posing "a clear and present danger to America, to our institutions, our values and our people."

A common refrain among speakers was that issues shouldn't be viewed as red or blue but "red, white and blue." But GOP speakers also promised mayhem if Democrats continue to lead.

West Virginia Gov. Jim Justice, a Trump family friend who appeared onstage with his bulldog, Babydog, painted a dire picture: "We become totally unhinged if Donald Trump is not elected in November."

Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) warned that the radical left seeks to tear down American values and "remold us into some sort of borderless, lawless, Marxist, socialist utopia."

"We're here to say: Not on our watch," Johnson told the RNC.

Perhaps the most conciliatory message came from Haley, who said Trump invited her to speak "in the name of unity."

In addition to calling on the nation to come together, Haley encouraged the GOP to expand its ranks, a direct challenge to far-right party leaders fomenting hostility toward marginalized communities.

"We are stronger when we welcome people into our party with different backgrounds and experiences," Haley told the crowd.

Behind the scenes, an attempt to do that was backfiring. The previous day, Harmeet Dhillon, a California Republican official, had delivered a Sikh prayer from the convention podium with a scarf draped loosely around her head.

Some Republicans celebrated the moment as a refreshing showcase of GOP diversity. But some in the party's hard-right Christian base accused Dhillon of positioning her faith as worshiping "the one true God," a slight to Christianity.

As Haley was onstage urging the crowd to embrace a big-tent Republican vision, Dhillon was on the receiving end of bigoted online attacks from fellow conservatives. Across social media, pro-Trump commenters blasted her "satanic chants" and "witchcraft," calling her a "pagan blasphemer" and demanding her deportation. Dhillon is a U.S. citizen.

Again and again, she posted the same reply on X, "There is only one God." Her supporters also pushed back, touting Dhillon's service as a legal adviser on Trump's 2020 campaign and her involvement in Women for Trump.

Still, the attacks continued. The "unity" theme hadn't stuck.

"Blocking quite a few people," an apparently exasperated Dhillon wrote on X.

Wingett Sanchez and Marley reported from Milwaukee.

ELECTION 2024

Secret Service said to have denied requests for more security at Trump events

TRUMP FROM A1

Secret Service leadership, as Trump advisers privately fretted that the vaunted security agency was not doing enough to protect the former president.

The Secret Service, after initially denying turning down requests for additional security, is now acknowledging some may have been rejected. The revelation comes as agency veterans say the organization has been forced to make difficult decisions amid competing demands, a growing list of protectees and limited funding.

A gunman was able to fire off rounds from an AR-15-style rifle from a rooftop about 150 yards from the former president at the rally last Saturday. Trump was injured, as were two others; a man in the crowd was killed. The agency has been under scrutiny over security lapses at the rally.

Trump advisers' anger deepened after an agency spokesman publicly denied that any request for additional security lodged by Trump or his detail had ever been rejected. Secret Service Director Kimberly Cheatle, who has been under pressure to resign over security lapses at the rally, repeated that denial in a meeting with Trump campaign leadership in Wisconsin on Monday, people familiar with the discussions said.

"The assertion that a member of the former president's security team requested additional security resources that the U.S. Secret Service or the Department of Homeland Security rebuffed is absolutely false," said Anthony Guglielmi, a spokesman for the Secret Service, in a statement on the day after the shooting.

After receiving detailed questions from The Washington Post, Guglielmi said the agency had learned new information indicating the agency's headquarters may have in fact denied some requests for additional security from Trump's detail and was reviewing documentation to understand the specific interactions better.

"The Secret Service has a vast, challenging, and intricate mission," he said in a statement. "Every day we work in a dynamic threat environment to ensure our protectees are safe and secure across multiple events, travel, and other difficult environments. We execute a comprehensive and layered strategy to balance personnel, technology, and specialized operational needs."

In response to a request for comment, a spokeswoman for the Trump campaign referred to a statement Trump posted on Truth Social praising his own Secret Service detail.

The extended tussle over safeguarding a former president who holds regular public events that draw large crowds raises new questions for the Secret Service, a long admired protection force that guards American presidents, their families and other senior officials. But it has been plagued by staffing shortages and hiring limits since 2010 and suffered a series of embarrassing security lapses during the Obama and Trump administrations.

A Secret Service official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to candidly describe sensitive internal discussions, said the agency has finite resources and has to juggle competing demands, especially for its countersnipers, counterassault teams and the teams of uniformed division officers who help screen attendees for weapons at events using magnetometers.

The agency is currently responsible for security details for more than two dozen people, most of them requiring full-time security and a few others receiving what is informally called "door-to-door" protection from the moment they leave their homes. Protectees include the president and vice president and their families, as well as former presidents, candidates and a growing number of senior administration officials. After the Butler shooting, the agency added a protective detail to Robert F. Kennedy Jr., an independent presidential candidate, and is now protecting GOP vice-presidential nominee J.D. Vance as well.



GENE J. PUSKAR/AP

Police snipers return fire after an assassination attempt during a rally for former president Donald Trump in Butler, Pa., on July 13

Bill Gage, a former Secret Service agent who served on presidential protection and counterassault teams during the Bush and Obama administrations, said the agency is always drowning in far more requests and events than it can possibly handle with its hiring limits, and that leads to headquarters denying requests even more frequently during the busy campaign season.

"I hate to dumb it down this much but it is a simple case of supply and demand. The requests get turned down routinely," Gage said. "A director has to finally come forward to say we are way understaffed and we cannot possibly continue with this zero fail mission without a significantly bigger budget."

The Service's Office of Protective Operations reviews security requests for events, and as part of a regular push-and-pull, it sometimes reconsiders initial denials after being persuaded the risk justifies the expense, officials have said. But it must balance the reality that each agent, countersniper or magnetometer assigned to cover one event reduces what is available for other people the service protects.

The weekend of the Butler shooting, the Secret Service had sent multiple countersniper teams and hundreds of agents to the Republican National Convention and was also securing an event by Jill Biden and a scheduled trip by President Biden to Austin the day after the shooting.

"It's just true — we don't have the resources to secure him [Trump] like we did when he was president," the official said.

None of the denied requests that The Post reviewed related to the Pennsylvania rally. But one of the denials that most concerned Trump officials came as he held a rally in South Carolina in July 2023, one of the first large-scale events of his current campaign. Trump was speaking in a downtown square in Pickens, a small town 20 miles west of Greenville, at a site surrounded by commercial and residential buildings. People familiar with the request said that Trump's security team asked for more countersnipers to be stationed on rooftops to guard against potential shooters or other attacks.

The people said the Pickens event was one of several in which Trump's team was denied more tactical support. Trump's detail was told Secret Service headquarters had determined they could not provide the resources after the detail made an extensive argument for why the teams were needed, they said.

Guglielmi said the Service is still reviewing the planning for the Pickens event but said local countersnipers rather than Secret Service teams were on hand to help address the threats of potential shooters.

On multiple other occasions, Trump's team asked for magnetometers and additional help to screen attendees for Trump to attend sporting events, particularly wrestling matches and college football games, people familiar with those requests said. They were told no because the events were not campaign events.

In one instance, the Secret Service argued the screening was unnecessary because Trump would be entering a stadium to watch a football game via a secure elevator and then be guided through a secure area to a private suite with controlled access, according to a Secret Service official who reviewed some of the security requests.

"He was not going through the general population," the official said. "You don't need to mag the entire stadium" in those circumstances.

But Trump advisers said he often moved through open-air concourses at the games, interacting with large swaths of the public. Some Trump advisers were repeatedly concerned about his safety at the sporting events as he moved through the areas, people familiar with the matter said.

People around Trump were also concerned by what they feared was an insufficient number of magnetometers and security personnel at rallies, they said, including one in 2023 in Macomb, Michigan, where some attendees jumped over bike racks to get past security and were restrained by local police, according to people close to Trump who witnessed the episode.

Several Trump advisers said the denials had been a frustration for more than a year.

The Secret Service extends the highest level of protection to current presidents and officials. Former presidents receive a significantly lesser degree of Secret Service protection, but Trump's high profile and daily routines make him a different kind of security challenge than most former presidents, according to former Secret Service agents.

Trump is also the first former president in modern times to run for reelection, which carries additional security burdens, though candidates are not provided the same level of security as sitting presidents.

Other former presidents only rarely make large, public appearances, living more private lives. Trump, on the other hand, is almost always around crowds, at his clubs and golf courses, and holds frequent campaign events attended by thousands, if not tens of thousands, particularly since he announced a new run for the presidency in November 2022.

Cheatle, a veteran Secret Service agent, has called the security failure at the rally on July 13 unacceptable, as a gunman was allowed to fire from an unsecured roof around 150 yards from where Trump addressed the crowd. The gunman was spotted acting suspiciously before Trump began speaking but the Secret Service did not intervene or prevent Trump from taking the stage.

The Secret Service and Trump's orbit also argued over planning for the Republican National Convention, particularly over how large of a security perimeter the agency would impose. The relationship grew so acrimonious that senior Republicans repeatedly sought meetings with Secret Service leadership in Washington after battling with agents on the ground over security and logistics.

On Thursday, Trump senior adviser Chris LaCivita called for Cheatle to resign, as have a number of lawmakers in both parties. During the convention, several Republican senators chased Cheatle through the arena in Milwaukee, where she had traveled to brief them on the investigation. The senators screamed at her after she declined to answer questions about the attempted assassination.

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ELECTION 2024

Trump and Vance revel in Democratic disarray in first rally together

BY DYLAN WELLS AND HANNAH KNOWLES

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH. — Former president Donald Trump reveled in Democrats' turmoil at his first rally since his attempted assassination at another campaign event, joined by his newly announced running mate, J.D. Vance.

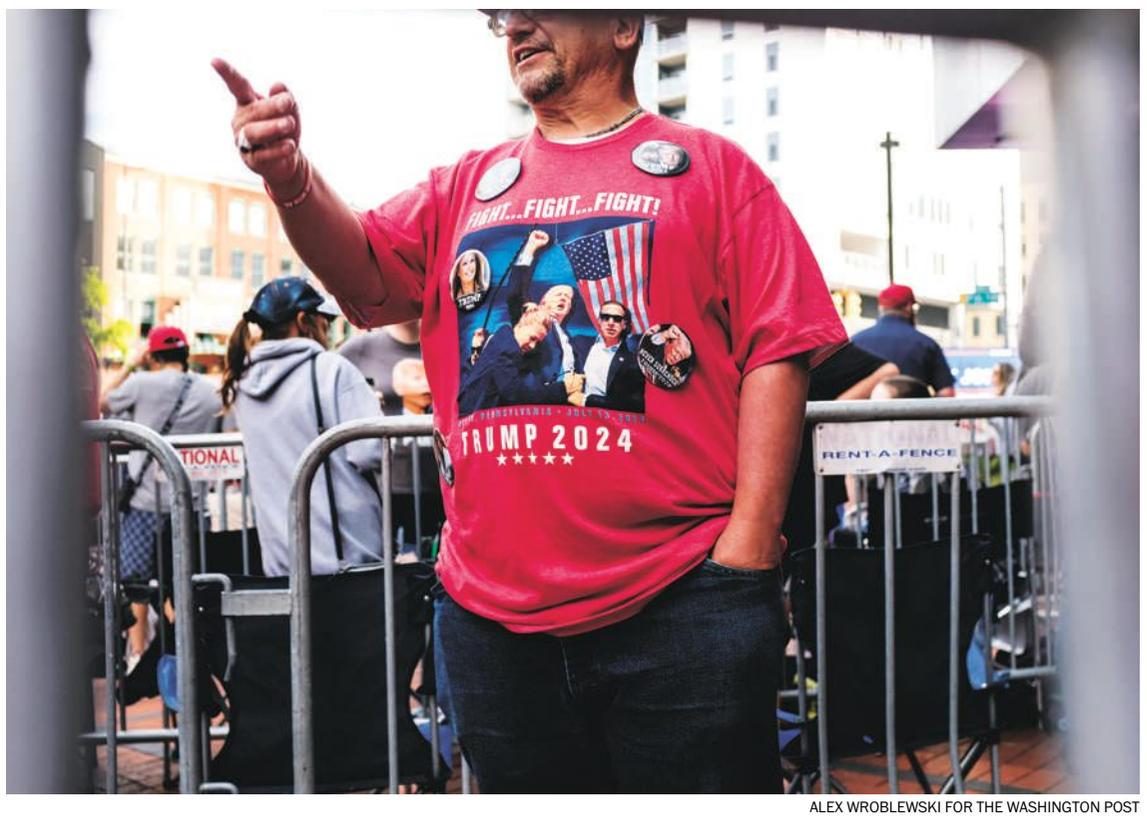
Trump and Vance, the Republican senator from Ohio, appeared in Grand Rapids exactly one week after a gunman opened fire at Trump's rally in Butler, Pa., with an AR-style rifle. The attack killed one audience member, injured others and left Trump with a bloody ear, instantly creating a shocking election-year scene in which Trump pumped his fist and shouted "Fight!" as Secret Service officers rushed him offstage.

Now, Trump is coming off his formal nomination at the Republican National Convention in perhaps his strongest political position this campaign cycle, with some Democrats pushing to remove President Biden last-minute from their ticket and Republicans full of optimism. Trump spoke gleefully about Democrats' disarray Saturday, at one point polling the audience on whom they most wanted him to run against.

The crowd booed for Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer (D) and Vice President Harris, whose name Trump butchered. But the audience roared loudest when Trump named Biden — reflecting Republicans' growing confidence that they can beat the incumbent.

As Democrats warn that Trump is a threat to democracy, Trump tried to cast his opponents' wrangling over Biden's future as undemocratic. The man who tried to overthrow his 2020 loss said that Democratic "bosses" are trying to "overthrow the results of their own party's primaries" and declared, "last week I took a bullet for democracy."

The Grand Rapids event was Trump and Vance's first rally as running mates and underscores the Trump team's hopes that Vance's Ohio upbringing and populist message will help them win the neighboring swing states of Michigan and Pennsylvania. Speaking for just over 10 minutes Saturday afternoon ahead of Trump's remarks, Vance highlighted his roots in a "working-class family" that struggled with addiction and said he viewed both political parties as "broken" for a long time.



ALEX WROBLEWSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Supporters of Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump in Grand Rapids, Mich., wait for him to take the stage Saturday, exactly one week after a gunman opened fire at Trump's rally in Butler, Pa.

He laid out the "America First" and isolationist ideas he has championed in a changing GOP. He rebuked leaders across the political spectrum he said had allowed American jobs to be outsourced and suggested the United States should pick its foreign entanglements more carefully.

"There's nothing radical about having a strong national security that when we go to the war, we punch and we punch hard, but being cautious, and not trying to get America involved in every far-flung corner and conflict of the world," Vance said. "Sometimes, my friends, it just is none of our business and we ought to stay out of it." The crowd cheered.

Trump took the stage with a small tan bandage on his ear instead of the conspicuous white one he wore at the Republican convention after the assassination attempt left him wounded. On Saturday, he also shared a letter from Rep. Ronny Jackson (R-Tex.), a close ally and former White House physician, that said Trump's wound required no sutures but still bled intermittently, requiring a dressing.

At the rally, Trump made some efforts to pivot to a general-election audience. He ramped up his attacks on a conservative policy effort called Project 2025, even as its architects include staunch Trump allies and members of his first administration. Trump has tried to distance himself as Democrats increasingly attack Project 2025, and on Saturday, Trump called the effort "seriously extreme" and a product of the "severe right." But the package also includes many proposals that Trump has endorsed.

At the same time, Trump returned to the red-meat issues that amp up his base. He got some of his biggest cheers promising to carry out mass deportations and "shift massive portions of federal law enforcement to immigration enforcement." He repeated his false claims the 2020 election was rigged.

"I feel safe. ... Security is beefed up as much as it could be. We just have to look to God to protect us like he did that night that Trump got shot."

Angelic Johnson, rally attendee

He criticized government rules meant to increase electric-car production — but also tempered it with praise for Elon Musk, the CEO of electric-car maker Tesla, who recently endorsed Trump and is said to be planning large donations to Trump's reelection. "I've had them, I've driven them, they're incredible but they're not for everybody," Trump said of EVs.

Trump also doubled down on his praise for leaders that President Biden and other U.S. officials have condemned as dictators. He recounted saying of Chinese President Xi Jinping: "He's a brilliant man, he controls 1.4 billion people with an iron fist," and riffed on the idea, saying Xi makes people like Biden look like "babies."

"They're all smart, tough, they love their country," Trump said of Xi as well as Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Despite the violence last week, Trump supporters queued up in long lines early Saturday to hear from their official ticket. Many rally attendees wore shirts with Trump's words after the assassination attempt — "fight, fight, fight" — or with photos of Trump raising his fist, and a few sported ear bandages meant to mimic the one Trump had at the GOP convention.

Saturday's rally took place with extra safety precautions. The event was moved indoors after the shooting at an open-air event because an arena is easier to secure, The Washington Post previously reported, and Trump's campaign does not expect to hold any more outdoor rallies soon. Secret Service sought additional help from local law enforcement as well.

Supporters at the rally said they believed that God saved Trump's life last week and expressed little fear for their own security.

"I feel safe and I don't feel worried. Security is beefed up as much as it could be," said Angelic Johnson, 54. "We just have to look to God to protect us like he did that night that Trump got shot." She said she came to learn more about Vance after knowing only his basic biography.

Biden's campaign held a news conference Saturday ahead of the Grand Rapids rally to assail Trump's agenda, saying it would hurt workers while giving breaks to the wealthy. Whitmer shared a video with her "welcome" message for Trump and Vance, saying that "here, we protect reproductive freedom" and making other digs at Trump's policies.

But Democrats' own turmoil has been a growing distraction. A dozen more Democratic lawmakers called on Biden to pull out of the presidential race on Friday alone, indicating a party still deeply unsettled by Biden's struggle to hold his train of thought at a June 27 debate and other stumbles.

A bout of covid-19 has also taken Biden off the campaign trail while Trump and Vance plan a bundle of events coming out of the Republican convention.

On Monday afternoon, Vance will hold a rally in his hometown of Middletown, Ohio. Then he will head to a Monday evening rally in Radford, Va. — a signal of the Trump campaign's continued efforts to expand the map of competitive states to places where Democrats usually prevail in the presidential race. Biden won Virginia by 10 points in 2020.

Trump plans to speak at a rally in Charlotte on Wednesday evening.

Trump, appearing at the convention with a bandage on his ear, used his speech to call for unity after last week's rally shooting. "The discord and division in our society must be healed," he said.

But after recounting the assassination attempt and attributing his survival to divine intervention, Trump mostly returned to his usual material. He jabbed at "crazy Nancy Pelosi" and alluded to his false claims the 2020 election was stolen from him — "that horrible, horrible result that we'll never let happen again."

Knowles reported from Washington.

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Dhaka quiets under curfew as toll in Bangladesh protests tops 100

BY AZAD MAJUMDER AND REBECCA TAN

DHAKA, BANGLADESH — Life in the Bangladeshi capital ground to a halt Saturday as the government enforced a curfew to quell violent clashes between student protesters and security forces.

Shops and businesses were closed and roads were largely empty in the typically congested city of 10 million people, save for military and paramilitary personnel on patrol. Late on Saturday, scattered street battles were reported across Dhaka. Sweeping restrictions on the internet imposed on Thursday remained in place.

According to a Washington Post tally of hospital and police reports, as of Saturday, at least 110 people had been killed in the demonstrations — the most of any protests in Bangladesh in over a decade. Police forces said several of their personnel are among the dead. Thousands of others have been wounded.

Mohammed Abir, a medical examiner at the morgue at Dhaka Medical College hospital, said he received 33 bodies Friday evening.

The U.N. humans rights chief, Volker Türk, on Friday called the violence "shocking and unacceptable" and urged restraint. There needs to be "impartial, prompt and exhaustive investigations" into the attacks against students, he said, adding that he was especially worried about the actions of the government's paramilitary police units, "which have long track records of violations."

Dhaka and several other major Bangladeshi cities were engulfed last week by protests against a new governmental policy of reserving a portion of civil service jobs for specific groups, including descendants of the nation's freedom fighters. The quota system, which the protesters see as unfair, has fueled explosive anger toward the government under Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, which has deployed increasingly draconian methods to quell the unrest.

Leaders of the student protest movement told reporters they met with government officials Saturday to convey a list of demands, including an overhaul of the job quota system, the resignation of certain cabinet ministers, and immediate trials for those responsible for the killing of students.

The government must release student protesters who have been arrested, Abdullah Saleheen, a student activist, said in an interview. "Until that happens our protests will continue," he added.

Calls on Saturday from The Post to the Bangladeshi Foreign Ministry and Home Affairs Ministry, as well as the U.S. Embassy in Dhaka, went unanswered.



MOHAMMAD PONIR HOSSAIN/REUTERS

People protesting Bangladesh's job quota system clash with police in Dhaka, the capital, on Thursday. At least 110 people have been killed in the demonstrations.

In an alert Saturday, the embassy described the situation as "extremely volatile and unpredictable," advising staff to shelter in place. "The Bangladeshi Army has been deployed nationwide. . . . Guns, tear gas, and other weapons have been used in the vicinity of the U.S. Embassy," the alert said.

Earlier Friday, the State Department issued a travel advisory for Bangladesh, urging U.S. citizens to reconsider travel "due to civil unrest" in Dhaka.

On Friday, protesters stormed a jail in the district of Narsingdi, northeast of the capital, freeing hundreds of inmates. Police posts across Dhaka were set on fire as paramilitary and military forces deployed tear gas, rubber bullets and smoke bombs to disperse large crowds.

At the end of the night, the government announced a nationwide curfew, ordering people to stay home until 10 a.m. Sunday local time. There was a two-hour window on Saturday from noon to 2 p.m. for public movement.

Internet services have been shut down and mobile services disrupted in a near-total "blackout" that has left many of the country's 170 million people unreachable. Banks have reported disruptions in operations.

Bangladeshi officials say they have slowed internet connectivity to stop the spread of misinformation. But in a letter, a coalition of more than 300 digital rights groups said it is likely to have the opposite effect by reducing people's ability to counteract misinformation and spurring panic.

"Government agencies have a duty to ensure that people can access open, secure, and unrestricted internet when they need it the most," the #KeepItOn coalition wrote.

Another digital rights advocacy group, the Asia Internet Coalition, urged Bangladesh "to consider the serious impact of its action on its people and the country's reputation as an investment destination."

Several of the biggest companies in the textile industry, a major contributor to Bangladesh's economy, said they would close their factories on Sunday. Hasina has canceled a planned trip to Europe to deal with the unrest, her office said.

Tan reported from Singapore. Sammy Westfall in Washington contributed to this report.



THE WORLD

Venezuela's election could spark a new exodus

About a quarter of the population has fled Nicolás Maduro's rule, and many of those left say if he wins again, they might go, too

BY SAMANTHA SCHMIDT AND NICK MIROFF



MICHAEL ROBINSON CHÁVEZ/THE WASHINGTON POST

Venezuelan migrants look for a way across the Rio Grande along the border wall between Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, and El Paso in September 2023.

The opposition candidate who is challenging Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro has a simple pitch. Vote for us, Edmundo González says, and your loved ones can come home.

But U.S. officials are wary of what might happen if Maduro is not defeated.

More than 7 million Venezuelans — about a quarter of the population — have already fled Maduro's authoritarian rule in the past decade. Of those who remain, more than 1 in 3 tell pollsters that if Maduro remains president after the July 28 vote, they'll consider leaving the country themselves.

The Venezuelan election coincides with the final stretch of the U.S. election campaign, in which a surge in illegal border crossings under President Biden and plans by former president Donald Trump for mass deportations have become central issues.

The Biden administration has tightened controls at the southwestern border. Illegal crossings there have dropped more than 50 percent since June 4, when Biden announced emergency measures temporarily blocking migrants' access to the U.S. asylum system, the White House said last week.

Under Biden's measures, Venezuelans who enter illegally face a much greater risk of being sent back to Mexico, and Mexican authorities say they are making record numbers of immigration arrests to prevent migrants from reaching the U.S. border in the first place.

Biden administration officials speak often of the root causes that they say drive migrants to leave their homes. They include a sense of hopelessness spread by entrenched authoritarian rule, according to Katie Tobin, a former Biden immigration adviser.

"There are millions of Venezuelans outside their country who would love to be able to return, and they're far less likely to do so if Maduro stays in power," said Tobin, now at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Advocates for migrants in the United States and in Colombia, home to nearly 3 million Venezuelans, say they have been inundated with messages from Venezuelans making plans to leave the country to join relatives living abroad. Some expect that Venezuelan migrants now living close to home — in Colombia or other South American countries — will give up their hope of returning, and instead head north to the United States.

"We are convinced that there will be a migratory peak if, unfortunately, the dictatorship does not fall in Venezuela," said Ana Karina García, the director of a foundation that works to integrate Venezuelan migrants into new lives in Colombia. Venezuelan migration has surged "each time an electoral event has generated hope and Maduro has remained in power."

At no time since Maduro took power in 2013 has an election in Venezuela generated as much hope as this one, García said. The opposition, which for years boycotted elections or struggled to unite behind a candidate to challenge the autocratic socialist, has rallied around González, a 74-year-old former diplomat who has served Venezuelan embassies in Belgium, Argentina and the United States.

González is campaigning as a stand-in for opposition leader María Corina Machado, the country's most popular politician, after she was barred from running by the Maduro-controlled supreme court. Polls show González leading Maduro by double-digit percentage points.

But it is Machado, a fiery, 56-year-old former congresswoman, who draws crowds. She won an opposition primary last year with more than 92 percent of the vote.

Venezuelan migration is at the core of Machado's campaign. Videos on social media show her speaking with Venezuelan mothers and fathers desperate to see their children again. In one video last month, a man holds Machado's hands and sobs: "I want my kids to come home."

"2 Venezuelans like you and me ..." Machado wrote on X. "2 separate families like yours and mine. ... A country united in a single purpose: go till the end, liberate Venezuela and reunite our families forever!!"

The exodus has united all Venezuelans, Machado says, even chavistas, supporters of the socialist state founded by Hugo Chávez, Maduro's predecessor.

"It's become an emotional element that the opposition, through social media, has managed to capitalize on," said Ronal Rodríguez, a professor at Colombia's Universidad del Rosario and a researcher in its Venezuela Observatory. "I don't think there's a single Venezuelan who doesn't have someone in the diaspora."

Maduro, who has previously ignored or denied the exodus, has made migration a part of his campaign, with promises to bring Venezuelans home.

If González wins the vote, Venezuelans don't expect Maduro to cede power willingly. Rodríguez predicts a surge in migration this summer or fall regardless of the election result. The recovery of the country's economy, health care and education system will take years, he said, and millions in the diaspora have already built lives abroad. Even if the opposition wins and Maduro steps aside, he said, Venezuela is sure to experience months of instability, uncertainty and, potentially, violence.

Dosarmy Martinez, a 43-year-old mother of three in Valencia, Venezuela, believes any recovery will be "difficult and slow." But if González wins, she said, she and her husband will be willing to stay and help the country rebuild. "At least we would have hope."

If Maduro remains in power, she said, she hopes to migrate to the United States.

U.S. authorities have processed more than 800,000 Venezuelan migrants since 2021, including more than 500,000 who entered illegally along the U.S.-Mexico border. The Biden administration has responded to the record influx by increasing opportunities for Venezuelans to apply to enter the United States legally with a financial sponsor.

Far more Venezuelans are now arriving through lawful channels, according to the data. The number of Venezuelans arriving through the Biden programs has averaged about 14,000 per month so far in 2024.

The Biden administration has been working with partners in the hemisphere "to crack down on transnational criminal networks, transportation companies that facilitate smuggling, and to remove or return individuals who do not have a legal basis to remain in the United States," Luis Miranda, a spokesperson for the Department of Homeland Security, said in a statement. The Treasury Department this month imposed sanctions on the Tren de Aragua, a Venezuela-based crime group involved in human smuggling.

Governments across the region have tightened border enforcement. Panama has moved in recent weeks to block jungle routes through the Darien Gap, and U.S. officials this month announced a $6 million pilot program to help the Central American country boost deportation flights. Mexico has arrested record numbers of migrants, including Venezuelans, transiting its territory.

Restrictions in the Darien Gap, the isthmus that connects South America with Central America, could create a bottleneck in Colombia. Colombian authorities are setting up seven transit centers throughout the country to help move migrants north in a more organized fashion.

Since 2021, Colombia has given temporary protective status to more than 2 million Venezuelans. But President Gustavo Petro, who took office in 2022, has not expanded the program, and migrant advocates say the country is unprepared for a new influx of Venezuelans.

The mayor of Cúcuta, Colombia, a border city of more than 700,000 people, about a third of whom are Venezuelan, expects a new wave of migrants. "The city will never be prepared," Jorge Acevedo Peñaloza said. "Let's hope it's not another 200,000 people."

The city is planning a new hospital to address the strain on the local health-care system — and to accommodate more arrivals.

Two such arrivals could be Yuleimy Vanesa Romero Villalobos, a 32-year-old street vendor in Maracaibo, Venezuela, and her 8-year-old daughter.

The girl suffers seizures. There are days when Romero can barely afford both her daughter's medication and food for the family. Romero's mother has taken in her 4-year-old daughter because she can no longer support both of her children.

Many homes in their neighborhood are empty. She estimates that about half of her neighbors have left the country. She hopes she'll be next. If the opposition wins, she said, she'll wait to see whether things improve — but not long. She has already packed her bag. She plans to take her older daughter across Colombia and through the Darien Gap en route to the United States. An aunt in Wisconsin has offered to help.

"My priority is to vote," Romero said. "And then we'll leave."



MATIAS DELACROIX/AP

Venezuelan migrant Naiber Zerpa carries her son Mathias Marquez as they arrive last month at a temporary camp in Lajas Blancas, Panama, after walking across the Darien Gap from Colombia.

Ana Vanessa Herrero and Scott Clement contributed to this report.

DIGEST

CHINA

At least 11 die in collapse of bridge

Chinese authorities say at least 11 people have died and 30 are missing in the partial collapse of a highway bridge in the northwest of the country following heavy storms and flooding. A similar number are missing in the southwest after dozens of houses were destroyed by storms.

The official Xinhua News Agency said five vehicles that fell off the bridge have been recovered since the structure in Shaanxi province crumbled around 8:40 p.m. Friday. A photo released by Xinhua showed a section of the bridge broken off and leaning at a nearly 90-degree angle into the rushing brown water.

It said rescue operations were ongoing Saturday in the province's Zhashui county, with some 20 cars and 30 people still missing.

In Sichuan province to the southwest, an estimated 30 people were missing and around 40 houses wrecked in flooding and storms, Xinhua reported. It said roads, bridges and communication networks in hardest hit Hanyuan county had been damaged or possibly knocked out.

— Associated Press

MYANMAR

Attacks on schools rising, report says

An intensification of fighting in Myanmar's civil war has brought a sharp increase in destructive attacks on schools, a group that monitors armed conflict in the Southeast Asian nation said in a report Saturday.

Myanmar Witness said the attacks have further strained Myanmar's already fractured school system, taking away education for millions of children who have also been forced to flee their homes and live without adequate nutrition. "Education underpinned the democratic movement in Myanmar, but today Myanmar's youth are witnessing their schools — and life opportunities — reduced to rubble," said Matt Lawrence, project director at Myanmar Witness.

The group, a project of the Center for Information Resilience, identified a total of 174 attacks on Myanmar schools and universities since the military seized power from the elected government of Aung San Suu Kyi in early 2021.

Myanmar Witness put most of the responsibility for the destruction of schools on airstrikes conducted by the Myanmar military.

— Associated Press

MALAYSIA

King installed in rotating monarchy

Malaysia's billionaire king Sultan Ibrahim Iskandar was installed on Saturday, six months after he was sworn in for a five-year term under a unique rotating monarchy system.

The coronation formalized the sultan's role as Malaysia's 17th king, in a ceremony steeped in Malay culture and pageantry.

Nine ethnic Malay state rulers take turns as Malaysia's king, in a system that began when Malaysia gained independence from Britain in 1957.

— Associated Press

Lightning strikes in northern Greece killed cattle and started fires during a days-long heat wave affecting most of southern Europe. Several fires were reported near the city of Kozani, 280 miles north of Athens, after a dry thunderstorm, authorities said Saturday. Further north, near the town of Florina, officials from a public agricultural insurance organization said nine cows were killed by lightning strikes at a cattle farm and that several other animals were injured. Farm owner Alexandros Tsikos said he found the animals dead in a grazing area next to the cattle barn.

— From news services

ISRAEL-GAZA WAR

Israel strikes Yemeni port after Houthis claim attack

The retaliation heralds a further expansion of the war in Gaza

BY KAREEM FAHIM, ALON ROM, STEVE HENDRIX AND MOHAMAD EL CHAMAA



ANSARULLAH MEDIA CENTER/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Israel on Saturday carried out airstrikes on the Houthi-controlled city of Hodeida, Yemen, after Houthis took responsibility for a drone attack in Tel Aviv. A military spokesman for the Houthis said "several" Israel raids had struck the port, a power station and fuel tanks.

Israel carried out airstrikes Saturday on a port city in Yemen that is controlled by the Houthi militant group, sparking massive fires at a critical hub for imports to the impoverished country in an attack that Israeli leaders cast as a warning to emboldened adversaries around the Middle East.

The attack came a day after the Houthis, an Iranian-allied group, claimed responsibility for a rare drone attack on Tel Aviv that killed one person and struck just yards from a U.S. Embassy branch office. After the strikes Saturday, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said they came in "direct response to the drone attack" Friday as well as other Houthi attacks against Israel during the war in Gaza.

The strikes made "it clear to our enemies that there is no place that the long arm of the State of Israel will not reach," he said.

The Houthis have been striking ships off Yemen's coastlines for the better part of the year, in attacks they say are aimed at ending Israel's Gaza offensive, while throttling vital trade routes. Over the last few months, the United States and Britain have carried out airstrikes against the Houthis, in an unsuccessful effort to end the maritime attacks.

Israel's attack Saturday was also unlikely to deter the Houthis, Yemen analysts said, and might have the opposite effect, allowing the group to consolidate its power at home as it rallied Yemenis to mobilize against yet another foreign threat. The strikes also heralded a further expansion of the war in Gaza, adding a volatile new dynamic to what has become a building regional conflict, joined by militant groups in Lebanon and Iraq as well.

A military spokesman for the Houthis said "several" Israel raids had struck the port, a power station and fuel tanks in Hodeida, a struggling city that serves as the entry point for imports to large parts of Yemen. He vowed the group would retaliate.

"We will respond to this blatant Israeli aggression and will not hesitate to strike the enemy's vital targets," Yahya Saree, the military spokesman, said in a televised statement. "We have prepared, with the help of God Almighty, for a long war with this enemy until the aggression stops and the siege on the Palestinian people is lifted," he said.

Footage of the aftermath of Saturday's strikes showed black smoke billowing from massive fires in the port, and residents in Hodeida bathed in an orange glow as they watched. Al-Masirah, a Houthi-run outlet, quoted the ministry of health as saying that the strikes had killed at least three people and injured at least 87, most with severe burns. The channel aired footage from what appeared to be a hospital, of injured people on gurneys lining a hallway.

The Houthi drone that struck Tel Aviv on Friday evaded Israel's sophisticated air defense network and struck the city without even setting off air-raid sirens — a failure that Israeli officials blamed in part on "human error." Weapons experts said it was possible that the Houthis had enhanced one of their existing drones to use in the attack by increasing its range.

An Israel Defense Forces official said Saturday that Israel carried out the strike on military and "dual use" targets following months of Houthi rocket and missile attacks on Red Sea shipping and Israeli territory. The official would not comment on reports of involvement by other national militaries in the region, including Saudi Arabia, the United States and Great Britain, although those allies were notified of the operation, the official said.

"The fire that is currently burning in Hodeida is seen across the Middle East, and the significance is clear," Yoav Gallant, Israel's defense minister, said in a statement. "The Houthis attacked us over 200 times. The first time that they harmed an Israeli citizen, we struck them. And we will do this in any place where it may be required. The blood of Israeli citizens has a price."

Netanyahu, in his remarks, said that the Hodeida port was "used for military purposes, it was used as an entry point for deadly weapons supplied to the Houthis by Iran. They used this weapon to attack Israel, to attack the countries of the region, to attack an international shipping lane, one of the most important shipping lanes in the world."

It was also the entry point for fuel and food that entered Yemen, a country that has suffered gravely through a decade of civil war as people struggled to get basic necessities. The strikes Saturday could imperil those supplies, said Mohammed al-Basha, a senior Middle East analyst at Navanti, a risk-assessment group.

The strikes had resulted in "the complete destruction of oil tanks at Hodeida port, with extensive damage also reported at Hodeida power station," he said in a message. The destruction, he added, was expected to "trigger severe fuel shortages across northern Yemen, significantly impacting essential services such as hospital diesel generators. The situation is likely to be exacerbated by the intense summer heat, intensifying the suffering of the local population."

While ships docked in the port and grain silos in the area were not believed to be affected by the strikes, there had been damage to refined oil tanks belonging to the Yemen Petroleum Company, he said. There were also concerns that "poorly equipped firefighters" would not be able to quickly put out the roaring blaze in the port.

The attack has "sparked panic in Houthi-controlled areas, with residents rushing to gas stations in fear of an impending fuel crisis," he said. To calm the public, the Houthi-controlled Yemen Petroleum Company was forced to issue a statement saying there were adequate fuel supplies.

A 34-year old Yemeni man whose family has a house in Hodeida, near the port, said the home was damaged by the fire caused by the strikes. The man, who lives outside of Yemen and asked to be identified by his first name, Hareth, said a relative had checked on the house Saturday. The area had been targeted previously, during Yemen's civil war, but had survived.

"This time, everything was burned," he said.

Fahim reported from Istanbul, Rom from Tel Aviv, Hendrix from Jerusalem and El-Chamaa from Beirut.

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ISRAEL-GAZA WAR

As Israel ramps up strikes, civilians have nowhere to go

Wave of attacks is meant to pressure Hamas amid negotiations, analysts say

BY MIRIAM BERGER, HAJAR HARB AND HAZEM BALOUSHA



EYAD BABA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

People search through building rubble near the collapsed minaret of a mosque Wednesday after an Israeli strike in Nuseirat, in the central Gaza Strip. A school there was one of seven to be hit in 10 days, a U.N. Relief and Works Agency spokeswoman said.

JERUSALEM — Israel says the most intense phase of its war against Hamas is nearing an end. Yet for civilians in Gaza, bone-tired and packed into ever-shrinking spaces, the violence seems unceasing.

Over the past week, Israel has unleashed a wave of airstrikes across the besieged Strip — some probably carried out with American-made weapons, experts say — that Palestinians and humanitarian workers likened in intensity and lethality to those in the early weeks of the nine-month war. The wounded have poured into Gaza's few barely functioning hospitals, where doctors say they do not have the resources to treat melted skin and missing limbs.

Analysts say it is part of an Israeli strategy to ramp up pressure on Hamas in ongoing diplomatic negotiations aimed at securing a cease-fire and the release of the more than 100 hostages still held by the group. Dozens of captives are still alive, Israeli officials say, though no one knows exactly how many.

Israel's military says it is targeting fighters and commanders embedded within the population; large-scale strikes July 13 were aimed at Mohammed Deif, the leader of Hamas's armed wing. The attack, one of the war's deadliest, killed the commander of Hamas forces in the southern city of Khan Younis, according to the Israel Defense Forces, which has said it is still assessing whether Deif was among the dead. Hamas claims he is still alive.

The blasts have taken a heavy toll on civilians — hitting densely populated schools and makeshift encampments, some in areas where Israel had told people they would be safe.

The United States supports Israeli strikes against militant targets, "but they need to be carried out in a way that … minimizes and prevents civilian harm," State Department spokesman Matthew Miller said last week.

Gazan civilians, most displaced multiple times during the war, say there is no refuge from the violence.

"Every time [Israel] talks about a new phase, we think it will be calmer or closer to ending the war, but what is happening is exactly the opposite: The war is getting hotter and more difficult," Mahmoud, 51, told The Washington Post.

He spoke by phone from Mawasi, in southern Gaza, which was hit twice last week — including in the strikes on Deif — despite being designated by Israel as a humanitarian zone. Fearing reprisal, he spoke on the condition that only his first name be used.

"Anything could happen, and you could be killed," Mahmoud said. "Why? Because you were in a place with a wanted person and didn't know it."

He was several hundred yards away from another strike on Tuesday, which he said came without warning. Seventeen people were killed, according to the Gaza Health Ministry. The area is packed with tens of thousands of Palestinian families who heeded Israeli evacuation orders in May — fleeing Rafah, on the border with Egypt, to the once desolate stretch of coastline.

The IDF said the strike targeted a senior militant in Islamic Jihad, a Hamas ally, and that it was "looking into reports stating that several civilians were injured."

Mahmoud said he would stay in Mawasi for now, as there was no "truly safe" place to go.

The Gaza Health Ministry says more than 38,900 Palestinians have been killed in the war, including more than 500 since July 13. The ministry does not distinguish between civilians and combatants but says a majority of the dead are women and children.

The official death toll reached 30,000 in late February and has slowed significantly in the months since, but officials say they are no longer able to provide a comprehensive count because of the breakdown of Gaza's health-care system and communication networks, as well as Israeli restrictions on movement.



HATEM KHALED/REUTERS

People in Khan Younis, in southern Gaza, react to July 13 strikes on an area designated by Israel as a humanitarian zone. Israel's military said it was targeting the leader of Hamas's armed wing.

Medical staff and humanitarian workers say the ministry figure is an undercount, since it does not include thousands of bodies believed to be buried under rubble or those not brought to hospitals.

On July 14, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared that Israel was "at a critical stage of the war" and was "drawing close to victory."

Netanyahu has vowed to destroy Hamas, which led a brutal assault on southern Israel on Oct. 7, killing about 1,200 Israelis and taking about 250 hostages. But he is at odds with Israel's top generals, who say Hamas cannot be eliminated.

Suggesting otherwise, IDF spokesman Daniel Hagari said last month, is "throwing sand in the eyes of the public."

The IDF said last week that it had killed or apprehended 14,000 militants, less than half of low-end estimates for Hamas's prewar fighting force. The military did not provide evidence to support the figures.

Israel's intensifying raids are intended to pressure Hamas to make concessions in cease-fire talks, which have picked up momentum over the last several weeks after months of stalemate, said Kobi Michael, a former government official and now a senior researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies at Tel Aviv University.

The strikes are targeting higher-ranking Hamas figures who have only recently emerged from underground, Michael said, which he added was a testament to Israel's progress in destroying parts of Gaza's vast tunnel network.

"There are many fewer places to hide," he said.

Hamas officials have accused Israel of trying to derail diplomatic negotiations, though the group has not withdrawn from talks.

Wes Bryant, a retired senior targeting professional in the U.S. Air Force, said it appeared that multiple 2,000-pound bombs were used in the July 13 attack targeting Deif in Mawasi, based on images of the aftermath. Ninety people were killed, according to the Gaza Health Ministry.

Israeli strikes are "liquidating [Gazans] in their sleep," said Georgios Petropoulos, head of the U.N. humanitarian coordination office in Gaza. In last weekend's strike, "we found 90 of them; the rest are evaporated," he said.

"We are incredibly troubled by the ongoing deaths of Palestinians in Gaza," Miller, the State Department spokesman, said Monday. "If it turns out to be true that Muhammed Deif was actually hiding among civilians … it just shows the very difficult challenge that this war poses."

Petropoulos on July 13 was at Nasser hospital in Khan Younis, where civilians began arriving with horrific wounds. Suheal Khan, a surgeon from London volunteering for several weeks at Nasser, described the scene as "bedlam."

People came in with "body pieces, limbs hanging off, some injuries I've never seen before in terms of clean-cut, sliced-through limbs" from flying fragments. He stepped over dead bodies, he said, to treat children on blood-covered floors. People with chest injuries "had little chance of surviving" as Gaza's reserve of specialized doctors dwindles.

Within days, "many patients had maggots in their wounds," Khan said, as staff lacked the medical equipment needed to properly treat open fractures and amputated limbs. He said doctors often have no reliable supply of water, IV fluids, gloves or gowns.

Later on July 13, in Gaza City's Shati refugee camp, strikes killed 22 people in a makeshift mosque, said Mahmoud Basal, a civil defense spokesman.

The IDF said "approximately 20 Hamas terrorists from the Al-Shati battalion" were killed, including engineers, snipers and an operative who took part in the Oct. 7 attacks.

Yasser Ghaly, 27, was in a house nearby. He fled to the area last month after Israel issued evacuation orders for his Gaza City neighborhood.

He ran to the scene, helping move the injured "until my clothes were stained with blood." His 16-year-old neighbor had to have an arm removed.

"There may be some people from Hamas or from other organizations, but is it reasonable that people were bombed while they were praying in the mosque?" he said.

In May, the Biden administration stopped supplying Israel with 2,000-pound bombs — like the kind probably used in the July 13 strikes in Mawasi — citing their impact on heavily populated areas.

But the small precision munitions used in other recent strikes can also have catastrophic consequences, said Trevor Ball, a former explosive ordnance disposal technician for the U.S. Army.

"When they are used in areas where there are just tents or in streets … they have high likelihoods of generating more casualties because there's nothing to protect any civilians nearby from the fragmentation of the blast wave," he said.

Trevor said a U.S.-made small-diameter munition was probably used in a July 14 strike on the Abu Oraiban school in Nuseirat in central Gaza. At least 22 people were killed and 100 wounded, Basal said.

Throughout the war, displaced Gazans have sought shelter in school buildings run by the U.N. Relief and Works Agency. "The scope and scale" of the recent attacks "have been extremely costly in lives and infrastructure," UNRWA spokeswoman Tamara al-Rifai said Tuesday.

The school in Nuseirat was one of seven to be hit in 10 days, she said. The IDF said in a statement that it was targeting Hamas "terrorists" operating at the school.

Eyewitness Mohammad al-Tahrawi, 31, said one of the missiles hit near a room housing plainclothes civilian police, who were providing security.

"Schools now include security points," he explained, "after repeated incidents of attacks by thieves."

The IDF says Gaza's civil police officers are legitimate military targets. The campaign against them has fueled lawlessness across the Strip and made it virtually impossible for aid groups to safely deliver humanitarian assistance as starvation spreads.

Abdel Azim Abdel Hadi, 57, was staying in the school with his family, but he was in line for bread when the attack hit. He spent hours moving between hospitals trying to locate his wife and six children, he told The Post by phone.

Four-year-old Mahmoud had been burned beyond recognition, he said. His wife had surgery on a leg wound. Maysar, his 2-year-old daughter, was still clinging to life when he found her with her eyes burned shut.

She died soon after, he said.

Harb reported from London and Balousha from Cairo. Louisa Loveluck in London, Shira Rubin in Tel Aviv and Cate Brown in Washington contributed to this report.

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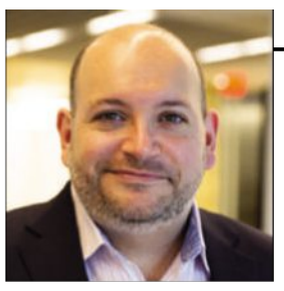
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Upcoming Programs



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PRESS FREEDOM: A CONVERSATION WITH JASON REZAIAN

Global Opinions Writer, The Washington Post

Rezaian reflects on the conviction of Evan Gershkovich in a Russian court and the state of global press freedom on the 10th anniversary of his own imprisonment in Iran.



MON. JULY 22 AT 3:00 P.M.

ELECTION 2024: THE STAKES

David Axelrod, Former Senior Adviser to President Barack Obama

The Democratic strategist shares his assessment of the 2024 presidential race, the growing calls for President Biden to drop out and the best path forward for Democrats.



TUES. JULY 23 AT 3:00 P.M.

ELECTION 2024: THE STAKES

Rep. Adam Smith (D-Wash.)

The House Armed Services Committee's ranking Democrat explains his call for President Biden to leave the Democratic 2024 ticket and how he sees the stakes in the 2024 presidential contest.

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

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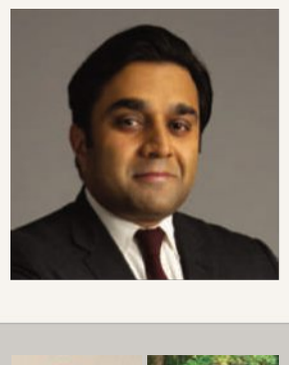
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Linda Sprague Martinez, Director, Health Disparities Institute, UConn Health
Chimére L. Sweeney, Long Covid Patient Advocate and Founder & Director, The Black Long Covid Experience

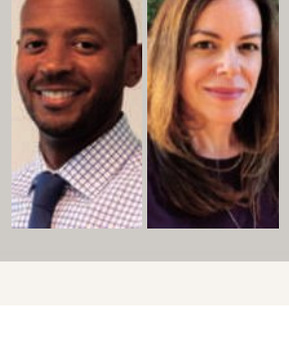
A health researcher and an advocate talk about the lingering symptoms long covid patients have navigated and the resources available for care.



A PUBLIC HEALTH CHALLENGE

Ashwin Vasan, Commissioner, New York City Department of Health & Mental Hygiene

New York City's top health official addresses the looming public health challenge of long covid for governments and his agency's efforts to gather more data about the condition.

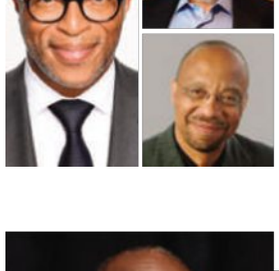


Content from **Moderna**

LONG COVID'S IMPACT ON THE WORKFORCE

Ian Simon, Director, Office of Long COVID Research & Practice, Department of Health & Human Services
Rachel Beale, Long COVID Advocate & HR Professional

An exploration of the ways in which business leaders can better support their employees with long covid and manage the illness' impact on their organizations.



FRI. JULY 26 AT 9:00 A.M.

FIRST LOOK

The Post's **Jonathan Capehart**, **Jim Geraghty** and **Eugene Robinson**

Subscriber exclusive: In a special expanded edition, Jonathan Capehart speaks with Post writers about the race for the White House, the moment in American history and other top political headlines.



MON. JULY 29 AT 11:30 A.M.

PARIS OLYMPICS

Michael Johnson, Olympic Gold Medalist & CEO, Grand Slam Track

The four-time Olympic gold medalist discusses Team USA's top runners, his efforts to boost the popularity of track and field and his record-breaking career.

To register for upcoming events and watch recent interviews with Washington Post Live, visit washingtonpostlive.com or scan code with a smartphone camera:

PARIS OLYMPICS

In Paris, the Games are seeking a fresh start

OLYMPICS FROM **A1**

In 1984, the Los Angeles Games saved a bankrupt and demoralized Olympic movement with an innovative self-funded approach that launched a golden era of booming broadcast rights and sponsorships that led to financial successes in cities such as Barcelona, Atlanta and London.

But with the Paris Games about to begin, the Olympics appear to be at another crossroads. Global leaders such as Russia's Vladimir Putin and China's Xi Jinping have used Olympics to solidify their power, mucking the Games with political quagmires and doping scandals. The costs for host cities have ballooned, and cities have been left with impractical facilities that symbolize wasteful extravagance. And there's a growing sense that the Olympics don't carry the same awe with younger generations as they did with those before them.

Many in the Olympic world are hoping these Games will do what Los Angeles did 40 years ago.

With Paris, Costas said, Olympic leaders "have a chance to do something really unique."

Paris has planned a spectacle like no other Olympics before, with Opening Ceremonies on the Seine and competitions held on or beside the Champs-Élysées. The Eiffel Tower will soar over everything. Organizers have financed most of a manageable budget through private sources, and they're placing an emphasis on art and scene and elegance.

"We need a spectacular Games," said Terrence Burns, a sports marketing consultant who has worked for the IOC and other entities around the Olympics. "We need Paris to remind us of what it was that persuaded us to watch over the years. I can't overstate how important Paris is to resetting expectations."

Facing a world of problems

In November, IOC President Thomas Bach stood in the vast U.N. chamber and said the world is in a "dangerous downward spiral."

The "scourge of war and violence is growing," he told the General Assembly. "Political, social and economic divisions are gaining more ground."

Later, in a hallway, he described his dire summation of society's decline as an opportunity.

"The world is really longing for something unifying among all these tensions and confrontations," Bach said.

The Olympics, he added, can be that something.

But can they really? Berlin's 1936 Games helped galvanize nationalism in a pre-World War II Nazi Germany, five Olympics have been canceled because of world wars, and boycotts led by the United States in 1980 and the Soviet Union in 1984 fractured the notion that sports existed outside of politics.

Bach was at the United Nations that day for the ceremonial ratification of the Olympic Truce, a nonbinding vow based on the ancient Greek Olympics and revived in the 1990s under which world leaders agree not to attack other countries from one week before the Olympics until one week after the Paralympics. It's the kind of document the IOC likes to uphold — and one Putin has trampled in recent years, launching invasions of Georgia, Crimea and Ukraine during the truce.

Russia's annexation of Crimea was especially humiliating for the IOC because it took place between the 2014 Olympics and Paralympics held in a Russian resort, Sochi, a Games forever tarnished by revelations of the host country's state-sponsored doping program.

Russia "has become the elephant in the room" for the IOC, said Michael Payne, a onetime IOC marketing executive and the author of "Olympic Turnaround," which describes how the Games revived themselves in the 1980s and 1990s.

Putin's attempt last year to claim athletes from the seized Ukrainian territories gave the IOC an opening to suspend the Russian Olympic Committee for Paris. Still, the attempt to allow a small number of Russians and Belarusians to compete in Paris as what the IOC calls "independent, neutral athletes" has angered many Ukrainians.

Russia, though, is far from the Olympics' lone political problem, even if fears persist of a Russian-led cyberattack on the Paris Games similar to what U.S. officials claim occurred at the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics.

In the winter of 2022, Beijing's zero-Covid bubble, filled with dystopian images of workers in hazmat suits, showed the world a vastly different China than the optimistic one that emerged at the city's first Olympics in 2008. It was an Olympics of strict quarantines, lockdowns and vigilant policing of dissent.

Each day, the IOC held a press briefing that included a representative from Beijing's Olympic Organizing Committee. Western journalists flooded IOC officials with tough yet pertinent questions, while Chinese reporters directed benign, seemingly scripted queries to Beijing officials. Questions from western reporters about topics such as human rights drew immediate rebuke from the Beijing officials.

"Whatever the Olympic ideals are, [Beijing in 2022] was the antithesis of that," Costas said.

Who wants to open the door?

Those 2022 Games were in Beijing only because Oslo, the frontrunner, dropped its bid in 2015 when public support collapsed as potential costs climbed. That same year, Boston, picked by the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee as the American candidate for this summer's Games, also backed out for similar reasons. Two years ago, British Columbia refused to fund a Vancouver bid for the 2030 Winter Olympics, saying it was too expensive. Brisbane, the 2032 summer host, is overhauling its original plan after construction expenses were higher than estimated.

The two most expensive Olympics ever were Sochi, which Russia claims cost $50 billion, and Beijing's $44 billion Games in 2008. Voters in Western democracies don't want to throw billions at the Olympics, especially for stadiums that won't have a purpose afterward. This is how three Games in 15 years came to be in Russia and China.

"One of the difficulties when you have a movement that is essentially aspirational is that you have to make the Olympics opportunity available to everyone and not just those with the right principles," said Richard Pound, a powerful IOC member who, along with Payne, helped the IOC modernize. "You end up with hard countries. You don't want to award the Olympics to countries based on their policies; you want to award them based on their ability to organize an Olympics."

Heather Dichter, a professor at England's De Montfort University who studies Olympic bids, agreed costs discourage many countries from showing interest in hosting.

"The Olympics is a huge cost, and it comes with the concern of the white elephant venues as a legacy," Dichter said. "How many sliding venues do you need in the world? Do you need a velodrome?"

Games planners are finding out. Organizers of the Milan-Cortina 2026 Winter Olympics are rushing to build a sliding center in the mountains outside Cortina. The bobsled, luge and skeleton track will be on the site of a historic run abandoned in 2008 because it was too expensive to maintain. A similar fate has befallen the track in the Italian Alps built for the 2006 Turin Olympics because it, too, wasn't used enough to justify the expense of keeping it online.

In recent years, the IOC has attempted to eliminate the elaborate and expensive promises competing cities felt compelled to make by having potential hosts negotiate privately with a small group of IOC leaders until a clear leader emerges. It's also supposed to cut out the temptation for contending cities to bribe IOC members for their votes.

While the new awarding rules might have stopped the bidding wars, it has shrouded the process in secrecy, putting decisions that could have dramatic economic impact on cities in the hands of a tiny group of IOC officials known as the Future Host Commission. This has led to skepticism over a lack of transparency.

Still, the new approach has done something much bigger by quietly pushing the next six Olympics (Paris, Milan-Cortina, Los Angeles, French Alps, Brisbane and Salt Lake City) to places with democratically elected governments, possibly adding a seventh in 2038 by announcing extended negotiations with a Swiss bid for those Winter Games.

"[Bach has] de-risked the process," Burns said. "The days are gone when you could see a Sochi or a PyeongChang win. Bids for propaganda purposes are gone."

How much that can hold is a question. Brisbane's ability to host in 2032 remains in some doubt, and India Prime Minister Narendra Modi is widely expected to make a Sochi-style bid for the 2036 Summer Olympics, as are cities in China, Qatar and Saudi Arabia.

Balancing cool and traditional

For years, the IOC has been able to count on robust television rights deals and corporate sponsor programs to keep the money flowing, 90 percent of which it says it distributes among sports federations. But behemoth broadcast rights deals are not guaranteed forever.

NBC, which has the U.S. rights to the Games through 2032, saw ratings for its prime-time telecast in Tokyo drop 27 percent from the Rio Olympics in 2016. Months later, the tumble in Beijing was worse, a 42 percent decline from the 2018 PyeongChang Games.

Network executives still don't know how to assess the drop, unsure whether it's attributable to the lifelessness of the two pandemic Olympics, a sign of a changing viewership in which streaming services cut into television ratings or a decline in audience interest.

Are there enough people under 30 to care about events such as modern pentathlon, dressage and rowing? Or even long jump and swimming? Does the long-running dominance of the U.S. women in water polo matter in a world ruled by clicks and Snaps?

"The Olympics is getting a little old; it has the potential for aging out," said Irwin Kishner, a partner at law firm Herrick Feinstein who negotiates sponsorship deals throughout sports.

In 2014, the IOC ran what it called a "sports lab" at that year's Nanjing Youth Olympics in China to test four sports under consideration for future Olympics. Kit McConnell, the IOC's sports director, said the goal was to see how a different offering of sports would appeal to younger fans.

The experiment was part of a larger mandate the IOC created called Agenda 2020, a Bach initiative that became a series of recommendations to modernize and reform the Olympics. One of the key parts of Agenda 2020 (now known as Agenda 2020 Plus Five) is to make the Games more appealing to future generations.

From Nanjing came skateboarding and sport climbing, which along with surfing were added provisionally in Tokyo and formally in the past year, joining another new sport, three-on-three basketball. A similar test four years later at the youth games in Buenos Aires produced squash, which will be added at the 2028 Los Angeles Olympics.

McConnell said he has seen the new sports bring new energy to the Olympics. Skateboarders, he said, were "maybe not fully engaged with the Olympic Games and the Olympic movement prior to skateboarding being in the Olympics," but the addition means the Games are reaching "a massive global audience."

"We measure that side of things through hard data," he continued. "And we saw some really positive metrics coming through there."

At the same time, a flood of new sports risks diluting what the Olympics historically have been. Burns cautioned that simply "chasing the red flag of youth culture" risks loading the Games with events that "are fleeting and faddish."

Then there is what Pound callls "the dance with the esports devil": a series of esports tournaments and now the creation of an Olympic Esports Games that will be held separately from the actual Olympics.

"It will be interesting to see if oil and water mix," Pound grumbled.

Weeks after Pound made his comments, the IOC unveiled a partnership with the Saudi Arabia Olympic Committee to host the inaugural Olympic Esports Games in 2025, part of a 12-year deal that calls for Olympic Esports Games to be held regularly.

Burns has spent much of his career selling the splendor of an event built on peace and sport, ideals that he still holds dear. But he worries the Olympics are losing some of what he calls their "specialness."

"All the athletes of the world would be in one place," he said. "Now you have the world all around you. Now the world comes together all the time. It used to be that there was no such thing as seeing a Russian athlete. Now kids see Russians every day in places like the NBA and NHL."

Olympic officials "are perpetually walking on eggshells trying to keep out of the line of fire," Payne said. Some believe the Games' problems get amplified without context, overshadowing the stories of inspiration.

"There's certainly a lot of corruption in a lot of societies — it's not more in the Olympics — but the Olympics draw more attention," Pound said. "It's an instant-reaction problem. But if you take a step back, is it really an Olympic problem? Or a perception problem?"

The moment is here

So it is up to Paris to make the Olympics special again. Most around the Olympic movement — from IOC officials to advertisers to television broadcasters to social media companies jumping into the Games — are pinning their hopes on these next few weeks. If Paris can't inspire audiences with its grand boulevards and Renaissance buildings, what will?

"I think it can be a reset moment," said Angela Courtin, YouTube's vice president for marketing.

YouTube is betting big on the Paris Games by sending a fleet of creators to cover the proceedings in ways others can't. So are TikTok and Snap. All say they are convinced young people are as interested as ever in the Olympics even if they might not watch traditional prime-time network telecasts. Executives from all three platforms say their data indicate that kids want to see and hear about events that unite the world.

Paris organizers, reeling after losing the 2012 Games to London, tried to impress the IOC with a proposal that encouraged fans to spend time in the middle of the city, with most of the sports in clusters near Roland Garros and the Stade de France but not in the city center. Then, after winning the bid in 2017, they decided to go for transcendence.

Sitting in his office near the main stadium, with the tip of the Eiffel Tower peeking through the window blinds, Paris 2024 CEO Etienne Thobois said he and his staff studied building temporary stadiums to cut costs, which led them to ask how they "could make temporary extraordinary?"

As the IOC added skateboarding, three-on-three basketball and breaking to the program, 2024 planners came up with the idea of putting them all in Place de la Concorde, the site of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette's executions and the fountain from "The Devil Wears Prada." Then came the most outrageous idea of all: moving the Opening Ceremonies to the Seine.

"Paris is a gift that comes at a great time," said Gary Zenkel, NBC's president of Olympics. "Having the opening ceremony on the Seine and having the most compelling three hours [of TV] with the world watching? Yeah, bring it on!" he said. "The Olympics are going to soar on the back of that."

The bold plan is also fraught with potential disasters. Such a wide-open ceremony can't completely be protected. Promises to clean the Seine enough to allow the swimming portion of the triathlon might be too much to deliver, even after Paris and other municipalities have paid a total of $1.5 billion on the Seine project. A heat wave could make the temporary stadiums throughout the center of the city too hot to bear. The city's public transit might be overwhelmed.

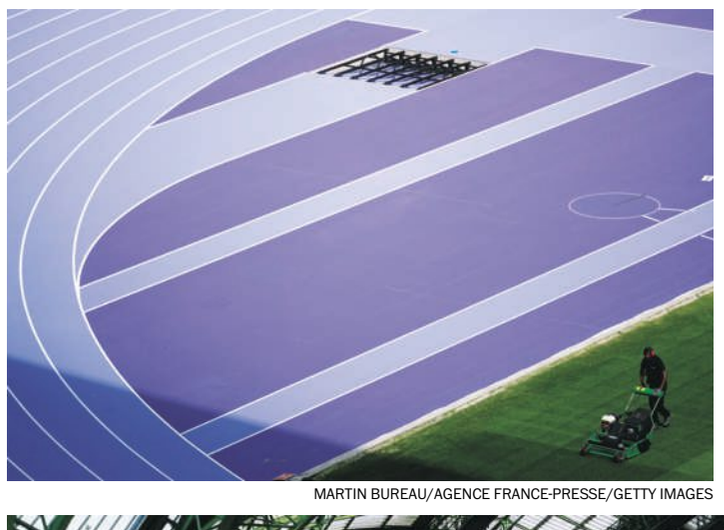
Tony Estanguet, the president of Paris 2024, often laments about "the pressure to be audacious." Delivering what he has promised could become too much. But success, Pound said, could "change the way people experience the Olympics."

Costas can't imagine the Games fading away. Viewers will always tune in, even if it's through new devices and apps.

Such compelling human drama won't be "relegated to secondary-viewing status," he said.

He looks at these next three Olympics and imagines people becoming dazzled by the beauty of Paris, the stunning scenes of the Italian mountains and the gauzy ethereal late-day glow of a Los Angeles Games and sees opportunities for the Olympics to enchant the world again.

"This is a window of opportunity, starting with Paris, a grand setting in a great historic city," he said. "How close will [the Olympics] come to be what it once was? We're about to find out."



MARTIN BUREAU/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES



BERTRAND GUAY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES



DIMITAR DILKOFF/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: The Stade de France will host the rugby sevens for the Paris Games' first week before track and field takes over. The Eiffel Tower is adorned with the Olympic rings. The Grand Palais will host the fencing and taekwondo competition.



MARTON MONUS/REUTERS

In Paris, China's Cui Chenxi will compete in skateboarding, one of many new sports added to the Games in recent years.

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P0059 6x21

SUNDAY OPINION

DANA MILBANK

Trump uniting the country? That's so last week.

After last weekend's failed assassination attempt, Donald Trump said he wanted to "bring the country together" and "unite America."

It was about as plausible as President Biden announcing that he hopes to take up rugby.

"In this moment, it is more important than ever that we stand United," Trump proposed. That was on Sunday of last week.

On Monday, he demanded "the dismissal of ALL the Witch Hunts" — the legal cases against him — and referred to the case about his role in the 2021 attack on the Capitol as "the January 6th Hoax." Wrote Trump: "The Democrat Justice Department coordinated ALL of these Political Attacks, which are an Election Interference conspiracy against Joe Biden's Political Opponent, ME."

On Tuesday, he denounced the "Radical Left Democrats" who "are attempting to interfere in the Presidential Election, and destroy our Justice System." The Uniter speculated that the "reason that these Communists are so despondent is that their unLawful Witch Hunts are failing everywhere."

That evening, the Republican National Convention showed a video in which Trump announced that "we must use every appropriate tool available to beat the Democrats. They are destroying our country." He added that "we must swamp the radical Democrats" who "cheat" in elections, "and frankly it's the only thing they do well."

On Wednesday, Trump posted on Truth Social an image of him raising a fist after the assassination, juxtaposed with three photos of Biden stumbling on jet stairs. "TRUMP VS BULLET," it said, and "BIDEN VS STAIRS."

By then, Trump allies at the GOP convention had called Democrats "jackals," "corrupt," "feckless," "evil" and "Marxists" who tried to kill Trump. (The failed assassin was a registered Republican, and authorities have found no evidence of a political motive.)

Ah, the warm courage of national unity.

Then came Thursday night's closing of the GOP's unity convention.

Eric Trump told the crowd his father had been "persecuted ... by far-left Democrats," and "ruthlessly silenced, slandered and attacked by a corrupt administration," and he implied that "the swamp" was behind the attempted assassination.

Hulk Hogan ended his convention address by saying: "All you criminals, all you lowlifes, all you scumbags ... and all you crooked politicians need to answer one question, brother: What you going to do when Donald Trump and all the Trump-a-maniacs run wild on you?"

Trump himself, after a feint toward unity — "the discord and division in our society must be healed" — soon reverted to type. He complained about the "fake documents case against me" and the "partisan witch hunts." He denounced "Crazy Nancy Pelosi" and invoked the "China virus." He said Democrats "used covid to cheat" and called the United States a "nation in decline" with "totally incompetent leadership," where there is "cheating on elections."

Despite his campaign's claims (credulously swallowed by some in the press) that he wouldn't mention Biden in his unifying speech, Trump told the convention that he would "take back the White House from Crooked Joe Biden, the worst president in the history of our country." He then delivered his standard stump speech, packed with vitriol and fabrications.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

GOP nominee Donald Trump during the final day of the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee on Thursday.

It looked like I had picked the wrong week to quit sniffing glue.

I was already missing last week's convention to go to a reunion, and the night before I departed, the would-be assassin came within an inch of killing the man Republicans were about to nominate for president. It was the sort of national trauma that had the potential to reshape politics.

Trump, recognizing his close call had given him a huge opportunity to recast himself, vowed to unify the country. "It is a chance to bring the country together," he told the Washington Examiner's Salena Zito the next day. Biden and other Democratic leaders recognized the importance of rising above politics. They condemned the heinous act and expressed gratitude that Trump wasn't seriously harmed. The news media embraced the talk of unity with a newly subdued and respectful tone.

But it turns out I didn't miss anything. The world didn't stop, or even slow down. Republicans baselessly blamed Democrats for the shooting, and Biden and the Democrats went back to describing Trump as a liar and a felon and an aspiring autocrat. Media coverage went back to what it was before. And the public didn't pay much attention to any of it.

After the shooting, 16 million people watched coverage of the shocking event on broadcast and cable news, Nielsen figures showed. That was considerably fewer than the 24 million who had watched Biden's news conference after the NATO summit a couple of days earlier. This was consistent with what I saw as I traveled across the country: People weren't crowding around televisions or scrolling for news. On Tuesday, a Reuters-Ipsos poll conducted after the shooting found that the presidential race was fundamentally unchanged, with Trump leading Biden by two percentage points, a statistical tie.

The ho-hum reaction is not a good thing, for it shows that Americans are now so numb to gun violence, mass shootings and even political violence that we are no longer surprised by it. The indifference seen in the viewership and in the polls also provides more evidence that Americans have already made up their minds about this presidential contest — and that there is seemingly nothing that will change their minds as long as these two unpalatable candidates remain the choices.

Biden's spectacular flop at the debate might have nudged the polls a point or two in Trump's favor, but it didn't fundamentally alter the race. The assassination attempt didn't either. The two candidates remain extremely unpopular. Most voters think Biden is too old and mentally unfit. Most voters think Trump is too dangerous and temperamentally unfit. Majorities wish both men would quit the race. (An Associated Press poll this past week found that two-thirds of Democrats want Biden out.) And they've tuned out this dreary and depressing presidential race. Can you blame them?

The audience for the Biden-Trump debate, 51 million, was down nearly one-third from the first Biden-Trump debate of 2020 and the least-watched in 20 years. Ratings for the GOP convention have been similarly lackluster; viewership for the first two nights was down about a quarter from 2016, the party's last in-person convention.

Were Trump a different man, he might well have had a chance to change the arc of the campaign after the shooting. But in reality, Trump and his allies didn't even pretend to embrace "unity," even in the first 24 hours after the attack. Rep. Mike Collins (R-Ga.) alleged that "Joe Biden sent the orders" to shoot Trump and should be charged with "inciting an assassination." Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-Ga.) asserted: "The Democrat party is flat out evil, and yesterday they tried to murder President Trump."

Donald Trump Jr. blamed Biden for the shooting, which he said was a result of "calling my dad a 'dictator' and a 'threat to Democracy.' " Right-wing commentators blamed antifa, MSNBC and "girl Secret Service agents." Rep. Ronny Jackson (R-Tex.) wrote that "FAKE NEWS 'outlets' demonizing Trump and calling him Hitler are DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE for this violent attack on President Trump's life! They have BLOOD on their hands."

And Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), the man Trump would tap as his running mate, wrote on the day of shooting that the Biden campaign's "rhetoric led directly to President Trump's attempted assassination" by characterizing Trump as "an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs."

Unity didn't have a chance once the Republican convention opened Monday in Milwaukee. Organizers went ahead with plans to have Mark Robinson address the convention. The GOP candidate for governor of North Carolina, he recently spoke of "evil" opponents and said "some folks need killing."

Sen. Ted Cruz (Tex.) told the assembled that "Americans are dying — murdered, assaulted, raped — by illegal immigrants that the Democrats have released."

West Virginia Gov. Jim Justice warned that "we become totally unhinged if Donald Trump is not elected in November."

Elise Stefanik (N.Y.), the House GOP conference chair, denounced "corrupt Democrat prosecutors and judges."

House Speaker Mike Johnson (La.) said that "the radical woke progressive left" is trying to build a "borderless, lawless, Marxist, socialist utopia."

And Sen. Ron Johnson (Wis.) railed against the "radical" Democrats who pose "a clear and present danger to America."

How unifying! Asked about this by PBS, Johnson claimed that he had planned to give a more unifying address but someone "loaded the wrong speech" on the teleprompter.

Apparently, this was a common problem, for on and off the convention floor, Republicans used the opportunity for a reset given them by the assassination attempt to spout the most vile thoughts they could think.

Speaker after speaker suggested Democrats were behind the shooting. "They tried to bankrupt him," said Trump's former housing secretary, Ben Carson. "They tried to put him in prison. ... And then, last weekend, they tried to kill him." Eric Trump agreed, telling CNN that "they tried to take his life."

Rep. Cory Mills (Fla.) told Real America's Voice that "they wanted to indict and imprison him" and "now they tried to kill him."

Ron Johnson told the same outlet that there were "rumors swirling" that the Secret Service had diverted agents from Trump's detail to protect first lady Jill Biden. He, and others, blamed "DEI" — diversity, equity and inclusion — at the Secret Service, which is led by a woman, Kimberly Cheatle.

The vitriol was gratuitous and ubiquitous. Arizona Senate candidate Kari Lake began her convention speech by welcoming "everybody in this great arena tonight" before adding: "I don't mean that. I don't welcome everybody." She then induced the crowd to boo the "fake news" journalists in attendance. (After the shooting in Pennsylvania, the crowd immediately turned on the media, blaming them for the bloodshed — as did figures such as Rep. Chip Roy of Texas and Sen. Tim Scott of South Carolina.)

Trump adviser Chris LaCivita, who previously posted and deleted a message blaming Biden's rhetoric for the attempted assassination, played off a fundraising appeal by Biden to say the president is sick "in the head." Trump Jr. told Axios that the only way Democrats could win in November was by cheating — and his sister-in-law, Lara Trump, now a top RNC official, concurred.

Before a speech by former Trump adviser Peter Navarro, recently imprisoned for refusing to comply with a subpoena, organizers distributed posters that demanded "MASS DEPORTATION NOW." Navarro told them Trump had been right in 2015 to say that migrants crossing the border are "murderers and rapists," as well as "drug cartels, human traffickers, terrorists, Chinese spies and a whole army of illiterate illegal aliens stealing the jobs of Black, brown and blue-collar Americans." Navarro also blamed "lawfare jackals" for firing "figurative and now literal bullets at Donald Trump."

A lot of the nastiness was transphobic; Greene used her speech to denounce the coincidence of Transgender Visibility Day, which has been observed on March 31 for 15 years, occurring on the same day as Easter Sunday this year. But migrants arguably received the most abuse. When Vance, in his acceptance speech Wednesday, said that "Democrats flooded this country with millions of illegal aliens," the crowd chanted: "Send them back!"

Even after days of such ugly displays at the convention, Vance praised Trump because "he called for national unity" after the shooting. "When Donald Trump rose to his feet in that Pennsylvania field, all of America stood with him," Vance said.

So it might have been. But Trump is squandering all the sympathy and goodwill — and any hope that the country might heal.

ERIK WEMPLE

How to unite America? Blame the media.

Major U.S. news organizations took a short while to post their initial stories on the attempted assassination of former president Donald Trump on July 13 in Butler, Pa. Though their journalists fully suspected that such an attack had taken place, there was only so much they could nail down right away.

So the initial headlines were tiptoeing works of lawyerly circumspection. The Post's early offering: "Trump escorted away after loud noises at Pa. rally."

Not good enough, countered media critics on X who saw an alleged effort to minimize the event. "Someone tries to assassinate the presumptive GOP candidate for president. And behold, your media," wrote one poster, citing a few headlines. Thus began yet another round of media-blaming in a summer bursting with this perennial activity. We've now reached the point in the United States where no breakdown, no screw-up, no tragedy can be the fault alone of leaders, principals, presidents, CEOs or a sick society. Somewhere, somehow, every single time, there's an argument or two for media complicity.

And boy, have we ever gotten good at crafting them.

When I first saw the critique of the initial headlines from Butler, I felt sure it would fizzle. People understand that journalists have to *confirm* things, right? That in all the commotion, all the confusion, it was impossible to discern precisely what just happened? No, they don't — this particular complaint snowballed into something real: "The immediate headlines from the media tried to ignore the actual story in a way you know they would not have if, God forbid, this were Joe Biden," said the Daily Wire's Ben Shapiro in a Sunday video. He slammed the Associated Press for writing that Trump was escorted off the stage after "loud noises ring out in the crowd." "Oh, someone must have sounded an air horn or something," said Shapiro.

The garbage backlash grew strong enough to require explainers by The Post and Mediaite. "Breaking news events — particularly one as fraught as a live event involving the shooting of a former president — are difficult to cover. Information is fluid and rumors spread fast," wrote Mediaite's Aidan McLaughlin.

"Okay, we are watching live," said CNN host Jessica Dean moments after Trump was swarmed by Secret Service agents at his lectern in Butler. "We do not know what is happening." With cautious formulations of that sort, news organizations were all but declaring to their audiences: We've learned our lesson. Scroll back a decade or so, and you'll find instances in which journalists were hammered for privileging speed over accuracy in covering tragic events. After the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, for instance, CNN, the New York Post and others committed a journalism seminar's worth of errors and misjudgments, for which they sustained a wave of public scorn.

It's here that the irony seeps in. Burned by criticism of their sloppy ways, the country's leading outlets embraced caution, for which they're now getting grilled. Perhaps semi-cautious journalism will thread the needle?

Just last month, a similar scenario materialized. In the aftermath of President Biden's anemic performance in the June 27 presidential debate, critics ripped the media for not having prepared the public for just this possibility. Yet news organizations such as the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal had covered the topic aggressively enough to warrant concerted pushback efforts from the White House.

Whatever: Jill Abramson, former executive editor of the Times, said D.C.'s press corps had "failed in the first duty of journalism: to hold power accountable."

The debate performance, in any case, touched off yet more coverage of Biden's age and public miscues, which, in turn, touched off criticisms that the media was going light on Trump. MSNBC host Joe Scarborough, for example, laid out a searing critique on X: "The media giving Donald Trump a complete pass while dissecting Biden's syntax patterns in radio interviews is something to behold." Media maven Margaret Sullivan asked in a Guardian column, "The media has been breathlessly attacking Biden. What about Trump?"

The New York Times set out to answer that very question with a multipart editorial outlining Trump's unfitness for office. The package debuted online on July 11, with the print version slated for the following Sunday. The assassination attempt took place between these two dates, and after the print version was finalized. None of those considerations — common in newspapering — stopped the backlash against the Times, which received a boost from X owner Elon Musk.

Kathleen Kingsbury, head of opinion at the Times, explained the logistics behind publication of the presentation, which included essays on Trump's character, rhetoric and "disregard" for democracy. But she did say, "We would have changed our plans if we could have."

On Monday morning, MSNBC did not air its flagship talkfest, "Morning Joe," with one source telling CNN that the rationale was the possibility of "an inappropriate comment on live television that could be used to assail the program and network as a whole." The network later denied that explanation, though there's no denying the logic: Comments both appropriate and inappropriate can be used and are used to assail the network as a whole.

Which brings us to the final bit of ridiculous media griping — the idea that the media inspired Thomas Matthew Crooks to open fire on Trump. "On a daily basis, MSNBC tells its audience that Trump is a threat to democracy, an authoritarian in waiting, and a would-be dictator if no one stops him. What did they think would happen?" wrote conservative pundit Erick Erickson in an X post that captures the sentiment of many other right-wing commentators. That sentiment relies on a fantastical supposition about the shooter's motivations, even as authorities still haven't determined what they were.

So, no: We won't halt unflinching coverage of Trump or any other politician. It wasn't the media, in any case, that attempted to overturn the 2020 presidential election, it isn't the media that is gearing up to challenge the 2024 election results in case of a Trump loss, and it isn't the media that is looking to commandeer the federal government. Strong coverage of such schemes can coexist alongside forceful denunciations of the Trump assassination attempt.

Besides, the reflexive and facile supposition that media coverage drove this tragic event grinds against evidence that Americans have been increasingly tuning out the news, especially coverage of politics. Data, in other words, suggests that the American media is a collection of pipsqueaks, an industry struggling for influence, audience and paying customers. In the mind-set of the uber-critic, though, it's a behemoth capable of rearranging with world with a few devilish keystrokes.

OPINION

The Washington Post
AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Is the Secret Service doing too much?

EDITORIAL

AMERICANS HAVE become so accustomed to seeing and shaking hands with their political leaders, they often take for granted the safety risks of this grand American tradition. The July 13 shooting in Butler, Pa., in which former president Donald Trump came less than an inch away from death, was a national tragedy. It was also preventable.

Now it is on the Secret Service to show Americans that its agents can handle the risk that retail politicking entails, permitting presidential candidates to glad-hand, and voters to assess their leaders up close, without fear.

The Secret Service can start by offering the country a full account of its failure to protect Mr. Trump. The would-be assassin should never have been able to fire an AR-15-style rifle at the former president, nor even to climb onto the roof of a building near where Mr. Trump was speaking. But he did. Secret Service Director Kimberly Cheatle has admitted, "It was unacceptable." That's not enough. Her explanations have been beyond insufficient — indeed, they don't make sense.

Ms. Cheatle claimed that no security personnel were on top of the building because its roof is sloped. A Post analysis showed Secret Service snipers were positioned on another roof (closer to Mr. Trump) that was even steeper. Her initial remarks also appeared to blame local police. But the Secret Service was in charge, and, as The Post reported, local police had warned the Secret Service that they did not have the resources to closely monitor the building, which had an unobstructed view of the stage. Somehow, the building was deemed outside the official security perimeter for the rally.



MORRY GASH/AP

Secret Service Director Kimberly Cheatle

Numerous rally attendees frantically tried to warn police about the shooter at least a minute and a half before the shots rang out, a Post analysis showed. Local law enforcement apparently spotted the shooter, flagging him as a suspicious person to the Secret Service an hour before he opened fire.

At least three independent investigations are underway — by the FBI, Congress and the Department of Homeland Security. But no matter how they proceed, the Secret Service needs to give a full account soon and explain how the agency intends to adjust. Ms. Cheatle has an opportunity on Monday as she testifies before Congress.

The Secret Service's failure to protect Mr. Trump is not an isolated slipup — just the worst in recent years. As The Post's Carol D. Leonnig has documented, Secret Service agents hired prostitutes on a trip to Colombia, where they were supposed to be setting up security for a visit by President Barack Obama. An uninvited couple was able to crash one of Mr. Obama's official state dinners, and numerous people were able to slip past security and get close to Mr. Obama, an inquiry showed. In 2015, a bipartisan investigation concluded the agency was in "crisis."

Americans, including presidential candidates, should not be afraid to attend political rallies. People should have access to their elected officials.

This is not to say the Secret Service's job is easy. The agency does not get much credit when, day in and day out, nothing out of the ordinary happens. Its agents need to balance the imperative of protecting the nation's senior leaders against the public's interest in participating in the democratic process. Americans, including presidential candidates, should not be afraid to attend political rallies. People should have access to their elected officials. The Secret Service would only compound the tragic events in Butler if it and other law enforcement agencies walled off the 2024 presidential candidates. After the Jan. 6, 2021, attack, barricades stayed up for too long, denying people access to the Capitol (a decision made largely by the Capitol Police). Instead of repeating that mistake, the agency should refocus on getting the balance right.

The Secret Service — and Congress — should ask some bigger questions about the agency, too. Is the Secret Service doing too much? Its agents guard not only the president, vice president and their families, but also major presidential candidates, former presidents and certain visiting foreign leaders. All of these people travel more than in decades past. Because of a quirk of history, the Secret Service also has responsibility for fighting currency counterfeiting.

Fixing the Secret Service starts with admitting its mistakes this month. But Congress is right to ask: Is this a moment for a bigger overhaul?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

6 ways to protect America from aging presidents

A problem with getting presidents to step down is that there is no incentive for them to do so. It is hard to plummet from being the most powerful person on the planet to nothing at all. Rather than just tossing them off the highway, you need to guide them to an off-ramp. They need a consolation prize.

In Britain, prime ministers can be "kicked upstairs": promoted out of power by being ennobled and given a seat in the House of Lords. It's a system that works well for smooth transitions. Because prime ministers conventionally sit in the House of Commons and not the House of Lords, the new prime minister is safe from intrigue from a vengeful predecessor. The former minister gets a fancy title and robes to help cushion the blow of their political humiliation and a cheap, harmless sinecure as an excuse to hang around the Parliament that defined their lives rather than feeling they were consigned to oblivion. Even after she was overthrown by her own party, Margaret Thatcher was made Baroness Thatcher of Kesteven.

Of course, I know that the United States has a political aversion to nobility, but you don't have to call them that!

Let us propose that every president who leaves office after completing a minimum of half a term of service (in order to stop anyone gaming the system and packing Congress by cycling through presidents rapidly) is invited to take a permanent seat in Congress as an "elder" of the United States, a position former presidents can hold for life or until they choose to retire. Italy already does something similar, as their former presidents become Italy's senators for life.

Robert Frazer, *Salford, England*

Time for an age limit

I'm as opposed to age discrimination as the next person, being older myself. However, we do need to recognize that for some positions we need age-related criteria. We don't allow airline pilots to fly indefinitely. We need a constitutional amendment that would require a candidate for the presidency to be younger than 70 at the time they take the oath of office.

All of our candidates, including those representing third parties or running as independents, are 70 or older, except the Libertarian contender. This is ridiculous. It's an indication of a sclerotic system.

Anne Barschall, *Tarrytown, N.Y.*

And service limits

Too many American leaders refuse to recognize that there comes a time when stepping down is in the public interest. Sadly, for too many of them, a life in public service is the only thing they know, and they like the power and recognition that comes with longevity.

It's time for a constitutional amendment, maybe along these lines:

"No presidential candidate shall run for election to federal office for a term which cannot be completed by the year immediately preceding the year in which that person attains the age of 70" (or perhaps 72).

In a similar vein, it would be wise to pair age limits with term limits, perhaps through language such as this:

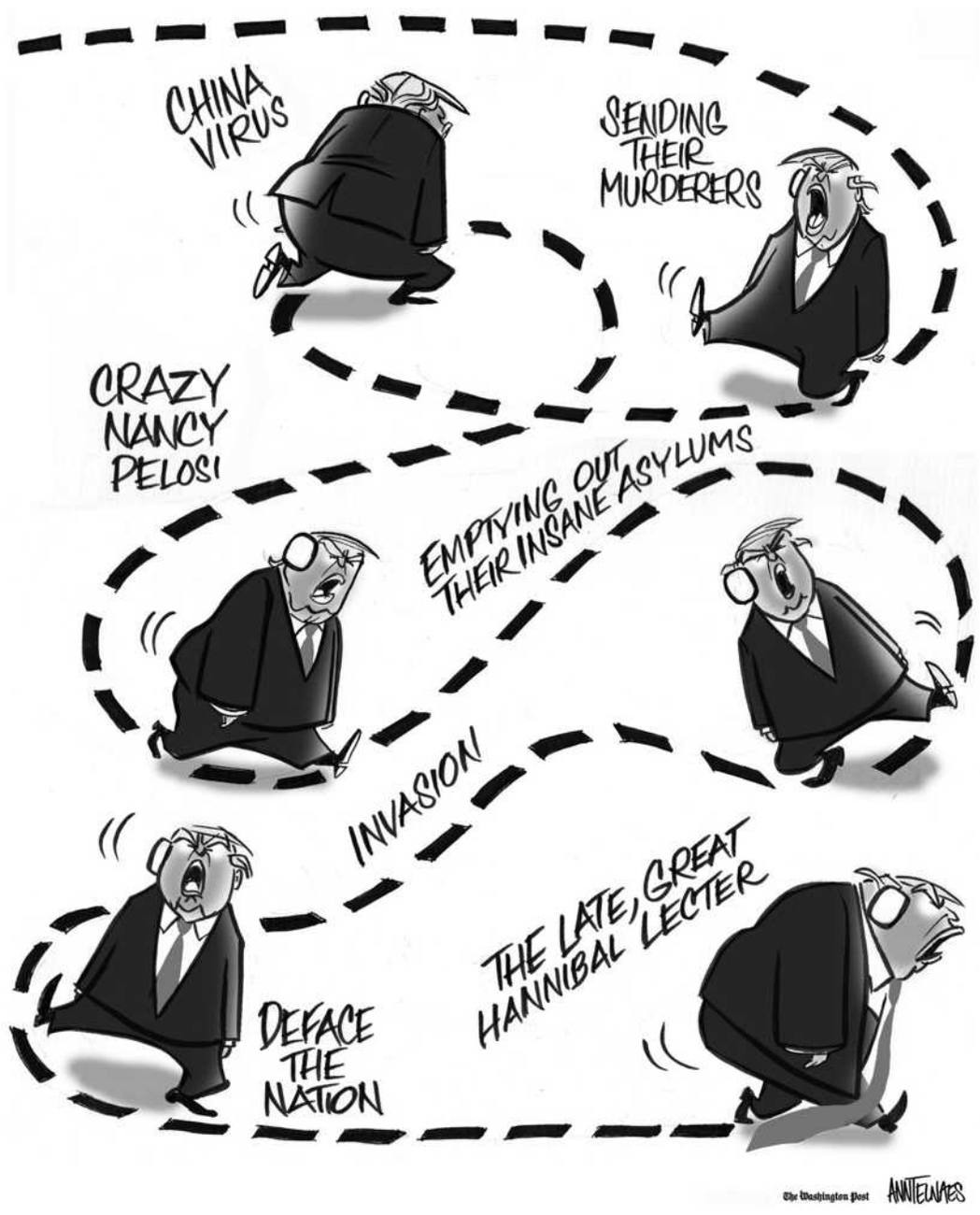
"No candidate for elections to office of Senator or Representative in the Congress of the United States may serve in office for greater than 15 consecutive years or beyond the year preceding the year in which said elected person turns 70, whichever comes sooner."

Granted, there are plenty of sharp cookies in America beyond these proposed age limits. But most of them are not in the strenuous role of public service — and certainly not in the role of president. Forcing the creation of vacancies with age or service limitations would be an important step in creating the next crop of national leaders.

John A. Walters, *Leonardtown, Md.*

ANN TELNAES

Donald Trump has not changed



Mandatory medical testing

We need to amend the 25th Amendment to require periodic cognitive testing of presidents over certain ages, perhaps 75 and after a leader suffers a stroke or brain injury. Perhaps the Cabinet or Congress could also order a cognitive test for cause. If the president fails the cognitive test badly enough, he or she should be replaced, perhaps temporarily, and allowed to return only if a new test shows improvement. Cabinet secretaries might not learn about a leader's cognitive impairment in a timely way, and even if they do, might not have the skills to make a diagnosis or decisions about what they learn.

If amending the Constitution is too hard, then we need a law requiring that this testing take place and that a summary of the results be released to the public. Ordinary people deserve medical privacy, but the president must be held to a higher standard.

Nancy Hilding, *Black Hawk, S.D.*

An independent commission

Regarding Megan McArdle's July 3 onlinr column, "The 25th Amendment is the wrong way to deal with Biden's decline":

When a president cannot discharge the powers and duties of the office because of mental or physical incapacity, there must be a feasible path for removal. Now is the time for Congress to resurrect legislation to establish a Commission on Presidential Capacity to Discharge the Powers and Duties of the Office. This commission would be responsible for managing the 25th Amendment process if the president became incapable of performing the job.

We agree with Ms. McArdle's conclusion that the risks posed by President Biden are "a lesser danger" than the threats posed by "another four years of Donald Trump." We face great risk to our democracy and institutions. The 25th Amendment must be revised to protect our country and the world.

Beth D. Cohen, *Belchertown, Mass.*
Pat K. Newcombe, *Longmeadow, Mass.*

Change the president's job description

I work in quality assurance, which means my job is to analyze the root causes of events and to delve deeply into cause-and-effect relationships in the organizations I help. That experience led me to ask a different set of questions after the first presidential debate than those who were primarily concerned with the question of whether President Biden should step down from the Democratic ticket — and perhaps the presidency itself.

In short, is it humanly possible for any one person to deal with all that the office of the president faces today? Is it time to transfer some of the president's responsibilities to the vice president so the president is not required to frequently jet across half the globe? Should the vice president have a revamped job description, not least so the person in that role can be better prepared should they someday assume the presidency?"

Presidents are human beings. Before the debate, not only did Mr. Biden face physical challenges that would hobble someone even in their prime of life, but he needed to cope with the impact from his son's trial and conviction. It is no wonder Mr. Biden came down with a cold.

But the focus on whether one individual can or can't perform a job, rather than on the nature of the job itself, is shortsighted. In quality assurance, scapegoats serve no purpose except the short-term satisfaction of a few. People are always involved. Systems exist to support people. Therefore, we do not look at who failed. We look at what in the system is not working, what failed and what is lacking.

The presidency is not a one-man act. It is a team effort. How can presidents pushing themselves to physical and emotional extremes at the expense of their mental functioning be considered to be giving their best? New resources and delegation can create highly effective backstops. It is just good management practice to carry out these assessments.

We keep applying 20th-century governing formulas to the very recent and unimaginable threats of the 21st century. Let's break away from that blindness and rethink what we're doing.

Marcia M. Weeden, *Barrington, R.I.*

That's not isolationism

In Max Boot's July 5 online column, "Who's the least bad choice to be Trump's VP?," Mr. Boot mischaracterizes the Quincy Institute as "an isolationist think tank."

While the Quincy Institute challenges the United States' overreliance on the use of military force, we do not in any way favor American retreat from the world. Among the principles that undergird our work, and which are easy to find on our website, is the idea that "the United States retains a strong interest in being a responsible and constructive member of the international community."

We at the institute believe in vigorous U.S. diplomacy in pursuit of international peace. We advocate for the United States to play a critical role in negotiations to end Russia's war in Ukraine and believe that the U.S. push for negotiations must be accompanied by continued aid to Ukraine as a means to strengthen Ukraine's hand at the table. We urge deeper U.S. diplomatic and economic engagement to pursue a stable balance of power in East Asia. We call on President Biden to use U.S. leverage to pressure Israel to end its siege of Gaza.

The institute should appear "isolationist" only to those who believe that the only meaningful way for the U.S. to engage in the world is by waging war.

Lora Lumpe, *Washington*
The writer is chief executive of the Quincy Institute.

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OPINION

Project 2025 shreds American values

BY LARRY HOGAN

I am a firm believer in what might be called traditional American values: rule of law, separation of church and state, and respect for civil service professionals. Never before have I seen those core principles more under threat.

On the left, the refusal by some to clearly stand up to radicals such as antisemitic and pro-Hamas protesters, advocates of defunding the police, and the open-borders movement has done substantial damage. However, on the right, there is no clearer example of the threat to American values than Project 2025.

This 900-page proposal from the Heritage Foundation was published last year — with the input of many former Trump administration officials and those with close ties to the former president — to serve as a blueprint for a future administration. To call many of these ideas "radical" is a disservice. In truth, Project 2025 takes many of the principles that have made this nation great and shreds them.

Toxic politics on both sides of the aisle are undermining faith in our system of government. But Project 2025 sends this disturbing trend into overdrive, casting aside the checks on presidential power that have protected our democracy for more than 200 years.

To call many of these ideas 'radical' is a disservice.

One of Project 2025's primary targets is federal workers, including about 150,000 Marylanders. Project 2025 proposes to eliminate civil service protections for most of these workers, instead creating more political appointees chosen by the president. The goal is to remove nonpartisan civil servants, most of whom patriotically do their jobs without fanfare or political agendas, and replace them with loyalists to the president.

Republicans who believe this power grab will benefit them in the short term will ultimately regret empowering a Democratic president with this level of control.

Perhaps more troubling, Project 2025 would undermine the Justice Department by weakening its independence from the president, eliminating the norm that the White House does not intervene in federal investigations. My father was an FBI agent who believed deeply that this work should not be infected by politics. It was that approach that gave him credibility when he became the first Republican in Congress to come out in favor of the impeachment of President Richard M. Nixon.

It's true that the ideal of impartial justice that my father embodied has not always been realized. But that does not mean it should be abandoned by choice and design.

Project 2025 also proposes enacting absurd and dangerous policies that must be rejected, including mass deportations, disbanding the Education Department, potentially abolishing the Federal Reserve, and withdrawing the abortion medication mifepristone from the market.

This radical approach is out of touch with the American people. Most Americans — regardless of party affiliation — have more in common than many realize. They want common-sense solutions to address the cost of living, make our communities safer, and secure the border while fixing the broken immigration system. Instead of addressing these problems, Project 2025 opts for total war against the other side, making it impossible to find common ground.

I still believe that bipartisan progress is possible in Washington, but not if we keep going down this dangerous path and fail to defend what made this nation great. The extremes feed off each other, and the exhausted majority of Americans are left trapped between the crazy. The way to start to fix the broken system in Washington is to elect leaders who will do things differently, stand up for American values and hold both parties accountable. That is the only real bulwark against extremism.

The writer, a former governor of Maryland, is the state's Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate.



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

On July 14, two women photograph a flag that flew over Donald Trump's rally in Butler, Pa., the day before.

MATT BAI

United we fall

Here we are again, talking about vitriol and violence and alarming polarization — about the need to "lower the temperature in our politics," as President Biden put it after a serious attempt on his predecessor's life.

We don't need somber pontificators or academic studies to tell us that Americans have been edging closer to some kind of cultural conflagration. The real question is why. And I've started to think that the answer might have more to do with the central worldview we share than with all the ones we don't.

You've heard the explanations for our disintegrating country. Social media amplifies our differences and promotes extremism. Growing inequality and urbanization create rage and resentment. The gradual un-whitening of the society threatens an old social order.

These are persuasive, and yet not entirely satisfactory. We experienced versions of all these things in the 20th century — transformative technologies, massive immigration, stifling plutocracy — and somehow made it through without destroying our political system.

That's not to say there weren't moments of heartbreaking violence or frightening chaos; the 1960s are remembered, still, for both. But even then, we never let our tribal instincts overwhelm our shared faith in democratic norms. Court orders were obeyed, however reluctantly; laws were enacted. We did not, in the end, spin apart.

To really understand our current moment, maybe you need to go back to what transpired in the 1990s — and to a gaping vacuum in our national psyche that we've never managed to fill.

Americans, for better or worse, have always been defined by existential struggle. From the founding of the country, grounded not in any shared ethnicity or religion but rather in the novel idea of human liberty and self-rule, we've been bound together by the idea that the country isn't just a place to live. It's a living force for the advancement of humankind.

This self-image, I grant you, demanded more than a little denial. We wrought genocide across the American continent, fought a war over the enslavement of other human beings, subjugated women and remained, in whole swaths of the country, an apartheid state into the late 20th century. All true. And yet this idea of what Abraham Lincoln called our "political religion" — a nation bound together by its faith in laws and liberties, not just for ourselves but for the world as a whole — endured in the public mind.

It's fair to say that other countries find this baffling. For most nations, having experienced millennia of empires and invasions, it's enough to be safe and prosperous and proud of a common heritage. But for us, there has always been a higher purpose, if not a form of political zealotry. Simply by settling towns and raising up cities and sending our kids off to school in the morning, Americans believed we were striking a blow for freedom.

And in a very real sense, we were. The 20th century was defined by clashes with tyranny that shadowed every aspect of American life — first with fascism and then with communists. If much of the world saw us as the latest in a long line of imperial powers, Americans saw ourselves as a bulwark against the darkest forces of humanity. Our internal differences could be wrenching — the Red Scare and the battle over civil rights come to mind — but what we shared was a common enemy and a constant threat of annihilation.

Then came the end of the Cold War — what the social theorist Francis Fukuyama optimistically called "the end of history." By this, he meant that absolutism in all its forms — monarchy, fascism, communism — had finally exhausted itself, to be permanently replaced by liberal democracies created in our image. We were supposed to be living through, in effect, the last battle of the broader American revolution.

Fukuyama was wrong, of course; liberty did not enjoy some final triumph over autocracy in the world, or even much of a honeymoon. But he was right in the sense that the civilizational clashes that had long dominated our political discourse suddenly disappeared.

Our first instinct was to fill that vacuum with distractions and triviality. (I wrote an entire book and movie about this moment in our politics, when politicians suddenly became celebrities, in part because now we had the luxury of treating them that way.) By the late '90s, we were living in a country where the sex life of the president completely eclipsed his foreign policy.

There was a brief moment, after the terrorist attacks of 2001, when our political leaders seemed to cast radical Islam as the new Soviet empire — a global nemesis that might fill the gaping hole in America's self-image. But it wasn't long before we realized how remote the threat actually was, and how damaging our response. Conditioned as we were to find meaning in existential conflicts, we whipped out a howitzer to do battle with a wasp.

Our need for some existential contest, however, remained. And we seem to have found it in the collision of cultures in our own cities and towns — an escalating divide between highly urban, educated leftists who denounce white privilege and theocracy and gun culture, on one hand, and rural Trumpists who see themselves as being overrun by modernism and multiculturalism on the other.

The further we get from the Cold War-era consensus, the more inclined we are to see political adversaries as a force hellbent on destroying us. We find our national purpose now in online communities whose common theme is binary conflict; either your side wins, or soon it will cease to exist. (No less influential a culture warrior than Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. said as much in a recent, surreptitiously taped conversation.)

I am not suggesting that what we need is another world war to unite us; there's enough romanticizing of the last, extremely bloody century and the costs it extracted. Nor am I saying that all our political fears right now are illusory. Would former president Donald Trump's election to a second term seriously jeopardize the rule of law that binds us as a society? I think so, yes. Trumpism is a direct consequence of our penchant for political Armageddon.

What I am saying is that our devolution into civil unrest stems from a long-standing lack of leadership. Biden may be the closest thing we have today to an American statesman, but when I hear him urging the country to dial back on the messianic political rhetoric, I hear it as an admission of generational failure.

All of these political leaders shaped by the Cold War consensus had an opportunity, if not an imperative, to redirect our national passion toward some new larger mission — to safeguard the planet from extinction, to dominate the digital economy, to rebuild factory towns decimated by neglect.

They talked about all these things, of course, but mostly in poll-tested clichés. They eschewed complicated truths. They asked for nothing by way of sacrifice. They promised what was popular — endless and reckless tax breaks on the right, ever-expanding government on the left — and demonized their opponents for getting in the way.

Biden is right (and so is Trump, to the extent he means it after enduring a near-death experience) that it's past time to pull back from discourse that seems to be leading us toward a second civil war. But, as I wrote last week in suggesting a new campaign strategy for Biden, it's also time to retire the generation of leaders who got us here, who let our differences — cultural, religious, racial — fill the absence where common struggle had always bound us before.

America's aging leaders did not preside over the end of history, after all. They simply failed to figure out where it was supposed to go next.

ALEXANDRA PETRI

Hope — and change

If every day you told me that the sun wasn't going to set, the first time I would be really alarmed, and the second time I would be somewhat skeptical, and by the third or fourth time, I would say, "I don't think you understand how the sun works."

If every day you told Prometheus, "Just you wait! Today is the day an eagle *doesn't* come and eat your liver!" after the sixth time (and possibly even sooner) he would, I think, come to resent you, and justifiably. Thermodynamic miracles do sometimes occur; it is always just barely possible that the molecules of a wall could rearrange themselves in such a way that the wall becomes a door, but that does not justify running into a wall every day, no matter what the wall's PR team tells you.

We were told to expect a unifying, chastened Donald Trump at the Republican National Convention. It seemed just barely possible, especially if you had just emerged from a coconut tree, unburdened by what has been. And for about 20 minutes Thursday night, accepting the Republican nomination (Is "Republican" the correct name still, after the total transformation the party has undergone in his image?), he delivered a very different speech than he ever does, recounting his assassination attempt in Butler, Pa.

Then for the next 70-odd minutes — making this the longest acceptance remarks on record, I believe — he gave the exact speech he always gives. It was as full as ever of hatred toward immigrants, contradictory pronouncements about the state of the economy, accusations of stealing the election, complaints about witch hunts, and misplaced nostalgia for an era I could have sworn was just four years ago and not a newly unearthed Golden Age of Mankind. It mentioned "the late, great Hannibal Lecter." If this was indeed a new Trump, he was the same as the old Trump. It was like watching a New Year's resolution unravel in real time.

Suppose for a moment that it really was going to be different. Sometimes after a particularly sobering moment, you can decide to become a new person. Change is possible. With effort, you can become someone else, with new thoughts and a new point of view.

But generally, if you decide to do that, the thing to do is to go somewhere no one knows you. If you are Donald Trump, say, and you want to become someone different — someone chastened and unifying — a bad place to start would be the Republican National Convention, amid all the people waving "MASS DEPORTATION NOW" signs.

The atmosphere is all wrong for it. Here are people wearing your face on their pants, who have dressed their babies like you, who have bandaged their ears in solidarity, who are hanging on your every word. You are being introduced by Hulk Hogan and Kid Rock. Everyone worships the water you walk on, and each evening begins with a video of a spotlight shooting your name into the night sky. Here, you aren't just God's chosen; you're also Batman. Here, why would you want to be anyone other than Trump?

No, there was never a chance of anything different. But you would think we might stop believing there was.

GEORGE F. WILL

Heavy Hand or Heavy Hand Lite?

The consensus that the nation is politically polarized is indisputable only because it is undisputed. Granted, there is cultural polarization about this and that — pronouns, bathrooms, indoctrination masquerading as education, etc. Politically, however — regarding government's proper scope and actual competence — there is deepening bipartisan agreement. Unfortunately.

Concerning the broad contours of public policy, there is a disturbing convergence. Programmatically, the parties are more aligned than they have been since the 1950s, when President Dwight D. Eisenhower caused Republicans to accept the permanency of the New Deal's legacy: a transfer-payment state (Social Security, soon to include Medicare and much more) and federal supervision of the economy. The Republicans' 1964 nominee, Barry Goldwater, expressed a growing exasperation with ideological homogenization, promising "A choice, not an echo." He initiated an epochal divergence between the parties, which culminated 16 years later.

Today, beneath the frothy partisanship, Republican progressivism echoes the Democrats'. Both parties favor significant expansions of government's control of economic activity and the distribution of wealth. Both promise to leave unchanged the transfer-payment programs (Social Security, Medicare) that are plunging toward insolvency, and driving unsustainable national indebtedness.

And both parties favor tax increases: the Democrats on corporations, consumers and the 3 percent of individuals earning more than $400,000 annually; Republicans on consumers.

Substantial portions of the Democrats' corporate taxes would be paid by employees in foregone compensation, or would be passed on to consumers (including the 97 percent earning less than $400,000) in the prices of products. Donald Trump's promised 10 percent across-the-board tariff on *all* imports would be taxes (more than $300 billion annually, according to the Tax Foundation) paid by consumers.

The Peterson Institute for International Economics says: A tariff is "a tax on domestic consumption, since it raises the price buyers pay domestically." The Center for American Progress Action Fund says: Trump's tariff would cost a typical household "roughly $1,500 each year." (The Peterson Institute says $1,700 from a typical middle-income family.) J.D. Vance, tribune of the working class, does not mind.

Inevitably, protectionism is government, responsive to big economic battalions, picking winners and losers. Organized labor, rent-seeking corporations and today's Republicans favor it.

Eight years ago, in "Hillbilly Elegy," Vance celebrated a Japanese corporation's investment in a moribund Ohio steel company. Vance, whose versatility of conviction is the eighth wonder of the world, today opposes allowing Nippon Steel to purchase U.S. Steel because Nippon's "allegiances" are to "a foreign state." (Actually, they are to shareholders, some of whom are probably Americans.)

Progressivism aims to build a society-saturating government, and especially an encompassing executive branch wielded by a president exercising vast discretion that is only vaguely, if at all, authorized and negligibly monitored by Congress. In the Biden administration, much the most progressive in U.S. history, the emblematic figure is Federal Trade Commission Chair Lina Khan.

Her aspiration is to untether antitrust enforcement from the "consumer welfare" standard. This would sever the FTC from restraining law, enormously enlarging government's powers for economic "planning." There would follow promiscuous interventions to strengthen the public sector's dominance of what would become only a semiprivate sector. Vance thinks (as do the most progressive senators, independent Bernie Sanders and Democrat Elizabeth Warren) that Khan "is doing a pretty good job."

Vance appears to be a dime-store Brandeisian, a caricature of Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, who was more nuanced than the "big-is-presumptively-bad" cohort today invoking his name. About progressivism's largest achievement, the administrative state, he hankers to "seize" its regulatory and coercive powers and use them "for our own purposes."

In foreign policy, progressivism has a (Woodrow) Wilsonian faith in "soft" power as an alternative to the military sort. And the Democratic Party retains a not-negligible residue of its 1972 presidential nominee: Sen. George McGovern's "Come home, America." Vance seems unconcerned about the global tremors that result when a great nation loses a war, even a proxy war. His argument for abandoning Ukraine is couched in progressive tropes about spending instead on domestic constituencies.

Today's GOP offers progressivism-lite: a less muscular America abroad, a more muscular government at home. Four summers from now, a fourth consecutive Republican convention might nominate a candidate who rejects, root and branch, traditional conservatism: limited government, constrained by the Constitution's separation of its powers; modest government, allowing wealth and opportunity to be mostly allocated by voluntary market transactions.

Today's Republicans disparage this traditional conservatism as "zombie Reaganism." Actually, their repudiation encompasses John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and James Madison. A lot.

OPINION

RAMESH PONNURU

The GOP still doesn't know what it would do with power

Two recent developments in the presidential campaign have strengthened one school of thought about what a second Trump administration would bring. Both have been taken to mean that if Donald Trump wins in November, the next four years will see a more disciplined effort to recast American government than we saw from 2017 through 2021. The first is Trump's choice of Sen. J.D. Vance (Ohio) as a running mate. The second is the intensifying Democratic attack on Project 2025, the Heritage Foundation's set of plans for a second Trump administration.

The polls have also given new urgency to the question of what another Trump term would look like. The Republicans in Milwaukee this week for their national convention can look forward to the real prospect of a November sweep that puts them in charge of the White House, the House and the Senate. The last time they won an election that big, in 2016, it took them as much by surprise as it did the Democrats. If Republicans find themselves with unified control of the federal government in 2025, they will have had more time to plan. But although both Trump's most ardent fans and his fiercest foes have convinced themselves otherwise, it's not at all obvious that he would accomplish more than he did last time.

The official Republican story about the party's last stint in power is that it was a tremendous success. Working with Republicans in Congress, Trump cut taxes, halted the growth of regulation and appointed conservative judges to the federal courts. But an undercurrent of disappointment about Republican failures, from the non-construction of the promised southern border wall to the non-repeal of the Affordable Care Act, is influencing how Republicans think about Trump's possible second term.

Trump's most devoted supporters have gravitated toward a common explanation for what went wrong when Trump was in office: He was sabotaged by disloyal underlings — by "deep state" bureaucrats, by Never Trumpers, by old-guard Republicans who resisted his orders. Some of them allow as well that Trump came to office without detailed plans or knowledge of how to manipulate the levers of government.

The prescription follows from the diagnosis: This time, Trump should come into office with a preset agenda and stack his administration with true believers committed to it. He should exert more control over the executive branch and acquire greater power to hire and fire to facilitate that control.

When Trump took office in 2017, he could not staff his administration with officials who were fully on board with his leadership because there were not enough of them. But lower-ranking officials from the last term would now have the credentials to move higher. Trump-allied institutions such as the Heritage Foundation have been trying to develop lists of potential policies and personnel from which he would be able to draw. Conservative activist Christopher Rufo asserts that because of an "emerging right-wing counter-elite," Trump 2.0 would "be an order of magnitude more effective." Trump critics worry that Rufo is right. And Trump has fueled these hopes and fears by selecting Vance as his running mate.

If the problem with Trump 1.0 was too many old-school Republicans and not enough dedication to Trump, replacing people like Mike Pence with people like Vance would be the solution. Pence was a loyal vice president until nearly the end, when Trump made him choose between obeying him and obeying the Constitution. But Pence is very much a pre-Trump Republican. Since his own presidential bid failed last year, he has launched an organization dedicated to the old Republican verities of free markets, global leadership and moral conservatism.

Since becoming a supporter of Trump, Vance, by contrast, has in some ways gone even further than his running mate in breaking with the old orthodoxy and taking leadership of a "New Right." Vance led the charge against U.S. aid to Ukraine, arguing that putting America first demanded no less, even as Trump helped House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) cut a deal to send such aid. Vance's office has worked more closely with union leaders on legislation than the Trump administration ever did.

Vance has also gone further than nearly any other Republican official in arguing for expansive presidential authority over the executive branch, saying in 2021 that he would advise Trump to fire "every civil servant in the administrative state, replace them with our people," and ignore courts that got in the way. Vance has also suggested that he would have aided Trump's efforts to contest the 2020 results.

Exhibit B for the theory that a second Trump administration would be more disciplined and goal-directed than the first one is Project 2025. Progressives have in recent weeks been trying to rouse the public into alarm — sometimes with false claims about it. Its roughly 900 pages of policy recommendations do not, for example, include any proposals to end no-fault divorce, repeal the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or cut Social Security.

Andrew Prokop, who has written a useful summary of what it does include for the liberal news site Vox, divides its ideas into three categories: expansions of presidential power over the executive branch; long-standing conservative policies such as school vouchers; and a somewhat idiosyncratic set of social-conservative initiatives. The document does not call for withholding recognition of same-sex marriages or banning all abortions (two other phony claims). It does, however, advocate a ban on pornography and enforcement of the ban on distributing abortion drugs through the mail.

Trump has distanced himself from Project 2025, saying some of its ideas — he has not said which — are "abysmal." He has resisted getting pinned down on many policies, replacing the old Republican platform with a radically stripped-down and much vaguer one.

Democrats say Trump is lying about his plans on abortion, and if reelected will again do the bidding of its opponents. Some on the left might believe it. But Trump has given many indications that he thinks opposition to abortion is a losing issue for Republicans in post-*Roe v. Wade* America, and no indication that the issue moves him personally. Moreover, pro-lifers have mostly gone along with his rewriting of the platform and rejection of federal legislation on abortion. It seems hard to believe he would take political risks on this issue, especially when most pro-life voters seem not to mind inaction on his part. A war on pornography seems even less likely from a Republican Party that just gave Amber Rose a prime-time speaking slot at its convention.

Trump might advance other portions of the project, not least because it's there and on the shelf and because many of the proposals are policies he pursued last time. But a new Trump administration might find that the legal and political obstacles to some of its supporters' ambitions are more formidable than they think. Take the idea of giving a president more authority over his employees. Critics view it as a step toward autocracy, but it could also be seen as a democratizing reform, given that it would make the bureaucracy more responsive to elections. Good idea or bad, though, it might take legislation to happen.

And courts could insist on that. Trump's own judicial appointees, many of whom have been old-school conservatives, have been willing to say no to him, and many of them have a doctrinal aversion to presidential unilateralism. (Ignoring the courts, meanwhile, might be easier said than done.) There is also the question of scale: The number of plausible Trumpist officials may have risen, but perhaps not in the numbers needed to reorient the government. Some Trump supporters have spoken of sidelining the Federalist Society on the grounds that judges with an affinity for it are insufficiently committed to a New Right program. In practice, though, the pool of available nominees will surely continue to include a lot of old-fashioned conservatives.

The emphasis on personnel might also mask another, more important reason Trump did not transform American government. It wasn't bureaucrats or Never Trumpers who shot down a deal to fund a border wall in 2018. It was Trump himself, holding out because he wanted cuts in legal immigration, too. It's true that in other cases, Trump's aides — sometimes ones he had appointed himself — resisted his orders. But it's also true that they faced so few consequences for this resistance as to raise the question of whether those orders were seriously meant.

Again and again during his administration, Trump would make comments that nobody on his staff felt obliged to heed. They ignored him when he said he wanted sweeping gun controls; they ignored him when he said he wanted an Affordable Care Act replacement that would increase insurance coverage. It wasn't insubordination, exactly; it was a bet on whether Trump cared about what he was saying. That bet usually paid off.

Trump's own personality, in other words, is a limit on what any administration he runs could achieve for the New Right, or for anyone else. It's not just that he lacks the discipline and focus to carry out an objective, although he does lack both, or that flatterers easily manipulate him, although they do. It's also that his objectives are malleable to start with. In 2018, he insisted on cuts in legal immigration. Since then, he has consistently said he wants to increase it to record levels. Picking Vance, who favors cuts, doesn't mean Trump has changed his mind — or that he won't change it again. Vance is both a smart, knowledgeable advocate of New Right policies and a zealous convert to the cause of Trump, who might have chosen him more for the latter than for the former. We can be sure he did not make his pick because he wants to be the titular head of a Vance administration.

Similarly, the fact that Trump welcomes union leaders' support, and that some on the right have warmed to unions, does not mean that his next administration would be any less business-friendly on labor issues than the last one was. The Big Business Republicans of yore are sometimes caricatured for seeking corporate tax cuts above all else. By Trump's own account, more of them are a priority for him. Jamie Dimon is very nearly the antimatter version of a New Rightist, but that hasn't stopped Trump from musing about making him treasury secretary.

As much as some of his fans wish otherwise, Trump just isn't a Trumpist. Those who think a second administration would be less chaotic than his first are ignoring the level to which it would be the extension of his character — and that character has not changed.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Donald Trump ahead of his speech Thursday in Milwaukee on the final day of the Republican National Convention.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Vice-presidential nominee J.D. Vance on Wednesday at the Republican National Convention.

DANIELLE ALLEN

How the path to comity can be paved

In August 2020, Joe Biden accepted the Democratic nomination for president, promising to "choose a different path." Instead of governing a country "becoming angrier, less hopeful, more divided," Biden would help us "to heal, to reform, to unite." Now, Donald Trump, accepting the Republican nomination four years later, also pledges to unite. He began his Thursday night acceptance speech pledging that "the discord and division in our society must be healed. We must heal it quickly. … We rise together or we fall apart."

But talk is cheap. True unity will exist only when there is a fundamental change in how we negotiate our disagreements.

Yes, as former New Jersey governor Chris Christie argued this week, we must see each other not as enemies but as civic friends, all of us whole people — who laugh and love; despair and fret; aspire, struggle and pass away. We should be curious about the texture of each other's experiences. We should commit to active listening, a practice in which before one responds to another person's argument, one first repeats back what one has heard, to check that one has heard correctly. To call ourselves to such mutual respect across political lines is to exhort us to moral revolution. We should embrace this.

Yet we are not angels. A spiritual reorientation will not come overnight and never fully. We need crutches. This is actually what government is for. As James Madison wrote in Federalist 51, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary." The entire purpose of the design of our political institutions is to channel our disagreements into productive negotiations among people with competing interests and imperfect characters.

Right now, however, our political institutions don't reward our federal elected officials for acting on the better angels of their nature. The combination of our state-funded party primaries and partisan gerrymandering mean that too many of our politicians owe their jobs to small slivers — 3 or 5 or 8 percent — of the electorate. Those who participate in party primaries typically hold their political commitments fiercely. Elected officials must be responsive to those voters to keep those jobs. The result? Nuanced negotiation is out, ritual performance of ideological purity is in.

To unite the country, we need institutions responsive enough for us to have our arguments inside of them. We need institutions that incentivize politicians to negotiate. I'm convinced that the solution is the new Alaska model for elections: Abolish party primaries and let all candidates, identified by self-selected party labels, run on the same unified ballot in a state-funded primary. Then take the top four or five vote-getters forward to a final round and use an instant runoff with a ranked ballot. The first candidate to rack up more than 50 percent, via first-, second-, and, if necessary, third-choice votes, wins.

Candidates who have to campaign to the whole electorate for both the primary and general election — candidates who need to build a full majority coalition — have incentives to negotiate and deliver solutions.

We need politicians empowered to negotiate because we have a lot to argue about right now.

We need politicians empowered to negotiate because we have a lot to argue about right now.

The Republican Party seems at last to be coalescing anew around a concentrated set of cogent arguments. These arguments differ from those that organized the party prior to 2016, and generally assert that the cumulative result of serious, ideologically driven error by Democrats — on regulation, public safety, the family, immigration, trade and other areas — has left the country weak internally and externally, and less prosperous than it might be. The solution, Republicans argue, is to reverse each of these errors.

There is a potential counterthesis from the Democratic side, but it is not currently or not yet the party's argument and would require Democrats to break out of group-based identity politics. That counterthesis runs something like: The effort to force everyone into a single way of life is undermining freedom, dividing us and weakening our beloved country. We will be strong through being confident pluralists — people who can appreciate the full diversity of identity and ideology in this country and work confidently to negotiate, compromise and find ways of accommodating one another. Government, right-sized, is a tool that lays the foundation for entrepreneurship, innovation and shared problem-solving. Good negotiations across interests can deliver that right-sizing for us. We can lead the world by our example of domestic peace and prosperity delivered through strong democratic norms and civil strength.

How can we have this conversation? It's not as though Biden and Trump can simply go into a room and hash these things out through active listening. We the people need to negotiate with one another. That means we need legislators who are empowered by us to negotiate. While they work on rediscovering civility — and they should — we the people should be working to change the rules of the game. The politicians won't do it for themselves.

IF YOU'RE LUCKY ENOUGH TO LIVE A LONG LIFE, YOU WILL GET SICK

It's one thing we can all count on.
Everyone, even the lucky ones, gets sick.

But when people can't afford their medicine,
are unsure that it will make them healthier,
or don't believe their medicine is made for their body,
medicine isn't working for everyone.

For all of us to get better,
it takes investing in research to find new treatments,
whether or not those investments come back.
It takes clinical trials which reflect everybody,
so we can make sure our medicine is made for everybody.
It takes scientists who persist in making new medicines,
even when it's easier to give up.
It takes a willingness to work with anyone
to find treatments no one could find on their own.

This is only the beginning.
There's much more to do.
All of us are going to get sick at some point,
but as a medicine company,
we will never stop trying to get better.

Because when medicine gets better,
we all get better.

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The Washington Post
BOOK WORLD
SUNDAY, JULY 21, 2024 · SECTION B



ILLUSTRATION BY GRACE J. KIM FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

BY KATHA POLLITT

Twenty years ago I was asked to write a blurb for a book called "Women Who Think Too Much." I was indignant. How can a woman think too much? Thinking is good! The very idea is sexist — nobody would write a book called "Men Who Think Too Much." Two decades later that book is still in print, and I'm coming around to it. If thinking means brooding, worrying, ruminating and dwelling, maybe it is indeed possible to think too much — so much that you drain the joy out of any course of action, and for so long that you run out of time to put your decision into practice. ¶ The new book "What Are Children For?" might at first seem to be an exercise in overthinking. Written by two young philosophers — Anastasia Berg and Rachel Wiseman — the book investigates the ambivalence many young women feel about having kids by looking at it through the lenses of sociology, literature, culture (high and low), interviews and surveys, and the authors' own lives. SEE CHILDREN ON B5

SHORT STORIES
Mississippi's Brad Watson refreshed the Southern literary tradition. **B4**

SPIRITUALITY
What happens when an atheist has a profound near-death experience? **B7**

MEMOIR
As political violence flared in India, her Muslim family went into hiding. **B7**

NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS
A look back at the poets of the 1970s reveals a range of voices. **B8**

A dystopian future when the oppressed are literally invisible

Ron Charles

THIS GREAT HEMISPHERE
By Mateo Askaripour
Dutton.
419 pp. $29



ILLUSTRATION BY JOSH CHEN/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

I'll never forget the moment in Colson Whitehead's novel "The Underground Railroad" when subterranean train tracks first appear stretching off into a dark tunnel. That 19th-century metaphor pounded into iron in the forge of Whitehead's mind powers one of the best novels of the 21st century.

Mateo Askaripour attempts a similar maneuver in his new novel, "This Great Hemisphere." Inspired by the central conceit of Ralph Ellison's "Invisible Man," Askaripour imagines a future world in which the people of a repressed racial minority are literally see-through.

After a brief, tantalizing prologue set in modern-day New York, Askaripour plunges us into a richly imagined dystopia set in the year 2529. Having emerged from a series of planet-wrecking catastrophes, human society and human biology have been radically reconstituted. In this strict apartheid system, members of the Dominant Population — DPs — exercise total control over all aspects of life by wielding advanced technology and highly prejudicial interpretations of the Bible.

Meanwhile, a physically transparent race of people known as Invisibles subsists as best they can in the forest. Many of them paint their skin "in whatever colors conformed to their mood, the latest trends, or the longing to be something they were not." A few wear clothes in a misguided effort to curry respectability, but some Invisibles move about naked as mere ripples in the light. They identify each other by their "scentprints" and their "rumoyas," a kind of "cell spirit" unique to each one. Regarded with a toxic mix of condescension and suspicion, Invisibles must wear metal collars that allow the state to track them, and they're constantly at risk of being assaulted by DP guards.

Thematically, Askaripour is still peeling the skin off America's racial inequality, but in song and plumage, "This Great Hemisphere" marks an astonishing evolution from his 2021 debut, "Black Buck." That audacious comedy, modeled as a self-help memoir, followed the stratospheric rise of an ambitious barista at Starbucks. While "Black Buck" is all slick satire and witty feints, this new fantastical novel is redolent with the scent of exploitation that infuses Margaret Atwood's work from "The Handmaid's Tale" to "Oryx and Crake."

The repressed people whom Askaripour uncovers in the forest learn early "to take it, and take it, and take it, because taking it was what it meant to be Invisible, and only the foolish dared to dream bigger." One of those foolish dreamers is Sweetmint, the immensely appealing heroine of "This Great Hemisphere." She's a precocious young Invisible who was orphaned and later abandoned by her beloved brother. But she's spent the years since then honing her inventive mind with whatever primitive tools are at her disposal.

In recognition of her cleverness, Sweetmint has been chosen for a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity: the chance to work for Mr. Croger Tenmase. Revered by DPs and Invisibles as the Chief Architect, Mr. Tenmase saved the Northwestern Hemisphere by creating the supposedly "stable" society they live in now. (He reminds me a bit of Adrian Veidt from "Watchmen.")

After being blessed by her fellow Invisibles in the forest, Sweetmint arrives at Mr. Tenmase's castle for her first interview with this unnervingly eccentric and iconoclastic legend. "Tell me the things people say that you think I shouldn't know," he demands before asking her to drink what might be poison as a test of her purity. With her assistance, but not entirely with her knowledge, Mr. Tenmase hopes to provoke the Big Reset, a political and social crisis of such painful magnitude that the Northwestern Hemisphere will be propelled forward. It's a mad plan that subordinates the suffering of untold millions in deference to some theoretical future good.

But Sweetmint's internship with this maniacal scientist is almost immediately interrupted by news that her errant brother has assassinated the leader of this great Hemisphere. Suddenly, Sweetmint finds herself torn between working with Mr. Tenmase and trying to find her brother before he is arrested and executed.

This is all wildly imaginative and often wondrously lush. Askaripour traces the perils of racial betrayal and the rewards of collusion with the point of a bloodied knife. And he sets loose delightfully wicked villains, including a 26th-century J. Edgar Hoover who's got dirt on everybody, and a Trumpy politician determined to propel himself to power on a rocket of anti-Invisible hysteria.

But I've grown convinced that the soul of wit and dystopias is brevity. After all, novels that exaggerate our social and political ills in some horrific future are the most polemical works of fiction. By design, they're allergic to nuance. And one can read for only so long under the weight of that heavy hand before developing severe neck pain.

For all its considerable ingenuity, "This Great Hemisphere" suffers from surprisingly poor pacing. While some engaging storylines wither for lack of attention, a sprawling section about Sweetmint's efforts to track down information on her parents clogs up the center of the novel like a flock of sheep in the road.

And throughout, too much of the dialogue is drawn in the primary colors of the Marvel Universe, as though the novel were struggling against some repressed desire to be a story for young adults. Consider this typically clunky conversation between the security director and his deputy:

"Do you think we're better than all of the men and women of millennia past who did what they had to do for the sake of survival? I'm sorry to tell you, but we're not."

"How can you say that? There's what is right and what is wrong. You used to know where the line was, but now —"

"Grow up, Deputy. 'Right' is man-made, like 'wrong.'"

Fortunately, "This Great Hemisphere" eventually regains its momentum. The political machinations start to jump around like a bag of lit fireworks, and Sweetmint's quest to save her brother leads her into a truly strange and revelatory realm of Invisible resistance.

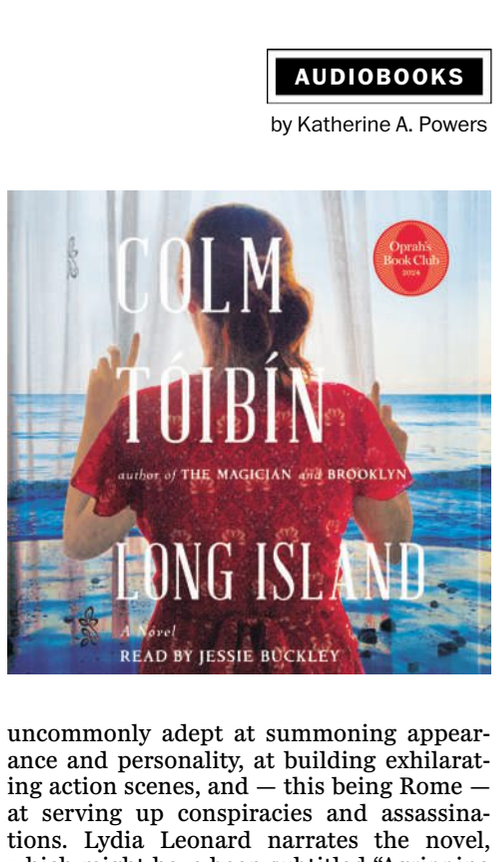
So yes, there's a great story here, but sometimes it's hard to see.

Ron Charles reviews books and writes the Book Club newsletter for The Washington Post. He is the book critic for "CBS Sunday Morning."

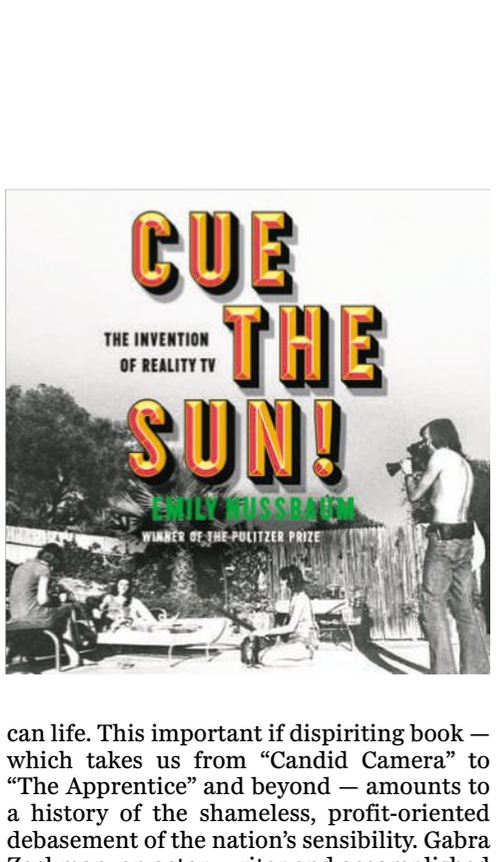
AUDIOBOOKS

by Katherine A. Powers

"Long Island" is a restrained drama of silence, passivity and betrayal.







'Long Island,' by Colm Tóibín

The sequel to "Brooklyn" picks up 20 years after the end of that novel: Eilis Lacey is now living in suburban Long Island with Tony and their two children in his Italian family's soul-stifling compound. A man shows up telling Eilis that his wife is having Tony's baby, which he will deposit on their doorstep. Eilis, appalled and furious, returns to Ireland to figure things out. What follows is an unfolding series of bad decisions — and indecisions — on the part of Eilis and others, creating a magnificently restrained drama of silence, passivity and betrayal. Narrator Jessie Buckley, an Irish actor and singer, has, unsurprisingly, a fine natural Irish accent and an easy delivery. Most impressive, however, is how she manages to convey through the emotional timbre of her voice and empathetic pacing the agonizing ineffable that lies beyond words. (Simon & Schuster, Unabridged, 9½ hours)

'Nero,' by Conn Iggulden

Iggulden, a master of the historical novel, again turns his attention to ancient Rome in the first volume of this planned trilogy. At the center of "Nero" is Agrippina, the beautiful, seductive, altogether devious great-granddaughter of Augustus; sister of Caligula; Claudius's grandniece; and, eventually, his wife. All this has been turned into fiction hundreds of times, but Iggulden is uncommonly adept at summoning appearance and personality, at building exhilarating action scenes, and — this being Rome — at serving up conspiracies and assassinations. Lydia Leonard narrates the novel, which might have been subtitled "Agrippina Gets It Done." Her strong voice carries the ring of the notorious woman's forceful will but softens into tenderness when she addresses her horrid little son, Lucius — destined, thanks to his mother's machinations, to be the future emperor, Nero. Leonard modulates her tones to capture the many other characters, including the subtly stammering Claudius, and does it so deftly that there is no confusion about who is speaking when. (Recorded Books, Unabridged, 10½ hours)

'Cue the Sun!: The Invention of Reality TV,' by Emily Nussbaum

Nussbaum's history of reality TV explores how the generally dormant American appetite for sadism, voyeurism and exhibitionism was roused, sharpened and manipulated by such shows as "The Bachelor" and "Survivor," spectacles that also made fake authenticity and constant surveillance integral to American life. This important if dispiriting book — which takes us from "Candid Camera" to "The Apprentice" and beyond — amounts to a history of the shameless, profit-oriented debasement of the nation's sensibility. Gabra Zackman, an actor, writer and accomplished audiobook narrator, brings a clear voice to lay out the development of these increasingly grotesque shows in a no-nonsense manner — and without audibly clutching her head. (Random House, Unabridged, 15¼ hours)

Katherine A. Powers reviews audiobooks every month for The Washington Post.

FICTION

The sad millennial girl-woman grows up. Sort of.

BY ANNIE BERKE



BANAL NIGHTMARE
By Halle Butler
Random House.
336 pp. $28



JERZY ROSE

Do you have a soul-sucking office job? Are you desperately, unhealthily in love with an unworthy lunk? Do you drink with your frenemies to drown what some might deem "champagne problems"? If you answered yes to these questions, congratulations, you might be the protagonist of a millennial girl-woman novel. While the archetypal Gen X novel may belong to American Psychos Who Don't Talk About Fight Club — angry men, basically — the millennial novel is all about the sad, bitter ladies.

Sometimes referred to as the hot-mess-millennial novel, this genre is typically set around the turn of the 21st century, with authors born (more or less) between the years of 1981 and 1996. Ottessa Moshfegh, Sally Rooney, Elif Batuman and Marlowe Granados are all at the table, swapping snarks and confessions that are equal parts self-indulgent and self-aware. But as Rooney explores in her most recent novel, "Beautiful World, Where Are You," the millennial girl-woman must age and, with her, the novel that bears her scowling visage.

Fame, climate anxiety, choosing a car seat: What's next for these morose protagonists? It's clear that Halle Butler has some thoughts. Her first two novels, "Jillian" and "The New Me," dove deep into the heart of millennial darkness, as her characters veered between obliviousness and startling self-knowledge. She explored the impulse to obsess, the way women vilify one another and the soul-crushing nature of work, menial, creative or otherwise.

Her new novel, "Banal Nightmare," is her most ambitious yet, a multi-vocal opus about living as a cog in the capital-C culture machine. It also zeroes in on an age-old question: "Is everyone awful, or is it just me?" Protagonist Moddie leaves the lonely city of Chicago to move to the unnamed Midwestern college town where she grew up; her trauma follows her, as does her bad attitude. Older but not wiser, Moddie is haunted by the end of her last relationship and the callous indifference of her ex's friend group. Her 20s may be past, in other words, but they are far from behind her.

To that end, Moddie's inner life is punctuated by fantasies of self-harm and harm to others, including a graphic description of stabbing, maiming, practically liquefying a famous conservative activist, only to have him, somehow, *still* come out the victor. That is how vividly, chillingly current this book reads and feels.

In "Banal Nightmare," Butler pushes her darkly humorous, mean-spirited worldview to its limits. And while the focus largely remains on Moddie and her friends, the narration declines to honor these characters' solipsism. The novel wanders away from the action or a character's inner life to follow some geese for a paragraph or to peek in as "someone's mom lay awake in bed having a sexual fantasy about a colleague." These moments feel capacious, delightfully cinematic in a genre that is otherwise very internal. Frankly, sometimes you need a break from these people, and so does the book.

Halle Butler's new novel wrestles with the question: "Is everyone awful, or is it just me?"

Butler's focal points are all 30- and 40-something "creatives" (academics who dabble in criticism; sculptors with day jobs; ungrateful art monsters) with interchangeable, anachronistically yuppie names and issues. They believe they missed the boat, personally and professionally, because they married the wrong person, went to a lesser school or failed to conquer the Western canon in their youth. "You just have to learn everything you can by the time you're twenty-seven," Pam gripes, "because by then, your life is pretty much decided. … You chose what you chose, and life is basically over."

There's Kimberly, who fumes about how the best creative jobs go to the mediocre rich, while secretly believing that she, as a White woman from a working-class background, is among society's most worthy victims. In line with many of Butler's characters across novels, Kim is a little bit right, a little bit wrong and mostly embarrassing herself.

And there's Bethany, an administrator doing a victory lap over the one, *one*, article she published in the New York Times, not aware that "everyone had gotten together at Panera after the piece was published and confessed they didn't love it." It turns out success and failure, in the artistic fields at least, are virtually indistinguishable. One professor character quietly, aptly admits to himself that it is "much more likely he would be fired than carried out of the building on a chair by screaming and adoring students."

Butler's grown-up millennial girl-woman novel looks a little like Julia May Jonas's "Vladimir" or Sarah Braunstein's "Bad Animals," detailed character studies that double as grotesque institutional burlesques. There's cringeworthy, sometimes triggering material in "Banal Nightmare," but it is also quite funny.

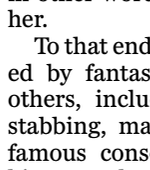
And one thing you can say about Butler's characters: Despite their insecurities, they're mostly well-read. Deliberating on her attachment to Edith Wharton's 1905 "The House of Mirth," Moddie explains, "I like it because I'm a … masochist with a weak ego, and I love being emotionally manipulated by a master pervert, duh." Wharton is the master pervert in question, but one suspects that Butler has that title taped to the top of her computer screen for inspiration, and, certainly, weak masochists looking for a lightly depraved read might give "Banal Nightmare" a look.

As literature looks back to look forward, Butler's latest offers a compelling map for where she and the genre might go from here: still mean, though not meaner than before, and with bigger stakes for the protagonist and the world she lives in.

Is the sad millennial girl going to make it after all? No, of course not. In her defense, she's been telling you that all along.

Annie Berke is the author of "Their Own Best Creations: Women Writers in Postwar Television."

A classic puzzle and a police procedural are both perfect summer reads



Michael Dirda

Mysteries, crime fiction, whodunits, detective stories — all these terms are regularly used interchangeably. Yet golden-age puzzles are poles apart from modern-day police procedurals. The former are essentially clever intellectual games in which the author hopes to fool the reader; the latter are, as the old "Dragnet" radio show used to say, stories "of your police force in action." Both, however, can provide ideal summertime reading, as two new books demonstrate.

Set in late-1930s Britain, Tom Mead's "Cabaret Macabre" opens with the discovery of a mutilated body in the Thames. Whose is it? This is just the first of a succession of mysteries, all of them revolving around a judge, Sir Giles Drury.

Nine years earlier, this distinguished jurist's secretary died of strychnine poisoning during a Christmas holiday dinner at the Drury family's country estate. Crazed with grief, the secretary's fiancé, Victor Silvius, then tried to kill Sir Giles, convinced that he was responsible. Victor has since been incarcerated in a private psychiatric facility and forgotten — except by his devoted sister Caroline, who comes to police Inspector Flint because it appears that someone has been attempting to murder her brother, whom she claims is now perfectly sane.

Meanwhile, Sir Giles has been receiving threatening letters, leading his wife, Lady Elspeth, to hire private investigator Joseph Spector to find out who is behind them. Soon this former stage magician — who first appeared in 2022's "Death and the Conjurer" and returned last year in "The Murder Wheel" — again joins forces with Inspector Flint, this time to look more closely into the secretary's death and to probe the connections between the distinguished jurist and the mental patient.

As the investigation proceeds, Mead gradually introduces the highly dysfunctional Drury family, notably four sons, including one from Lady Elspeth's first marriage and one from a youthful indiscretion by Sir Giles. Then, one night someone takes a shot at the judge.

CABARET MACABRE
By Tom Mead
Mysterious Press.
291 pp. $26.95



ANOTHER DAY'S PAIN
A Rocksburg Novel
By K.C. Constantine
Mysterious Press.
232 pp. $26.95

All of the above is essentially preamble to the assembling of Mead's dramatis personae at the Drury country house during another Christmas season. On his second morning there, Spector notices a rowboat in the middle of the estate's frozen lake. Lying inside it is a man with a "chunky knife handle protruding from his chest." How did the victim, killed on land, end up in a boat in the middle of a frozen lake when it would appear impossible to manage this without breaking the ice? And, perhaps just as important, why did the murderer bother?

Other deaths will follow, some quite macabre (aspects of the plot recall the anonymous 17th-century "Revenger's Tragedy"). As one would expect, clues and red herrings abound. Does it matter that one character is color-blind? What is the purpose of a secret society of aristocrats called the Tragedians? There are Agatha Christie-like twists aplenty and a final scene that Patricia Highsmith might have imagined. All in all, if you're looking for diversion — and these days who isn't? — this latest novel in Mead's Joseph Spector series will do the trick.

Trick, though, is the operative word. What we enjoy in books like "Cabaret Macabre" is the author's ability to astonish us. Years ago, Raymond Chandler derided the inherent artificiality of such puzzle-oriented whodunits and in his own work seldom paid much heed to perfectly calibrated plotting. When asked who murdered the chauffeur in "The Big Sleep," Chandler famously answered, "I don't know" and implied that he didn't really care. What mattered to him instead were more literary matters such as depicting political and societal corruption, illuminating character, and creating a now much-imitated style that combines the hard-boiled, world-weary and poetic.

You will find similar emphases in the work of K.C. Constantine, the pen name of the reclusive Carl Kosak, who died in 2023 at age 88. Starting with "The Rocksburg Railroad Murders" in 1972, Constantine chronicled the life and decline of a small Pennsylvania steel town in one brilliantly idiosyncratic police procedural after another. "Another Day's Pain" is the 18th and final, unexpected installment in this series, which focuses on either Chief of Police Mario Balzic or Detective Sgt. Ruggiero "Rugs" Carlucci.

Located not far from Pittsburgh, the fictional Rocksburg is the kind of working-class community where men in patched khakis carry battered lunchboxes to work and on weekends drink Iron City beer and tend little plots of tomatoes and peppers. Early on in "Grievance," the previous novel featuring Carlucci (published in 2000), Constantine mentions eight foremen from the shuttered steel plant, each a possible suspect in a murder case: Steven W. Abramovic, Albert F. Bodnar, John J. Czarowicz, Regis A. Horvath, Edward T. Novotniak, Rudolph R. Shimkus, Paul J. Sroka, Luke J. Stefanko. Anyone from the Rust Belt of Pennsylvania and Ohio will recognize their names as being no more unusual than Dirda.

While the now 57-year-old Carlucci is the viewpoint character of "Another Day's Pain," the novel provides brief walk-ons for such regulars as the lawyer Panagios Valcanos, Fire Chief Eddie Sitko and even 84-year-old Balzic. Rugs's girlfriend, Fran Perfetti, once the third runner-up to Miss Pennsylvania, also plays an important part. As usual, Constantine exhibits perfect pitch for vernacular speech, rivaling that of George V. Higgins or Chester Himes.

Throughout the melancholy-tinged Rocksburg novels, hard-working men and women are repeatedly exploited or victimized by insurance companies, a seemingly uncaring state and federal government, corrupt local officials, and the rich and powerful in general. They live with quiet desperation. How do you support your family when you lose your job at the mill and can't find another? How do you care for a mother suffering from dementia or a wife who is diagnosed with breast cancer? And how does it feel when you end up pushing a broom for minimum wage as your life's savings get eaten up by medical expenses while tan billionaires play golf at elite country clubs and dodge paying any taxes whatsoever? As a character in "Another Day's Pain" concludes, everyone knows that "the only reason there's any charitable foundations is so rich people can hide their money. 'Cause believe me, what they have to give away each year to keep their tax-exempt status is nothing compared to the taxes they'd have to pay if somebody, you know, actually had the guts to repeal that part of the Internal Revenue Code." Being fundamentally decent men and women, Constantine's characters endure until they can't take it anymore.

In "Another Day's Pain" — set mainly in 2011-2012 — everyone in Rocksburg has gotten a decade older since "Grievance," and everything has gotten worse. One desperate father can't find a job except working at Walmart as a greeter; Fran Perfetti is worn out by caring for her bedridden mother and dealing with an endless round of medical bills; Councilman Egidio Figulli keeps hounding Carlucci to retire. As we follow the detective sergeant through a few days in August, he confronts a violent schizophrenic woman and a crazed shooter named Ronald Reagan Kipple, suffers grievous injuries, learns horrifying details about his mother's past, and reveals the shocking reason that he joined the Army to fight in Vietnam.

"Another Day's Pain" is a somewhat choppy book, shifting rapidly from scene to scene, from one conversation to another, but its power is undeniable. Despondency and madness — as well as bitter gallows humor — are what await the men and women in the once-flourishing Rocksburg. In truth, there's no mystery in "Another Day's Pain" except the insoluble one of life itself. It's a surprisingly appropriate and moving finale — a dying fall, a sorrowful diminuendo — to one of the most impressive oeuvres in modern American fiction.

Michael Dirda is a Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist for Book World and the author of the memoir "An Open Book" and of four collections of essays: "Readings," "Bound to Please," "Book by Book" and "Classics for Pleasure."

On his second morning there, private investigator Joseph Spector notices a rowboat in the middle of the estate's frozen lake. Lying inside it is a man with a "chunky knife handle protruding from his chest."

Southern stories, refreshed and then refracted

BY JUSTIN TAYLOR



SOPHIE BASSOULS/SYGMA/GETTY IMAGES

Brad Watson in France in 2018. "There Is Happiness" collects unreleased and previously published stories from the late Mississippi writer.

Brad Watson was born in Meridian, Miss., in 1955. If you were trying to place him in the Mississippi pantheon (and I am), you might put him at the end of the post-William Faulkner/Eudora Welty/Richard Wright generation, alongside Barry Hannah, Anne Moody, Richard Ford, Larry Brown, Ellen Gilchrist and Willie Morris. Then again you might put him at the front of the generation after that one, in a cohort with Donna Tartt, Ralph Eubanks, Jesmyn Ward, Natasha Trethewey and John Grisham. Watson was 40 years old when his debut collection, "Last Days of the Dog-Men," was published in 1996. His first novel, "The Heaven of Mercury" (2002), was a finalist for the National Book Award. A second collection, "Aliens in the Prime of their Lives," appeared in 2010, and a second novel, "Miss Jane," in 2016. He died in 2020 at the age of 64.

Joy Williams, in her introduction to the just-released "There Is Happiness: New and Selected Stories," writes that "the novels were more deeply lyrical than the stories, wide-focused on a lifetime in a single, long-past place. … But it was, I believe, the short story in which he delighted and at which he excelled, that American treasure that American readers are so wary of."

Watson's stories are nothing if not all-American. His good country people go hunting, drive trucks and instigate bar brawls; they know the best fishing holes, shoot guns where they shouldn't and dream of escape from small towns that they will never leave; they love their dogs like children and treat their lovers like dogs. Many are drunks with hearts fit to burst, full of lust for experience and in flight from anything smacking of self-knowledge. If you're listening for an implicit sigh here, don't. The stories cover relatively narrow thematic terrain, but their emotional territory is expansive. Watson refreshes and destabilizes the Southern literary traditions and cultural tropes his work embraces. He does not pander and is never just playing the hits.

Watson is a sympathetic and persuasive portraitist of hard lives lived hard in hard places. He leavens his tragedy with comedy and his comedy with elegy. The work at its best is worthy of comparison with Denis Johnson, Padgett Powell and Joy Williams herself, who reminds us in the introduction that "the good short story tells us something very alarming about ourselves and our puzzling sojourn on this earth. … This glimpse is the short story's gravest gift and Watson is a maven at slamming our souls with it." She's right. Occasionally, I will admit, Watson's elegiac mode drifts — as the monologues of largehearted drunks will — into grating wistfulness or boggy sentimentality, but these lapses really are rare, and at any rate more common in the novels than the stories. I love "The Heaven of Mercury" but I could see it 40 pages shorter, and I know which ones I'd cut. Not so with the stories.

"Last Days of the Dog-Men," at 144 pages, is a collection slender enough to attempt perfection. It's easy to see how Watson spent 10 years on its eight stories. "Bill" is about an 87-year-old woman who decides to have her elderly dog put to sleep, but first cooks him all his favorite human foods and serves them on her finest china. "As the evening wore on, Bill's old cataracted eyes gradually seemed to reflect something, it seemed, like quiet suffering — not his usual burden, but the luxurious suffering of the glutton." In the title story, a wayward husband compares his woes to those of various dogs he's known. "Humans are aware of very little, it seems to me, the artificial brainy side of life, the worries and bills and the mechanisms of jobs, the doltish psychologies we've placed over our lives like a stencil. A dog keeps his life simple and unadorned. He is who he is, and his only task is to assert this."

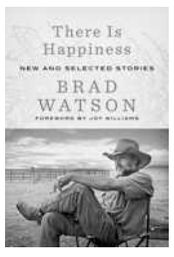
The 12 stories in "Aliens in the Prime of Their Lives" tend to be longer, more textured, more willing than those in the first book to make allowance for and draw energy from the sheer weirdness of the world. The title story follows a pair of young lovers who, after an unexpected pregnancy, lie about their ages to get married, then move into a miserable apartment to try to start their life. In the middle of the night, they are visited by a pair of housebreakers who swear they are *not* escaped patients from the psychiatric hospital down the street, but rather aliens from a distant planet merely *borrowing* the bodies of the psych patients: an intergalactic version of dressing for the weather. The couple's close encounter is brief and inconclusive, but its aftermath ramifies through the rest of their lives, separately and together, in ways I'd rather leave for you to discover. It's like Tracy Chapman's "Fast Car" beer-battered in Philip K. Dick, deep-fried in Tolstoy, and served in a red plastic basket with hush puppies and slaw. Which is to say, a masterpiece — not Watson's only one, but the one arguably most unlike any of his others. I'd give a lot for a few more in its vein.

"There Is Happiness" collects four stories apiece from "Dog-Men" and "Aliens," including those mentioned above, and 10 new stories, some previously published but uncollected and some heretofore unseen. Though it's fair to say that the best of the first two collections are gathered here, I can't help but feel that both "Aliens" and "Dog-Men" benefit from presentation in their original, complete forms, and that the new batch of 10 would have worked as a stand-alone third collection. Failing that, why not an unabridged "Collected Stories"? There are only 30, after all.

"There Is Happiness" is also saddled with four (four!) epigraphs from a sequence of poems called "The Watson Poems," by Watson's friend Michael Pettit, which Pettit began writing while living on Watson's couch. He later developed the character into someone who both was and was not Brad Watson, the author. "Who would have figured, least of all him,/ he'd arrive into the sweet, forgiving/ light of this evening?" Pettit wrote, in "Hemicenturian Watson." It's not the verses themselves I'm objecting to — they are lovely and accomplished — but rather their overdetermining presence on the doorpost of this book. It's another case where sentimentality, however well-intentioned, works against itself. Sweet tea shouldn't be so sweet that it makes your teeth hurt.

All that notwithstanding, the new stories are excellent, and we should be grateful to have them. "Eykelboom," "Apology" and "Crazy Horse" are some of Watson's finest work. "Crazy Horse" carries a footnote explaining that it was still in progress at the time of his death, but I can't imagine what else he might have meant to do to it, other than send it to his agent. "The Zookeeper and the Leopard" is adapted from an unfinished novel. The loose ends are more visible here than in "Crazy Horse," but it's still a gas, and tantalizingly suggestive of a return to the playful supernaturalism of "Aliens in the Prime of their Lives" and "The Heaven of Mercury." The zookeeper, a drunk, releases a leopard as part of an ill-conceived plan to humiliate the local animal control officer, who has lately seduced his wife. The leopard immediately kills and eats his hated jailer. As the beast explores his newfound freedom, he defecates pieces of the zookeeper, whose vestigial consciousness registers the nature of the, um, change he has undergone. A note from Watson to himself, included in the text, reads: "Other parts of the zookeeper's consciousness will be in other piles of excrement, fading from the larger ones and barely there in the smaller ones, until they're all decomposed and he's vanished." I'm sorry we'll never get to see where this one was headed. But Pettit has it right in one of his quoted poems: "Watson/ the perpetual work-in-progress and…"

Justin Taylor is a Book World contributing writer and the author, most recently, of the novel "Reboot."



THERE IS HAPPINESS
New and Selected Stories
By Brad Watson
W.W. Norton.
288 pp. $29.99

You should see this insightful documentary — but don't watch it alone

BY RON CHARLES



COURTESY OF PETE DAVIS

An image from "Join or Die" shows Robert Putnam, center, as a young member of a bowling league in the 1950s.

One of the things that astonishes me about how badly I've managed my life is how profoundly isolated I am. But I'm hardly alone in that.

Almost 30 years ago, Robert Putnam wrote an essay in the Journal of Democracy called "Bowling Alone." That essay and the best-selling book he published in 2000 were part social science, part jeremiad. Putnam described a nation losing its social capital as Americans drifted from the groups, clubs, unions and religious organizations that once served as the training ground and the glue of democracy.

This change marked a distressing shift. After all, our original fondness for joining associations was so integral to the foundation of the United States that Alexis de Tocqueville noticed it in the 1830s.

Now, as American democracy sails between Scylla and Charybdis — an elderly gentleman's vanity and a convicted felon's rage — we should make another port of call with Putnam. You'll find no better reintroduction to "Bowling Alone" than a new documentary called "Join or Die."

Directed by siblings Rebecca Davis and Pete Davis, "Join or Die" puts the fate of the United States in startlingly simple terms: "There is no America without clubs," Pete says. "But what happens when a nation built on associations stops saying, 'Sign me up' and starts saying, 'I'm not really a joiner'?"

The answer is all around us: a country riven by cynicism, distrust, alienation and economic stagnation.

That sounds dreary, but the film is anything but. "Join or Die" begins and ends with inspiring snapshots of quirky clubs, like the Odd Fellows, that are still thriving. And the narrative is spiced with lots of quick-cut, old-timey photos, graphics and video clips.

The heart and soul of the documentary, though, is Putnam himself, now a vibrant and witty octogenarian — and a reminder, apropos of nothing, that some older folks are perfectly capable of retaining their intellectual vigor.

The film takes us back to Putnam's groundbreaking work during the 1970s in Italy, where he first detected a correlation between social engagement and successful local government.

Returning to the United States, Putnam found an alarming degree of civic decay in the 1990s. Unions and clubs were shrinking, dinner parties and picnics were going out of style, and religious affiliation was changing in a fundamental way: We still believed in God, but we were believing alone.

Pundits and government officials all the way up to President Bill Clinton took notice.

But now, decades later, after a devastating pandemic and a violent assault on the Capitol, our social and political situation has only grown more dire.

"If the polity is going to be saved," says Princeton professor Eddie Glaude, "we have to imagine being together differently. We have to figure out how to be in community differently."

"We don't actually need graphs to see what makes democracy work," Pete says. "The perfect Constitution or the perfect education system or the perfect economy isn't enough if we aren't participating. *We* make democracy work. Bob's doing his part, preaching the gospel of social capital to whoever will listen."

Will we hear him?

Speaking to a group of students, Putnam says, "You could decide to change history."

"Join or Die" is playing now at DCTV's Firehouse Cinema in New York. Later, you'll find the film in theaters across the country. Better yet, sign up to host a community screening with your organization or neighborhood. Find more information at *joinordiefilm.com*. A grateful nation thanks you for your service.

This article was excerpted from our free Book Club newsletter. To subscribe, visit *wapo.st/booknewsletter*.

After a traumatic past, an obsessive need to feel clean

BY MARK ATHITAKIS



THE COIN
By Yasmin Zaher
Catapult.
240 pp. $27



WILLY SOMMA

Yasmin Zaher's debut novel centers on a Palestinian-born teacher who is fixated on dirt.

The unnamed narrator of Yasmin Zaher's sharp and disarming debut novel, "The Coin," introduces herself as "a teacher at a middle school." Like just about everything else she says, that's true on the surface, but there's much roiling underneath.

She got the job at a Manhattan school thanks to the connections of her wealthy boyfriend. Her teaching skills are questionable: She often leaves the students to their own devices, telling them it's a "free class," or prompts them to interview family members and uncover "some truth that they refuse to acknowledge." The chaos of her classroom mirrors the chaos inside her mind.

The source of that emotional turmoil isn't entirely clear. "The Coin" has some familiar trauma-novel elements: The narrator was born in a war-torn Palestinian territory, and her parents died young in a car accident. But Zaher doesn't try to draw a straight line from those facts to her narrator's unreliable, at times unsettling, storytelling.

Zaher is a Palestinian journalist born in Jerusalem, and her heroine is plainly affected by the ongoing conflict there. The novel (written before Oct. 7, 2023) is seasoned with the narrator's frustrations with the intractable problems of the Middle East. "America was both the key and the curse," she observes. But "The Coin" is also very much in league with the women-on-the-verge writers who've emerged in the past decade. If you've read books by Ottessa Moshfegh, Rachel Cusk, Sally Rooney or Raven Leilani, you'll recognize the tone — sophisticated but world-weary, functioning but *this close* to giving up on the world and all its bigoted, sexist microaggressions and outright cruelties.

The narrator's disquietude manifests in an obsession over dirt. She clears CVS shelves of soaps, creams and cleansers. In the shower, she imagines shedding "snakes" of skin. The "coin" of the title refers to a bothersome spot on her back that she can't quite reach — as if all the things that trouble her have collected in one place and won't stop stinging. The coin symbolizes a lot of things: money and the doors it opens, something shiny, or a dingy thing passed through many hands. What it doesn't symbolize is comfort. "I wore a dress by McQueen," she tells us, "my arms and legs were like polished bronze, but underneath my dress everything else was dirty, beginning to rot."

Plotwise, the story is propelled by the narrator's need to stem that sense of corrosion. With the man she meets on the street, known only as Trenchcoat, she heads to Europe as part of a dodgy scheme to resell high-fashion items like Birkin bags. When that goes sideways, she concentrates on her students, introducing them to the essentials of fashion or inviting speakers to talk about the Middle East. But at every turn she's fixating on a mess that's too big to clean up. When she talks about troubles in the Middle East, she sounds embittered, sarcastic and snakebit: "When Netanyahu and Trump were elected I thought those were good days, because the truth had come to light. But it seemed not only that the truth was ugly, but also that ugly was beautiful. The people adore the monster, the rich want to look poor."

This wry tone extends to just about every observation she makes, and Zaher is expert at crisp turns of phrase that reveal how brittle her narrator is. Crossing Brooklyn Bridge with Trenchcoat, she comments that it "was the perfect moment for a double suicide." Explaining her namelessness, she snaps: "I lost it in battle, like the knight who lost his shield."

The key tension in "The Coin" is how far the narrator will go to address the dirtiness she's obsessed with — or, given how passive she is, how much she'll allow herself to be pushed. A sturdy novel about an unsteady person is no small feat, and Zaher's prose is remarkably controlled. Her command pays off in the novel's latter pages, when the narrator's pursuit of cleansing, or absolution, leads her to take a path that's troubling but beautifully off-kilter. Her bad decisions, made in a world that seems to run on bad decisions, turn out to have a kind of graceful, troubling logic. "Nature is clean," she proclaims. "It's civilization that's dirty." Who could argue that she's wrong?

Mark Athitakis is a critic in Phoenix and the author of "The New Midwest."

Two books examine a generation's doubts about having children



WHAT ARE CHILDREN FOR? On Ambivalence and Choice
By Anastasia Berg and Rachel Wiseman
St. Martin's.
336 pp. $27



E. BROUGHTON



RORY O'CONNELL

CHILDREN FROM **B1**

That sounds like a lot of ruminating, but the result is a smart, fascinating look at one of the most vital questions women face. (Men face it, too, of course, but less urgently: I know two men who had their first kids at 60, with, of course, much younger women.)

For most of human history, the purpose of reproduction was obvious: to have help on the farm or in the shop, to pass along property or power or a name, to please God, to give life meaning, to be welcomed as an adult member of your community, to be cared for in your old age. Your deep thoughts and desires hardly mattered, especially if you were a woman: You grew up, got married, had babies — and before you had time to turn around, you were dead, very likely in or around childbirth.

Now, thanks to birth control and legal abortion, having children is more of a choice, at least for those lucky enough not to live in one of the states where abortion is banned. That means it requires a decision. And decisions are hard: You can spend decades trying to figure out who you are and what you want. You can immerse yourself in the plethora of books and articles about women, work and motherhood, and obsess about what lies ahead. ("Everything I read makes it sound so awful," my daughter said while she was pregnant. Spoiler alert: It isn't.) You can even take an online "Motherhood Clarity Course," in which participants "try to penetrate their ambivalence" by going deep within their psyches.

Berg is skeptical of the introspective approach. The main issues women raised in the interviews she and Wiseman conducted were practical: Where would the money come from to give their kids the advantages they themselves had enjoyed? And what about their careers? And child care? It's no secret that our society gives remarkably meager help to families, while mostly demanding little of fathers and trying — rather unsuccessfully, the authors claim — to make women feel guilty if they don't want to drop everything and breed.

Berg and Wiseman (they write in alternating chapters) aren't satisfied by the economic explanation, and I agree with them that something deeper is at work. I've known too many people who have gone to great lengths to have kids despite difficult circumstances (no partner, precarious jobs, no cushion of family money) simply because they longed for them. The authors acknowledge "the mood of precarity, distress and resentment" so many millennials feel, but they point out that, in fact, that generation is not doing so badly economically.

The real issue is that for many of these women, having children is not as crucial as it was for their parents and grandparents. It's "the cherry on top" after other goals are achieved: youthful fun, career success, a nice quality of life and above all, a really great relationship with a soul mate. Even less than previous generations, millennial women don't want to settle. (Egg freezing, originally mocked as yet another capitalist ploy to get you to work harder, turns out to be a logical response to the difficulty of finding a mate.)

"Slow love" is the fashion now — spending however long it takes searching for a really compatible person, followed by years of getting to know each other and contemplating a life together. But there's a catch: You can't talk about kids until everything else is in place, lest you scare your man away. The paranoid feminist in me wonders if slow love is just another male plot. Men, after all, have plenty of time to have kids. Women don't.

Ambivalence, the authors show, is a response to genuine conflicts: "But the growing recognition of just how hard it is to pursue both career and family concurrently has hardly led to a revolution in the workplace. For many women today, the worry that it might be impossible for them to 'have it all' is giving way to resignation, the sense that we no longer know what it would mean to wholeheartedly want any of it."

There's a whole genre of contemporary novels and autofiction about women, usually writers, who confront the baby question through a vague haze of depression and confusion: Sheila Heti's "Motherhood," Jenny Offill's "Dept. of Speculation" and Rachel Cusk's "A Life's Work," among others. Their protagonists are like contemporary versions of Betty Friedan's suburban housewives afflicted by a "problem that has no name." It's interesting that husbands and boyfriends barely figure in these narratives. I wish Berg and Wiseman had looked more closely at the way gendered inequality factors into women's fears that childbearing will ruin their lives. Do male writers worry that becoming fathers will mean they'll never be great? As we saw during the covid-19 lockdown, when dads needed time, a lot of them just took it and left moms to pick up the pieces. Maybe babies aren't the problem.

Another rising — and legitimate — fear among young people is bringing children into a violent world that is burning to a crisp. For Berg and Wiseman, climate change is rarely the sole reason a person decides to forgo having children, but if you're already ambivalent, it's something to add to the negative side of the ledger. As Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez put it in a quote cited in Berg and Wiseman's book, "The actual crisis … is now entire generations are sunk with inhumane levels of student debt, low incomes, high rent, no guarantee of health care and little action on climate change, which creates a situation where feeling stable enough to have a kid can feel more like a luxury than a norm."

Pessimism — the belief that life is mostly a bad business and it's better not to be born — goes back thousands of years. Today, thanks to contraception, pessimism has a chance to enact its program: Don't have kids, let the human race die out.

In "Begetting," the philosopher Mara van der Lugt brilliantly interrogates the anti-natalist case that reproduction is morally wrong. Not just wrong for some people — child abusers, say, and people with terrible genetic conditions — but for everyone. In the first place, you are bringing into existence a being who is bound to suffer, maybe a lot, because that is the nature of human life. In the second place, by bringing to life a future participant in our consumption (and sometimes extravagant overconsumption) of resources, you are contributing to ecological degradation and global warming. Your future child will both help to destroy the world and suffer the effects, and it will be all your fault.

The first consideration is hard even to think about: how to evaluate the interests and preferences of a nonexistent person? Perhaps if one's potential future children could be consulted they would say, *Life, yes! Bring it on, heartbreak, cancer, roses and wine — I'll take my chances.* Pessimists seem to me too, well, pessimistic about the prospects facing the not-yet-existent baby. Aren't most people happy they're here? Does that just show how superficial they are?

I loved this book, which is much too complex and subtle to summarize here. It gave me so much to think about, and in new ways. I'm glad I had my daughter decades before it was written, though, so I didn't have to take into consideration the possible interests of her pre-existent self and the role I've played in ruining the Earth by having her. The ambivalent women Berg and Wiseman write about should read it, if only to further complicate their thinking, because van der Lugt gives no answers to her questions. But they should also be sure to read the last chapter of "What Are Children For?," in which Berg describes her own decision to have a baby, and the intensity and heat and passion and continuing conflicts of new motherhood. If it doesn't make them want to throw away their birth control, they should just lay the whole issue to rest and move on.



BEGETTING What Does It Mean to Create a Child?
By Mara van der Lugt
Princeton University.
272 pp. $35

LEFT: Mara van der Lugt, the author of "Begetting." RIGHT: Rachel Wiseman, left, and Anastasia Berg, the authors of "What Are Children For?"

Katha Pollitt is a poet, essayist and columnist for the Nation. Her most recent book is "Pro: Reclaiming Abortion Rights."

BOOK WORLD



COURTESY OF HO FUK-YAN

This breast cancer memoir doesn't follow the usual script

BY MIMI CHENG

The Hong Kong writer and poet Xi Xi introduces her book "Mourning a Breast" in a straightforward way: "This is a book about breasts." Xi Xi was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1989, at the age of 52. In the months that followed, she underwent a mastectomy, followed by radiation and hormone therapy, all while caring for her ailing mother. Originally published in Taiwan in 1992, her genre-bending exploration of those experiences has now been faithfully translated into English by Jennifer Feeley. It is a book that combines introspection and intellect to form a kaleidoscopic and compassionate account of an afflicted body and a society in transition.

New York Review Books, which published this edition, describes her book as a semi-autobiographical novel, but Xi Xi (a pen name that is always given in full) would probably shrug. "Dear reader, you're welcome to categorize it however you'd like; this time, it's up to you," she writes in the preface. She even tells us to just read whichever parts suit our fancy: "Perhaps it's not worth spending too much time reading this book — you're better off just flipping through a few chapters and choosing the ones that most interest you."

Disregard Xi Xi's humility. While the chapters — each with curious titles such as "Thrice Strikin the White Bone Demon" and "Marvelous Tales of Fruits and Vegetables" — can stand alone, it's worth taking the time to read the book in its entirety and let yourself become enveloped in her world.

We begin in the women's changing room of a public pool, where Xi Xi, a self-professed avid but clumsy swimmer, stands beside other women, her thoughts alternating between her own mortality and the sensuousness around her. "The pitter-patter of falling water echoed in my ears, and it was as though I could hear the squelching of soap on women's skin. Supple flesh, water, the sweet scent of soap. When could I go swimming again? I didn't know. I had no way of guessing, understanding, exploring, or predicting my fate."

In the chapters that follow, we accompany her into exam rooms and surgical wards, through a bathroom renovation and on long walks. On the day of her biopsy, she brings with her four copies of "Madame Bovary," in French, Chinese and English, perusing each translation before her doctor interrupts. On another day, she becomes a flaneuse, taking us through both the landmarks and lesser-known passageways of cosmopolitan Hong Kong. She pauses in an arcade, gazes into the shimmering windows of a lingerie shop and wonders, "Is there a lingerie shop that sells bras for only one breast?" Not in this arcade, she decides.



MOURNING A BREAST
By Xi Xi, translated from Chinese by Jennifer Feeley
New York Review Books.
313 pp. $18.95

"Mourning a Breast" resists the conventions of the breast cancer memoir. Rather than plotting a singular, heroic journey between biopsy and remission, punctuated by platitudes and metaphors of war, Xi Xi learns to listen.

"My body began to speak more and more frequently, protesting a host of injustices, as though a revolution had begun inside me," she writes. She turns to her love of languages and literature, as well as care from friends and community, for support. Along the way, she learns another language — that of the body. "I was body illiterate," she admits.

Xi Xi's writing is most affecting when she employs a stream-of-consciousness style, with vivid, dissociative fragments reflecting the disease's confounding etiology and devastating effects. The morning after her mastectomy, her breast, which she refers to as "my specimen," is presented to her in a plastic bag at her bedside. Her sentences are jumbled and jarring as she tries to process what she sees. She recalls "Strange Tales From the Liaozhai Studio," a compendium of short stories from the 17th century, and the "Heart Sutra" before remembering a serial killer who lived in her neighborhood and kept his victims' breasts preserved in jars. The paragraph becomes a whirlpool of thoughts as she attempts to reconcile her body and mind.

Xi Xi's intellect and candor find kinship in the cancer narratives of Susan Sontag and Audre Lorde, but her style most closely anticipates that of Anne Boyer, who reckoned with a particularly aggressive form of breast cancer in "The Undying," which won a Pulitzer Prize in 2020. Like "Mourning a Breast," Boyer's book is composed of short sections that push against narrative convention. But where Boyer's words burn with righteous fury at cancer's manifold injustices and indignities, Xi Xi offers moments of lightness. In a short chapter called "Non-Stories," she presents unrelated tidbits about cancer drawn from the news. The last is about a chubby amphibian shaped like a cancer cell, leading some to call it "cancer cell frog." "The name is weird, but the frog itself looks fascinating and cute. It's flat and round, like a red bean paste pancake," she observes with amusement.

Xi Xi is an endearing writer. Her oeuvre, which contains short stories, novels, poetry and essays, holds a prominent place in the literature of Hong Kong. "Mourning a Breast" is significant because it is one of the first cancer narratives to be written from the perspective of a woman in the Sinophere. "Because it isn't suitable to let others look, nor is it easy to talk about, it remains unnoticed," she writes of the illness. "It's like a disease that only has an implied meaning but lacks any explicit signifiers." Her book broke the silence at a time when Hong Kong had the highest rates of breast cancer diagnosis in Asia.

Xi Xi was also writing during a pivotal moment in the city's history. Residents were grappling with the impending handover of the territory from Britain to China in 1997, with many — including Xi Xi's family doctor — preparing to emigrate. Others expressed their anxiety and grief about the city's political future by taking to the streets to support Beijing's pro-democracy student protesters in 1989. Xi Xi only alludes to these transformative events, but against this political backdrop, the discovery of a malignant, foreign growth in one's breast could be interpreted as a somatic metaphor for betrayal.

What, in the end, are we to take from Xi Xi's account? Perhaps what is so remarkable is the simplicity of her message: Take good care of yourself and those around you. "What do I have compared to others in this world? Wealth, good looks, knowledge, health? I have none of those, but I do have friends," she writes. Xi Xi died peacefully of heart failure in late 2022, at 85, surrounded by loved ones. Her voice lives on, reaching out to us as a friend might, generous and kind.

Xi Xi, the Hong Kong writer who died in 2022 at age 85, survived breast cancer in her 50s. Her memoir about the experience has been newly translated into English.

Mimi Cheng is a cultural historian and writer. She is at work on her first book.

LITERARY CALENDAR

July 21 - 27

21 SUNDAY | 1 P.M. ***Karin Tanabe*** discusses "The Sunset Crowd" with ***Laura Beth Vietor*** at the Mary Riley Styles Public Library, 120 N. Virginia Ave., Falls Church. 703-248-5030.

5 P.M. ***Ari Richter*** discusses "Never Again Will I Visit Auschwitz: A Graphic Family Memoir of Trauma and Inheritance" with ***Sarah Wildman*** at Politics and Prose, 5015 Connecticut Ave. NW. 202-364-1919.

22 MONDAY | 6 P.M. ***Rebecca Fraimow*** discusses "Lady Eve's Last Con" with ***Sarah Wendell*** at People's Book, 7014-A Westmoreland Ave., Takoma Park. 240-641-8979.

7 P.M. ***Robert W. Merry*** discusses "Decade of Disunion: How Massachusetts and South Carolina Led the Way to Civil War, 1849-1861" at Politics and Prose.

7 P.M. ***A.C. Fowlkes*** discusses "Transgender Inclusion: All the Things You Want to Ask Your Transgender Coworker but Shouldn't" at Little District Books, 737 Eighth St. SE. 202-629-2975.

23 TUESDAY | 6:30 P.M. ***Kirsten Miller*** discusses "Lula Dean's Little Library of Banned Books" with ***Laura Beth Vietor*** at Bards Alley, 110 Church St. NW, Vienna. 571-459-2653.

6:45 P.M. ***Susan Casey*** discusses "The Devil's Teeth," streamed through Smithsonian Associates at *smithsonianassociates.org*. $25-$30.

6:45 P.M. ***Sean Carroll*** discusses "Quanta and Fields," streamed through Smithsonian Associates. $20-$25.

7 P.M. ***Leonard Pitts Jr.*** discusses "54 Miles" at Politics and Prose.

24 WEDNESDAY | 6 P.M. Books inspired by Oprah and Reese Witherspoon's summer book lists are given away at Summer Sundeck Reads at Yards Park, 355 Water St. SE. More information at *theyardsdc.com*.

7 P.M. ***Joe Conanson*** discusses "The Longest Con: How Grifters, Swindlers, and Frauds Hijacked American Conservatism" at Politics and Prose.

25 THURSDAY | 7 P.M. ***Karla Cornejo Villavicencio*** discusses "Catalina" at Politics and Prose at Union Market, 1270 Fifth St. NE. 202-544-4452.

7 P.M. ***Sol Brager*** discusses "Heavyweight" with Malcolm Harris at Solid State Books, 600F H St. NE. 202-897-4201.

7 P.M. ***Kimberly McCreight*** discusses "Like Mother, Like Daughter" with ***Angie Kim*** at Politics and Prose.

26 FRIDAY | 7 P.M. ***K.T. Nguyen***, ***Kate Khavari*** and ***Elizabeth Heider*** discuss their thrillers at Politics and Prose at the Wharf, 610 Water St. SW. 202-488-3867.

7 P.M. ***Anne Applebaum*** discusses "Autocracy, Inc.: The Dictators Who Want to Run the World" at Politics and Prose.

27 SATURDAY | 10:30 A.M. ***Minh Lê*** and ***Ann Kim Ha*** discuss "Built to Last" and "A Friend for Eddy" at Politics and Prose at the Wharf.

5 P.M. ***Asha Thanki*** discusses "A Thousand Times Before" with ***Matt Ortile*** at Politics and Prose.

For more literary events, go to *wapo.st/literarycal.*

Washington Post Hardcover Bestsellers

COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS ASSOCIATION

FICTION

1 **THE WOMEN** (St. Martin's, $30). By Kristin Hannah. An Army nurse in Vietnam treats soldiers wounded in combat but struggles to find support when she returns home.

2 **THE GOD OF THE WOODS** (Riverhead, $30). By Liz Moore. Tragedy revisits the owners of a summer camp when their teenage daughter disappears, echoing a similar loss years before.

3 **JAMES** (Doubleday, $28). By Percival Everett. A reimagining of "Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" told from the point of view of Jim as he flees from enslavement.

4 **ALL FOURS** (Riverhead, $29). By Miranda July. A woman embarks on a solo cross-country road trip but instead hides in a nearby hotel and explores life without the responsibilities of family.

5 **LONG ISLAND COMPROMISE** (Random House, $30). By Taffy Brodesser-Akner. The children of a wealthy family struggle to fulfill the promise of their wildly successful parents.

6 **FUNNY STORY** (Berkley, $29). By Emily Henry. Daphne, whose ex-fiancé, Peter, left her for another woman, agrees to be roommates with Miles, whose ex-fiancée left him for Peter.

7 **SANDWICH** (Harper, $26.99). By Catherine Newman. Vacationing with her young-adult children and aging parents forces a woman to recalibrate her expectations.

8 **A DEATH IN CORNWALL** (Harper, $32). By Daniel Silva. Art restorer Gabriel Allon, a former intelligence officer, investigates the murder of a woman who had been searching for a missing Picasso painting.

9 **THE MINISTRY OF TIME** (Avid Reader, $28.99). By Kaliane Bradley. A top-secret British government assignment requires a woman to guide a Victorian-era explorer who has recently been returned to life in the modern age.

10 **THE SPELLSHOP** (Bramble, $29.99). By Sarah Beth Durst. After saving precious books about magic spells from fiery destruction, a former librarian opens a magical shop.

NONFICTION

1 **THE DEMON OF UNREST** (Crown, $35). By Erik Larson. The author of "The Splendid and the Vile" chronicles the months after Abraham Lincoln's election that set the stage for the Civil War.

2 **THE ANXIOUS GENERATION** (Penguin Press, $30). By Jonathan Haidt. A social psychologist attributes the recent increase in adolescent mental illness to the prevalence of smartphones.

3 **ON CALL** (Viking, $36). By Anthony Fauci. The doctor and public health official shares stories from his upbringing and career as a scientific adviser to presidents through multiple crises, including the covid pandemic.

4 **THE CREATIVE ACT** (Penguin, $32). By Rick Rubin. A Grammy-winning music producer shares how artists work and suggests ways to foster creativity in everyday life.

5 **THE WAGER** (Doubleday, $30). By David Grann. After enduring storms, sickness and a shipwreck, the surviving crew members of HMS Wager turn against one another.

6 **AN UNFINISHED LOVE STORY** (Simon & Schuster, $35). By Doris Kearns Goodwin. The Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer shares her own history.

7 **ATOMIC HABITS** (Avery, $27). By James Clear. How to make small changes that have a big impact.

8 **THE FRIDAY AFTERNOON CLUB** (Penguin Press, $30). By Griffin Dunne. The actor, raised in the world of California and New York elites, shares stories from his life.

9 **DEMOCRACY IN RETROGRADE** (Gallery, $28.99). By Sami Sage and Emily Amick. A guide to political engagement and civic action framed through a lens of self-care.

10 **IN MY TIME OF DYING** (Simon & Schuster, $27.99). By Sebastian Junger. The war reporter and avowed atheist considers mortality and the afterlife following his near-death experience.

Rankings reflect sales for the week ended July 14. The charts may not be reproduced without permission from the American Booksellers Association, the trade association for independent bookstores in the United States, and indiebound.org. Copyright 2024 American Booksellers Association. (The bestseller lists alternate between hardcover and paperback each week.)

NONFICTION

He was a skeptic of the afterlife. Then he nearly died.

BY STEVEN PETROW

For decades now, Sebastian Junger has taken readers to some of the most dangerous, bloody and remote outposts on this planet, including the deep sea ("The Perfect Storm") and Afghanistan ("War"). In his latest book, "In My Time of Dying," Junger takes us on what may be the wildest and most frightening ride of his career — not to the point of no return but to its very precipice.

June 15, 2020, dawned for Junger much like any other not-quite-summer day on Cape Cod. But a silent storm had been brewing in the writer, then 58. That morning he was "wrenched from sleep by a dream of my wife and daughters sobbing and holding each other while I hovered over their heads, unable to communicate with them." He screamed at them; he waved at them. It did not matter. In his dream, he learned that he had died because, as a voice explained to him, "I'd been careless." He did not immediately connect that dream to the intermittent pain he'd had in his abdomen for more than nine months. He'd been ignoring it, since it came and went, but he remembers thinking at one point, "This is the kind of pain where you later find out you're going to die."

The next morning, he was awakened not by a dream but by the pain, which soon ebbed. That afternoon, he uncharacteristically suggested to his wife that they visit a writing studio located deep in their wooded property. In some of the most compelling prose of his career, Junger details what happened next: "My abdomen seemed to be simply made of pain and nothing else," and suddenly he was teetering between life and death. "Halfway to the hospital, a spasm shot through me that lifted my body off the stretcher. It felt like hot lava had been injected into me. A few minutes later I lost control of my bowels and a foul-smelling liquid left me, mostly blood."

The eventual diagnosis: a ruptured aneurysm in a pancreatic artery that had caused a massive abdominal hemorrhage, with enough blood loss to bring Junger perilously close to death. As surgeons worked to save him, Junger experienced the presence of his late father, who invited his son to join him. "There's nothing to be scared of," he seemed to say. "Don't fight it."

Junger, a confirmed atheist and an adherent of the scientific method, had been raised by a physicist (his father) and a painter (his mother). His upbringing had left little room for a spiritual experience like this one, which turns out to be the central conundrum of this book and, I'd venture, his life. The meeting with his father was understandably unnerving. "He was dead, I was alive, and I wanted nothing to do with him." But it's hard to unsee what you've seen: His father had not only visited him but opened the door to the idea that an afterlife might actually exist.

Really? Show me the proof. Oh, you can't. Well, how can something be true if you can't prove it? Ted Kaptchuk, a well-regarded Harvard physician, once told a New Yorker writer that he'd always "believed there is an important component of medicine that involves suggestion, ritual and belief," adding: "All ideas that make scientists scream."



COURTESY OF SEBASTIAN JUNGER

Sebastian Junger with his father in a family photo. Decades later, Junger, an atheist, had a near-death experience in which he felt the presence of his late father, who seemed to tell him, "There's nothing to be scared of." The experience led him to investigate the possibility of an afterlife.

Junger's experience, and the vast amount of reporting he brings to near-death experiences (NDEs), could easily set off a cacophony of screams in academic medicine.

I might have been one of those skeptics myself, had I not had a life-changing near-death experience while in recovery after an all-day cancer surgery. As I once described it: "I was sliding down a tunnel toward a light. I kept resisting but the light overpowered me until I finally agreed to let go. I experienced a sense of peace, even destiny, in those moments before I heard the ruckus around me, the medical staff desperately (and successfully) pulling me back."

Medicine might write it off as a result of oxygen deprivation to the brain. But it was as real to me as when, a decade later, my grandmother — who had been barely sentient — sat up in her hospital bed, reached up to the ceiling and, as though recognizing someone, called out, "Mother." She died soon after.

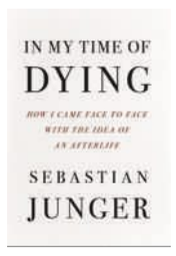
Mere hallucinations? Maybe, maybe not. Junger cites the 1926 book "Death-Bed Visions," by British physicist William F. Barrett, which became a classic compendium of a phenomenon many recognized but few understood. What stood out — then as well as now, he writes — is that "the accounts are startlingly consistent not only with each other but with many accounts from today."

Ever the reporter, Junger is unwilling to write off these experiences as hallucinations (or any of the other medical explanations). He admits he was hoping for evidence of an afterlife, finding hints of it in the universality of NDEs that feature seeing the dead. After all, he writes, "there are neurochemical explanations for why people hallucinate, but not for why they keep hallucinating the same thing."

Much earlier in the book, Junger writes: "[My mother] would ask why [my father] couldn't just believe in something he didn't understand, and I would watch my father frown and ponder that question as if it, too, might prove useful in some hyper-rational way."

Can we prove an afterlife exists? No. Might one exist? Junger gives us reason to believe in that possibility. In any case, how lucky we are that Junger survived and that we're able to join him on another mind-blowing adventure — this time to a place all of us will one day visit.

Steven Petrow, a contributing writer to The Washington Post, writes about aging, health, LGBTQ issues and other subjects. He previously wrote The Post's "Civilities" column.



IN MY TIME OF DYING
How I Came Face to Face With the Idea of an Afterlife
By Sebastian Junger
Simon & Schuster.
176 pp. $27.99

Recalling a violent turning point for her family, and India

BY BILAL QURESHI

In the fragile balance of multicultural societies, there are often defining moments when tribal differences ignite into flames and something darker takes flight. Long shadows are cast across politics, culture and history as civil violence breaks forth between internal majorities and minorities, police and citizenry, the "us vs. them." In this country, the Rodney King riots and the murder of George Floyd come to mind. Across the world, in India — now led for a third term by Narendra Modi's Hindu-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party — that defining hour dates to the spring of 2002 and a spasm of violence between Hindus and Muslims in the state of Gujarat.

What began as an attack on a train carrying Hindu pilgrims home from a religious ceremony metastasized into retaliatory mob violence against the state's large Muslim minority. In what are now known simply as the Gujarat Riots, hundreds if not thousands of families were targeted, hunted and killed by vigilante assailants. Months of lockdowns and curfews followed. There was widespread international condemnation, much of it against the leadership of the state's then-chief minister, Modi. Journalists and human rights observers accused his Hindu-nationalist government of failing to intervene and condoning — and, some suggested, even colluding with — the attackers. Modi was cleared of all charges, but the stain of that moment has only grown with time, as new outbreaks of violence and hatred have accompanied the national ascent of the BJP.

"The Lucky Ones" is a new memoir by the Indian Muslim writer Zara Chowdhary, who was a teenager in hiding in Gujarat during those riots. Where the sterile language of news accounts falls short, Chowdhary's memoir fills in the gaps with a visceral work of bearing witness, recounted with exacting and unapologetic subjectivity. Unlike those hunted, raped and murdered in those months, Chowdhary is among the "lucky ones," and her Muslim memoir is her survivor's song. As a writer, she's a keen student of Anne Frank, Ta-Nehisi Coates and Marjane Satrapi — memoirists whose seminal works are also masterpieces of political and national history. Chowdhary skillfully weaves the ascent of right-wing politics with the rude awakenings and pain of entering womanhood alongside her beloved sister. Textile and fabric — an ode to the Muslim weavers and craft traditions she loves deeply — become a recurring motif; even the cover of the book is an illustration of two young women peering through a tear in a piece of patterned Indian fabric.

The story largely unfolds on an eighth-floor balcony overlooking the city of Ahmedabad, in the apartment where Zara is trapped for months with her family. In intentional echoes of Holocaust narratives, Chowdhary, cloistered in the feeble walls of her small home, is haunted by what is happening to those less fortunate than herself. The balcony at the complex, named Jasmine Apartments, becomes both a liminal architectural space between the interior and exterior of the home and a literary symbol from which the adult Chowdhary can assume a perch to revisit this past life. As she writes: "A thousand invisible fingers from every direction are pointing toward our balcony, a million eyes turning to where the Muslims sit huddled in their homes all over the state. It doesn't matter this evening that this land we all stand on is the land of Gandhi. Something has been eviscerated. Something has changed. A new land and a new people reborn in fire."



COURTESY OF ZARA CHOWDHARY

The writer now resides and teaches in Wisconsin, and the book is a fierce critique of Modi's India, but also a requiem for and reclamation of her family's secular India that contained — and can still contain — multitudes. That past life was interconnected across class, caste and religion, with Hindu deities dancing alongside Sufi songs, and with public servants dedicated to the national state denying the calls of tribalism. Chowdhary's professional background in film and advertising is reflected in the powerful and flickering scenes that intersperse the narrative. There are brief and potent evocations of sense memory, and the melancholy of a home and country left behind. There is palpable love for the culture and language into which Chowdhary came of age, as she describes the nostalgia-tinged fragrance of neighborhood flowers and her mother's cooking. But a seething and understandable political rage also courses through the memoir, searching for both catharsis and a kind of literary retribution. In writing into the void where erasure and degradation once reigned, Chowdhary resurrects her family's lost Indian Muslim dignity to ensure they are accounted for as citizenry.

Like many contemporary memoirs disrupting the easy linearity or bow-tied, conclusive release of redemption narratives, "The Lucky Ones" is a book without easy answers or easy hope. The structure of its brief chapters is intentionally fragmentary and discursive, as unpredictable and unwieldy as memory itself. The reading experience can be disorienting, but throughout the book, I felt deeply assured I was in the hands of a writer in control of what she wished to express — holding firm to the idea that if journalism tells the reader what happened, it is literature that reveals how it feels. This debut is a testament to the power of literature to do what other forms of language and commentary cannot, rendering its readers among a fortunate tribe, of lucky ones.

Bilal Qureshi is a culture writer and radio journalist.



THE LUCKY ONES
A Memoir
By Zara Chowdhary
Crown.
320 pp. $30



INDRANIL MUKHERJEE/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ABOVE: The author's sister dances. RIGHT: The aftermath of violence in India in 2002.



POETRY IN A TIME OF CHANGE

The National Book Awards will celebrate its 75th anniversary at this year's ceremony, on Nov. 20. To mark the occasion, The Washington Post has collaborated with the administrator and presenter of the awards, the National Book Foundation, to commission a series of essays by National Book Award-honored authors who will consider (and reconsider), decade by decade, the books that were recognized and those that were overlooked; the preoccupations of authors, readers and the publishing industry through time; the power and subjectivity of judges and of awards; and the lasting importance of books to our culture, from the 1950s to the present day. In this essay, Carl Phillips — a four-time finalist for the poetry award — looks back at the 1970s.

BY CARL PHILLIPS

I've often said that being a poet means leaving a record of what it meant and felt like to have lived in a human body for a particular time on Earth. The fact that no one person can represent all of the human condition means there's a need for as many voices as possible, to provide an accurate history of a given period. But the history of poetry, in this country at least, was for so long marked by a narrowness of definition — basically the poetics represented by the White male English canon — and by a narrowness of "suitable" content, reflective of a Puritanism that has never entirely gone away from life in the United States: no sexual candor, therefore, no racial unrest, no room for voices that might question the status quo by demanding inclusion, by refusing silence.

When I agreed to write about the 1970s National Book Awards in poetry, I fully expected to see a list of straight White male winners, with perhaps a token nod to the historically marginalized here and there. Yes, the 1970s came right on the heels of the Stonewall riots, the women's liberation movement and the civil rights movement, but I assumed the White male poets would close ranks in response, rather than admitting "outsiders." I am surprised, and gratified, to be wrong about this. Just as these movements reshaped the music scene and the visual arts, they asserted their influence on poetry as well; and though the judges for the National Book Awards in poetry remained largely male and White during this time, the lists of finalists they arrived at suggest at least an awareness of the need to evolve.

Only three straight White men won the award for poetry in the 1970s: A.R. Ammons, Richard Eberhart and Howard Nemerov. To my surprise, eight queer poets, most of them openly queer, won the award: Allen Ginsberg and Adrienne Rich (who tied in 1974), Marilyn Hacker, John Ashbery, James Merrill, Elizabeth Bishop, and Howard Moss and Frank O'Hara (another tie, in 1972). There's a fair representation of queerness among the decade's finalists as well: Audre Lorde, Alice Walker, May Swenson and Robert Hayden.

I'm interested, too, in how the range of poetic strategies within this group seems an accurate reflection of the range of what it can mean to be queer. Bishop and Hayden, for example, never really spoke openly of queerness in their poetry, nor did they seek to overthrow the canon. I have argued elsewhere that Hayden's braiding of English prosody with Black history (in poems like "Middle Passage") was its own political gesture, but a quiet, somewhat academic gesture. Hayden and Bishop, in their poems at least, were more closeted compared with the decidedly iconoclastic O'Hara, Ginsberg and Rich, each of those three not only open in terms of content but formally restless, in search of a free verse that might accommodate queerness without necessarily being exclusive to it, ever in pursuit of what Rich called "the dream of a common language." And then there are writers like Hacker and Merrill, almost exclusively formal poets — but unlike Hayden's and Bishop's, their content was unabashedly queer. Their poems didn't express a desire to smash the system but insisted on being honestly oneself within it; which is to say that they forced the system to accommodate their queerness.

Another welcome surprise to me was the number of Black poets represented. There were eight instances of Black finalists: Hayden (twice), Lorde, Walker, Ishmael Reed, Sherley Williams, Carolyn Rodgers and Michael Harper. It wasn't until 1999, though, 49 years after the prize was first given, that a Black poet (Ai) won the award. (It was *33* years between the first Pulitzers and the first Black winner in any category, poet Gwendolyn Brooks.) Is it too easy — or just accurate — to say this seems reflective of American society's continued grudging acceptance of Black people at the proverbial table, coupled with an instinctive resistance to letting us sit and eat there on equal terms? Is it? Either way, I remain impressed with the representation — it does reflect the decade's political changes in race relations; indeed, given how narrow the canon had been for so long, it feels radical.

The first two winners of the poetry award in the 1970s were women: Bishop and Mona Van Duyn, with Hacker and Rich winning later in the decade, and women consistently appeared among the finalists. Two low points, however, were in 1972, when there were 11 finalists for the award but no women, and again in 1973, with no women among 12 finalists. My first assumption was that the judges must all have been men, but in 1972 Swenson was one of five judges, and in 1973 Muriel Rukeyser and Helen Vendler were among the five. But having served as the single Black judge for this award in 2005, a year when no Black finalists appeared on the list, I know that being a judge doesn't guarantee that you'll get a particular poet onto the list; and there's also the quandary about responsibility/expectation: Must being a woman, for example, mean that you insist on a book by a woman? Does it mean your favorite book that year can't have been by a man? Is aesthetic diversity as valid a form of diversity as racial and sexual diversity, as I asserted at the time, though I thought even then that I was hoping to justify what I felt — and still feel — was a failure of our committee to reflect not just the range of poetry that year but the varieties of people in this country?

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Audre Lorde, Adrienne Rich, Allen Ginsberg and Alice Walker were among the queer poets honored as National Book Award winners or finalists in the 1970s. Only three straight White men won the award in that decade.

It is impossible for any list of books (even 11 or 12 of them!) to represent all aspects of a nation as diverse and populous as ours. At the same time, when I bring all the poetry lists of the 1970s together, I can't deny that a considerable diversity is represented in terms of race, gender, sexual orientation, social class and poetics. The lists suggest a country grown restless with inequality, ambivalent about war and not yet clear as to how to reconcile a sometimes reluctantly admitted need for change with an understandable fear that to evolve from tradition might mean losing that tradition forever. If, given the subjective nature of art and individual taste, I'm not always in agreement with which book won in certain years, I can also honestly say that each winning book represents excellence; that's rare, I find, when studying the history of a prize.

There are omissions, of course. The largely California-based Language poets, like Lyn Hejinian and Susan Howe, who resisted a lyric model that embraced narrative, clear argument, resolution and the poetic line as understood for centuries — none of them appear here, unsurprisingly, since the judges in this decade are pretty much unanimous in their allegiance to that same model. Meanwhile, though Black writers appear, there's an unignorable absence of writers of Latin, Indigenous and Asian backgrounds.

It is easy, though, to criticize a lack of enlightenment from the hindsight of what we consider our more enlightened selves — who's to say what readers in 50 years will think of who we are right now? The National Book Awards in poetry for the 1970s show more openness than I expected. It is likewise easy in hindsight to call out errors, or at least to imagine that things might or should have gone otherwise. Nevertheless, I'll conclude by doing that very thing. It seems a shame that Robert Hayden never won the National Book Award, though I acknowledge his being a finalist both in 1972 and 1979 (just months before he died). Hayden was famously criticized by the leaders of the Black Arts Movement, most notably Amiri Baraka, for not turning from the traditions of T.S. Eliot to a more populist, race-conscious and "accessible" form of poetry. At the same time, while the mostly White critics acknowledged Hayden — in large part because he worked within a poetics they shared — his insistence on showcasing Black history may well have given these same critics pause; too political for them, yet not political enough for Baraka? Hayden was easily among the finest poets writing in English in the 20th century, one whose work has already in the decades since shown more stamina, more lasting power, than many of the other names that appear on the lists from this decade.

But the National Book Awards aren't intended as predictions of what will be read in the future. They represent what appealed in a given year to a select group of human beings, each one fallible, fickle and absolutely an individual. It seems an achievement, ultimately, that to read the books represented in the 1970s is to have an incomplete but nevertheless not inaccurate sense of the richness and variety of American poetry at the time. I can sense a country beginning to reckon with its many selves more seriously than it has before, because now it has to.

Carl Phillips is a poet, critic and translator. His 17 books of poetry include four finalists for the National Book Award and "Then the War: And Selected Poems, 2007-2020," which won a Pulitzer Prize in 2023.

ILLUSTRATION BY JOSÉ L. SOTO/THE WASHINGTON POST; EVERETT/SHUTTERSTOCK; CHUCK KNOBLOCK/AP; JOE MIGON/AP; AP; ISTOCK

The Washington Post
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SUNDAY, JULY 21, 2024 EZ RE C

THE DISTRICT
A police officer who fatally shot a man having a mental health crisis will not face charges. **C3**



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OBITUARIES
Nguyen Phu Trong, 80, waged a war on corruption as the leader of Vietnam's Communist Party. **C5**

Anacostia team ready for Conn. regionals

Mamie Johnson softball braces for biggest test yet after first 12U state title

BY JORDAN D. BROWN

It was the last inning of the 2024 Little League D.C. state championship. Mamie Johnson's 12-and-under softball team was on the brink of its first championship win, and the players could almost taste the victory.

Pitcher Devin Barnes struck out the opposing batter to close out a no-hitter in an 11-0 victory. After two consecutive championship losses, Mamie Johnson's Little League team made history. For the first time, it was a champion.

Catcher Alayna Kennedy's smile beamed like the bright sun that Saturday morning in late June as she slammed the softball down and rejoiced. Kennedy jumped up and down as her teammates rushed the field for a celebratory group hug.

Everything the players worked for in the last three years finally paid off as they now face their biggest competition yet: the regional tournament of the Little League World Series in Bristol, Conn.

"We've been working hard and powering through," Kennedy, 12, said. "It just feels really great that we're going to Connecticut because I feel like we deserve this. We earned it."

In many ways, the Little League team is living up to its namesake. In the 1950s, Mamie Johnson made history as just one of three women to ever play professional baseball in the Negro Leagues. She was the first and only woman to ever pitch in the leagues. Johnson opened doors for Black girls to play softball today.

"You don't see many girls of color playing softball, so these girls, just to have a whole team of them is really breaking barriers," Coach Keith Barnes said.

Mamie Johnson Little League's softball division began play in 2021 with 20 or so girls, some of whom had experience on the diamond while others did not. The Anacostia-based organiza-

SEE **SOFTBALL** ON **C2**



KARINA ELWOOD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Johann Garcia, 12, rides the Banana Boat with his cabin mates at Camp Letts in Edgewater, Md. Johann and his sister Katie had moved schools enough times to be hesitant about making friends, but they both bonded with their cabin mates as the week went on.

Skeptical Maryland siblings unplug, embrace the joy of summer camp

Katie and Johann found fun and friendship in the week away from their phones

BY KARINA ELWOOD

Katie Garcia couldn't believe it. Five nights in the woods *and* no cellphone? How would she stay in touch with her boyfriend? What about her TikTok streak? Plus, it was going to be hot, and there would be bugs.

Her mom, Jessica, had just dropped off Katie, 13, and her brother Johann, 12, at Camp Letts in Edgewater, Md. It was an hour's drive from their home in Silver Spring, but it may as well have been five hours. The kids had never been to sleepaway camp before, and they weren't particularly excited to be there — especially after they learned of the camp's no-phone policy.

Jessica pulled her two kids into her arms.

"This is going to be super fun," she assured them.

As they said goodbye, Katie looked at her mom with doe eyes. *Please, Mom?* she seemed to say.

Johann grabbed her arm.

"Let's go, Katie," he said. "It's a week."

Katie and Johann weren't convinced they would have any fun. Sitting together at check-in on the first day, they agreed that neither of them were particularly interested in trying to make friends.

They knew how hard it was to say goodbye. The kids had switched schools so many times that they had to count on their fingers keep track of how many they had attended.

"I'm not going to cry, like I did this school year," Johann said.

Katie lugged her suitcase up the stairs to a cabin tucked into the woods. She stretched a navy blue sheet over the thin mattress on the last available bottom bunk. Then she realized that she hadn't packed a pillow.

She didn't know she would need one.

SEE **SUMMER CAMP** ON **C2**

Outburst upends court hearing

13-YEAR-OLD STRUCK DEPUTY MARSHAL

Girl was being tried for second-degree murder

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER

A fight erupted and a mother's panicked cries rang out Friday evening in D.C. Superior Court, as she begged her 13-year-old daughter not to hit the deputy U.S. marshals in the courtroom, and then she begged the officers not to hurt her daughter.

The outburst came about an hour into a hearing to determine whether the girl and another teen girl should be removed from their homes and detained by the District's Department of Youth Rehabilitative Services (DYRS) — the city's juvenile criminal detention system, largely seen as a stop of last resort for the city's troubled youth.

The trouble began Friday when the girl kicked a female deputy U.S. marshal who had chastised her behavior and ended with paramedics removing the teen from the courthouse on a stretcher.

Tension appeared to build quietly in Judge Dorsey Jones's courtroom as evidence was presented in the case involving the teen and a 15-year-old who were charged Thursday with second-degree murder in the beating death of Reginald Brown, an ailing, 64-year-old man in October. Attorneys for both teens pleaded not guilty to the charges.

The Washington Post generally does not identify suspects in criminal cases who are charged as juveniles. The Post was permitted to attend the hearing on the condition that the identity of the teens or their parents were not disclosed.

About an hour into the hearing, Jones told the 13-year-old he could hear her using profanity and warned her that if she continued to do so he would remove her from the courtroom. Later, the marshal took away the teen's pa-

SEE **ARREST** ON **C3**

4th Street underpass offers a colorful overview

Murals honor SW D.C.'s history, residents hurt by urban renewal

BY EMMA UBER

Cars driving under the busy 4th Street underpass in Southwest Washington on Thursday morning slowed to a crawl as they passed dozens of people clustered on the street, their headlights illuminating the newly colorful interior of the tunnel. The walls inside shined with 11 freshly painted murals adorned with images of pink flowers, the D.C. flag and historic city figures.

The artists, city officials and community members had gathered along the busy footpath to celebrate the unveiling of the Gallery of Southwest, a new collection of murals designed to honor Southwest Washington.

The Southwest Business Improvement District chose the underpass as the canvas for the new public art to serve as a reminder of the 30,000 residents who were displaced by urban development in the 1950s and how urban renewal tore the Southwest community apart, the district's managing director, Lexie Albe, said.

"Urban renewal was a very traumatic time for this community and I think a lot of those memories still exist down here," Albe said. "The ability to reclaim the actual walls of the infrastructure that divided that community is really meaningful."

Although the business improvement district and residents identified the underpass as a space for public art in 2005, the project did not begin until two years ago, when the 11 different artists or groups submitted their design proposals.

"Southwest is such a diverse community, there's no one experience of being here," Albe said. "The opportunity to have 11 different artists with 11 different perspectives bring their story to life in this underpass, we're hoping that it touches a little bit of everyone's experience."



EMMA UBER/THE WASHINGTON POST

Rose Jaffe poses in front of her mural "Peak Bloom." The figures overlap, Jaffe said, to represent how the lives of people in a city as populated as D.C. intertwine in ways they might not even realize.

SEE **MURALS** ON **C4**

How D.C.'s scorching summer stacks up against years past

Almost every metric for assessing heat ranks as most extreme on record

BY IAN LIVINGSTON

The D.C. area is slogging through its hottest summer on record so far, with temperatures running more than 4 degrees above average. Practically every metric used to assess heat ranks among the most extreme in records that date to the late 1800s.

Through Thursday, the city's average temperature stood at 81.9 degrees (an average of highs and lows), 0.7 degrees higher than 2010, the next-hottest summer to date. Last year at this time, the city's average temperature was a noticeably tamer 77 degrees.

So far, the District has racked up 29 days at or above 90, 10 more than normal. And while temperatures have cooled since the historic heat wave early this week (it only hit 89 on Thursday!), long-range forecasts suggest more intense heat is likely.

The heat by the numbers

Scorching afternoon highs

For the first time on record, the District reached at least 101 degrees on four straight days between Sunday and Wednesday. Three calendar-day record highs were set in this stretch, adding to the three others this year set on July 22 (100), May 2 (91) and Jan. 26 (80).

Tuesday's record high of 104 was the highest since July 7, 2012.

While the summer got off to a somewhat timid start with fewer than normal 90-degree days through mid-June, hot weather has been in near total control ever since. The current tally of 29 90-degree days is only 11 days from the annual norm of 40.

An assessment of various extreme temperature benchmarks to date shows this year near the top of every list:

- 29 days at 90 degrees or higher, tied for the seventh-most. There were only 32 during all of last year.
- 17 days at 95 degrees or higher, second-most behind 2012's 18.
- 11 days at 98 degrees or higher, second-most behind 2012's 12.
- 5 days at 100 degrees or higher, second-most behind 2012's 7.

Sultry nights

In ways, the abnormally warm nights have been even more impressive than the daytime highs.

The low temperature has been 80 degrees or higher on seven nights, which is tied for the most

SEE **HEAT** ON **C4**

A week of waterside fun: No phones, fast friends

SUMMER CAMP FROM **C1**

A counselor assured her they would find one.

Sticky summer air and an awkward silence filled the cabin as five 13-year-old girls sat in a circle making name cards for their bunks. Aside from the best friend duo who came to camp together, they were all strangers.

There were first-time campers like Katie, and then others who had been going there for years.

"Wear lots of sunscreen," a camp veteran advised. "And do all the waterfront activities."

Katie listened as a counselor listed the activities: kayaking, archery, zip-lining, paddleboarding, paintball, high ropes.

"High ropes?!" Katie's face lit up. "Oh, that's cool."

Maybe, just maybe, that one part of camp could be fun.

That night, Katie and her cabin mates sat around an unlit firepit as counselors taught them team chants that they would use the rest of the week. The girls joined in hesitantly.

Katie and Johann had never been away from home for longer than a few days. Camp Letts is run by the YMCA of Metropolitan Washington and offers scholarships through its "Send a Kid to Camp" program, which funded the kids' trip.

Despite their hesitation, Garcia thought it would be good for the kids to connect with nature and get out of the house for a bit. She wanted her kids to experience a cornerstone of American childhood: canoeing on the lake, singing around the campfire, making fast friends, crafting bracelets.

Katie and Johann started every morning with paddleboarding, then swam in the pool, then headed back to the waterfront to kayak. They ate lunch, then played tennis and volleyball and other activities in the afternoon. At each meal, the cabin groups burst out into loud songs about being the best crew at camp, banging tables and stomping so hard the whole floor would shake.

By the middle of the week, Katie was fitting in. She bragged about being the only girl in her cabin who didn't fall off the Banana Boat, a rubber raft pulled by a motorboat. Her nails were stained purple from tie-dyeing T-shirts. As she walked to the pool, she rehearsed the camp songs she had learned.

She had even made friends, a lot of them. They bought matching bandannas at the camp store and planned to exchange phone numbers.

On the last day, tears streamed down Johann's cheeks as he said goodbye to his counselors and new friends. He and Katie wore matching Camp Letts T-shirts printed with the word "campsick" — a play on "homesick" — as they boarded the bus back to Silver Spring where their mom awaited them.

Katie didn't cry. But she said the week had surprised her.

She may even go back next year for another five nights in the woods.

Without a cellphone.



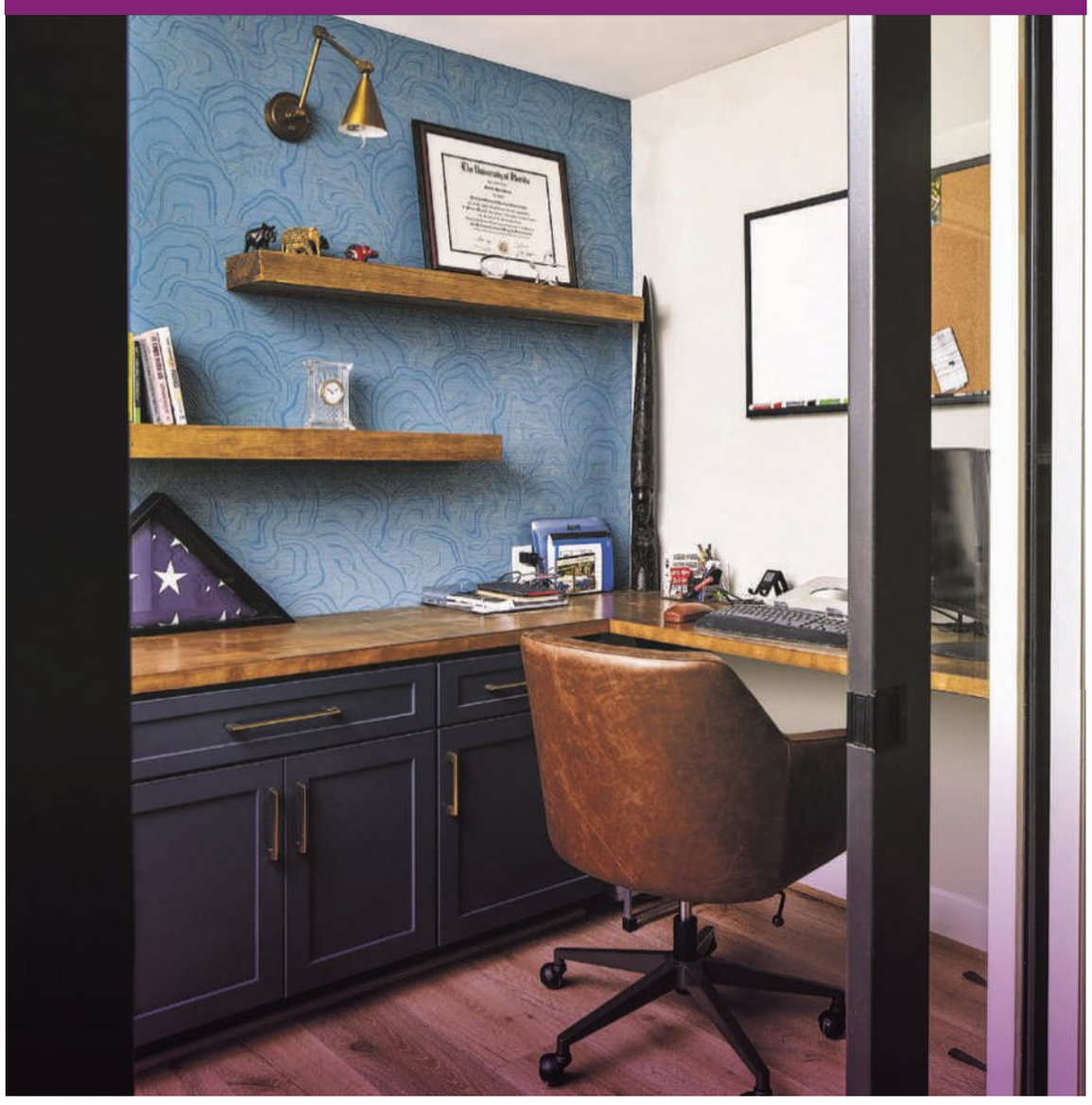




PHOTOS BY KARINA ELWOOD/THE WASHINGTON POST

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Camp Letts in Edgewater, Md., is run by the YMCA of Metropolitan Washington. Water bottles, shoes, towels and markers are spread out on a picnic table while campers participate in activities nearby. Katie Garcia, 13, laughs with her cabin mates during dinner in the dining hall.

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'We deserve this': Anacostia team to play ball in Little League regionals

SOFTBALL FROM **C1**

tion hopes to pave the way for more girls from D.C. to pick up a softball bat and try a sport they may not have considered before. Barnes said he remembers teaching girls how to put on gloves and catch the ball when they first started. In just three years, the organization has nearly tripled in size with almost 60 girls playing softball. In addition to the 12U team, the organization has six softball teams in five divisions, with players ranging from ages 4 to 16.

Tanya Burrwell had a front-row seat of the organization's growth as her daughter, Noelle O'Brien, started playing for the organization five years ago. She knew a space made for Black girls from Wards 7 and 8 to play softball was important to her 12-year-old daughter. Like Barnes, Burrwell beams with pride when she looks at how far the team has come.

"To just see where they started and where they are now and to just recognize their perseverance and their strength and their courage is nothing short of just amazing," Burrwell said. "As parents, [it] just makes you feel really good to see them develop into the players that they are now."

As O'Brien said, "It means a lot to actually know that there's a softball program in our community and being able to play, have fun with my friends and have new opportunities to try out."

At just 12 years old, these girls serve as role models to younger girls in the area as well, said Kevin Barnes, Keith's twin brother. He said the younger girls in the T-ball league have become more interested in softball as a result of watching the team of champions.

"They [the younger girls] look up to the [12U] girls. The girls work with them and practice with them," Kevin Barnes, 52, said.

The team has also received an outpouring of support from the community. In early July, Barnes organized a GoFundMe fundraiser for resources that players will need to compete. To his surprise, the fundraiser met its $20,000 goal within 24 hours of its launch. Even Ted Leonsis, CEO of Monumental Sports & Entertainment, pitched in $2,500, the fundraiser's largest donation.

The girls are now looking ahead to the regional tournament, scheduled for Sunday through Friday, when they'll play teams from Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. The defeat and anguish they felt after losing back-to-back state championships are on the forefront of their minds, Keith Barnes said, and the girls are giving it everything they have to avoid that feeling again.

Devin Barnes, 12, has two main goals ahead of the tournament: bringing home the big victory and perfecting her pitching. "I'm really excited to be able to pitch in the World Series and to hopefully get a win for my team," she said.

One of the things Sasha Wilson is looking forward to most is meeting other talented softball players across the country. "It's a privilege and honor to be able to go up and compete against good teams in D.C. as well as other teams in Connecticut," the 12-year-old left fielder and utility pitcher said.

The girls will play in the fourth game of the tournament on Monday at 1 p.m. against the winner of the second game. If they win the regional championship, they'll make even more history and have a real shot at the Little League World Series championship. The regionals will be broadcast on ESPN Plus.



TANYA BURRWELL

Mamie Johnson's 12-and-under team gathers during its first-ever state championship win on June 22. The girls play their first game of the Little League World Series regionals in Bristol, Conn., on Monday.

Judge orders teen be held by juvenile detention system after fight at hearing

ARREST FROM **C1**

per and pen.

The teen ultimately lashed out minutes after prosecutors played a graphic, minute-long cellphone video clip that showed a group of five girls chasing Brown into a Northwest alley after midnight. The video showed the girls pull Brown down as he tried to climb a chain-link fence to escape. They can be seen stomping his head into the pavement, pulling his pants down around his ankles, removing his belt and beating him with it.

In the courtroom, the 13-year-old began kicking and hitting the deputy marshal as her mother — standing in the audience — pleaded with her to stop. One of her two attorneys with the Georgetown Juvenile Justice Clinic tried to break up the teen and pull her away from the marshal as two other marshals jumped on top of the teen. The marshals then dragged the girl out of the courtroom through a side door to a cellblock. The girl's screams continued to be heard inside the courtroom.

Jones ordered the courtroom cleared. The other teen sat quietly until she too was whisked to a holding area. Six paramedics raced up to the courtroom JM-15 to treat the teen's injuries. The extent of those injuries was unclear Friday, as was whether the teen would incur any additional charges related to the incident.

The teen's mother, standing at her seat in the audience, told the judge that her daughter had a history of "impulsive outbursts" and other mental health challenges and that the teen was seeing a psychiatrist. She said it was the psychiatrist who told her daughter to rip up shreds of paper and to sit on her legs whenever she felt anxious. Her mother said she believed that is why the marshal became irritated with her daughter. Outside the courtroom, she also said her daughter was deaf in one ear and might not have heard the marshal's commands.

> *"I have been begging this city for help for three years. Begging the city, police and no one would help me with them."*
>
> **Mother of the 13-year-old**

In front of the judge, the teen's mom said she had tried to get her daughter help. "I have been begging this city for help for three years. Begging the city, police and no one would help me with them," she said.

In March, police charged two 13-year-old girls and a 12-year-old girl in connection with the beating. The 12-year-old has since turned 13. All three girls — despite efforts by their attorneys at recent hearings in D.C. Superior Court to have them released home to the custody of their parents — have been held in DYRS detention as they await trial.

At an earlier hearing Friday for the three teens, Judge Kendra Briggs said the two girls who were arrested this week will join the other three teens for trial. She set a hearing for all five teens for next Friday. A trial was scheduled for the three teens for late August, but the judge acknowledged Friday that date might be delayed due to the two new arrests.

As he did at two previous hearings in March for the initial three teens, D.C. homicide detective Harry Singleton testified that Brown and his attackers did not know one another when they approached him in the 6200 block of Georgia Avenue NW, knocked him to the ground and beat and kicked him, slamming his head into the concrete pavement.

Singleton said an unidentified, adult male initially attacked Brown and knocked him to the ground. Brown said the 15-year-old who was arrested Thursday approached the man and asked if she and her friends could also beat Brown. The girls then chased him into an alley, the detective said.

Prosecutors say the cellphone video played in court Friday was recorded by one of the girls during the attack. Brown was diagnosed with schizophrenia, one of his sisters said in March at the time of the three initial arrests.

Singleton said several witnesses identified the two teens by their clothes and shoes visible in the recording. Singleton also displayed Instagram messages between the teens, where he alleged they discussed deleting the cellphone video which they had posted on Instagram after the attack.

Prosecutors said someone had saved the video after it was shared on social media and presented it to police.

"What they did was callous. They chased him down and beat this man as he lay on the ground, defenseless. And then celebrated that they had killed him," prosecutor Gabrielle LoGaglio said.

Brown, his family said, had lost six fingers to amputation because of lupus, a disease of the immune system. He also experienced chronic blackouts, the sister said. Once, after losing consciousness, he collapsed to the pavement and injured his skull so badly that a surgeon had to put a metal plate in his head. In recent years, Brown had been diagnosed with cancer, his family said, and he often took long walks at night after hours of chemotherapy. The late-evening walks, they said, helped him to sleep through the night.

Jones ultimately said the girls were "a danger to the community" and ordered them detained with DYRS until their next hearing Friday.

THE DISTRICT

Prosecutors decline to charge officer who fatally shot man in January

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER

Federal prosecutors said Thursday that they would not seek charges against a D.C. police officer who fatally shot a man in a mental health crisis, announcing that a review had found "insufficient evidence" to hold the 31-year police veteran criminally liable in the Jan. 24 killing.

In reaching their decision, prosecutors said they reviewed surveillance and body-camera footage, recordings from an ambulance, witness accounts and police reports of an encounter that began in the pre-dawn dark and ended hours later, en route to the District's Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Northwest Washington.

It was at one of the city's busiest intersections, near North Capitol Street and New York Avenue, that prosecutors said officer Claude Jackson fired at 41-year-old Clifford Brooks. The tense exchange, captured on body-cam footage, came after prosecutors say Brooks attacked a firefighter inside an ambulance, jumped out and darted through traffic and did not respond to attempts to subdue him with pepper spray. Jackson fired after Brooks hid under a truck, then emerged with a metal object raised in his hand, prosecutors said.

First, he told Brooks to "drop it" three times, prosecutors said, as Brooks charged at Jackson with the object in his hand.



EMILY DAVIES/THE WASHINGTON POST

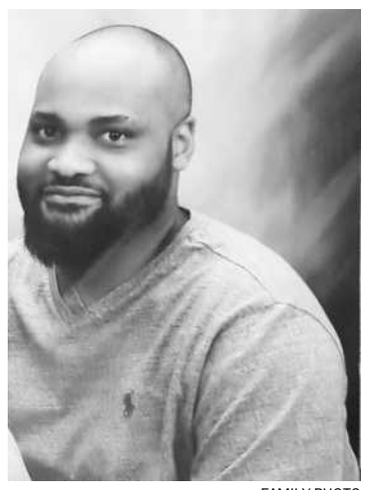
The scene of a Jan. 24 shooting near New York Avenue and North Capitol Street. Prosecutors cited "insufficient evidence" in a decision Thursday not to charge a D.C. officer in a fatal shooting that day.

At the time of the shooting, Brooks's sister, Denise Jefferson, said her brother was depressed. He had been diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder, she said, and was grieving the deaths of his grandfather and aunt, who died within 10 days of each other in January.

In an interview Thursday, Jefferson said she had not heard from prosecutors regarding their decision. "I'm just numb," she said, declining to offer additional comment.

Prosecutors said that Jackson had initially been summoned at around 6:45 a.m. to a 7-Eleven convenience store in Northeast Washington to help Brooks.

According to prosecutors, Jackson, who had been trained in crisis intervention, stayed with Brooks inside the 7-Eleven for about an hour before Brooks ran out the back of the store. After Jackson and the other officers located Brooks, inside a shed behind a nearby house, they called an ambulance to transport Brooks to a hospital for evaluation.



FAMILY PHOTO

Clifford Brooks, 41, served in the Army from 2003 to 2006.

When the ambulance left for Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Northwest Washington, Jackson and other officers followed behind the vehicle.

According to prosecutors' account: Brooks, who was not handcuffed, began attacking a firefighter who was seated in the back of the ambulance with him on the way. When the ambulance stopped, Brooks then pushed the firefighter out of the ambulance and jumped out of the vehicle. Jackson approached Brooks; removed his Oleoresin Capsicum, or OC, spray; and sprayed it at Brooks. Brooks continued to run into oncoming traffic on North Capitol Street.

As Jackson and other officers chased Brooks on foot, prosecutors said Brooks bent down and picked up a metal object off the ground. Prosecutors said an autopsy revealed that Brooks had been shot four times, including a fatal shot to his chest.

What remained unclear Thursday was whether Brooks had agreed to voluntarily be transported to the hospital. If he had, then police would not have restrained him in the ambulance. If he did not consent to treatment, D.C. police protocol would have required that he be restrained, with an officer accompanying him in the ambulance.

D.C. police spokesman Paris Lewbel said Thursday that an internal investigation regarding the restraint protocol remains ongoing.

At the time of the shooting, Brooks's family said that he had served in the Army, based at Fort Huachuca in Arizona, and returned home troubled, telling relatives that close friends had died and that he had encountered a soldier who hung himself. A U.S. Army spokesman said that Brooks had been a signal support systems specialist from 2003 through 2006 and left the service with the rank of private. His awards included the National Defense Service Medal, the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal and the Army Service Ribbon.

Peter Hermann and Monika Mathur contributed to this report.

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The Guide to Offers
The Washington Post
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See details at washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388

New murals adorning 4th Street underpass honor Southwest D.C.'s history

MURALS FROM **C1**

Artist Kaliq Crosby drew inspiration from the photographs of Joseph Owen Curtis, a Southwest native and historian who spent decades capturing the everyday lives of Washingtonians. Crosby pored over hundreds of Curtis's photos at the D.C. Library until one stood out: an image of Edward "Bub Jasper" Turner in his private's uniform at a military drill competition when he served in the D.C. High School Cadet Corps.

Crosby said he included Turner in uniform as a reminder of the sacrifices young Black men have made for the United States. Crosby's mural also portrays the streetcar that used to travel along Fourth Street SW, which Crosby said represents "advancement and maturity for a young man and his journey to new experiences."

A lifelong D.C. resident and graduate of Duke Ellington School of the Arts, Crosby said he wanted his mural to introduce passersby to an untold aspect of the city's history.

"It's the perfect way to engage people and give them some sense of culture and history and what the city is all about," Crosby said.

While Crosby chose to highlight the accomplishments of specific D.C. natives, other artists like Rose Jaffe used abstract figures to convey their messages.



PHOTOS BY EMMA UBER/THE WASHINGTON POST

Sami Seezox, left, and Chelsea Henery in front of a mural they painted to honor Southwest Washington architecture after the ribbon-cutting on the exhibit on Thursday.

Jaffe's mural, "Peak Bloom," shows large human figures reaching out to one another amid a natural landscape. For Jaffe, the mural's bold colors of blue, red and green evoke joy even in the dimly lit tunnel. The figures overlap, much like how living in a city as populated as D.C. intertwines residents' lives in ways they might not even realize, Jaffe said.

"These figures, to me, are a representation to me of the larger collective of community," Jaffe said. "They're not anybody specific, they're not any gender or race, so I'm hoping that anybody that comes by would be able to see themselves as part of this dynamic."

Chelsea Henery and Sami Seezox painted bright pink snails sliding along flower stems with buildings on their shells for the project.



Kaliq Crosby in front of the mural he painted in honor of Southwest historian and photographer Joseph Owen Curtis.

The duo — known as Ham & Cheese Studio — called the buildings "a love letter" to Southwest's beautiful architecture. They chose hellebore flowers to symbolize duality and the bittersweet nature of development.

"We know that growth and progress can bring upheaval and disruption; nevertheless, flowers still bloom," the pair wrote in their artist statement explaining the mural. "The imagery holds these truths in a way that honors the past, present and future of Southwest DC."

Public art, the pair said, is public not only in the final product but also in progress. They both described community members approaching them as they painted to offer water, food or compliments. Whether it be their mural or the 10 others, Henery said she hopes the art adds joy to residents' everyday commute.

"I want people to feel cared for," Henery said. "Like someone paid attention to the fact that they have to pass by here every day."

Temperature benchmarks for 2024 top nearly every list as summer drags on

HEAT FROM **C1**

in any year on record — with weeks of summer remaining.

The District has posted six record warm lows since May, including four during July so far.

The escalation in the frequency of warm, humid nights is a symptom of human-caused climate change, driven by both urbanization and increasing concentrations of greenhouse gases.

Taking the highs and lows together

Taking an average of the high and low temperatures so far this summer to compute an average, it becomes clear how exceptional this summer's heat has been.

There have been 11 days with an average daily temperature of at least 88 degrees, more than in any full year on record.

The 11 days include the five when the highs reached at least 100 degrees and the seven with lows at or above 80.

What comes next?

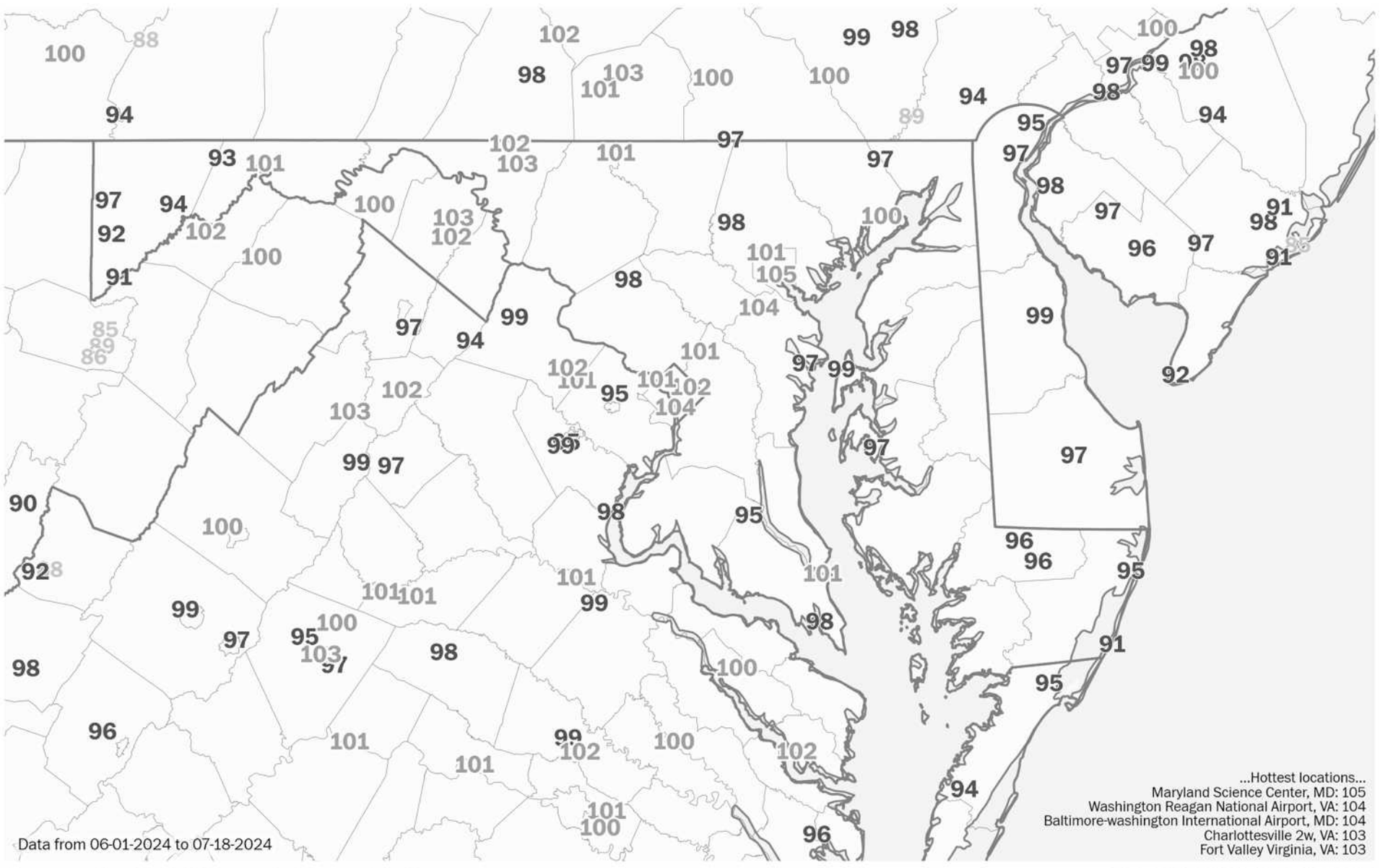
Through Saturday, the D.C. area should continue its pause from extreme heat, with high temperatures below 90 degrees. But predicted highs are forecast to be near or above 90 from Sunday onward.

By the end of July and into August, it's possible that another round of rather intense heat returns.

If you dislike heat, some good news is that D.C.'s normal high drops from 90 to 89 on July 28. That said, historically intense heat waves remain possible through a good part of August. In 2016, for example, there were three days at or above 100 in the middle of the month.

The National Weather Service's August temperature outlook — released Thursday — projects a high likelihood of above-average temperatures.

Jason Samenow contributed to this report.



IAN LIVINGSTON

The D.C. region has racked up 29 days at or above 90, 10 more than normal, during its record-breaking summer. Nighttime temperatures have also been abnormally warm.

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OBITUARIES

NGUYEN PHU TRONG, 80

Powerful Vietnamese leader targeted corruption, dissent

BY BRIAN MURPHY



HOANG DINH NAM/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Nguyen Phu Trong is seen at a Vietnam Communist Party meeting in 2011, the year he became the party's general secretary. Mr. Trong was known for his iron fist at home and for a "bamboo diplomacy" that promoted ties with China, the United States, India and Russia.

Nguyen Phu Trong, a longtime ideologue in Vietnam's Communist Party who rose to power in 2011 and later cemented control in the one-party state with purges against corruption, and political crackdowns that jailed journalists and activists, died July 19 at a hospital in Hanoi. He was 80.

The death was confirmed in an official statement carried by state media. On July 18, Mr. Trong stepped back from his powerful position as general secretary of the Communist Party, citing poor health. Vietnam's president, To Lam, took over in a caretaker role.

On the world stage, Mr. Trong was seen as an artful practitioner of Vietnam's "bamboo diplomacy" — called so for bending in different directions — as the country navigated ties with its most important economic partners, China and the United States, while also building bonds with nations such as India and Russia.

His hold within Vietnam was less finessed. His anti-corruption drive attempted to burnish public trust in the Communist Party and its stewardship of Vietnam's economy, one of the most dynamic in the region, with sectors that include a growing start-up culture.

At the same time, Mr. Trong tightened the state's grip on other freedoms. He oversaw hard-line Communist Party directives aimed at the media, civil society groups and internal political challenges.

In May, police arrested Nguyen Van Binh, an official in the Labor Ministry who had advocated for independent trade unions. He was charged with disclosing state secrets during talks with U.N. envoys, but many rights activists interpreted the prosecution as punishment for his reformist views.

Since the Vietnam War era, the country's political leadership (then North Vietnam) developed as a collective system among the Communist Party general secretary, the president, prime minister and the top-ranking member of the National Assembly. Mr. Trong asserted his influence in ways rarely seen.

He was elected as the party's general secretary in 2011 and reelected five years later. After the death of President Tran Dai Quang in 2018, Mr. Trong took on the presidency as well — making him head of the party and state. Only a few others, including North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh, held both titles at once.

In 2021, Mr. Trong left the presidency but was reelected by the party as general secretary for a third term, the first leader in more than three decades to serve more than two terms. After the vote by party members, the 76-year-old Mr. Trong said he was "not in great health" and preferred to rest but would honor the decision to have him remain party head.

When Mr. Trong hosted President Biden in Hanoi last September, the White House carefully calibrated its talks. Both nations value their economic links — the United States is Vietnam's top export market — and U.S. policymakers regard Vietnam as an important regional buffer against Chinese power in Southeast Asia.

Amid the outreach, however, Biden called attention to Mr. Trong's strongman style. "I also raised the importance of respect for human rights as a priority for both my administration and the American people," Biden told journalists. "And we'll continue … our candid dialogue on that regard."

Human rights advocates and others have been more outspoken. Project 88, a watchdog group that monitors Vietnam, portrayed Mr. Trong as presiding over a "police state [that] has imprisoned scores of human rights activists and dissenters, while shutting down the only independent journalists' association" in a country of nearly 100 million people.

Project 88 estimated nearly 200 people had been jailed for political reasons under Mr. Trong's rule, including environmental activists, journalists and trade unionists. Mr. Trong's one-party state also successfully pressured tech companies such as Meta to scrub criticism of party leaders from its platforms.

Still, for many in Vietnam, Mr. Trong's gains in foreign policy and the anti-corruption campaigns are viewed with favor as the centerpieces of his legacy, said Khang Vu, a scholar of Vietnamese affairs at Boston College.

"You cannot deny that there were political motivations behind some of the corruption cases as a way to keep the party in line and Trong in control," he said in an interview. "Yet it's also clear that many officials and businesspeople act with far more caution now, knowing that there can be consequences."

The corruption-hunting began after Mr. Trong started his second term as party leader in 2016. Within four years, more than 100 Communist Party members, including some top Politburo figures, had been disciplined or criminally charged on counts of graft, illegal business deals and other misdeeds.

In a speech, Mr. Trong compared the purges to a "burning furnace," which was adopted as the name of the anti-corruption drive. Probes touched military officers, banking magnates and highly placed political figures.

The information minister, Truong Minh Tuan, was fired in 2018 and sentenced to 14 years in prison for behind-the-scenes dealmaking in the purchase of a television station. His predecessor, Nguyen Bac Son, received a life sentence in 2019 for receiving an estimated $3 million in kickbacks.

One case reached as high as the president's office.

Top deputies of President Nguyen Xuan Phuc were placed under criminal investigation for alleged power abuse during the pandemic, including claims they took bribes for seats aboard chartered flights to repatriate Vietnamese citizens stranded abroad during lockdowns.

Phuc was ordered by the Communist Party to resign in January 2023 and was replaced by Mr. Trong's ally, Vo Van Thuong. Thuong resigned a year later following a terse Communist Party statement saying he "had shortcomings which affected public opinion and the reputation of the party, state and himself."

In another inquest backed by Mr. Trong, the chief executive of a health-care company, Viet A, acknowledged bribing officials for contracts to sell substandard coronavirus test kits to hospitals. The scandal led to the arrests in June 2022 of the health minister and a former government minister of science and technology.

Zachary Abuza, a professor at the National War College in Washington, described the corruption-fighting as a way for Mr. Trong to consolidate power and quash other centers of influences.

"This is bare knuckled politics, as elites seek to consolidate their wealth and power," Abuza wrote in a commentary for Radio Free Asia. "The days of collective leadership are gone."

'Peasant' upbringing

Nguyen Phu Trong was born in a rural district outside Hanoi on April 14, 1944. His official state biography described his early years as those of a "poor peasant."

In 1967, he received a degree in linguistics from Vietnam National University in Hanoi and then applied for membership in the Communist Party. He was accepted into the party in 1968 as the Vietnam War was escalating.

He served in various roles involving enforcement and interpretation of Communist Party doctrine over the next three decades, including editor of a top party mouthpiece, the Communist Review, from 1991 to 1996. Earlier, he had been sent to study in Moscow, receiving a doctorate in history from the Academy of Sciences in 1983.

He was groomed for leadership after becoming part of the Politburo in 1997 and served as chairman of the National Assembly from 2006 to 2011.

Soon after being named party general secretary, he made a visit to China that included talks with President Hu Jintao. Mr. Trong attempted to avoid friction with Beijing while also noting his efforts to strengthen ties with the United States. Mr. Trong urged dialogue over the South China Sea, which Beijing claims as its territory but is seen by Washington as part of China's efforts to expand its military reach in the region.

Then, in the span of four months in 2015, Mr. Trong made officials visits to China and the United States, where he met with President Barack Obama in talks that included greater economic cooperation.

Mr. Trong struck a tone of realpolitik in an address to the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, saying he recognized the interpretations of political freedoms and expression differed between the two countries. "But we should not let human rights issues hinder the relationship between the two countries," he said.

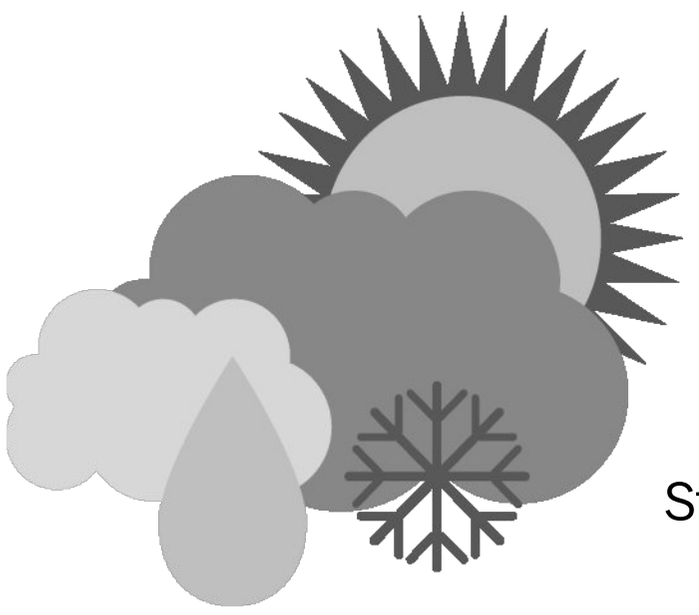
In a further diplomatic straddle between East and West, Mr. Trong hosted Russian President Vladimir Putin in June in a show of Vietnam's efforts to strike a neutral position on the war in Ukraine.

Mr. Trong was married to Ngo Thi Man, and they had two children. Complete information on survivors was not immediately available.

Nguyen Thanh Giang, a Vietnamese analyst at the Singapore-based ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute think tank, said Mr. Trong's zeal to fight corruption also forced a hard look at Vietnam under one-party rule.

The campaign "was meant to repair the system," Giang said, "but in fact has exposed the cancer of corruption and political decay of the regime."

Rebecca Tan contributed to this report.



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IN MEMORIAM

MORRIS

CHARLES H. MORRIS "Chuck"
May 26, 1943 - July 21, 1992
"If ever two were one, then surely we.
If ever man were loved by wife,
then thee."
You are my first and last thought
of every day.
I will always love you, Greta

SIMPSON

DELOIS A. SIMPSON
December 21, 1925 – July 20, 2023
Has it been one year? One year without the feel of your caring presence, unconditional love, gentle strength, faith-filled wisdom, and constant prayers. Thank you for being a constant light in our lives. Without you we wouldn't stand as tall, walk as proud, and feel as blessed as we do today. Your life was a blessing and your memory a treasure.
Your loving children,
Cynthia, Joyce, James Jr., Gail, and John, grandchildren, great grandchildren, and great-great grandchildren.

DEATH NOTICE

BARNEY

CAROL BOMSTAD BARNEY
Carol Bomstad Barney passed away on July 9, 2024. She was born on March 29, 1942 to Roland and Jane Bomstad in Minnesota. Her career included time as an airline stewardess for American Airlines and working for NASA during the Gemini and Apollo space missions. She lived in Gaithersburg, MD, Vienna VA, and Florida before moving to Severna Park, MD. She enjoyed jazz dance and playing sudoku. She is survived by her sons, Bruce Barney and Glen Barney; her brother Roland G. Bomstad (Susan Beickel), and three grandchildren. Family and friends may visit on Wednesday July 24 from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. at Barranco Funeral Home, 495 Ritchie Hwy Severna Park MD, 21146. Online condolences may be made at:
www.barrancofuneralhome.com

BURSLEY

GEORGE HERBERT PATRICK BURSLEY
"Pat" (Age 99)
On Sunday June 23, 2024. He is survived by his son Kevin Herbert Bursley (Gregory John Burchard); his brother John Robert Bursley; and numerous nieces and cousins. He was predeceased by his wife Claire Mulvany Bursley (1928-2009) and his daughter Kathleen Anne Bursley (1954-2016).

There will be a Mass of Christian Burial at Church of the Resurrection at Riderwood Village, 3110 Gracefield Road, Silver Spring MD 20904 on Monday, July 22 at 10 a.m.

In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to the Riderwood Village Benevolent Care Fund, 3110 Gracefield Rd., Silver Spring, MD 20904.

DEVEREAUX

JAMES A. DEVEREAUX
With deep sadness we announce the death of James A Devereaux. He passed away peacefully on July 18, 2024, at the age of 92. He is survived by his wife Mary of 69 years; his brother Jack (Diana), 10 children: Mary (Patrick), Joan (Mark), James (Colleen), Anne (John), Patty (John), Sharon (Joe), Karen (John), Amy (Jeff), Maggie (Tim), Dan, 34 grandchildren, 16 great grandsons and one great granddaughter on the way. He was preceded in death by his parents John and Rose; his sisters Joan and Jean (Howard). He was a graduate of the 1955 class of USMA, West Point and earned Airborne Wings and Ranger Tab. At IBM, he led a team developing the first multi-processor software operating system. As a hobby, he wrote a column for the Frederick News Post. He was man of faith and was actively involved in the Catholic Church. He loved and was deeply devoted to his wife and family. Love you forever! "Acts 2: 42". A visitation will be held on Wednesday, July 24, 2024 at DeVol Funeral Home, 10 East Deer Park Drive, Gaithersburg, MD from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. Another visitation will be held on Thursday, July 25, 2024 at 10 a.m. at St. John Neumann Catholic Church, 9000 Warfield Rd., Gaithersburg, MD followed by a Mass of Christian Burial at 11 a.m. Followed by interment at All Souls Cemetery. Please sign the guest book at:
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(PER DAY)

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5" - $725

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2" - $405 (text only)
3" - $580
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5" - $790

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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

FITZGERALD



JOAN MARILYN (RYAN) FITZGERALD
(Age 86)

Of Locust Grove, VA, passed peacefully July 16, 2024. Daughter of the late Leo F. and Irene A. Ryan; sister of James; mother of Timothy (Stephanie), Maureen (Robert), Michael (Lorna), and Kerry (David); loving grandmother of six; and great-grandmother of two. Rosary at 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, July 24, at St. James Catholic Church, Falls Church, VA, followed by funeral mass at 10 a.m. Burial to follow at Fairfax Memorial Park. In lieu of flowers, donations to Catholic Charities, the Alzheimer's Association, and Susan G. Komen Breast Cancer Foundation appreciated.

MUSE

MICHAEL DUFF MUSE

Michael Duff Muse passed away on July 15, 2024 at his home in McLean, Virginia. He was preceded in death by his parents, Kindred Henry Muse and Ruth Alder Muse. He is survived by his sister, Michelle Muse Condon, his nephew Jackson Henry Condon (wife Kelsey) and his great nephew and nieces, Walter, Merrill and Eliza Condon. Memorial gifts may be made to Water.org or to your favorite charity. Services are to be private.

JOSEPH GAWLER'S SONS, LLC
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DEATH NOTICE

FITCH



BEATRICE FITCH

Beatrice Fitch, nee Bry, was born March 24, 1928, in Breslau, Germany. When she was 10 years old, she and her family moved to Santiago, Chile where the four of them started a whole new life. She was a master of that, as it turned out: marrying Jack Fitch in Paris, moving to San Francisco, CA, then to Long Island, NY and New Jersey, leaving dear friends to go with her own family, now five all together, to Bogota, Colombia, then Sao Paulo, Brazil, returning to the U.S. and spending nine years in Boxford, MA. After that came a stint in Dallas, TX with a return to the East Coast after her divorce, spending the remainder of her life in Alexandria, VA and Bethesda, MD, where she died June 16, 2024.

She leaves her three children, Leslie Fitch Beatty (husband Rob), Jacqueline Fitch (husband Tad Keegan), and Ian Marshall Fitch (wife Susan Scott). Her grandchildren, Sarah Beatty Snyder (husband David), Robert Andrew Beatty (wife Laine), Catherine Beatty (partner Grant Rauscher), Kylie Sophia Fitch, and Marshall Connor Fitch, also survive her. She was lucky to also count Adeleine Brooks Beatty and Andrew Walker Beatty, along with Emilia Grace Snyder, as her great-grandchildren. Her brother Michael Bry also survives her.

Our mother was a walking rolodex (for those old enough to understand that term): she never forgot friends' names, their birthdays, and their families. She drew connections between friends from across the world, literally, making for unique trans-oceanic relationships. And her interest and deep reading of world affairs allowed for many good discussions among her friends, especially those made through her involvement at THIS in Washington, DC.

A memorial service will be held at the Bethesda Marriott on August 10, 2024. In lieu of flowers, please feel free to make a donation to a charity of your choice.

GILLIS



MARGARET GILLIS

Margaret Gillis, 84, passed away unexpectedly on July 18, 2024. She was born on February 16, 1940 in Coldwater, Ohio, to Ivo and Leona Westgerdes. In 1960, she married Paul, her husband of 62 years. She is survived by her five children Patty Cousins (Bill Dempster); John Gillis (Katie); Susie Hodges (Wiley), Mary Lynn Clark (Matt), and Chris Gillis (Lynsay), 11 grandchildren, Grace, Will, Patrick Cousins, Calvin and Amelia Hodges, Laura, Ellie, and Gabe Clark, and Cameron, Brooke, and Emily Gillis; and her three siblings, Jerry Westgerdes (Marilyn), Ralph Westgerdes (Cathy) and Rosie Lochtefeld (Bob). She was predeceased by her husband, Paul, who died on November 30, 2022. A celebration of Marge's life will be held at St. John the Evangelist Church, 10103 Georgia Ave., Silver Spring, MD 20902, on Monday, July 29, 2024 with Viewing at 10:30 a.m. and Funeral Mass at 11:30 a.m. Internment will follow at Gate of Heaven Cemetery, 13801 Georgia Avenue, Silver Spring, MD 20906. In lieu of flowers, memorial donations can be made to: Little Sisters of the Poor, www.liitlesistersofthepoorwashingtondc.org. For full obituary and to view and sign the family guest book, please visit:

www.colefuneral.com

LODEWICK



BETTY WRAY LODEWICK

Betty Wray Lodewick of Alexandria, Virginia passed away peacefully at home on July 13, 2024.

Growing up in Louisville, KY, she found herself "sleeping" with future husband Larry at the ripe age of 10 days; as the two families were close neighborhood friends. Betty graduated Valedictorian from New Albany High School in 1948, then attended Indiana University as a sister of Kappa Alpha Theta and 1949 Arbutus Queen.

On June 17, 1950, Betty married Larry in Louisville, Kentucky, a mere 15 days after his graduation from West Point. With their honeymoon interrupted by the outbreak of the Korean War, the Army sent the new 2nd Lieutenant and his bride to a castle in Germany where they welcomed daughter Valerie in 1951.

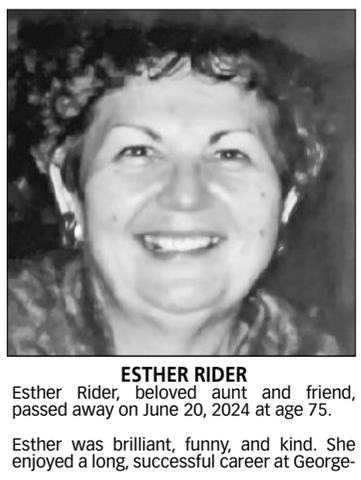
After assignments at Fort Bragg and Fort Knox, Betty began a 50+ year career as a professional model and television commercial actress. While Larry was in Vietnam, Betty began a second career as a realtor in Northern Virginia and Florida, where the couple shared a home on Singer Island for 38 years. At Sugar Sands, Betty was happiest modeling, teaching exercise classes and organizing social events for her many friends.

Later in life Betty's greatest joy was being grandmother to Robert and BJ, spending summers traveling up and down the east coast in the family van. She and Larry also joined many friends from West Point's Class of 1950 for yearly reunions across the country.

Her long and happy life is celebrated by her family; including daughter Valerie Lloyd (Robert); grandsons LTC Robert Lodewick and Robert Lloyd, Jr (Morgan); and great-grandchildren Mackenzie and Thomas Lodewick, as well as her devoted caregivers.

A private family burial at Arlington National Cemetery will occur at a later date. In lieu of flowers, donations can be made in Betty's name to Shriners Hospitals for Children.

RIDER



ESTHER RIDER

Esther Rider, beloved aunt and friend, passed away on June 20, 2024 at age 75.

Esther was brilliant, funny, and kind. She enjoyed a long, successful career at Georgetown University as a professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and later as an Associate Dean in the School of Continuing Studies.

Esther loved a good conversation. She loved to read, travel, and most of all to share quality time with loved ones. She was a strong, unique person who brought joy, laughter, and hope to everyone around her. She will be missed by us all every day.

Esther did not wish to have a funeral service, so no formal services have been planned. Instead, she wanted those who knew and loved her to take time to remember her. In lieu of flowers, donations can be made to the Lymphoma Society or the American Institute of Cancer Research, both of which are charities that were meaningful to her.

Esther was predeceased by her sister, Danya Anka, and her parents, Max and Alla Rider. She is survived by her family Allegra Anka, Mary Ferrigno, and Cami Anka, her close companion Bob Andraka, and many dear and devoted friends.

DEATH NOTICE

ECHAVE



JOHN AUGUSTINE ECHAVE
May 5, 1946 – June 12, 2024

He was a talented and compassionate man with a powerful presence that filled a room. That is why it's difficult to accept that on June 12, 2024, the world lost a remarkable person, John Augustine Echave, who succumbed to idiopathic pulmonary fibrosis.

Born in Havana, Cuba, John came alone to the United States to avoid being sent to the Soviet Union for socialist reeducation. At 15 years old, he found himself a refugee who didn't speak a word of English.

Most think of John as a photojournalist and photo editor, but he started in broadcast journalism at WTHI-TV and WISU Radio in Terre Haute, Indiana, where he interviewed Louis Armstrong, Johnny Carson, Abbie Hoffman, Dionne Warwick, and many other influencers of their time. In 1970, he went to Columbia University as a CBS News Fellow. There, Margaret Mead's anthropology class left a lasting impression. Following Columbia, he opened his own photo agency: Echave & Associates.

Rather than business, however, John's true passion was journalism. In 1979, he took a position as a photo editor for the Associated Press. In 1982, he became the foreign picture editor for US News & World Report. There, he worked tirelessly to get ahead of the better-funded Time and Newsweek, even purchasing a seat on the Concorde supersonic airplane for his film to travel from Europe so he could have the images before his competitors. Then, in 1988, he became an illustrations editor for National Geographic magazine, where he was later promoted to senior editor.

On assignment for National Geographic in 1990, John returned to Cuba for the first time in nearly 30 years. In writing about his return, he lamented how "nothing had changed, yet everything had changed." Though it was very difficult for him, he continued to travel to Cuba—completing seven National Geographic stories about the island nation over more than a decade.

While producing an article on Mexico, John realized there were so many profound images that he convinced a skeptical editor in chief to publish an entire magazine on the country. Within a few days of publication, not a copy could be found.

John was dedicated to passing on his vision of photography as its own language, more soulful and with greater impact than the spoken or written word. He excelled at mentoring and developing photographic talent. For more than two decades, he was a professor of photojournalism at The George Washington University in Washington, DC, and taught workshops from Finland to the Philippines. He supported the careers of many budding as well as established photojournalists. He would say that he had the pleasure of working in "the Major Leagues," musing about his relationships with the Jackie Robinsons, Lou Gehrigs, and Babe Ruths of photography. Many already had successful careers, and John helped them perfect their art. They include such renowned photojournalists as Kate Brooks, Anna Clopet, Karen Kasmauski, Tim Laman, Jesus Eduardo Lopez, Steve McCurry, Matt Moyer, Norbert Rosing, Joel Sartori, Anup Shah, and Maggie Steber. Upon hearing of John's passing, a colleague remarked: "Some people change lives for the best. John was one of those people." Longtime friend Maggie Steber remembered John this way: "What he gave us went beyond the photograph. He taught us to be better people, not just better photographers. He made us better human beings in many ways. He taught us how to care about the people we photographed. That was the great gift that John gave us."

During his tenure at National Geographic, John published 217 articles, including 37 cover stories. One editor in chief wrote that John was "the most productive editor ever in the history of the magazine." He shared numerous National Magazine (Ellie) Awards with other magazine staff. His career was filled with multiple honors, including repeated awards in every editing category of the Picture of the Year Award from the National Press Photographers Association.

Following his departure from National Geographic in 2008, John started a company with sons Christopher and Matthew to produce independent documentary films. They worked together in Iceland, Mexico, and the United States. Titles such as Iceland's Mastro Geppetto, Nací Cirquero, Grandma Is HIV-Positive, Rímur: Iceland's Epic Poems, and A Grassroots Movement have been screened at international film festivals. Working closely with his sons was John's most cherished achievement.

John was a true Renaissance man, a Hemingway scholar who also had a special connection with elephants. During production of the May 1991 National Geographic cover story "Elephants: Out of Time, Out of Space," the editor in chief called John "the Jesus Christ of elephants." John was a volunteer docent at the National Zoo and worked closely with the elephants. Even after life became so busy that he had to quit his hobby, he continued to visit Asian elephants Ambika and Shanthi, with whom he had bonded. They would eagerly run to greet him when he raised his hand and called. On several occasions, he took his grandson to visit the elephants. Ambika and Shanthi always ran to them, lifting their trunks and smelling their scent in greeting. He grieved their loss when they died within four months of each other in 2020.

Beyond his gift as an elephant whisperer, John was also a polyglot. He loved languages and spoke Spanish, French, and English flawlessly. He loved to dance with abandon. "Cubans learn to dance before they learn to walk!" he frequently said. He loved life and lived it to its fullest through dance, music, travel, literature, art, photography, and his family.

Wanting to impart his love of the world and its people to his sons, John spent his summers traveling with them. Together they explored Alaska, the American Southwest, Canada, Cuba, Iceland, Mexico, and many other places. During one particularly memorable trip, the trio walked for an hour through the Mexican jungle in search of an archaeological site that a National Geographic researcher had suggested John show the boys because it was still densely covered. The directions were a bit garbled, and it was 100 degrees (and surely 100 percent humidity), but in John's inimitable fashion they persevered to finally find several extraordinary Mayan pyramids. Chris and Matt referred to that day with tongue-in-cheek fondness as "the Yucatán Death March," and so it became known in family folklore.

John met his soulmate, Anna Kerttula de Echave, in Alaska, and after a decade together, they married in 2003. She survives him, much to her great sadness. He is also survived by his son Christopher Echave and daughter-in-law Emily Echave of Maryland; his son Matthew Echave and partner Darrah Wills of Washington, DC; his brother Vincent Echave and sister-in-law Cho Thanda Echave of Montreal, Québec, Canada; his nephew Pablo Echave of Sherbrooke, Québec, Canada, and niece Vanessa Echave of Geneva, Switzerland; his godson and cousin Gonzalo Sanchez of New York City; his cousins Silvia Maria Sanchez Kaminsky and Miriam Sanchez Fromenta of Miami, Florida; and his cousin Vivian Sanchez of Englishtown, New Jersey. Deeply important to him were the grandchildren he left behind: Joseph Maxwell Echave and Megan Laurel Echave.

John Echave's talent and vision were pivotal in shaping photojournalism in the 20th and into the 21st century. He was adored by many, feared by a few, and gave 100 percent of himself to his profession and his real passion: his family. Having lost his native home as a teenager, he made a home wherever he was—a man of the world and for the world. His family, friends, and admirers offer these words of love: "Bless you, John! You are not gone. You are eternally with us. We are your legacy!"

John's family and closest friends will gather for a memorial service in his honor at a future date. The family appreciates your respect of their privacy. In lieu of flowers or donations, Anna asks that you follow the example of this sensitive and kind man:

"Hold your loved ones close, remind them how beautiful they are,
and tell them how much you love them—every day.
John would have liked that!"

Photograph by José Azel

BELFORD



PHYLLIS HENESON BELFORD

Phyllis Heneson Belford, of Washington, DC, passed away on Thursday, July 18, 2024, at 84. She is survived by her loving brother, Howard (Bonnie) Heneson; dear nieces, Rabbi Susie Heneson Moskowitz (Rabbi Steven Moskowitz) and Sandee Walker; and cherished great-nieces and nephews, Shira Moskowitz, Ari Moskowitz, Ryan Walker, Delaney Walker, and Remy Walker. Phyllis was predeceased by her beloved husband, Stanley Belford; and devoted parents, Rae and Jack Heneson.

Born in Baltimore, MD, Phyllis graduated from Forest Park High School class of 1958 and the University of Maryland College Park, where she was a member of Phi Sigma Sigma. She loved people, always had a smile for them, and was truly interested in how they were doing. She had a varied career including teaching, working for many years for Health and Human Services, and in later years, had her own business, Time Stretchers. She had many good friends in Northwest Village, Washington Hebrew Congregation, IONA, and in her building, Parker House. Phyllis truly enriched the lives of all who knew her.

Services at Sol Levinson's Chapel, 8900 Reisterstown Road, Pikesville, MD 21208, on Monday, July 22, 2024, at 12 p.m. Interment to follow at Baltimore Hebrew Berrymans Lane Cemetery. Please omit flowers. Contributions in her memory may be sent to The Stanley and Phyllis Belford Memorial Fund at Central Scholarship at 6 Park Center Court, Ste 211, Owings Mills, MD 21117. Please visit the Levinson website for the service livestream link and for shiva details.

www.sollevinson.com

Sol Levinson SINCE 1892

DADDIO

WILLIAM F. DADDIO

7/23/1944 - 7/13/2024

William F. Daddio was born to Frank and Rose (Verna) Daddio at Mitchell AFB New York on July 23, 1944. Upon graduation from St. Benedict's Preparatory School in Newark, New Jersey, Bill received his bachelor's degree from the University of Notre Dame. He then served as a commissioned officer in the U.S. Air Force Security Forces during the Vietnam War, where he was awarded the Bronze Star Medal. After his military service, he returned to Notre Dame and earned an M.A. and Ph.D. in Sociology and Anthropology.

Bill was retired from the U.S. Mint, Department of the Treasury, where he served as the Associate Director for Protection/Chief, U.S. Mint Police. He directed all security and law enforcement programs for U.S. Mint facilities nationwide, including the U.S. Bullion Depository at Fort Knox. In that capacity, he provided security advice and performed high-value asset security services for foreign governments and other U.S. Government agencies. Before joining the U.S. Mint, Bill served as a deputy U.S. Marshal at the Department of Justice, where he directed the executive protection programs for the Department and was the Attorney General's senior protection officer.

As an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University for more than 35 years, Bill taught a wide variety of courses in the Sociology Department, Security Studies Program, and the Department of Microbiology and Immunology at Georgetown Medical School.

Bill is survived by his loving family and friends. He was an inspiration to thousands of students, colleagues, and those fortunate enough to have crossed his path. Bill always took time to listen, share a story, or work on his antique cars, and he will be missed.

Memorial services will be announced at a later time. Condolences may be given at

www.altmeyerfh.com

MAVROUKAKIS

JOHN MAVROUKAKIS

John Alexander Mavroukakis, born on September 9, 1937, in Athens, Greece, passed away peacefully on June 27, 2024. He was surrounded by his loving family. He was the beloved son of the late Alexander and Eleni Mavroukakis.

John is survived by his loving wife, Sharon Ann Mavroukakis; his stepdaughter Regina Bray-Brown (Aaron) and their two children Corbin and Lillian; his first wife Maryvonne and their two children, Eleni Jernell (Andrew) and Alexander Mavroukakis (Melissa); and his grandchildren: Alexandra Jernell, John Jernell, Sophia Mavroukakis, and Zoe Mavroukakis. He is also survived by his sister Maria Papaspyrou; nephew John Papaspyrou; and niece Irena Papaspyrou. He was preceded in death by several close relatives.

John often reminisced about his childhood, particularly the challenging and formative years during and after World War II. Despite the hardships, his passion for learning shone through; while other children might have spent their money on shoes, young John would return home with books, much to his mother's surprise. John moved to the United States in 1957 after completing high school in Greece, served in the U.S. Army from 1959 to 1967, and became a naturalized citizen in 1963.

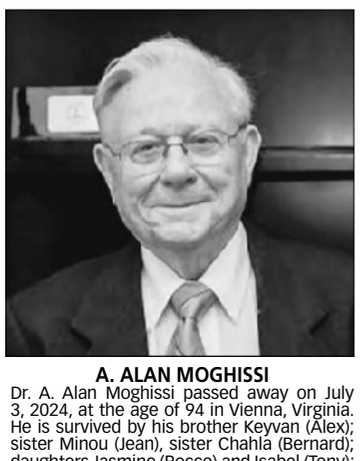
John became the first in his family to attend college, graduating with a Bachelor of Science from the University of Maryland- College Park in 1969 and a Master's of Science in Government and Business Administration from George Washington University in 1972. Fluent in multiple languages, he excelled academically and professionally. John served as a career Civil Servant, working over 35 years as a distinguished Contracting Professional at the US Naval Air Systems Command (NAVAIR). His superior work ethic and exceptional negotiation skills earned him numerous awards and promotions. He was also a dedicated mentor and coach, leaving a lasting impact on many of his colleagues.

Most importantly, John was a devoted father who prioritized his children above all else, mastering the art of single parenthood and becoming a skilled cook along the way. Upon retirement, he cherished spending extended periods in Greece, reconnecting with his roots.

Services will be held on July 27, 2024 at 11:30 a.m. at Saint George Greek Orthodox Church in Bethesda, Maryland, with subsequent internment at the Gate of Heaven Cemetery, Silver Spring, Maryland. In lieu of flowers, the family requests that donations in John's name be made to a charity or organization of your choice, reflecting his generous and compassionate spirit.

John's legacy of love, dedication, and intellect will live on in the hearts of all who knew him. May his memory be eternal.

MOGHISSI



A. ALAN MOGHISSI

Dr. A. Alan Moghissi passed away on July 3, 2024, at the age of 94 in Vienna, Virginia. He is survived by his brother Keyvan (Alex); sister Minou (Jean), sister Chahla (Bernard); daughters Jasmine (Rocco) and Isabel (Tony); seven grandchildren (Dominic, Savannah, Elise, Christian, Karl, Maria, Alan); and one great-granddaughter (Erika). Alan was preceded in death by his wife Barbara in 2021 and his son Oliver (Lisa) in 2018.

Born in Iran on September 29,1929, he moved to Zurich, Switzerland to begin his university studies, and then to Karlsruhe, Germany, to complete his Ph.D. in Chemistry. He immigrated with his family to the United States in 1963 to pursue a career in environmental science and regulatory policy.

His career spanned several decades, beginning with his work at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, where he served in various capacities, including as Principal Science Advisor for Radiation and Hazardous Materials. He later founded the Institute for Regulatory Science in 1985, focusing on the application of "Best Available Science" in regulatory decisions. He also held academic positions at the Georgia Institute of Technology, University of Maryland, Baltimore, and Temple University, and more recently, he was an adjunct professor in the School of Medicine at Georgetown University. He authored over 400 papers and several books, contributing extensively to the fields of environmental health and safety.

Family gatherings with children and grandchildren were a cherished part of his personal life, especially when all would bring their musical instruments and play together. His favorite composer was Beethoven, and he always said that listening to it healed his soul. He also loved cooking his special dishes (" __ à la Moghissi") and receiving groans in response to his corny jokes.

He will be buried in Mosbach, Germany, alongside his wife, in a private ceremony.

DEATH NOTICE

ROSS

GUY ALAN ROSS

Guy Alan Ross died on Monday, July 15, 2024 at his home in Olde Towne Portsmouth, Virginia. Born in Norfolk, Virginia on May 6, 1951 and raised in Portsmouth, Guy earned a B.A. from the University of Richmond and an M.A. from Georgetown University. Guy is survived by his mother Betty C. Storms (David); his sister Gale A. Ross; step siblings John Klise, Sue K. Elmer, Carolyn K. Parker, Janice Klise; cousins Alison Sharrett and Michael Buchman, and five nieces and three nephews.

Guy began his career as a speech writer at the AFL-CIO in Washington, DC. He later served in public affairs at the National Association of Home Builders. In 1982, he formed his own marketing agency, Marketing Diagnostics LLC, in the District of Columbia serving clients throughout the mid-Atlantic. Guy was an original partner in Waterford Farm LP of Middleburg, VA where he managed and marketed a native Angus genetics operation. Initially a seasonal resident of Key West before moving to the island yearround, Guy served as the Executive Director of the Key West Business Guild and later as the sales manager with the Florida Keys Tourist Development Council. Guy served on the Boards of Directors of the Piedmont Environmental Council, Conserve Virginia, the Maritime Museum in Key West, Florida. The Governor's School for the Arts in Norfolk, and the Olde Towne (Portsmouth) Business Association. Guy was elected to the Board of Trustees at the University of Richmond in 2003 and awarded Emeritus status in 2011. He established the Guy A. Ross Scholarship to support the visual and performing arts at Richmond. He served on the vestry at Trinity Episcopal Church in Portsmouth, and in 2010 Guy was ordained at Riverside Church in New York City, NY, in interfaith chaplaincy and counseling.

Guy traveled extensively throughout his life for both business and pleasure. As a child he lived in Japan where his family was stationed for several years. Washington, DC was his home for 20 years during and after his graduate work. He owned farms in Rappahannock County and Fauquier County, Virginia where he was an active member of the Virginia Angus Association. Later Guy lived in Amagansett and Sag Harbor, New York where he renovated two notable residences. He spent considerable time in both Italy and Cuba—two destinations about which he was most knowledgeable and passionate.

A service will be held Saturday, August 3, 2024 at Trinity Episcopal Church in Portsmouth, VA at 3 p.m. with The Rev. Grant Stokes and The Rev. Douglas McCaleb officiating and with a reception to follow in the Parish Hall. A private service of inurnment will be held at a later date at the University of Richmond Chapel Columbarium. The family invites donations of any amount to the Guy A. Ross Scholarship at the University of Richmond, Maryland Hall, 110 UR Drive, University of Richmond, Virginia 23173. Arrangements are in the care of Parr Funeral Home and Crematory, Suffolk, Virginia. Online condolences can be registered:

www.parrfuneralhome.com

ROTHWELL



HENRIETTA ROTHWELL

Henrietta "Sissy" Rothwell passed away on July 3, 2024. She was born on August 17, 1932 in Washington, DC to Marian and John Byerly. She grew up in Washington, DC and Frederick, MD. The Frederick Visitation nuns across the street from her home shaped her childhood after her mother passed away. Sissy married the love of her life Gideon "Frank" Franklin Rothwell, IV on September 11, 1954 after knowing him a few short months. They built a loving home in Chevy Chase, MD and raised their three children, between DC, the farm in Culpepper, VA, and Dewey Beach, DE. Sissy was a devout Catholic and was actively involved in the Bethesda parishes of Little Flower and St. Bartholomew's, and later St. Williams Parish in Naples, FL. Her joyful faith was apparent in her interactions with others and her volunteer work with Washington Home Hospice. Sissy and Frank were never in one place for long, always off traveling the world for both business and pleasure, instilling a love of travel and learning in their children and grandchildren. She is predeceased by her husband Frank; her siblings Barbara Riley, Sally Aitken, and Jack Byerly; and her son-in-law Patrick Vargas. She is survived by her children Frank (Anita) of Bethesda, MD, Duncan (Marje) of Durango, CO, and Anne of Severn, MD; her grandchildren Caitlin, Pancho, Danika, and Eliana; her great granddaughter Charlotte, and many nieces and nephews. The Rothwell matriarch leaves behind a strong legacy of love and faith, and will live on through all the lives she touched. In lieu of flowers, contributions in Sissy's memory can be made to two of the places she loved dearly: the Georgetown Visitation Monastery in Washington, DC or the Naples Botanical Gardens in Naples, FL. Details of funeral events forthcoming.

TALLEY

RONALD THOMAS TALLEY

Sunrise - October 28, 1946
Sunset - July 7, 2024

Ronald Thomas Talley was born on October 28,1946 in Camden, New Jersey to Lillian and Frank Thomas Talley. As a young child he and his sister, Francine lived in Japan and Germany, as military dependents. He grew up in NW Washington, DC, where he attended Georgetown Day school and Western High School. He graduated from DC Teachers college and went on to obtain his Masters from Howard University.

He taught in DC Public schools and eventually was employed by the Defense Map Service as a cartographer. He transferred to other government agencies and worked for the Geological Survey as a physical scientist while assigned to Howard University. His career search led to an assignment with Howard University in the Physics Lab and ended with his retirement from Howard University's Mechanical Engineering Department. He loved working with the graduate students. Howard University was a family affair in that his father taught Military Science there.

Ronald enjoyed playing the piano and singing along with his guitar. He often spoke about trying out for the tv show "The Voice" His skills as a machinist/model maker helped NASA with a major project related to space travel. His "Happy Place" was a large separate workshop that was built in the yard of his home where he produced various scientific and medical instruments.

Throughout his life, he touched many, influenced many, and taught many. He led by his example of kindness and patience. He focused on the good in others. He is remembered for his laughter, his sense of humor, and his love of the great outdoors.

He transitioned to his heavenly home on July 7, 2024 surrounded by his loved ones. He was preceded in death by his mother and father and his sister, Francine Talley Mason.

He leaves behind to mourn - his wife of 40 years, Nelia Talley; his former wife, Cheryl Talley (nee Milton); and the two daughters they shared, Robin Talley and Kimberly Talley-Drain; grandchildren, Maya and Jason Tietz, Bethany and Megan Rockett, Aaliyah and Layla Drain; his nieces Donna Mason and Kindra McDonough, (husband Brian); his nephew David Mason ((wife Hope); his three stepsons, Robert, Markus, (wife Ingrid), and Ricardo Summers, (husband Kasey McDonald); his step-grandchildren, Raquel Summers; Kylle Summers; Eric O'Connor (wife Francoise); Symone O'Connor; Ashley and Casey Clemens; two step-great-grandchildren, Carter White, and Aida Alford; many other relatives and friends.

A celebration of life will be held at a later date.

THOMPSON



WENDEL LAWRENCE THOMPSON

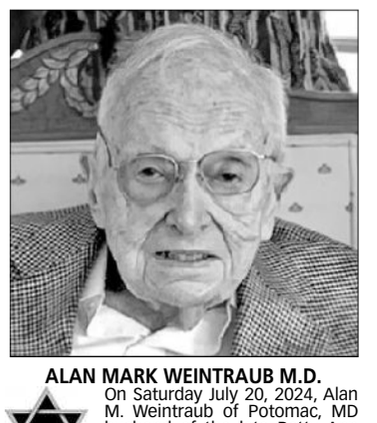
Wendel was born April 15, 1936 in LaMars, Iowa. He died July 6, 2024 peacefully at his home in Charlestown Retirement Community where he lived since 2014. He is predeceased by his wife, Carolyn; parents, Golden and Helen Thompson; and twin brothers, Joseph and Daniel. He is survived by his sisters JoAnn Wer, Karen Johnson, and Mary (Barry) Kercher; his twin girls Karin Ekstrand and Kristin (Rick) Stuby; and his son, David (Kimberly) Thompson. He has seven grandchildren—Susan and John (Rachel) Ekstrand, Scott (Lorren), Luke (Hannah), and Brad Stuby, and Manon (Louis) Scarlati and Cosette Thompson.

Wendel graduated from Westmar College with a teaching degree and earned a Masters and PhD from the University of Iowa in Speech. He began his teaching career at Fremont High School, Nebraska teaching speech and debate where he met his wife who at that time was dating his roommate. They were married in 1962 and had twin girls, Karin and Kristin, in 1964. Wendel's teaching career moved his family across the states from Iowa to the University of Connecticut, where he realized teaching was not for him. He switched gears, deciding to pursue his interest in statistics and landed a position creating surveys and collecting and analyzing data for the United States Information Agency/Voice of America in 1966. More importantly, his son, David, was born in 1966. They moved to Columbia, Maryland in 1970, where they remained for 44 years. In 1978, he joined the Department of Energy, where he researched and studied how households use energy. He loved his jobs and became known as the King of RECS (Residential Energy Consumption Survey).

Outside of his career, Wendel was active in the community especially after he retired in 1996. His interests lay in missions around the world and in his local community. As missions chairperson at Bethany United Methodist Church in Ellicott City, he participated and led mission trips abroad helping and aiding people around the world. Within his community, he led his church to join PATH, advocated for mobile home owners, consistently volunteered with FISH to set up the food pantry and help those in crisis, aided the homeless in the Cold Weather Shelter project, helped families within his church in various ways, and educated and discipled Christ followers. He enjoyed singing in the choir at church and with the Harmonizers at Charlestown. He was also active in the residential council and many other groups at Charlestown. But his passion was building relationships and connecting with people for the purpose of learning something new.

A memorial service celebrating Wendel's life will be held on July 27, 2024 at Bethany United Methodist Church in Ellicott City, MD. The celebration will start at 11 a.m. after which a luncheon will follow in the church fellowship hall. The family asks that in lieu of flowers, contributions be made to FISH of Howard County Inc. (P.O. Box 34 Ellicott City, MD 21041), a 100% local volunteer 501-C non-profit that helps families in crisis.

WEINTRAUB



ALAN MARK WEINTRAUB M.D.

On Saturday July 20, 2024, Alan M. Weintraub of Potomac, MD husband of the late Betty Ann Weintraub; mother of Jeffrey (Cassandra) Weintraub, Andrew (Joanne) Weintraub and Lisa (Edgar) Bridges; brother of the late Lewis Weintraub; grandfather of Rachel and Alex Weintraub, Caleb (Christine) Weintraub, Noah (Brigid) Weintraub, Eliza Weintraub, Julian and Bernadette Bridges; great-grandfather of Finn, Shae, Declan and Maeve Weintraub, passed.

Alan was born on March 18, 1930 in Brooklyn, New York, the son of Emanuel and Francis Weintraub. At Syracuse University, he met his future wife Betty Ann Cohn and formed a bond that would last for more than 65 years. They moved to Chicago where Alan attended Medical School at the University of Chicago. Alan started Internship at the University of Pennsylvania. Following internship, Alan enlisted in the Navy Medical Corps and stationed at the United States Capitol where he provided care to U.S. Senators including Jack Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. After the Navy, Alan continued with Residency and Fellowship in Cardiology at Georgetown University Hospital. Betty Ann and Alan called Washington home. He established a successful Cardiology practice at Georgetown and Sibley Hospitals. Alan was instrumental in the cardiac care of patients undergoing the first heart valve operations performed by Dr. Charles Hufnagel. With only a stethoscope and keen clinical skills, he helped create a new era in the treatment of heart disease. With two more children, Andrew and Lisa, they moved from D.C. to Potomac where Alan began an enduring love of the equestrian sport. Moving to East Oaks Farm, Alan became an accomplished Carriage Driver competing at events in the US and Europe. While in the Navy, Alan became a certified SCUBA diver. His children also became certified, and together the family traveled the world for diving adventures. Alan passed on his love of diving to his extended family and grandkids.

Funeral services will be held Wednesday, July 24 at 10 a.m. at Garden of Remembrance Memorial Park, 14321 Comus Rd., Clarksburg, MD 20871 with Interment to follow.

Memorial Contributions can be made to the American Heart Association In Memory of Alan M. Weintraub MD FACC.

Services entrusted to Sagel Bloomfield Dansansky Goldberg Funeral Care, Inc.

www.sagelbloomfield.com

DEATH NOTICE

PAIR



LOUISE B. PAIR

On Monday, July 15, 2024, Louise B. Pair, departed this earthly life. Loving mother of John L. Pair (Locksie), Debora P. Clemmons, and Thomas Pair (Barbara); she also leaves to cherish her memory and carry out her legacy six (6) grandchildren and five (5) great grandchildren. Visitation on Wednesday, July 24, 2024, 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. at Briscoe-Tonic Funeral Home, 7 Industrial Park Drive, Waldorf, MD 20602. Funeral Services will be held on Saturday, July 27, 2024, 11 a.m. at Diamond Grove Baptist Church, 127 Diamond Grove Rd., Skippers, VA 23879. www.briscoe-tonicfuneralhome.com

SAELENS

LYNDA G. SAELENS

On Saturday, July 6, 2024 of Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Beloved mother of Alyssa Saelens, M.D. and her husband Franklin Leyva, Andrew Saelens and his wife Kelsey. Grandmother of Adrian Leyva, Jack and Molly Saelens.

Ms. Saelens is also survived by her brothers Daniel and Donald Greco. Friends will be received at St. Bartholomew Catholic Church, 6900 River Road, Bethesda, MD on Tuesday, July 23 from 10:15 a.m. until time of Mass at 11 a.m. Interment private. Please view and sign family guestbook at:

www.pumphreyfuneralhome.com

VOLIN

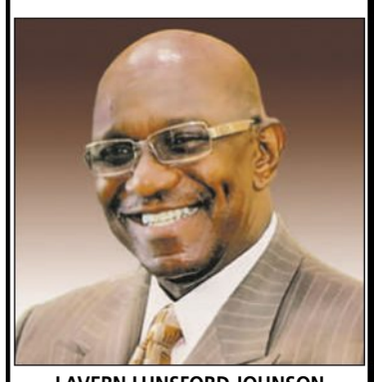
RUDOLPH HERBERT VOLIN

On July 17, 2024 Rudolph Volin of Silver Spring, MD passed peacefully at home. Beloved husband of Ann Ruth for 68 years, devoted father of Laura (Bill) Robinson and the late Richard. Loving grandfather of Stephanie (Kenny) Whitmore and doting great grandfather of Jackson and Reid. Graveside services will be held on Tuesday, July 23 at 10 a.m. at Judean Memorial Gardens Olney, MD. Family will receive loved ones following the service.

www.sagelbloomfield.com

IN MEMORIAM

JOHNSON



LAVERN LUNSFORD JOHNSON
"Bae"
Happy Heavenly 84th Birthday
Continue To Rest in Peace
We love you! We miss you!
It's just not the same without you.
Love, Thelma, Terri Ann,
Latreece Renee (Chris Sr.),
Krystal, Phillip Jr., Christopher Jr.,
Joshua, Naomi,
Family and Friends

WEEKS



ROGER D. WEEKS
12-31-1956
07-15-2021
You were loved. You are missed.
In Loving Memory,
The Weeks and Robison Families

DEATH NOTICE

CAMPBELL BIRD



JUDITH LYNN CAMPBELL BIRD

Judith Lynn Campbell Bird, beloved wife, mother, grandmother, sister, cousin, friend, and colleague, died at home in Chevy Chase, Maryland on June 27, 2024 after a short but intense battle with cancer. She is survived by her husband of 53 years, C. Coleman Bird, and their daughter Garren Campbell Bird, her husband Benjamin Martin and their children Olivia and Frazer, her brother Lewis Eugene Campbell, and many much-loved cousins, nieces, and nephews.

Judy was born on April 16, 1945 in Bonne Terre, Missouri, the daughter of Reverend Cecil H. Campbell and Jewell Marie Lewis Campbell. She was proud to be a part of a long line of strong pioneer women. She grew up in both Missouri and North Carolina, graduating from New Bern High School and Salem College in Winston Salem, NC with a BS in Chemistry.

Apart from family and friends, politics and policy were her twin passions. She moved to Washington, D.C. to organize for the National Student Association, became active in the antiwar movement, and then for most of her career focused on the politics and policy issues of environmental protection, primarily water quality. She lobbied for the Clean Water Act, worked for the National Commission on Water Quality, the Environmental and Energy Study Institute, and later as a communications and policy consultant for the U.S. Geological Survey's National Water Quality Assessment program (NAWQA).

In all these roles she became known for her exceptional skills at project management, planning, organization, and execution. She made sure that the great work done by USGS's scientists did not remain buried in research reports but instead had the impact it deserved on environmental policy and regulation. When she retired, NAWQA gave her a plaque recognizing her "relentless persistence" in pursuing their goals.

This would not have come as a surprise to anyone who knew her. She displayed the same combination of vision, organizational skills, and determination when planning family vacations and milestone events (birthdays, anniversaries, graduations, Garren and Ben's wedding, retirements and more…really any excuse for a party). Like her mom, she made every holiday an occasion for joy and celebration with family and friends. Her Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners were the stuff of legend. She was always there for Garren and her friends to talk about whatever was on their minds. She was a matchless mentor to numerous younger women as they came of age in a workplace culture that was not always receptive to their full participation and ideas.

There will be a service to celebrate her life at St. John's Church, Lafayette Square, 1525 H Street, N.W., Washington, DC, on Thursday, July 25, at 11 a.m. In lieu of flowers, the family suggests a contribution in her memory to an organization working to preserve our democracy or the environment, or to a charity of your choice.

For more information on her life well lived, please see her memorial page at josephgawlers.com.

JOSEPH GAWLER'S SONS, LLC FUNERAL DIRECTORS FOUNDED 1856

DEATH NOTICE

BELLASCHI



KATHRYN DIANE BELLASCHI
March 24, 1940 - June 9, 2024

Diane Bellaschi departed this world on June 9, 2024, and joined God (and her husband Jules) after living a beautiful and joyful life even in her last chapter with Alzheimer's disease. She will be remembered for her loving kindness, passionate devotion to family, inspiring joy, heartfelt gratitude, and spiritual faith. Diane was the loving mother of John Bellaschi and Mia Pudoka; proud grandmother of Katie, Maggie, Emma, JJ, and Maura; supportive mother-in-law to Marlen McKinney and Mike Pudoka; and devoted wife to Jules Bellaschi for nearly 57 years prior to his death in 2020. She also was proud of her 45 year career at Long & Foster Real Estate. Relatives and friends are invited to celebrate the eternal life of Diane at a funeral Mass on August 16 10:30 a.m. at Holy Trinity Catholic Church in Georgetown.

COOTS



NORVELL VANDERVALL (VAN) COOTS M.D.
Brigadier General, U.S. Army (Ret.)

Norvell (Van) Coots, M.D., MSS, FADD, former President & CEO at Holy Cross Health died on June 12, 2024 following a horseback riding accident. He was 65 years old. During his career he received numerous awards and honors for his compassionate commitment to patient care, dynamic leadership skills, and engagement in community service.

Dr. Coots is survived by his wife Claudia, two children, Maximillan and Catalina, and Sister Elizabeth Early. Services in his honor will be held at the Washington National Cathedral on July 25, 2024 at 11 a.m.

MCLEAN



JAMES A. MCLEAN (Age 90)

On Friday, July 5, 2024 of Indian Head, MD. Husband of loving wife of 64 years, Helen (McCallum) McLean, father of Donna (Nathan), the late John Howard and Jeffrey (Linda). Also survived by a long list of other loving relatives and friends. Services are private. thorntonfuneralhomepa.com

NOLL



MARILYN SMITH NOLL (Age 91)

Passed away peacefully to be with our Lord and Savior on June 17, 2024. A memorial service and celebration of Marilyn's life will be held at Wellspring Conference Center, 11411 Neelsville Church Rd., Germantown, MD 20876, on September 8, 2024, at 3 p.m. EST. To view Marilyn's full obituary, please visit:

www.heflebowerfuneralservices.com

DEATH NOTICE

PRUITT



DEAN G. PRUITT 1930 - 2024

Dean G. Pruitt, a pioneering scholar in the field of conflict resolution and negotiation, passed away peacefully on July 12, 2024 at the age of 93. His contributions to social psychology and negotiation theory have left an enduring mark on academia and practical conflict management worldwide.

Dr. Pruitt authored several influential works that have become foundational texts in the field of conflict resolution. Among his most notable contributions is the Dual Concern Model, which offers a nuanced understanding of negotiation dynamics by highlighting the balance between concern for one's own outcomes and concern for the outcomes of others. This model has been widely adopted and remains a cornerstone in both academic research and practical application.

His influential works include Negotiation Behavior (1981), Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement with Jeffrey Rubin (1986) and Sung Hee Kim (1994 [edition 2] and 2005 [edition 3]), and Negotiation and Social Conflict with Peter Carnevale (1993). His lifelong contributions are collected in the 2015 book, Searching for Better Agreements … and Finding Them: Contributions of Dean G. Pruitt edited by William Donohue and Daniel Druckman.

Dr. Pruitt was a scholar of considerable breadth ranging from insightful case studies of international conflict and campus crises to laboratory experiments revealing the secrets of how to attain agreements that work for all of the negotiating parties. His work extended beyond academia into real-world applications, influencing practices in international diplomacy, business negotiations, and interpersonal conflict resolution. He was a quintessential scholar who believed in the value of evidence-based knowledge as a path to understanding and betterment, and used his platform to promote greater peace and cooperation in a world often marked by conflict.

His work has been recognized with numerous awards and honors, including the Lifetime Achievement Award from the International Association for Conflict Management and the Harold D. Lasswell Award for Distinguished Scientific Contribution to Political Psychology from the International Society of Political Psychology, reflecting his profound impact on the study and practice of negotiation and conflict resolution.

Dean Garner Pruitt was born on December 26, 1930 in Philadelphia PA. After World War II, his parents embraced the pacifism of the Society of Friends (Quakers) that helped shape their son's worldview. He earned an A.B. from Oberlin College (1952) followed by an M.S. (1955) and Ph.D. (1957) from Yale University. His primary research on negotiation and conflict resolution was done while on the faculty of the State University of New York at Buffalo where his teaching and scholarly activities earned him the title of Distinguished Professor of Social Psychology. During his four decades at UB, he mentored many students who have gone on to make their own significant contributions to the field. Most recently, Dr. Pruitt served as Distinguished Scholar in Residence at the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University.

He was renowned among his family and friends for his sharp intellect and humor with thoughtful insights into topics ranging from scientific discoveries, art, history, philosophy and any other topic he read recently. An avid stamp collector since his youth, he specialized in Chinese and French stamps. His passion for Chinese stamps was influenced by his father who was born in China to missionary parents. He and his wife also enjoyed extensive world travel often with one of their granddaughters in tow. Dr. Pruitt is survived by his wife of 65 years, France (née Juliard) Pruitt; three sons Andre (spouse Kim), Paul, and Charles (spouse Jane); and his granddaughters Monica, Erin, Katie, and Jenny. His kindness, wisdom, and unwavering commitment to the pursuit of knowledge and justice will be dearly missed by all who knew him. His memory will forever be cherished by his family, friends, colleagues, and the countless individuals he touched through his work.

Private services are planned. In lieu of flowers, the family requests that donations be made to the International Peace Institute and American Friends Service Committee continuing Dr. Pruitt's lifelong commitment to peace and understanding.

WALLMAN



KATHLEEN MARY HARTE WALLMAN
SEPTEMBER 14, 1957 – JULY 14, 2024

Kathy Wallman, a prominent lawyer and inspired teacher, entrepreneur and regulator, as well as a writer, musician, artist and gardener, died peacefully Sunday, surrounded by loved ones, at her home in Great Falls, Virginia from appendiceal cancer. She was 66.

Most recently, Kathy was the co-founder of CANCollaborate, a 501(c)(3) organization devoted to accelerating treatments and cures for rare cancers. She was also the co-founder and a director of Folio Financial, Inc., a financial technology and securities brokerage firm acquired in 2020 by Goldman Sachs.

Kathy founded and ran a strategic consulting firm, specializing in technology, media and telecommunications, and authored numerous scholarly publications on digital commerce and telecommunications policy. Kathy served generously on numerous boards of directors for both public and private companies and foundations.

She loved teaching and learning from others. She was Visiting Research Professor and an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University's Graduate School of Arts & Sciences where her mentoring and love of new ideas continues to motivate many.

She dedicated energy to government service. In the Clinton White House, Kathy was Deputy Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and Chief of Staff and Counselor to the National Economic Council after serving as Deputy Counsel to the President in the Office of White House Counsel. Previously, Kathy was Chief of the Common Carrier Bureau and Deputy Chief of the Cable Services Bureau at the Federal Communications Commission and was Chair of the Public Safety National Coordination Committee.

That public service was preceded by private practice at the law firm Arnold & Porter where she was associate and then partner. She clerked for both Judges Silberman and Tamm of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit and Judge Newman for the United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, after earning her JD, magna cum laude from the Georgetown University Law School, her M.S. from the Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and her B.A., summa cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa from the Catholic University of America.

Her extraordinary promise was clear from the start. She graduated from Westford Academy (Massachusetts) as valedictorian and received the four-year full Boston Archdiocese Scholarship. She was proud of being active in the high school concert, jazz and marching bands.

Kathy loved to create and nurture. She wrote a novel, The Gossip Boats, had numerous art projects, and became a Master Gardener growing a very large garden's worth of produce to share with others. She played guitar, keyboard and cello beautifully and composed her own music. Her enthusiasm for life and her respect for her parents and heritage led her to learn Gaelic and earn dual Irish/US citizenship.

She was a spectacular chef, a podcaster with two separate podcast series, a certified personal trainer, a distance runner, an avid hiker and a weightlifter.

While her accomplishments were epic, it was her open heart, fearless spirit, empathy for others, and inquisitive, creative mind that truly defined her. She always could provide a caring shoulder and act as a trusted counselor. She recognized the dignity and worth of every individual and brought out the best in all those who were fortunate enough to know her. She lived her life fully, with humor and empathy and gratitude — and shared her brilliant spark, her grace, and her playful spunk with those around her. Her embrace continues to provide comfort, even as she is sorely and profoundly missed.

She was born Kathleen Mary Harte in 1957 in Waltham, Massachusetts. She is pre-deceased by her parents Francis and Mary, and her sister, Mary. She is survived by Steven, her husband of 39 years who met her over 45 years ago and who loves her so dearly; and, her sister, Margaret (John), as well as her God-daughter and great niece Eva, her sisters-in law, Ellen (Bernard), and Sandra (Herbert); her niece, Elizabeth (Benjamin); and nephews Josh (Maria), Adam (Kendra) and Matthew, and great nephew Asher, as well as numerous loved and loving friends. Teddy her beloved black Lab will miss her.

Services will be held at St. Francis Episcopal Church in Great Falls, Virginia (https://stfrancisgreatfalls.org) on Saturday, August 10 at 11 a.m., followed by a ceremony and reception at Steve and Kathy's home and Kathy's gardens.

In lieu of flowers or other gifts, the family requests that memorial contributions be made to CANCollaborate, https://cancollaborate.org/, the non-profit organization founded by Kathy and Steve to facilitate cancer research.

WELLS



SHERRILL BROWN WELLS

Sherry Wells passed away at 83 surrounded by her immediate family on June 29, 2024 at Virginia Hospital Center after a long battle with cancer and Parkinson's. Widely acknowledged as one of the most generous and gracious members of her community, she devoted her life to her family, students at several universities, and classmates at Vassar College.

Born in Montreal, Canada to a family managing a pulp and paper company, she grew up in Berlin, New Hampshire, Vancouver, Canada, and Riverdale, New York. Sherry was educated at Vassar and the London School of Economics where she received her PhD in international history. In her professional career she taught European history at Rutgers University, N.C. State University, and George Washington University.

Sherry served for twelve years as a Senior Historian in the U.S. Department of State where she edited several volumes of the documentary series Foreign Relations and published a monograph on French Industrial Policy: A History, 1945-1981. The French project convinced her to refocus her career by returning to teaching and research on the history of European integration. In this field her most notable publication was a political biography Jean Monnet: Unconventional Statesman.

During these professional activities, she led an equally active family and community life in McLean, VA. Shortly after her marriage to Samuel F. Wells Jr. in 1969, she assumed the role of mother to her husband's three children, Lauren and twins Anthony and Jeffrey. She provided a loving home for this trio and later had a son Christopher, who with Lauren provided vital care during Sherry's final days.

She is survived by her husband of 55 years; and by Lauren and her husband Mark Holden, and Christopher; his wife Fariba; and their son Alexander. Also surviving are Sherry's sister Melinda Scrivner and her daughter Katherine and her husband Kurt Wagenbach, and her brother Kevin Brown, his wife Lucinda and their daughter Hilary and son Wentworth. Sherry's sons Anthony and Jeffrey predeceased her.

Memorial services will be held in Rangeley, Maine and McLean, Virginia at later dates.

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The Washington Post

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To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.
The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

HAWKINS



SARA GILLIS HAWKINS

A beloved wife, mother, daughter, sister, friend, and colleague, Sara Gillis Hawkins (formerly Sara Dawn Gillis), 46 years old, of Chevy Chase, MD died of complications related to cancer in her home, surrounded by loved ones on July 9, 2024.

Sara was born in Pittsburgh, PA on April 28, 1978 to Alan and Faith Gillis, who provided unwavering love and affection to Sara throughout her entire life. Sara attended Chartiers Valley High School before studying Political Science at the University of Delaware, and then pursuing her law degree at American University in Washington, DC. After graduation from law school, she pursued a career as a securities lawyer, ultimately working as a regulator at the U.S. Securities & Exchange Commission ("SEC"), where she worked for almost 20 years.

Sara met her husband, Charles ("Chuck") Hawkins, on the very first day of law school in August 2000. While often considered an unpleasant three years, Sara and Chuck loved their time together during law school, earnestly studying and learning the challenging subject matter, but also falling in love and exploring their new hometown, the District. After graduation and eager to start their new lives together, the two were married in Pittsburgh on September 4, 2004.

After marriage, the two embarked on challenging legal careers, ate their way across town, traveled as much as possible, learned how to cook together, and enjoyed the countless cultural outlets that DC had to offer, including, but by no means limited to, theater, museums, festivals, concerts and more. But, Sara's true passion was her two children, Molly (13) and Jack (11). There was nothing Sara would not do for her kids, including putting a delicious meal on the table every single day after logging a hard day's work and going for a run. But her favorite part of being a mom, without question, was the simple act of reading a book with her kids. Any book, any time, read by any one of them would suffice. During the bedtime routine, which often spanned 2 hours, countless books were read in chairs, on laps, in beds, and by Sara, or either of the kids or all of them at the same time. It was a joy and blessing to watch, and has instilled upon Molly and Jack a lifetime gift of the love of reading.

Among the many friendships that she cherished, Sara spent a lifetime of friendship with her high school friends, Kate and Megan. But Sara's love did not stop there, of course, but extended to so many, from her "Chevy Chase moms," to her Chevy Chase Hills neighbors, Chuck's family, NCCSPA friends, law school classmates, work colleagues, and many more.

Sara was proud of her ability to balance her love for her kids and her passion for the law. As a regulator in the Office of Market Supervision at the SEC, Sara was a proud civil servant, and an excellent writer, which made her highly valued among her colleagues.

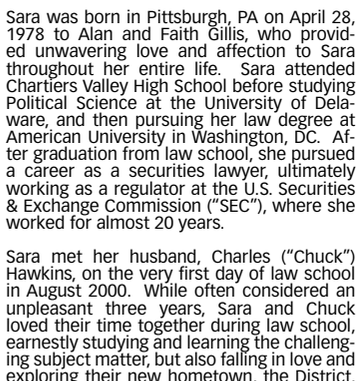
On March 22, 2022, Sara was diagnosed with a rare cancer, and so was born the Legend of Ladyhawk. Enduring over 50 treatments, Sara showed a grit and determination, the likes of which few have witnessed. When asked how she found the resolution to continue to battle, her response never wavered – "I do this for my kids." Ladyhawk's sparkling personality and courageous spirit championed the formation of Team Ladyhawk, responsible for raising over a half a million dollars for the research of rare cancer.

Sara is survived by her parents, Alan and Faith, her brother and sister-in-law, Gregg and Kendall (Remy and Cameron), her husband, Chuck, and her two beloved children, Molly and Jack.

Visitation is Friday, July 26, 2024 at Joseph Gawler's Sons, 5130 Wisconsin Ave NW, Washington, DC 20016, from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m., and a Celebration of Life Ceremony, open to all, is Saturday, July 27, 2024 at Grace Chapel, within National Cathedral School, 3609 Woodley Rd NW, Washington, DC 20016 at 10 a.m. Donations to Cycle for Survival would be greatly appreciated. Please visit Sara's memorial page at josephgawlers.com for a direct link to Sara's Cycle for Survival page.

JOSEPH GAWLER'S SONS, LLC FUNERAL DIRECTORS FOUNDED 1856

MCLEAN



MARY MATTIS MCLEAN

Mary Mattis McLean passed away unexpectedly in her home in Washington, DC, on June 10, 2024.

Mary was born on March 21, 1947, in Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas to Julie (Camp) and Lt. Colonel John McLean. As a typical child of the Army, Mary attended 7 schools before the eighth grade. She graduated from The Madeira School in McLean, Virginia and Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. She was a strong supporter of both schools and remained close to her classmates.

Upon graduation from Smith College Mary moved to Washington, DC, permanently. She spent her career working for The Department of Health, Education and Welfare remaining when it was reorganized into The Department of Health and Human Services. Her focus was Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security.

Mary was a proud member of the D.C. Society of The National Society of Colonial Dames of America serving as the Chairman of the Patriotic Service Committee. Additionally, Mary was a member of the Sulgrave Club. She was a member of a group beach house organized in 1969 in Rehoboth, Delaware and made life long friends who are still active today.

An enthusiastic reader, Mary was a member of the D.C. Colonial Dames Book Club and followed Politics and Prose events closely. Happily, she shared books she particularly enjoyed with her friends and family.

Mary is survived by her sister Ellen Decaneas (Tony) of Revere, Massachusetts; her brother Jim McLean (Jessica) of La Grange, Illinois; her nephew and nieces, Andrew, Mattis and Caroline McLean of Chicago, Illinois; and goddaughters Molly Cross and Carrie Trimble.

Mary was predeceased by her parents Colonel and Mrs. John R. McLean of Washington, DC.

A Memorial Service will be held at the National Presbyterian Church, 4101 Nebraska Avenue NW, Washington, DC at 10 a.m. on Monday, September 9, 2024. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made in Mary's name to Planned Parenthood of Washington, DC (https://www.plannedparenthood.org/planned-parenthood-metropolitan-washington-dc) or the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America (https://dumbartonhousetrial.salsalabs.org/donationformpd20170328copy1copy1/index.html)

OFFUTT



JOHN DAVID OFFUTT "Jack"

John "Jack" David Offutt, aged 88, passed away on July 4, 2024, in Bethesda, Maryland. Born on January 11, 1936, in Queens, New York, Jack was known for his intellect, charm, wit and warmth; qualities that endeared him to many throughout his life.

Jack earned his bachelor's and master's degrees in Mechanical Engineering at the Carnegie Institute of Technology and furthered his education as a PhD candidate at the California Institute of Technology.

For the first decade of his career, he worked on a variety of advanced engineering development projects at Thompson Ramo Wooldridge, PneumoDynamics Corporation and Western Gear Corporation, followed by four decades at the Department of Defense, Naval Surface Warfare Center (NSWC), Carderock Division, where he was a respected Senior Project Engineer and Manager. He was instrumental in the development of several Naval and Marine Corps strategic sealift systems and high speed watercraft including the LCAC, SES200, and JHSV. His tremendous impact was recognized over the course of his career with several awards.

After his retirement, Jack returned to NSWC as a mentor for young engineers in the Center for Innovation in Ship Design. He was described as bringing "a wealth of knowledge gained from over 40 years of working a wide variety of ship and ship systems projects. Mr. Offutt has had the advantage of seeing the design process from both sides, first as an engineer in industry working on ship-related systems and then as government engineer, team leader, and project manager for advanced ship design and concepts." In this role, he guided these interns with critical understanding, patience and wisdom well into his retirement years.

Beyond his professional life, Jack was a true connoisseur of the finer things, embodying the spirit of a sommelier. His love for wine was matched by his passion for travel, exploring new cultures, and savoring the world's various landscapes and cuisines. He was also a committed patron of the theatrical arts and had a profound appreciation for music, which brought joy and enrichment to his life.

He is survived by Elizabeth, his loving wife of 59 years; his daughter Dr. Laura Anne Offutt; his son-in-law Dr. Steven Fukuchi; his grandchildren Alexander Scott Fukuchi and Claire Elise Fukuchi. He was preceded in death by his parents, William and Emily Offutt; and his brothers, Warren and William Offutt.

A Celebration of Life is scheduled for a later date.

PEARSON



ROBERT WAYNE PEARSON (Age 82)

Robert Wayne Pearson, 82, died after a lengthy battle with Parkinson's on June 16, 2024, in Alexandria, Virginia. Born September 30, 1941 in Tremont, Mississippi, he was the son of the late Rosa Eudene McTune Pearson and Luster Hugh Pearson of Tremont, Mississippi. He worked in the International Trade Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce for thirty-seven years. In that time, he rose to become the Director of the Office of Planning, Coordination and Resource Management. Described by supervision as a "trade development linchpin", he oversaw as many as five hundred reports and was a tireless promoter of U.S. exports. He led the President's Export Council and made sure that U.S. Government contracts were extended and bid upon in a fair way. He made his way from humble beginnings first in rural Mississippi and then in Zion, Illinois. His schoolteacher mother instilled values of honesty and hard work and steered him to Lake Forest College in Lake Forest, Illinois which he attended on scholarship and graduated Phi Beta Kappa with a degree in economics. He was a member of Phi Delta Theta fraternity at Lake Forest and his hard work in the classroom occurred alongside his athletic talent as a freshman starting forward and leading scorer on the Lake Forest basketball team. He continued his education earning a master's degree in economics from the University of Maryland that was followed by his first job as an economics instructor at Goucher College before joining the U.S. Commerce Department. Known as "Bob", he enjoyed traveling the world with close friends and gardening and was often welcoming of friends and visitors. He was an astute judge of character and his quiet wisdom and insight inspired trust and built sincere and caring relationships. He is preceded in death by his beloved wife of fifty years, Trudy Pearson, and is survived by his grateful family: son, Robert August Pearson, daughter in-law, Desiree Castillo Pearson, and grandsons Walker August Pearson and Wilder August Pearson. A memorial service and celebration of his life will be held at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 228 South Pitt Street, Alexandria, Virginia, on Saturday, July 27, 2024 at 1 p.m. The family requests that, in lieu of flowers, donations be made to The St. Paul's Foundation, 228 South Pitt Street, Alexandria, VA 22314.

www.demainefuneralhomes.com

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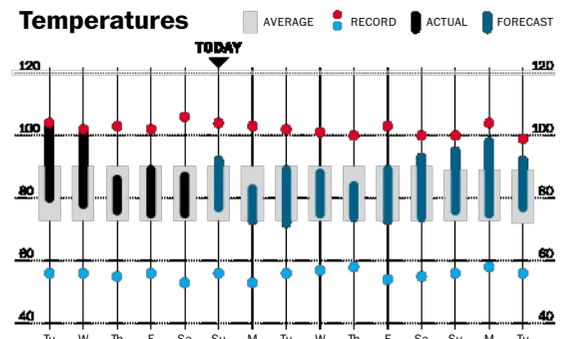
A hint of heat

Mainly sunny skies close out the weekend. When we get full sunshine this time of year, it tends to be on the hot side. So, near 90 to low 90s locally shouldn't be too surprising. A light south wind continues pumping higher moisture in, as well. Overnight, clouds increase somewhat, but it should end up no worse than partly clear. Lows are mostly in the near 70 to mid-70s range.

Today	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
T-storm	Heavy t-storms	Afternoon t-storm	T-storm	Rain, t-storm	Mostly cloudy
92° 77°	**83°** 73°	**89°** 72°	**88°** 75°	**84°** 74°	**89°** 73°
FEELS*: **98°**	FEELS: **89°**	FEELS: **93°**	FEELS: **93°**	FEELS: **89°**	FEELS: **93°**
CHNCE PRECIP: **40%**	P: **75%**	P: **55%**	P: **90%**	P: **90%**	P: **15%**
WIND: **SW 4–8 mph**	W: **ESE 6–12 mph**	W: **NW 4–8 mph**	W: **SSW 6–12 mph**	W: **WNW 6–12 mph**	W: **WNW 6–12 mph**
HUMIDITY: **High**	H: **High**	H: **High**	H: **High**	H: **High**	H: **High**

OFFICIAL RECORD

Temperatures

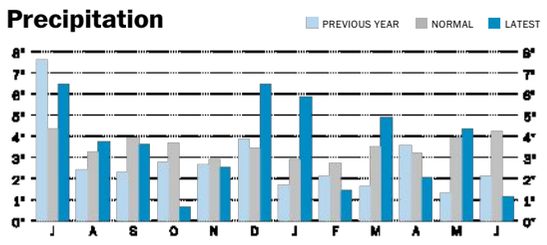


Statistics through 5 p.m. Saturday

	National	Dulles	BWI
High	**87°** 1:00 p.m.	**83°** 12:00 p.m.	**88°** 12:24 p.m.
Low	**75°** 3:33 a.m.	**71°** 6:00 a.m.	**71°** 5:30 a.m.
Normal	90°/73°	88°/67°	89°/68°
Record high	106° 1930	101° 1980	102° 1930
Record low	53° 1890	55° 1974	57° 1890

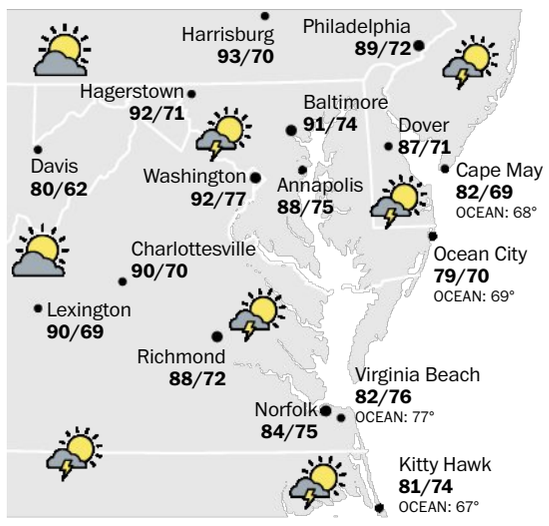
Difference from 30–yr. avg. (National): this month: **+4.2°** yr. to date: **+3.2°**

Precipitation



	National	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	0.02"	0.02"	0.06"
Total this month	1.09"	2.12"	0.50"
Normal	2.90"	2.74"	2.80"
Total this year	20.78"	20.11"	22.19"
Normal	23.33"	24.38"	24.12"

REGION



Pollen: High

Grass	Low
Trees	Moderate
Weeds	Moderate
Mold	High

Air Quality: Moderate
Dominant cause: Ozone

UV: Very High
9 out of 11+

Blue Ridge: Today, partly sunny, a thunderstorm around in the afternoon. High 70 to 78. Winds east 4–8 mph. Tonight, a thunderstorm in spots; however, dry in northern parts. Low 63 to 67. Winds south 4–8 mph.

Atlantic beaches: Today, a thunderstorm around this afternoon. High 79 to 85. Winds east–northeast 6–12 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy; a thunderstorm in the south. Low 69 to 75. Winds south 4–8 mph.

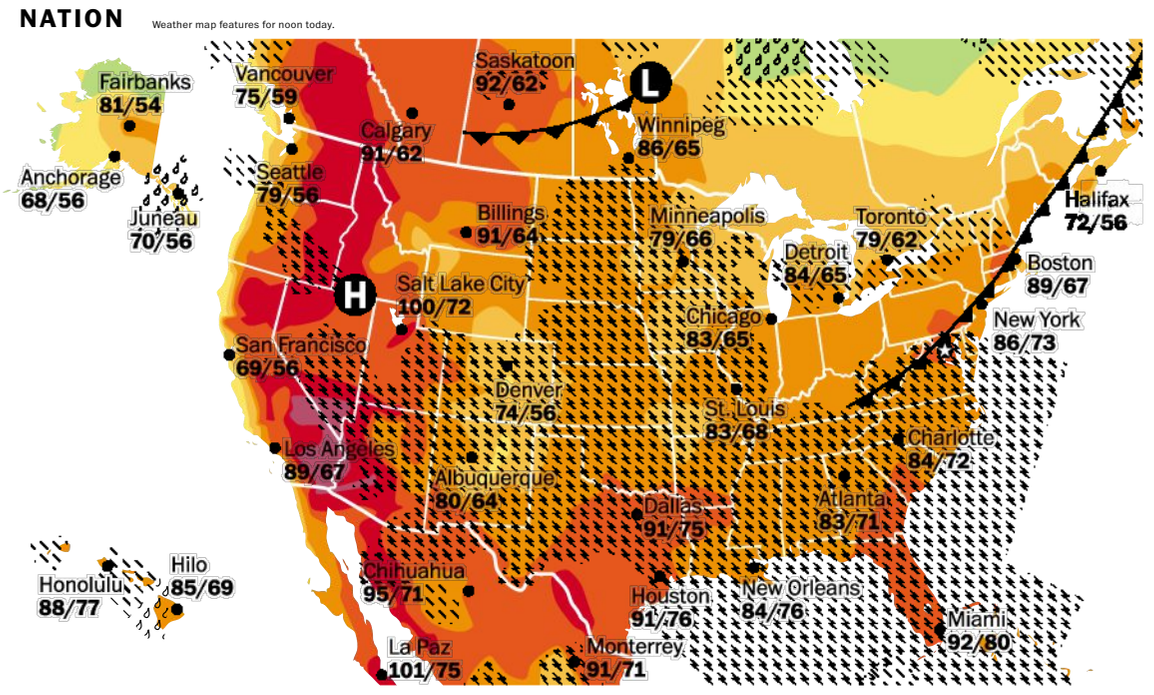
Waterways: *Upper Potomac River*: Today, partly sunny, a t-storm around in the afternoon. Wind south 4–8 knots. Waves 0–1 foot. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay*: Today, partly sunny, a t-storm around in the afternoon. Wind southwest 4–8 knots. Waves 0–1 foot on the Lower Potomac; 1–2 feet on the Chesapeake Bay.• *River Stages*: The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.60 feet today, with no change of 2.60 Monday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in **Bold**)

Washington	3:02 a.m.	**8:28 a.m.**	3:55 p.m.	**9:05 p.m.**
Annapolis	**6:03 a.m.**	12:41 p.m.	**5:47 p.m.**	11:51 p.m.
Ocean City	2:13 a.m.	**7:59 a.m.**	2:02 p.m.	**8:32 p.m.**
Norfolk	4:11 a.m.	**10:06 a.m.**	4:04 p.m.	**10:29 p.m.**
Point Lookout	**1:49 a.m.**	9:07 a.m.	**1:59 p.m.**	7:40 p.m.

NATION

Weather map features for noon today.



T-storms · Rain · Showers · Snow · Flurries · Ice · Cold Front · Warm Front · Stationary Front

<–10 | –0s | 0s | 10s | 20s | 30s | 40s | 50s | 60s | 70s | 80s | 90s | 100s | 110+

Yesterday's National
High: Blythe, CA **116°**
Low: Dillon, CO **37°**
for the 48 contiguous states

World
High: Basrah, Iraq **120°**
Low: Maquinchao, Argentina **11°**
excludes Antarctica

NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	86/61/s	89/67/c
Albuquerque	80/64/t	82/64/t
Anchorage	68/56/s	70/57/r
Atlanta	83/71/t	85/72/t
Austin	94/75/pc	91/73/t
Baltimore	91/74/t	84/72/t
Billings, MT	91/64/s	93/62/pc
Birmingham	83/73/t	88/73/t
Bismarck, ND	86/63/t	87/62/t
Boise	108/77/pc	108/70/pc
Boston	89/67/pc	80/70/s
Buffalo	82/64/pc	85/66/c
Burlington, VT	78/54/pc	86/63/c
Charleston, SC	90/77/t	90/77/t
Charleston, WV	87/67/t	78/68/t
Charlotte	84/72/t	85/72/t
Cheyenne, WY	70/52/t	78/54/t
Chicago	83/65/pc	84/67/pc
Cincinnati	85/68/pc	81/65/t
Cleveland	83/64/pc	84/65/c
Dallas	91/75/t	85/72/t
Denver	74/56/t	82/60/t
Des Moines	81/64/t	82/64/t
Detroit	84/65/pc	83/65/t
El Paso	90/69/pc	87/69/t
Fairbanks, AK	81/54/s	85/60/s
Fargo, ND	86/67/t	84/65/t
Hartford, CT	91/66/pc	89/70/t
Honolulu	88/77/sh	88/76/s
Houston	91/76/t	86/76/t
Indianapolis	83/65/pc	81/64/t
Jackson, MS	89/73/t	89/73/t
Jacksonville, FL	93/75/t	95/74/t
Kansas City, MO	79/63/t	83/64/t
Las Vegas	112/90/pc	110/88/pc
Little Rock	85/72/t	86/72/t
Los Angeles	89/67/s	89/67/s
Louisville	87/70/pc	82/70/t
Memphis	85/73/t	85/70/t
Miami	92/80/t	90/82/t
Milwaukee	77/64/pc	78/65/pc
Minneapolis	79/66/t	84/67/t
Nashville	87/71/t	85/72/t
New Orleans	84/76/t	86/77/t
New York City	86/73/pc	86/71/pc
Norfolk	84/75/t	84/76/t
Oklahoma City	80/67/t	82/68/t
Omaha	80/65/t	82/65/pc
Orlando	95/76/t	91/75/t
Philadelphia	89/72/pc	86/73/t
Phoenix	110/89/t	110/93/t
Pittsburgh	85/65/pc	83/67/t
Portland, ME	82/56/pc	79/62/s
Portland, OR	84/59/t	80/55/pc
Providence, RI	87/66/pc	84/68/pc
Raleigh, NC	86/74/t	88/73/t
Reno, NV	101/71/s	102/72/pc
Richmond	88/72/t	82/71/t
Sacramento	93/62/s	105/68/s
St. Louis	83/68/t	82/69/t
St. Thomas, VI	90/80/s	88/81/c
Salt Lake City	100/72/s	100/75/s
San Diego	78/67/pc	76/67/pc
San Francisco	69/56/pc	76/58/s
San Juan, PR	90/79/pc	89/79/sh
Seattle	79/56/pc	75/53/pc
Spokane, WA	106/72/pc	98/62/s
Syracuse	83/60/s	88/68/c
Tampa	94/78/t	93/77/t
Wichita	81/65/t	85/65/pc

WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Addis Ababa	66/56/r	69/55/sh
Amsterdam	74/57/pc	72/63/pc
Athens	96/78/s	97/78/s
Auckland	62/51/sh	59/47/c
Baghdad	113/92/pc	113/92/pc
Bangkok	91/80/sh	92/81/t
Beijing	98/78/t	95/77/pc
Berlin	91/69/s	79/58/sh
Bogota	68/50/sh	67/50/sh
Brussels	75/60/sh	74/62/pc
Buenos Aires	58/50/c	61/53/pc
Cairo	103/81/s	102/81/s
Caracas	78/65/t	78/65/t
Copenhagen	78/62/pc	70/56/sh
Dakar	88/81/pc	88/80/pc
Dublin	64/58/c	68/52/sh
Edinburgh	66/54/pc	64/54/r
Frankfurt	86/66/pc	82/60/pc
Geneva	76/63/t	79/59/sh
Ham., Bermuda	86/78/s	87/79/pc
Helsinki	73/60/sh	77/59/s
Ho Chi Minh City	86/76/t	90/78/t
Hong Kong	93/83/t	93/84/t
Islamabad	101/82/pc	99/79/pc
Istanbul	93/77/s	93/78/s
Jerusalem	91/72/s	90/71/s
Johannesburg	69/44/c	72/47/s
Kabul	93/72/s	96/71/s
Kingston, Jam.	90/82/t	91/80/t
Kolkata	90/81/t	89/80/sh
Kyiv	85/67/c	83/66/pc
Lagos	85/75/pc	84/75/c
Lima	65/59/c	65/60/pc
Lisbon	79/63/s	95/69/s
London	72/57/pc	74/61/c
Madrid	91/65/s	96/71/s
Manila	87/78/t	85/78/t
Mexico City	73/57/r	72/57/r
Montreal	76/58/s	80/62/c
Moscow	73/59/sh	72/60/c
Mumbai	83/79/t	84/80/sh
Nairobi	75/58/c	75/52/pc
New Delhi	97/84/t	94/81/t
Oslo	81/61/c	66/58/r
Ottawa	75/53/s	80/58/c
Paris	79/57/sh	77/63/pc
Prague	88/65/s	77/60/r
Rio de Janeiro	73/64/s	75/66/s
Riyadh	115/90/s	114/89/pc
Rome	90/73/s	89/68/t
San Salvador	87/70/t	87/69/t
Santiago	58/38/pc	65/42/s
Sarajevo	87/61/sh	85/61/t
Seoul	87/77/t	82/78/t
Shanghai	100/83/pc	101/83/pc
Singapore	90/82/t	91/82/t
Stockholm	73/56/sh	75/59/sh
Sydney	65/46/s	67/46/pc
Taipei City	100/80/pc	100/82/t
Tehran	103/80/s	102/81/s
Tokyo	92/80/pc	94/82/pc
Toronto	79/62/pc	81/65/c
Vienna	89/65/pc	86/69/c
Warsaw	88/64/s	91/65/s

Moon Phases

July 21	July 27	Aug 4	Aug 12
Full	Last Quarter	New	First Quarter

Solar system

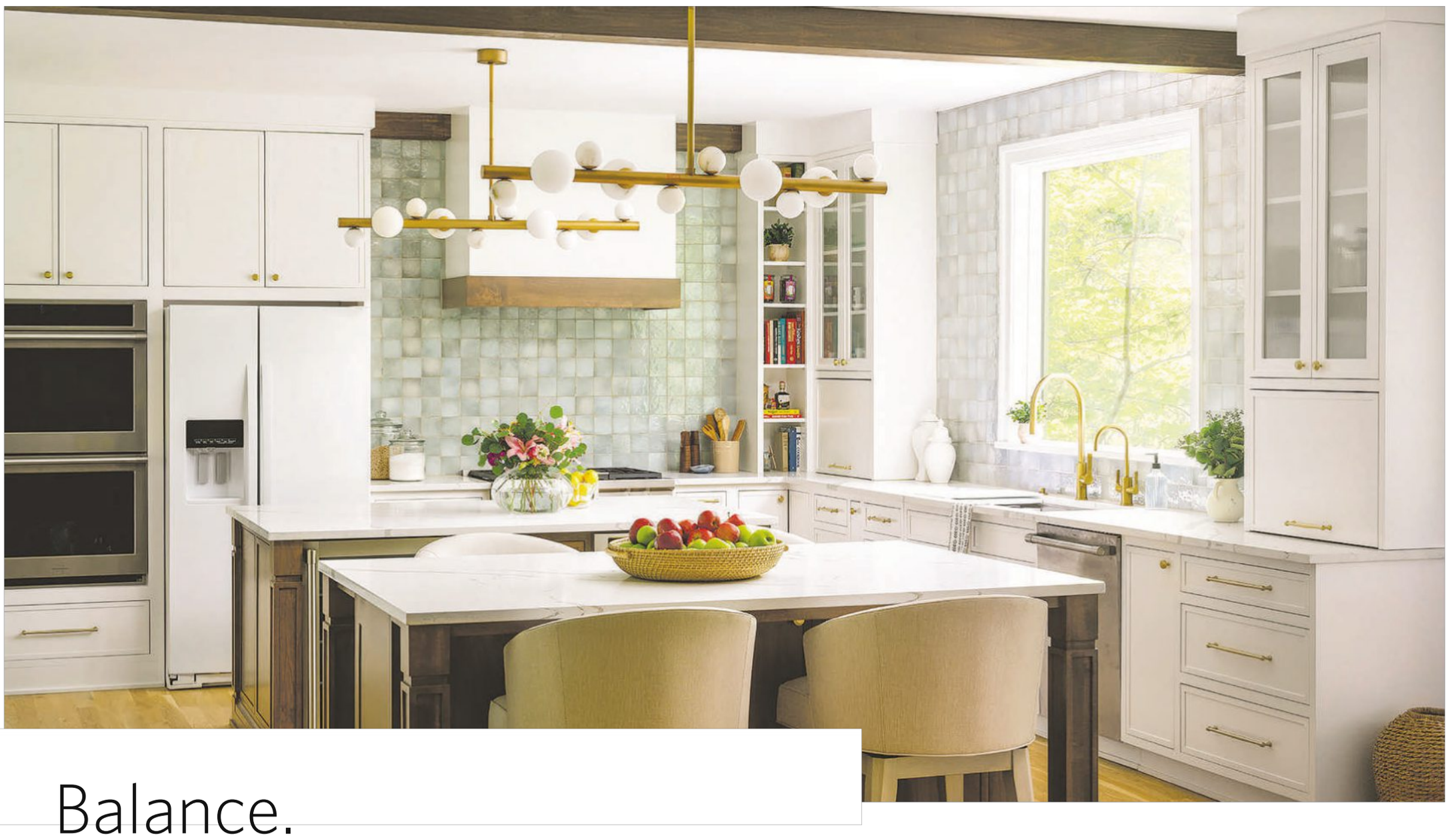
	Rise	Set
Sun	6:00 a.m.	8:29 p.m.
Moon	9:13 p.m.	5:48 a.m.
Venus	7:03 a.m.	9:15 p.m.
Mars	1:53 a.m.	4:13 p.m.
Jupiter	2:35 a.m.	5:11 p.m.
Saturn	10:50 p.m.	10:15 a.m.

Key: **s**-sunny, **pc**-partly cloudy, **c**-cloudy, **r**-rain, **sh**-showers, **t**-thunderstorms, **sf**-snow flurries, **sn**-snow, **i**-ice

Sources: **AccuWeather.com**; US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data); airnow.gov (air quality data); National Weather Service

* AccuWeather's **RealFeel Temperature®** combines over a dozen factors for an accurate measure of how the conditions really "feel."

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The Washington Post
SPORTS
SUNDAY, JULY 21, 2024 M2 D

PARIS OLYMPICS



ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL DOMINE/THE WASHINGTON POST

Miracle of '84: L.A. Olympics saved Games

The worldwide spectacle seemed dead. Ueberroth's vision transformed it.

BY LES CARPENTER

When the International Olympic Committee met in 1978 to pick a host for the 1984 Summer Games, it had just one candidate, Los Angeles, after the only other bidder, Tehran, dropped out during the early days of Iran's Islamic revolution.

No one else wanted the Olympics.

The costs were seen as prohibitive — and with good reason. Financial problems forced Denver to give back the 1976 Winter Olympics, and Montreal's 1976 Summer Games left the city a then-astronomical $1.5 billion in debt.

The Games' ideals of peace and unity had frayed as well. Terrorists had attacked the 1972 Munich Olympics, leading to the deaths of 11 Israeli athletes and coaches. Two years after Los Angeles landed the Olympics by default, the United States led a boycott of more than 60 nations at the 1980 Moscow Games to protest the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. Many of the Soviet countries threatened to do the same in 1984.

Two months before the Olympics, a Newsweek cover story asked what then felt like an appropriate question: "Are the Games Dead?"

"The general view was that the Olympics had been good for the

SEE **OLYMPICS** ON **D4**

And in Paris: Have the Games lost their luster? We will know soon. **A1**

It is not charity. Investing in women is good business.



Sally Jenkins

Certain shortsighted business mistakes live on in jeering lore: Blockbuster rejecting Netflix comes to mind, as does Twentieth Century Fox giving up sequel rights to Star Wars. Right about now, as the WNBA counts its ratings and revenue, certain oafish sports owners occupy the same category. Let's pick on James Dolan because he's demonstrative of a particular butt-headedness. This is the guy who so undersold the New York Liberty that he made it work in an arena that hosted cat shows. It now looks as if Dolan lost about $120 million when he sold the team. Who knew karma could smell so strongly of a litter box?

SEE **JENKINS** ON **D3**

Inside: Arike Ogunbowale powers WNBA all-stars past Team USA. **D3**

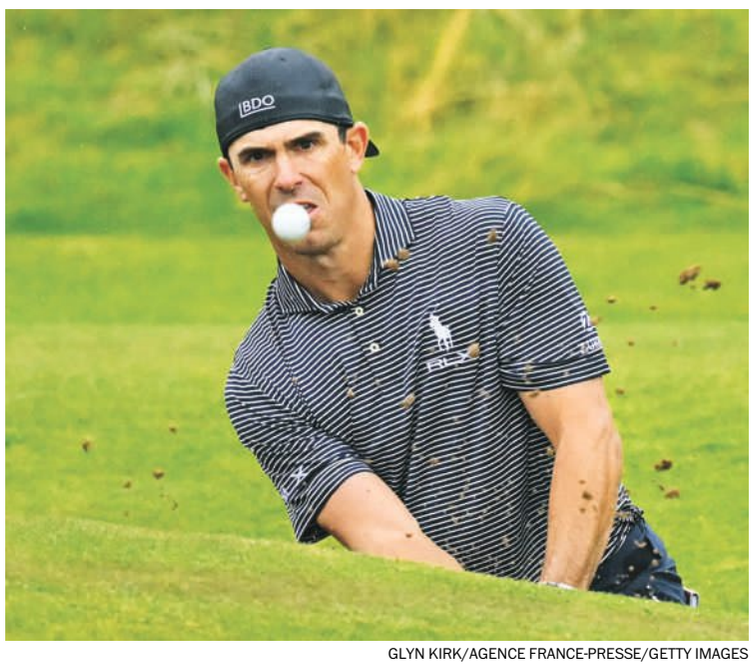
BASKETBALL

The U.S. men barely avoid a stunning loss by posting a 101-100 victory over South Sudan in London. **D2**

BASEBALL

A dud by MacKenzie Gore can't sink the Nationals, who rally for a 5-4 victory over the visiting Reds. **D6**

In icky third round, Troon becomes a royal pain



GLYN KIRK/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Billy Horschel shot a 2-under-par 69 on a Saturday that saw most players go backward, giving him a one-shot lead at the British Open.

Wind and rain turn British Open into 'absolute survival test'

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

TROON, SCOTLAND — All that futuristic golf equipment, the pariah of those concerned about its capacity to ruin the sport, has looked like a patsy here against a force even much more capable of oomph: Mother Nature. *You take your fancy-schmancy clubs*, she has seemed to say at this 152nd British Open, *and I'll show you just what I think of your so-called driving distance.*

She got befuddling with her wind directions Thursday. She got so volatile for much of Friday that Justin Rose said, "Nothing makes sense with the yardage book, really." Then Saturday, after taking a breather in the morning and midday, she went for the wind-and-rain exacta until the wind came back and the rain came hard and the best players in the world started letting their words get drastic.

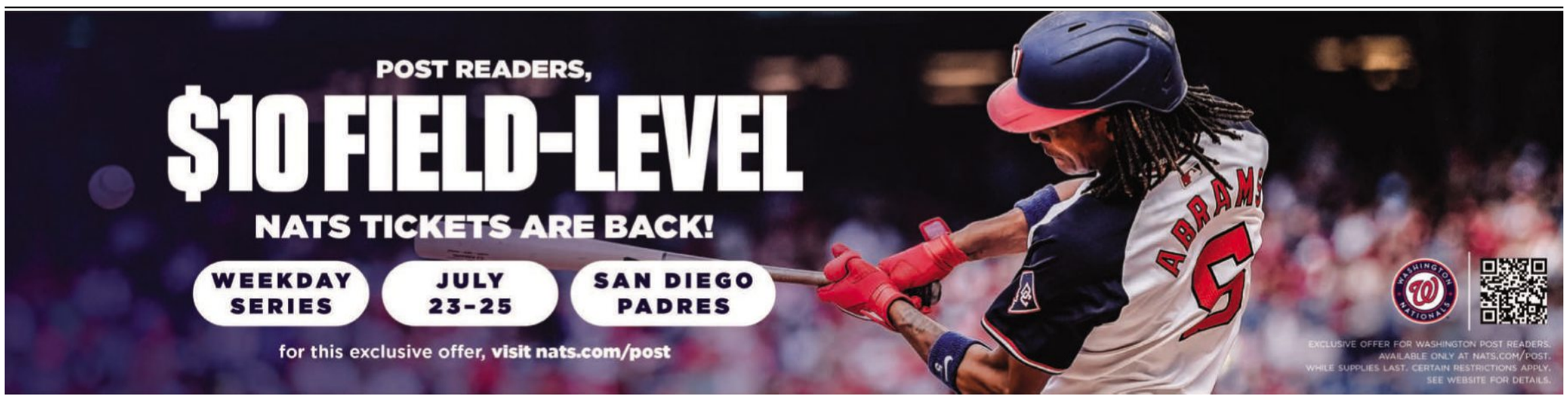
"I think that was probably the

SEE **BRITISH OPEN** ON **D8**

BRITISH OPEN
Royal Troon, through Sunday

	LEADER BOARD	TO PAR
1	Billy Horschel	**-4**
T2	Thriston Lawrence	**-3**
	Sam Burns	**-3**
	Russell Henley	**-3**
	Xander Schauffele	**-3**
	Justin Rose	**-3**
	Daniel Brown	**-3**

Final round: 4 a.m., USA Network; 7 a.m. NBC



THE DAY IN SPORTS

CYCLING

Pogacar is in position to reclaim Tour title

Tadej Pogacar equaled one Tour de France mark Saturday and probably will match another Sunday.

Yellow jersey holder Pogacar edged defending champion **Jonas Vingegaard** at the top of Col De La Couillole to win the 20th and penultimate stage and add even more seconds to his considerable lead.

It was a fifth stage victory this month for the two-time champion, who stretched out his arms as he crossed the line before holding up his fingers to signal his number of wins.

The only other man to win five mountain stages in one Tour was **Gino Bartali** in 1948.

"If you told me this before the Tour, I would not have believed you," Pogacar said. "It's out of this world, actually. I'm so happy.

"[Five stages] is more than enough. One would be enough. Just the yellow jersey would be enough. But it is how it is — you don't brake in cycling."

Pogacar attacked from the leading duo with 150 meters remaining and beat Vingegaard by seven seconds.

They are likely to be in the same positions on the final podium after Pogacar extended his lead to 5 minutes 14 seconds over two-time defending champ Vingegaard, his closest rival.

Third-place **Remco Evenepoel** lost even more time. He crossed the line in fourth — behind **Richard Carapaz** — and lost 53 seconds to Pogacar to fall 8:04 behind the Slovenian star.

The Tour ends Sunday on the French Riviera with a 34-kilometer (21-mile) time trail from Monaco to Nice — not in Paris, as it usually does, because of the Olympic Games.

Barring incident, Pogacar is almost certain to reclaim the crown from Vingegaard — and in doing so secure a rare Giro d'Italia and Tour de France double. The last rider to win both in the same year was **Marco Pantani** in 1998.

AUTO RACING

In Indianapolis, Herbst edges Custer, Almirola

Riley Herbst saw an opening and made it pay off with a trip to Victory Lane at the Brickyard.

The 25-year-old NASCAR Xfinity Series driver chased down **Aric Almirola** on the final lap, then got close enough to tap Almirola's car with his front bumper in the final turn, dart to the inside for the lead and hold on to his sliding car to earn his first win at Indianapolis Motor Speedway.

Herbst gave Stewart-Haas Racing its second straight victory, finishing ahead of teammate **Cole Custer** by 0.167 seconds. Almirola wound up third.

"This is the Indianapolis Motor Speedway. Everyone in the world wants to race here and win here," Herbst said, explaining he barely held on to the car when it started to go sideways. "I don't care if it's the Xfinity Series or the go-kart series. This is Indianapolis."

The back-to-back wins give SHR, a team that's closing its doors after the season, some momentum heading into the final six regular season races.

Herbst also won the first Xfinity race held on Indy's historic 2.5-mile oval since 2018, doing it in thrilling fashion.

Each of the top three finishers held the lead during the final three laps, and Custer came within a whisker of capping a perfect weekend with his second straight trip to Victory Lane when he passed Almirola on the inside of the front straightaway. Earlier in the day, Custer was named the Haas Factory Team's Cup driver for 2025. …

McLaren pair **Lando Norris** and **Oscar Piastri** locked up the Hungarian Grand Prix front spots ahead of Formula One leader **Max Verstappen** after a stellar qualifying session for the British team in Budapest.

It was the third career pole for Norris, who will have his teammate starting right behind him as he aims for a second win of the season.

Ferrari's **Carlos Sainz** had the fourth-fastest time, followed by Mercedes's **Lewis Hamilton** and Ferrari's **Charles Leclerc**.

Verstappen probably won't be able to count on any help from teammate **Sergio Pérez**, whose woes continued when his Red Bull spun off and hit the barrier. He is set to start 16th. …

Tyler Reddick took advantage of the final qualifying run to post the fastest lap in the final round of qualifying in Indianapolis and earn his first Brickyard 400 pole.

The 28-year-old completed the 2.5-mile oval in 49.469 seconds, just a touch faster than points leader **Chase Elliott**, who was clocked at 49.504 and will start just behind Reddick in the No. 3 spot.

It's the eighth career pole for Reddick, who had the fastest car in practice Friday and entered this week third in the standings, 15 points behind Elliott.

The top five in the Cup Series standings will start from the first five positions, although not in the same order.

Denny Hamlin qualified second, with **Kyle Larson** fourth and **William Byron** fifth. …

Colton Herta took the IndyCar pole position on the Exhibition Place street course in Toronto, turning a lap at 59.5431 seconds

Seeking his first win of the season, the Andretti Global driver will start Sunday alongside Andretti teammate **Kyle Kirkwood**, who had a lap at 59.6375. Meyer Shank's **Felix Rosenqvist** was third at 59.8252.

Points leader **Alex Palou** of Chip Ganassi Racing will start 18th after being penalized for interference during the first qualifying segment.

A broken right thumb sidelined Arrow McLaren driver **Alexander Rossi**, giving Frenchman **Theo Pourchaire** his sixth start of the season. He ran a lap of 1:01.6071 in the No. 7 Chevrolet and will start 26th.

PRO BASKETBALL

After showing growth, Lakers' James sits out

Bronny James was a spectator for the Los Angeles Lakers' NBA Summer League game against the Chicago Bulls after the team determined it had seen all it needed out of the league's most talked-about rookie.

James finished the summer on an upward trajectory after a dismal start, scoring 25 points on 10-for-21 shooting over his final two games. That included making 3 of 8 shots from three-point range after missing his first 15.

"I think it's just going to help him going into the summer so we can work on different things," Lakers Summer League Coach **Dane Johnson** said.

Some fans broke out a chant of "We want Bronny" in the first quarter of the 107-81 win. …

Taylor Funk scored 29 points and hit eight three-pointers to lead the Washington Wizards to a 91-79 win over the Milwaukee Bucks in an NBA Summer League consolation game in Las Vegas.

Rookie **Alex Sarr**, who has struggled in the league after being drafted second overall, did not play. …

As expected, the Utah Jazz waived recently acquired point guard **Russell Westbrook**, creating the opportunity for him to join the Denver Nuggets. …

Guard **Gary Trent Jr.** left the Toronto Raptors to sign with the Bucks, Milwaukee announced.

SPOTLIGHT: BASKETBALL



KIN CHEUNG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

"I like those ones better than the blowouts," LeBron James said after hitting the game-winning layup with eight seconds left.

Americans hang on to avoid pre-Paris upset

BY BEN GOLLIVER

UNITED STATES 101, SOUTH SUDAN 100

Underdog exposes issues for the Olympic front-runners

Though South Sudan has never competed in the Olympics in men's basketball and its roster lacks a current NBA player, the African nation with a population of fewer than 13 million nearly turned in one of the biggest upsets in international basketball history Saturday against the United States.

With the Paris Games just days away, the mighty Americans needed a late basket from LeBron James to hold off South Sudan, 101-100, during an exhibition at London's O2 arena. The Americans, who are the odds-on favorites to win their fifth straight Olympic gold medal, were favored by 43½ points over South Sudan, which became an independent nation in 2011 after a lengthy civil war and made its major international basketball tournament debut at the 2023 FIBA World Cup.

James hit a go-ahead layup driving to his left with eight seconds remaining, and South Sudan missed three shots to pull off a monumental upset on its final possession. James led the Americans with 25 points to go with six rebounds and seven assists.

"I like those ones better than the blowouts," James said as he walked off the court. "At least we get tested."

For the United States, the narrow win exposed several issues that could prove problematic when it opens group-stage play against Serbia on July 28. The Americans fell behind by 16 points in the first half as their starting lineup, featuring Joel Embiid at center, continued to struggle with slow starts and poor ball movement. South Sudan handily won the outside shooting battle, going 14 for 33 (42.4 percent) on three-pointers compared to the Americans' 7-for-28 shooting (25 percent). And the Americans' star-studded roster, led by James and Stephen Curry, committed 12 turnovers, many of them inexplicable.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

MLB

1:30 p.m.	**Cincinnati at Washington** » MASN, WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)
1:30 p.m.	**Hall of Fame induction ceremony** » MLB Network
2:30 p.m.	**Baltimore at Texas** » MASN2, WIYY (97.9 FM), WSBN (630 AM)
7 p.m.	**Boston at Los Angeles Dodgers** » ESPN, WSBN (630 AM)

NBA SUMMER LEAGUE — LAS VEGAS

2 p.m.	**Semifinal: Los Angeles Clippers vs. Memphis** » ESPN
3 p.m.	**Orlando vs. Minnesota** » NBA TV
4 p.m.	**Semifinal: Golden State vs. Miami** » ESPN
5 p.m.	**Philadelphia vs. Boston** » NBA TV
6:30 p.m.	**Charlotte vs. Brooklyn** » ESPNU
7 p.m.	**Toronto vs. San Antonio** » NBA TV
8:30 p.m.	**Detroit vs. Utah** » ESPNU
9 p.m.	**Houston vs. Portland** » NBA TV

AUTO RACING

9 a.m.	**Formula One: Hungarian Grand Prix** » ESPN
2 p.m.	**NASCAR Cup Series: Brickyard 400** » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
4 p.m.	**NHRA: Northwest Nationals** » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)

GOLF

4 a.m.	**British Open, final round** » USA Network
7 a.m.	**British Open, final round** » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
1 p.m.	**LPGA Tour: Dana Open, final round** » Golf Channel
2 p.m.	**LPGA Tour: Dana Open, final round** » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
6 p.m.	**PGA Tour: Barracuda Championship, final round** » Golf Channel

SOCCER

4 p.m.	**USL Championship: Sacramento at Oakland** » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)

TENNIS

5:30 a.m.	**ATP: Hall of Fame Open, Hamburg Open, Nordea Open and Swiss Open, finals; Croatia Open, early rounds; WTA: Hungarian Grand Prix, final; Iasi Open, early rounds** » Tennis Channel

PROFESSIONAL BASKETBALL — THE BASKETBALL TOURNAMENT

Noon	**Round of 32: Herd That (Marshall) vs. War Ready (Auburn)** » Fox Sports 2
2 p.m.	**Round of 32: La Familia (Kentucky) vs. The Nawf** » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
4 p.m.	**Round of 32: Red Rose Thunder vs. Team AboutBillions** » Fox Sports 1
6 p.m.	**Round of 32: All Good Dawgs (Butler) vs. Eberlein Drive** » Fox Sports 1
8 p.m.	**Round of 32: Assembly Ball (Indiana) vs. Men of Mackey (Purdue)** » Fox Sports 1

PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

7 p.m.	**Canadian Football League: British Columbia at Calgary** » CBS Sports Network

WOMEN'S LACROSSE

1 p.m.	**Athletes Unlimited: Team Bosco vs. Team Glynn** » ESPN2

U.S. PARALYMPIC TRIALS

1 p.m.	**Day 2: Track and field** » CNBC

BOYS' BASKETBALL

10 a.m.	**Peach Jam, E16 final: Bradley Beal Elite (Mo.) vs. CP3 (N.C.)** » NBA TV
11:30 a.m.	**Peach Jam, EYBL final: Nightrydas Elite (Fla.) vs. Oakland Soldiers (Calif.)** » NBA TV

SOFTBALL

5 p.m.	**Alliance Fastpitch All-Star Game** » CBS Sports Network

TRACK AND FIELD

In warmup for Games, Lyles records PR in 100

Heading into the Olympics, **Noah Lyles** has never been faster.

The American world champion warmed up for the Paris Games by setting a personal best in the 100 meters at the Diamond League meet in London, clocking 9.81 seconds to beat a strong field in the last major meet before the Olympics.

Lyles trailed his rivals at the start before powering past the field over the last 50 meters. **Akani Simbine** of South Africa was second in 9.86, and **Letsile Tebogo** of Botswana was third in 9.88, with the top five finishers all breaking the 10-second mark.

Lyles's previous best was the 9.83 he clocked at last year's world championships in Budapest — where he won the 100, 200 and the 4x100 relay — and then matched in the U.S. Olympic trials last month.

Other notable results at the London Stadium, which hosted the 2012 Olympics, included **Matt Hudson-Smith** of Britain setting a world-leading time of 43.74 in the men's 400 and world champion **Femke Bol** taking the women's 400 hurdles in 51.30, her second-fastest time ever.

In the women's 200, **Gabrielle Thomas** came from behind to pass **Julien Alfred** and **Dina Asher-Smith** and win in 21.82.

TENNIS

Nadal makes first final in more than two years

Rafael Nadal reached his first final since the 2022 French Open by rallying to beat **Duje Ajdukovic**, 4-6, 6-3, 6-4, at the clay-court Nordea Open in Bastad, Sweden.

After needing four hours to beat the 36th-ranked **Mariano Navone** in Friday's quarterfinals, Nadal had a slow start against Ajdukovic and was a break down in the second set before turning things around.

Nadal will face **Nuno Borges**, who took down **Thiago Agustin Tirante**, 6-3, 6-4, to reach his first tour-level final.

Nadal is playing at the tournament in Sweden for the first time since he won the title as a 19-year-old in 2005 as he prepares for the Olympic tournament on clay at Roland Garros in Paris.

The 38-year-old Nadal skipped Wimbledon as he didn't want to switch surfaces to grass and then go back to clay and risk injury. He has been dealing with hip and abdominal injuries over the past 1½ years.

MISC.

Dornoch takes Haskell over rival Mindframe

Belmont Stakes winner **Dornoch** captured the $1 million Haskell Stakes at Monmouth Park in Oceanport, N.J., to take charge of what had been a wide-open 3-year-old division.

The Haskell featured a renewal of the budding rivalry between Dornoch and **Mindframe**. They clashed in the Belmont Stakes last month, with Dornoch prevailing by a half-length.

The Haskell victory was more emphatic. Dornoch prevailed by 1¼ lengths in 1:50.31 for the 1⅛ miles. Mindframe, the 4-5 favorite, settled for second, five lengths better than third-place finisher **Timberlake**. …

U.S. soccer captain **Tyler Adams** will miss the start of the Premier League season while he recovers from back surgery, Bournemouth Manager **Andoni Iraola** said.

Adams, 25, missed most of last season because of a hamstring problem, and after a brief return he ended his debut Bournemouth campaign with back spasms.

— From news services

GOLF

Wannasaen expands her lead at Dana Open

Chanettee Wannasaen opened up a three-stroke lead in the Dana Open, shooting a 5-under-par 66 at Highland Meadows in Sylvania, Ohio.

A day after finishing with an eagle to take the outright lead, Wannasaen birdied the par-5 18th to reach 16-under 197. The 20-year-old Thai player won the Portland Classic last year for her lone LPGA Tour title.

Haeran Ryu of South Korea was second. She birdied the twin closing par-5s in a 65.

Defending champion **Linn Grant** of Sweden was five strokes back at 11 under with **Xiyu "Janet" Lin** of China and **Ssu-Chia Cheng** of Taiwan. Grant and Lin shot 70, and Cheng had a 66. Lin is the highest-ranked player in the field at No. 15. …

Mac Meissner kept the lead in the Barracuda Championship in Truckee, Calif., following a late par save with a tap-in birdie in the only PGA Tour event that uses the modified Stableford scoring system.

Meissner had a one-point lead over **Vince Whaley**, reaching 39 points with 13.

Chad Ramey, who is tied for sixth with 33, is the only PGA Tour winner in the top eight. …

Rianne Malixi won the 75th U.S. Girls' Junior a year after falling in the final, routing **Asterisk Talley**, 8 and 7, in the 36-hole match at El Caballero Country Club in Tarzana, Calif.

It was the largest championship-match blowout in tournament history.

Stars light up the night as Team WNBA sends the U.S. off to Paris with a loss

TEAM WNBA 117, TEAM USA 109

BY KAREEM COPELAND

PHOENIX — Diana Taurasi received the loudest ovation during player introductions at the WNBA All-Star Game on Saturday night. Nothing else could be heard as Phoenix fans roared in appreciation, realizing the league's all-time leading scorer — who has spent 20 years with the Mercury — is nearing the end of her Hall of Fame career.

So it was appropriate when the five-time gold medalist, a 42-year-old who in Paris is about to play in her sixth Olympics, came out and buried the first shot of the game — a three-pointer for the league's all-time leader in that category. "Personally, I know that the end is way closer than the beginning," she said. "So I just try to enjoy every single moment."

This midseason showcase had a spicy feel and a competitive nature typically missing in these sorts of games. Hall of Famer Cheryl Miller, who coached Team WNBA, made that clear Friday when she said her squad wanted to "beat the brakes" off the U.S. women's national team. There was something at stake on both sides: Team USA wanted to prepare for the Olympics, and the members of Team WNBA wanted to show they could beat the most accomplished roster in the world.

"It is one of the greatest spectacles, I think, in the history of our league, this game today," Team USA Coach Cheryl Reeve said beforehand. "This is such a great game for USA Basketball because of the level of competition. And we are going to experience adversity in this game."

Reeve was correct: Team WNBA prevailed, 117-109, in front of a sellout crowd at Footprint Center as All-Star Game MVP Arike Ogunbowale led the way with a game record 34 points. Ogunbowale, who was not picked for the Olympic team and said politics played a role in the roster selection, erupted in the third quarter with 21 points and five three-pointers after a scoreless first half.



PHOTOS BY ALEX SLITZ/GETTY IMAGES

Wings guard Arike Ogunbowale was named the MVP after scoring an All-Star Game record 34 points. She was scoreless in the first half.

Team WNBA's lead was nine after three quarters and grew to 20 in the fourth before Team USA rallied late.

The MVP award was the second for Ogunbowale, who also was honored in 2021 when she faced the Tokyo-bound U.S. Olympians.

Breanna Stewart led Team USA with 31 points and 10 rebounds. Taurasi finished with 14 points, six rebounds and five assists in 20 minutes.

The storylines ran deep, well beyond Taurasi and Ogunbowale.

No. 1 draft pick Caitlin Clark and fellow star rookie Angel Reese not only made their all-star debuts, but their rivalry that began in college was put on hold as they competed as teammates for the first time. Like Taurasi, both received a lot of support from the crowd at the culmination of a hectic weekend.



Angel Reese, above, had 12 points and 11 rebounds, while fellow rookie Caitlin Clark dished 10 assists.

Clark, who was announced as a starter shortly before the game, finished with four points and a game-high 10 assists. Reese, who set a WNBA record with 15 consecutive double-doubles, had another Saturday, finishing with 12 points and 11 rebounds.

"It's definitely been busy," Clark said. ". . . But it's been fun to get to experience this with other WNBA players, too, and get to know them."

Miller was back in the city where she made her lone WNBA coaching stop. Before the game, she walked to the baseline with another coaching shirt and gave it to fellow Hall of Famer Ann Meyers Drysdale, who headed to the bench as an honorary coach. And this wasn't just fun and games for Miller, who was animated as she talked to the team during huddles.

There were teammate combinations on both squads with A'ja Wilson-Chelsea Gray-Jackie Young-Kelsey Plum (Las Vegas Aces), Stewart-Sabrina Ionescu (New York Liberty) and Taurasi-Brittney Griner-Kahleah Copper (Mercury) on Team USA. Team WNBA featured DeWanna Bonner-Brionna Jones (Connecticut Sun) and Clark-Kelsey Mitchell-Aliyah Boston (Indiana Fever). And Bonner was on the opposite side from Alyssa Thomas, her fiancée and Sun teammate.

Speaking of Griner, she is headed to Europe to play for the first time since she was released from a Russian prison in December 2022.

And on Friday night, Allisha Gray became the first player to win both the three-point contest and skills challenge.

The stars were not only on the court but in the stands. University of Connecticut guard Paige Bueckers sat courtside next to Hall of Famer Sheryl Swoopes. Sue Bird and former U.S. soccer star Megan Rapinoe were courtside, too.

Former NFL tight end and media personality Shannon Sharpe, musicians Fabolous and Ty Dolla Sign, actress Aubrey Plaza and actor Jason Sudeikis were present. Vanessa Bryant, wife of the late Kobe Bryant, and her daughters also sat courtside, and Pitbull performed at halftime.

SALLY JENKINS

Women's sports naysayers are adding up their losses

JENKINS FROM D1

For years Dolan and other owners treated the WNBA as a misdirected little exertion that came at their personal expense. They whined interminably about having to contribute to its marketing and sabotaged it with sneers — and now they're patting their pockets while the league's All-Star Game is one of the most compelling events of an Olympic summer. Dolan sold the Liberty in 2019 to Joe and Clara Tsai of the Brooklyn Nets for a reported $10 million to $14 million. The Liberty is now valued at $130 million. In May, the team set a record for revenue from a *single game* with more than $2 million when Caitlin Clark and the Indiana Fever came to town.

Nobody has called out this blinded fiscal bungling with more glee than Alexis Ohanian, the Reddit co-founder, entrepreneur and husband of Serena Williams, who is making a mint off the fact that so many legacy male sports owners chose the condition of stupidity. "I've said it before, and I'll say it again — the legacy of the underinvestment of women's sports isn't just blatant sexism (which it is), it's also a lesson in gross business incompetence," Ohanian posted on social media in 2023.

When Ohanian became the co-founder and principal investor in Angel City in 2020, all kinds of people told him he would take a bath. "I just wonder where those people are now," Ohanian said triumphantly on the red carpet of the ESPYs this month, where word leaked of an imminent deal for Willow Bay and Bob Iger to purchase a controlling stake in Angel City at a $250 million valuation.

The club has been generating about $30 million per year in revenue, highest in the nascent National Women's Soccer League.

"Fun-fact: when launching the team, I invested $250K separately in a trust for all of Serena and my children, which has now made our girls not just the youngest owners in pro sports — but also now multimillionaires," Ohanian brag-posted on X. "They're proudly holding their shares."

When Ohanian first looked around for an investment opportunity in women's sports back in 2019, he had the same conversations over and over with the same type of guys: They had stakes in the WNBA or women's soccer only because they had daughters who liked sports, and they wanted to sell. They treated them like "charity-pity," Ohanian says. They put zero marketing or energy into them as businesses. "Like, why are you surprised it's doing poorly?" Ohanian wanted to know. They would swear it wasn't their languor or dismissiveness; people simply didn't want to watch women.

"They had created an almost kind of Stockholm syndrome of mediocrity," Ohanian related in a video posted on Instagram. "... Like it was a haplessness and a helplessness that then got offensive because, I realized, this has been compounding for decades. ... And that is the part that this new generation of owners have exposed."

Ohanian saw what was there to be observed, by anyone with eyes that weren't squinted by cretinization: an undervalued stock.

If women's games at big events such as March Madness, the World Cup and the Olympics could command huge numbers, that meant with some real marketing those audiences could become habitual. The only reason they hadn't, in Ohanian's view, was because they were "under-resourced, under-marketed, undervalued, underappreciated, undersupported." All of which was catnip to an investor who likes to be early.

What a contrast with Dolan, who in 2018 moved the Liberty, which averaged almost 10,000 fans at Madison Square Garden, to a 2,300-seat arena in Westchester and then sold it as a failure. Now he's crying because another thing he totally missed was the streaming revolution and cord cutting. Recently, Dolan raged at the NBA because its new media rights deal doesn't protect his MSG regional sports network — as if Adam Silver can stop consumers from canceling a cable channel run by a guy who inherited his old man's one good idea.

The NBA has subsidized the WNBA from the outset — and as a whole the league hasn't reached profitability yet. But commissioner David Stern saw the league not as a revenue tool but an investment in global audience growth strategy — and that has worked. The WNBA is set to bring in $2.2 billion in a new media rights deal.

It's hard to believe, but *five* of the original eight teams in the WNBA are now defunct, shut down by owners who were similarly unwilling to fund or market — or wait.

When Stern preached it was a longer-term investment, they didn't listen. As one person with knowledge of the league told me a few years ago, they simply saw "no upside" in it. Their attitude in and of itself was the profit killer.

Here's what they left on the table: Consulting-audit firm Deloitte predicts that by the end of 2024, revenue generated by elite women's sports will surpass $1 billion for the first time. That's a 300 percent increase over its previous prediction in 2021. As Ohanian observed, "The market is speaking loud and clear, and folks catch up real quick when dollars are involved." The market is not just speaking — it's roaring. And laughing.

With '¡Vamos United!' and applause, Birnbaum bids fans a friendly farewell

CELTIC 4, D.C. UNITED 0

BY THOMAS FLOYD

At no point in Steven Birnbaum's pregame routine did the retiring defender let on that D.C. United's 4-0 loss to Scottish power Celtic on Saturday night at Audi Field would be the final appearance of a decorated 11-year career in the nation's capital.

Birnbaum led United out of the tunnel, walking hand in hand with his 4-year-old daughter, Colette, and his 3-year-old son, Brooks. He stayed on his toes during the national anthem, bobbing and swaying to loosen his legs. The 33-year-old greeted Celtic captain Matt O'Riley for the coin toss, then stripped off the white No. 15 T-shirt that every D.C. player was donning in Birnbaum's honor. Taking his customary spot at the heart of United's back line, Birnbaum zigzagged as if bracing for a game full of quick cuts, then crouched and hopped as if preparing for a long night of contested headers.

"I wanted to go through everything that I would have done before a normal game," said Birnbaum, who announced his early retirement this past week. "I'm extremely superstitious when I play."

Goalkeeper Alex Bono added: "I was like: 'Damn, Steve might go out there and play 90 minutes today. He looks like he's in the mood for it.'"

But as United played the kickoff backward and promptly fired the ball out of bounds, the happy pretense evaporated and reality reigned. For as much as Birnbaum would have loved to roam Audi Field for a final 90 minutes — or 45 or 10 or two — his troublesome hip and knee wouldn't have it. So Birnbaum made his planned exit seconds into the exhibition, exchanging hearty hugs with his teammates and applauding the fans who propped up a "Thanks Captain" banner in his honor.

The No. 2 draft pick out of California in 2014, Birnbaum made 275 appearances for D.C. — good for third in club history — over a career that included a 2016 all-star nod and 11 U.S. national team caps. Having missed the start of the season following February knee surgery, Birnbaum logged just six matches before deciding to hang up his cleats. Irreparable cracks, it turned out, had appeared in the longtime iron man's armor. In three weeks, he will undergo hip replacement surgery.

After removing the captain's armband and handing it to his replacement, Lucas Bartlett, Birnbaum embraced Coach Troy Lesesne, hoisted his daughter as she rushed into his arms and disappeared into the D.C. bench. He already was in street clothes by the time he resurfaced to address the fans during a halftime ceremony.

"I gave everything I had on the field," he told the announced 18,590 in attendance. Signing off for good, he exclaimed, "¡Vamos United!"

"Someone that does this much and has done this much for the club, we have to honor them in the right way," Lesesne said. "He has always given everything he has, even whenever he's in pain."

The friendly arrived three days after United (6-11-8) entered a month-long hiatus from regular season action with a last-gasp 3-2 win at Minnesota. On Wednesday, defender Aaron Herrera and Christian Benteke will participate in the MLS All-Star Game in Columbus, Ohio. United then will open the Leagues Cup — a tournament featuring every team from MLS and Mexico's Liga MX — with a game at Atlanta on Friday.

Despite a slew of lunging saves by third-string goalkeeper Luis Zamudio, a makeshift D.C. squad couldn't keep up with Celtic. O'Riley opened the scoring with a point-blank strike in the 25th minute. Seven minutes later, he doubled his tally by slotting a Zamudio rebound into an empty net. Mikey Johnston converted a 65th-minute tap-in before James Forrest capped the scoring with a counterattack goal four minutes later.

Yet the evening still belonged to a player on the losing team who never touched the ball.

"I was ready for tonight to happen to have that kind of closure and a send-off where I feel good about everything I've done for the club and just happy with my career and to honor my family," said Birnbaum, who was joined at halftime by his wife, Jeanne, and mother, Peggy Schmidt. "Tonight was really about them and them enjoying the experience. It's been overwhelming."

Here's what else to know about United's loss:

Debuts and injuries

Midseason signings David Schnegg, an Austrian left back, and Dominique Badji, a Senegalese forward, logged 58 minutes apiece in their first appearances after the MLS transfer window opened Thursday. Lesesne's lineup also included academy player Graham Jones, a University of Virginia commit who spent the preseason with United.

But a thin D.C. squad also suffered injury setbacks. Kristian Fletcher, an attacker playing for the first time in more than a month because of an ankle issue, exited in the fifth minute after suffering an apparent right hamstring injury. And Zamudio gave way to rookie Nathan Crockford — who denied Johnston's 78th-minute penalty kick — after going down with an apparent leg injury early in the second half.

Celtic kicks off tour

The friendly marked the start of the preseason for a Celtic team that won its 54th Scottish league title this past season (and 12th in the past 13 campaigns). Celtic will continue its U.S. tour against Manchester City on Tuesday in Chapel Hill, N.C., and Chelsea next Saturday in South Bend, Ind.

Celtic, which played a mix of starters and reserves, held out newly signed Danish goalkeeper Kasper Schmeichel and American defender Cameron Carter-Vickers after they played at the European Championship and Copa América.

"Physically we put the work in, and mentally we had a notion to really attack the game," Celtic Manager Brendan Rodgers said. "It was a really nice step for us tonight."

Leagues Cup:
D.C. United at Atlanta United
Friday, 8 p.m., Apple TV Plus



DAVE TENENBAUM/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Los Angeles' 1984 Olympics changed Games forever

OLYMPICS FROM D1

20th century but were too big and too costly to continue," said sports consultant Michael Payne, who had been hired by the IOC in 1983 to revise its marketing strategy.

Then came Los Angeles with an Olympics run by a young travel executive named Peter Ueberroth, who brought new funding ideas built on television deals and corporate sponsorships.

The success was transformative. For two weeks in the summer of 1984, the Los Angeles Games boomed as a nonstop celebration of the United States. Without the Soviet Union, East Germany and other eastern powers that did indeed boycott, the United States won four times as many gold medals as anyone else, turning the first Summer Games in the country since 1932 into a chest-pounding demonstration of American might.

Ueberroth's financial model was a runaway success, not only covering the costs but yielding a $233 million profit.

Other cities around the world watched what happened in Los Angeles and decided they, too, could pay for their own Olympics. Instead of being one of the final editions of a moribund movement, the 1984 Olympics ignited a four-decade explosion that has turned the Games into biennial extravaganzas that only recently have shown signs of flagging, placing this summer's Paris Olympics at a similar inflection point.

Ueberroth changes the model

California was in the middle of a tax revolt around the time Los Angeles was awarded the Olympics. In June 1978, the state's voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 13, a groundbreaking initiative that limited property taxes. Later that year, Los Angeles residents — afraid the Games would be another Montreal — passed their own referendum, Proposition N, that blocked the city from using public funds for the 1984 Olympics.

Into this climate walked Ueberroth in March 1979. The newly elected president of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee was 42 and had little experience with sports aside from being a college water polo player. He, too, had voted for Proposition N. Though he ran one of the country's largest travel companies, most people in the Olympic world had never heard of him. On his first day, he was handed a cardboard box with bills costing $300,000. He used $100 of his own money to open a checking account for the committee.

The official Olympic report from 1984 would note that Ueberroth was "disheartened" to learn that 90 percent of the previous two Summer Olympics had been state-funded. But he had one advantage: While much of Montreal's debt came from the construction of an elaborate Olympic stadium, Athletes' Village and facilities, Los Angeles already had stadiums, starting with the Coliseum, which had been constructed for the 1932 Summer Games. The LAOOC would have to build only a swimming facility, velodrome and shooting center.

Still, without government money, Ueberroth had no traditional way to pay the bills in the cardboard box, let alone for an entire Olympics. It soon became clear to him and his core group of leaders — attorney Harry Usher, marketing director Joel Rubenstein and television executive David Wolper — that they would need to commercialize their Olympics.

To get started, Ueberroth and Wolper attacked the way television rights were sold for the Games. Host cities always had negotiated their own broadcast deals but hadn't been savvy about it. In 1976, ABC paid just $25 million for the Montreal Games.

Certain the American networks would spend far more for the country's first Summer Olympics in 52 years, Ueberroth and Wolper attempted to stage a bidding war among ABC, CBS, NBC, ESPN (then a fledgling cable channel) and Tandem Productions (a production company co-founded by sitcom creator Norman Lear), requiring each to deposit $750,000 for a seat at the table. This gave the LAOOC more than $3 million that Ueberroth invested in short-term funds that generated nearly $1,000 per day in interest.

"Those were the kinds of brains we were working with," said Rich Perelman, who ran the Los Angeles Games' media operations. "With the money paid from the TV deposits and [later] ticket deposits, we operated off the interest all the way into 1983."

In the fall of 1979, ABC agreed to pay $225 million for the rights to broadcast the Los Angeles Olympics and another $100 million to handle television production for the rest of the world — a cost host cities had absorbed previously. The $325 million was so far beyond what the IOC had imagined that it had negotiated in advance to take just $33 million of Los Angeles' TV money.

"That was a blockbuster," said Richard Pound, a longtime IOC member who at the time was among a small group trying to modernize the organization.

Ultimately, Ueberroth and Wolper got another $61.7 million in rights from the world's other broadcasters.

Ueberroth, now 86 and largely out of public view in recent years, did not respond to multiple interview requests made through intermediaries. But in his memoir, "Made in America," he writes that he believed he would need at least a half-billion dollars to run the Games, so he looked toward corporate America.

Much as with television rights, the IOC had no marketing strategy. To that point, Games organizers cut tiny sponsorship deals with hundreds of companies, who paid almost nothing for the right.

Rubenstein came up with an idea: Instead of making small deals with several sponsors pitching similar products, why not seek higher fees for the exclusive rights? He and Ueberroth set a minimum bid of $4 million, far more than the companies were accustomed to spending for Olympic sponsorships. But Coca-Cola and Budweiser quickly agreed to be the official soft drink and beer companies of the Games. McDonald's soon followed.

When others balked, Ueberroth stood firm. In his book, he tells of how Kodak, long affiliated with the Olympics, offered just $2 million, so he gave Japanese rival Fuji three days to present a better offer. Fuji did, eventually agreeing to pay $7 million. Kodak was irate.

"Time and time we went back to [sponsors] and asked for more," Ueberroth writes. "They always gave. We had them. They knew it."

Though Ueberroth was an Olympic outsider, he had a remarkable understanding of exactly what the Los Angeles Games needed. Those who were around him describe a buttoned-up and reserved man whose sharp stare and slightly ajar nose, broken in his water polo days, made him quietly intimidating.

"An intense guy," said Terrence Burns, a sports marketing consultant who has worked for the IOC and co-written several cities' bid proposals in recent years. "Very good at eye contact. He's creative. He's a very precise guy. He doesn't have a lot of time, to be honest with you, for chitchat or wasting anyone's time. He gets right down to business."

"There were people who were absolutely afraid of him," Perelman adds. "Most people, I think, found him to be demanding."

Ueberroth's frugality became an obsession. He boasts in his memoir about delaying the first $25 million television rights payment to the IOC for a day to get an extra $9,000 of interest. He pushed corporate sponsors to help pay for upgrades to existing facilities such as the Coliseum and convinced McDonald's to fund the construction of an outdoor swimming stadium. He convinced 7-Eleven to come up with money for the velodrome. Both companies got to put their names on the new facilities — the kind of naming-rights deals that are now commonplace.

Renata Simril, the CEO of the LA 84 Foundation, a nonprofit started with the Games' surplus, said Ueberroth told her years later that he required Usher to approve any expense more than $1,000.

They "were certainly frugal and checking every dollar," Simril said.

But Ueberroth surprised employees with cash rewards when they did something especially well and often walked around the offices chatting with workers at day's end.

Edwin Moses, then the world's best hurdler and a member of the IOC's Athletes Commission, said Ueberroth was the first official related to the Olympics who urged athletes to market themselves.

Perelman said Ueberroth was "ahead of his time" for believing diverse office staffs make businesses better and actively seeking women and people of color for leadership positions. He also instructed his staff to use contractors and vendors from underserved and often ignored south Los Angeles.

"He wanted the Games to look like the city and the surrounding neighborhood," said David Simon, who ran government relations for the Games.

With so much money pouring in, Ueberroth decided to sell the torch relay as well. Ueberroth hoped a circuitous 9,300-mile run from New York to Los Angeles would ignite nationwide enthusiasm for the Games. He convinced AT&T to pay the operational costs and got each runner to donate $3,000 to charity for their one-kilometer segment carrying the torch.

Ueberroth's great plan was actually working.

Soviet boycott backfires

Two hours after the torch relay began, the Soviet Union announced it was boycotting the Olympics.

"That was a gut punch," Simon said.

The Soviet government said it was pulling out over security concerns and the threat of anti-Soviet protests in the United States, but the move was understood to be retaliation for the U.S.-led boycott of the Moscow Games four years earlier. Soon, other Soviet-bloc nations joined the boycott. A clause in the ABC deal allowed the network to renegotiate if there was a boycott. Ueberroth was worried.

He and Simon worked frantically, even flying to Havana in hopes of convincing Cuba to attend the Games despite Soviet pressure. Ultimately, 14 countries, including Cuba, skipped the Olympics. Romania was the only Soviet-affiliated country to defy Moscow. ABC did not ask for money back.

The boycott did a strange thing, however. It didn't cause Americans to lose interest; it made them want the Games even more. The Cold War was at its peak, and President Ronald Reagan had packed his 1984 reelection campaign with anti-Soviet rhetoric. Movies such as "WarGames," "Red Dawn" and "The Right Stuff" stoked a patriotic fever. And as the torch began moving across the country, people filled roadsides and highway shoulders just to catch glimpses of it.

When the torch finally got to Los Angeles in late July, it seemed as though the whole country was talking about the Olympics. Pound, who carried the torch for a segment in the Los Angeles enclave of Pacific Palisades, was overwhelmed by the size of the crowds, several rows deep on the sidewalks who watched him run. Many held their hands over their hearts. Pound, a Canadian, choked up at the site.

"It was an emotional experience," he said.

The Games began July 28 with Opening Ceremonies, orchestrated by Wolper, designed to show all of America's technological might. A man in a jetpack flew around the Coliseum, dozens of doves were released, and the more than 101,000 in the stands at one point held up colored cards that turned the stadium's stands into a sea of flags from the participating countries.

Rafer Johnson, the 1960 decathlon gold medalist who had been a college star at UCLA, was the last to carry the torch, running it up a mechanical staircase that rose from the stadium's east plaza, so he could light the cauldron atop the Coliseum's gothic peristyle.

From the stadium's press box, Reagan declared the Games open. Later, he told ABC the Soviets "are the losers" for their boycott.

American runner Joan Benoit-Samuelson, who a week later would win the first Olympic women's marathon, remembers many of the world's athletes rushing to embrace the Romanian athletes as they waited to walk into the Coliseum.

"To thank them for coming," she said.

Gold medals all around

Then the United States started winning. And winning. And winning. Carl Lewis was the biggest star, taking gold in the 100 and 200 meters, the 4x100-meter relay and the long jump. Moses won his 105th consecutive 400-meter hurdles race. Mary Lou Retton became the first non-Eastern European to win the gymnastics all-around competition. Greg Louganis won two diving golds.

Most of them probably would have won with the Soviets or East Germans competing, but dozens of other American took golds they might not have otherwise, such as the nine U.S. boxers who won their weight classes, the seven American wrestlers who took gold in a sport usually dominated by the Soviets or even the men's basketball team, a unit of college stars led by Michael Jordan, who had just been drafted by the Chicago Bulls.

Chants of "USA! USA!" filled the venues as American athletes paraded to the top of medal stands.

The Los Angeles Olympics were the first to truly benefit from 1972's Title IX ruling as a generation of girls who had more equitable opportunities to play sports reached adulthood. In addition to Benoit-Samuelson, U.S. women such as cyclist Connie Carpenter-Phinney and swimmer Tracy Caulkins won gold. The U.S. women's basketball team took the first of its nine golds in 10 Games.

When she ran through the Coliseum's tunnel at the end of the marathon, Benoit-Samuelson was stunned to find more than 77,000 people roaring as they watched on the stadium's video boards.

"I just didn't think there'd be a lot of people wanting to spend their Sunday morning watching a bunch of women run 26.2 miles," she said. "And there are a lot of pundits who thought that women really couldn't handle that distance."

All of it played out as a prime-time television drama in the golden late-afternoon California light known in Hollywood as the "magic hour."

"It was the beginning of the television sports empire, so it was huge [and] live," Moses said. "People didn't have to stay up late at night. It was in L.A. Hundreds of thousands of people had the opportunity to go. My family was there. My high school track coach was there; friends were there. And people were just enthusiastic about it."

Many in Los Angeles, including Ueberroth and the Games organizers, had worried the Olympics would be marred by the area's usual summertime ailments: traffic, smog and heat. But amazingly, most residents stayed home for those two weeks, easing congestion on the freeways. Without so many cars, there was little smog, and the ocean breezes kept the temperature down.

"People were just giddy, like, 'How cool is this?'" said longtime ABC and later NBC broadcaster Al Michaels, who has lived in the Los Angeles area for much of his life and did all the track and field television commentary. "So L.A. looked a little different then, just for those two weeks, and [that] obviously had a lot to do with the spirit of the Games and the enthusiasm and the excitement that surrounded those Games. It was a different time. It was almost like nirvana in Los Angeles."

For better and worse

When the Olympics were over and the LAOOC determined it had made $232.5 million, Ueberroth took the profits and started what first was called the Amateur Athletic Foundation, known now as the LA84 Foundation. The nonprofit gave 60 percent of the Games' surplus to the U.S. Olympic Committee and used the remaining $93 million to help fund and expand youth sports in Southern California, something it continues to do today.

"I think Ueberroth believed in the city, and he believed he could do it," Burns said. "The ethos of California in the '80s was optimism. He ran [the Olympics] like a business. The IOC didn't understand this; they had no choice but to go along with it.

"L.A. basically created Olympic marketing. It became a business — a very professional business."

The $325 million the LAOOC wrangled from ABC had stunned the IOC and its president, Juan Antonio Samaranch, who had been elected in 1981 with the mandate to modernize the Olympics. About a year before the Games, Adidas chairman Horst Dassler told IOC members, "You, the IOC, are the most valuable and sought-after trademark in the world, yet the Olympic rings are the most-exploited trademark in existence."

For IOC officials looking for ways to make the Olympics work financially, Ueberroth essentially gave them a blueprint.

"Once we saw the L.A. [television] number, we said, 'This is the way we can finance the Olympic movement, and we need to take control,'" Pound said. "We had to evolve in the sponsorship business, and we had to figure out what was the Olympics brand? What assets did we have? How do we get ourselves off the companies' donation budgets and into the C-suite?"

Payne later wrote a book about that time called "Olympic Turnaround." In it, he tells how Samaranch quickly took away the television rights from the host cities and put them in the IOC's control, overseeing the bidding for the 1988 Winter and Summer Games broadcast rights months before the Los Angeles Games even happened.

Samaranch also led the creation of the IOC's own exclusive corporate sponsorship program, much as Ueberroth did in Los Angeles. The program still exists, guaranteeing the IOC a significant amount of money from a small group of companies, separate from the sponsorships each Games' host sells as well.

The IOC now uses some of this money to help hosts pay for their Olympics. In the ensuing four decades, several cities have held Games that either made money or helped revive their images, including Barcelona, Salt Lake City, London and Beijing, whose 2008 Summer Games were seen as the opening of China to the rest of the world.

Ueberroth and his Olympics were the inspiration for all the Games have become.

But at what cost?

Commercialization might have saved the Olympics and even democratized them by funding sports in countries that might never have been able to afford Olympic teams, yet the costs of the Games have soared, leading to an arms race in which hosts willing to spend heavily have built new facilities that since have been orphaned. The 2014 Sochi Winter Games cost $55 billion. And while Paris 2024 Olympic leaders expect to have raised enough money to cover their bills, the Games still will cost over $9 billion.

Though the Los Angeles Games are widely portrayed as uniting the vast and divergent sprawl of communities for two weeks, the city's police accumulated an arsenal of weapons to secure the Olympics that it would use in those same south Los Angeles neighborhoods that Ueberroth tried to involve in his Games. Some have connected aggressive law enforcement tactics in south Los Angeles to the police department's preparations for the 1984 Olympics.

Ueberroth, himself, was never bigger than in the summer of 1984. Time magazine named him its man of the year, and Major League Baseball hired him as commissioner weeks before the Games started, though he didn't start until after the Olympics. The frugality that worked so well with the LAOOC didn't translate to baseball. He urged team owners to spend less on players, a mandate that helped teams become more profitable but also led to sloppy collusion cases designed to suppress free agent markets. A series of arbitration rulings against baseball led to the owners having to pay the players $280 million in damages.

Ueberroth resigned as baseball commissioner in 1988, months before the end of his first term. He then served as head of the U.S. Olympic and Paralympic Committee's board for four years and ran unsuccessfully for governor of California. Even his financial savvy drew some criticism in the aftermath. In his book, Payne writes that several of the sponsors whom Ueberroth cajoled to spend heavily were irked when the Games wound up with a profit, saying they felt tricked into writing bigger checks to promote Ueberroth's image.

But at a time when the Olympics looked to be done, the Games that Los Angeles won by default had a transformative effect.

"You can't overestimate how important those Games were to the [Olympic] movement," Burns said. "They saved it."



BOB THOMAS/GETTY IMAGES

The Coliseum hosted the Opening and Closing Ceremonies and was the stage for a dominant performance by the U.S. men's and women's track and field teams. Mary Lou Retton became the first non-Eastern European to win the gymnastics all-around and was one of the breakout stars.



TONY DUFFY/GETTY IMAGES



DAVID CANNON/GETTY IMAGES



TONY DUFFY/GETTY IMAGES

With the Soviet Union's boycott keeping most of Eastern Europe's top athletes home, the United States won four times as many gold medals as anyone else, including Steve Lundquist, top, who set the 100-meter breaststroke world record; 100-meter hurdler Benita Fitzgerald-Brown, middle; and synchronized swimmer Tracie Ruiz, above center.



JESS RAPFOGEL/GETTY IMAGES

The Nationals' Jacob Young, above, brought home Ildemaro Vargas with a go-ahead single with two outs in the eighth inning Saturday.

Nats rally for the victory after Gore's rough start

NATIONALS 5, REDS 4

BY ANDREW GOLDEN

Once the first inning was over, MacKenzie Gore stared at the scoreboard and put his head down. His gray Washington Nationals jersey was a shade darker than when he took the mound 20 minutes earlier, a sign of the labor required to get through a disastrous beginning to his second half of the season.

It took 48 pitches — 26 strikes and 22 balls — before the inning was complete. If Gore hadn't struck out the Cincinnati Reds' Noelvi Marte to end the threat, his Saturday night probably would have ended there. Still, his exit undoubtedly was coming soon. Gore lasted just two innings and departed with his team facing a deficit, but the Nationals rallied to a 5-4 win thanks to Jacob Young's go-ahead single in the eighth.

"I'm just not going deep into games. That's frustrating for me," Gore said. "It's frustrating for the relievers that had to pitch seven innings today. But we won. And it's a big win for us — a gutsy win."

Saturday was the second time in Washington's past four games in which its starter threw at least 40 pitches in the first inning. Mitchell Parker didn't make it out of the first July 13 in Milwaukee, but the bullpen starred as the Nationals rallied to a 6-5 victory on CJ Abrams's go-ahead homer in the ninth. On Saturday at Nationals Park, the Nationals (46-53) showed their resilience again.

This time, the winning rally started thanks to Ildemaro Vargas, who roped a double to lead off the eighth. James Wood moved him to third before Trey Lipscomb grounded out to pitcher Justin Wilson, setting up a matchup with Young. The scouting report on Young has been to work him in, but he turned on a first-pitch inside cutter from Wilson to drive a single through the left side of the infield, putting his arm out in celebration as the Nationals secured a series win against the Reds (47-52).

"The boys are going to play hard for 27 outs," Manager Dave Martinez said. "They're not going to give up."

Still, the start of the evening was disappointing for Gore. The 25-year-old left-hander allowed two hits, walked four and gave up three runs on his bobblehead night as his rough July continued. He threw 67 pitches; just 37 were strikes.

For Gore to take another step forward as a top-of-the-rotation arm, he needs to eliminate bad outings such as Saturday's. He showed his ability to be elite with a 2.91 ERA and a 72:17 strikeout-to-walk ratio in the season's first two months. Next, he needed to prove he could keep doing that for a full season.

Gore's ERA by month: 3.19 in April, 2.60 in May, 5.13 in June and 6.59 in July entering Saturday. Before the all-star break, he had allowed four runs or more in three of his previous four starts. The frustration was apparent in his deep, exasperated sighs in the clubhouse after each start. That continued Saturday.

"We know what the problem is," he said. "I'm going to stop talking about it, and I'm going to figure out a way — whenever I pitch again — figure out a way to be better. … Been a good start to the second half in that way, but we saw what happened in the first two innings today."

He opened with seven straight balls before a strike led to sarcastic cheers from the home crowd. His first inning went as follows: four-pitch walk, six-pitch walk, nine-pitch strikeout, four-pitch RBI single, seven-pitch walk, 10-pitch sacrifice fly, eight-pitch strikeout.

The Reds fouled off 16 pitches, including 11 fastballs. Gore threw just one first-pitch strike. After all of that, the Nationals trailed 2-0. But in the bottom half, Harold Ramírez hit his first home run as a National, a two-run shot to center that tied the score.

Even with a second chance, Gore couldn't salvage his outing. He recorded the first two outs of the second, then walked Jonathan India for a second time. Elly De La Cruz followed with an RBI double to give the Reds the lead and advanced to third on an error by Wood in left. A groundout kept the Nationals' deficit at 3-2, but the end of the inning left Gore's July ERA at 7.47. His struggles have coincided with command issues — he has 13 walks in 15⅔ innings this month.

But just as it did a week earlier, Washington's bullpen provided needed support. Jordan Weems allowed a solo homer to Tyler Stephenson in the third, but Robert Garcia, Dylan Floro and Derek Law didn't allow a run over the next five innings. And the Nationals clawed their way back again — Abrams hit an RBI infield single in the fourth and Lane Thomas had a tying double in the seventh before Young delivered in the eighth. All-star Kyle Finnegan retired the side in order in the ninth for his 27th save as the Nationals put Gore's ugly start behind them.

"I think both times, the bullpen has just been unbelievable," Young said. "For them to be put in that type of situation is [not easy], and for them to keep giving us a chance in those games is great. Both games, we've been able to scrap runs throughout the game and get a big hit late. … It's just cool to be able to win games like that."

Note: Martinez said right-hander Cade Cavalli (recovering from Tommy John surgery) experienced "dead arm" after his rehab start for high Class A Wilmington on June 21. Then he got the flu before he was scheduled to make his next rehab start in early July, which is why he hasn't pitched in nearly a month.

The team plans to send the 25-year-old back to Florida to ramp up again soon. When Cavalli gets there, Martinez said, he will start from the beginning, throwing from flat ground and building his way back up to game action.

NATIONALS ON DECK

vs. Cincinnati Reds

Sunday	1:35	MASN

vs. San Diego Padres

Tuesday	6:45	MASN2
Wednesday	6:45	MASN2
Thursday	12:05	MASN2

at St. Louis Cardinals

Friday	8:15	MASN2
Saturday	7:15	MASN2
July 28	2:15	MASN2

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)

SCOREBOARD

PRO BASKETBALL

WNBA

EAST	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	21	4	.840	—
Connecticut	18	6	.750	2½
Indiana	11	15	.423	10½
Chicago	10	14	.417	10½
Atlanta	7	17	.292	13½
Washington	6	19	.240	15

WEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Minnesota	17	8	.680	—
Seattle	17	8	.680	—
Las Vegas	16	8	.667	½
Phoenix	13	12	.520	4
Los Angeles	6	18	.250	10½
Dallas	6	19	.240	11

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

No games scheduled.

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

WNBA All-Star Game:
Team WNBA 117, U.S. Olympic team 109

SUNDAY'S GAMES

No games scheduled.

MONDAY'S GAMES

No games scheduled.

TUESDAY'S GAMES

No games scheduled.

Team WNBA 117, U.S. Olympic team 109

USA	23	31	25	30	— 109
WNBA	24	28	36	29	— 117

USA	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Stewart	31:19	10-21	8-9	1-10	3	2	31
Wilson	28:35	8-13	4-4	2-6	3	1	22
C.Gray	10:53	2-4	0-0	0-0	5	0	5
Loyd	13:09	0-3	0-0	0-2	3	0	0
Taurasi	20:06	5-9	1-1	1-6	5	2	14
Ionescu	21:12	2-6	0-0	1-3	3	2	5
Thomas	17:43	2-2	0-0	3-5	2	0	4
Young	15:45	1-5	0-0	0-0	3	1	2
Griner	14:11	5-7	0-0	0-7	0	0	10
Plum	12:38	3-5	2-2	1-2	6	2	9
Copper	11:38	3-6	0-0	0-1	1	3	7
Collier	2:50	0-0	0-0	0-1	0	0	0
TOTALS	200	41-81	15-16	9-43	34	13	109

Percentages: FG .506, FT .938. **3-Point Goals:** 12-33, .364 (Taurasi 3-7, Stewart 3-9, Wilson 2-3, C.Gray 1-2, Copper 1-2, Plum 1-2, Ionescu 1-5, Young 0-1, Loyd 0-2). **Team Rebounds:** 3. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 3 (Stewart, Thomas, Wilson). **Turnovers:** 14 (Wilson 3, Griner 2, Ionescu 2, Plum 2, Young 2, C.Gray, Copper, Thomas). **Steals:** 8 (Copper 3, Wilson 3, C.Gray, Stewart). **Technical Fouls:** None.

WNBA	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Bonner	15:39	2-6	0-0	0-4	0	0	5
Ogwumike	24:15	7-9	0-0	0-3	2	1	14
J.Jones	16:28	3-6	0-0	1-7	5	1	6
Clark	26:04	2-9	0-0	0-1	10	2	4
Ogunbowale	30:35	10-20	6-7	1-3	6	2	34
A.Gray	22:21	3-8	9-10	1-3	3	1	16
Reese	17:53	5-10	2-2	5-11	0	1	12
Mitchell	13:56	6-8	0-0	0-0	1	1	13
McBride	11:25	1-1	0-0	0-0	2	2	3
Boston	9:03	2-3	0-1	0-2	1	1	4
B.Jones	8:19	3-6	0-0	1-2	0	1	6
Hamby	4:02	0-2	0-0	0-2	1	0	0
TOTALS	200	44-88	17-20	9-38	31	13	117

Percentages: FG .500, FT .850. **3-Point Goals:** 12-36, .333 (Ogunbowale 8-13, McBride 1-1, A.Gray 1-3, Bonner 1-3, Mitchell 1-3, B.Jones 0-1, Boston 0-1, J.Jones 0-1, Ogwumike 0-1, Reese 0-2, Clark 0-7). **Team Rebounds:** 4. **Team Turnovers:** None. **Blocked Shots:** 3 (J.Jones, Ogwumike, Reese). **Turnovers:** 8 (Boston 2, Clark 2, Ogwumike 2, Hamby, Mitchell). **Steals:** 14 (A.Gray 5, Clark 2, Mitchell 2, Ogunbowale 2, Hamby, J.Jones, Reese). **Technical Fouls:** None.
A: 16,407 (18,422).

NBA Summer League

IN LAS VEGAS
THURSDAY'S RESULTS

Washington 73, Sacramento 69
Denver 86, Indiana 71
Memphis 88, New Orleans 77
Brooklyn 102, Orlando 100, OT
L.A. Lakers 93, Cleveland 89
L.A. Clippers 105, Utah 88
Minnesota 93, Houston 83

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Phoenix 115, Milwaukee 90
Dallas 101, Boston 90
Chicago 103, Atlanta 99, OT
New York 91, Detroit 90
Philadelphia 96, San Antonio 80
Miami 109, Toronto 73
Golden State 90, Oklahoma City 83
Charlotte 84, Portland 68

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

Washington 91, Milwaukee 79
Sacramento 87, Phoenix 77
Cleveland 100, Indiana 93
New York 90, Atlanta 82
L.A. Lakers 107, Chicago 81
New Orleans vs. Denver, late
Oklahoma City vs. Dallas, late

SUNDAY'S GAMES

L.A. Clippers vs. Memphis, 2 (semifinal game)
Orlando vs. Minnesota, 3
Golden State vs. Miami, 4 (semifinal game)
Philadelphia vs. Boston, 5
Charlotte vs. Brooklyn, 6:30
Toronto vs. San Antonio, 7
Detroit vs. Utah, 8:30
Houston vs. Portland, 9

CHAMPIONSHIP
MONDAY'S GAME

L.A. Clippers/Memphis winner vs. Golden State/Miami winner, 8

AUTO RACING

NASCAR Xfinity Series

PENNZOIL 250 RESULTS

At Indianapolis Motor Speedway, in Indianapolis
Lap length: 2.50 miles
(Start position in parentheses)

1. (2) Riley Herbst, Ford, 100 laps, 58 points.
2. (1) Cole Custer, Ford, 100, 45.
3. (3) Aric Almirola, Toyota, 100, 46.
4. (23) Shane Van Gisbergen, Chevrolet, 100, 37.
5. (12) Sheldon Creed, Toyota, 100, 33.
6. (14) Austin Hill, Chevrolet, 100, 34.
7. (22) Daniel Dye, Chevrolet, 100, 0.
8. (8) AJ Allmendinger, Chevrolet, 100, 45.
9. (9) Justin Allgaier, Chevrolet, 100, 40.
10. (7) Carson Kvapil, Chevrolet, 100, 29.
11. (27) Ryan Sieg, Ford, 100, 44.
12. (38) Parker Kligerman, Chevrolet, 100, 29.
13. (15) Jesse Love, Chevrolet, 100, 24.
14. (16) Conor Daly, Toyota, 100, 23.
15. (6) Brandon Jones, Chevrolet, 100, 29.
16. (29) Matt DiBenedetto, Ford, 100, 22.
17. (17) Joe Graf Jr, Toyota, 100, 20.
18. (21) Sammy Smith, Chevrolet, 100, 19.
19. (11) Jeb Burton, Chevrolet, 100, 18.
20. (25) Leland Honeyman, Chevrolet, 100, 19.
21. (30) Brennan Poole, Chevrolet, 100, 16.
22. (31) Kyle Sieg, Ford, 100, 15.
23. (34) Ryan Ellis, Chevrolet, 100, 14.
24. (35) Joey Gase, Chevrolet, 100, 13.
25. (28) Kyle Weatherman, Chevrolet, 100, 12.
26. (36) David Starr, Chevrolet, 100, 11.
27. (32) Josh Bilicki, Chevrolet, 100, 10.
28. (33) BJ McLeod, Chevrolet, 100, 9.
29. (24) Blaine Perkins, Ford, 100, 8.
30. (18) Jeremy Clements, Chevrolet, 99, 7.
31. (26) Garrett Smithley, Chevrolet, 97, 6.
32. (37) Greg Van Alst, Chevrolet, ignition, 91, 5.
33. (13) Chandler Smith, Toyota, 86, 4.

NASCAR Cup Series

BRICKYARD 400 LINEUP

At Indianapolis Motor Speedway, in Indianapolis
Lap length: 2.50 miles
(Car number in parentheses)

1. (45) Tyler Reddick, Toyota, 181.932 mph.
2. (11) Denny Hamlin, Toyota, 181.492.
3. (9) Chase Elliott, Chevrolet, 181.803.
4. (24) William Byron, Chevrolet, 180.155.
5. (5) Kyle Larson, Chevrolet, 181.298.
6. (54) Ty Gibbs, Toyota, 180.043.
7. (12) Ryan Blaney, Ford, 179.849.
8. (34) Michael McDowell, Ford, 178.898.
9. (47) Ricky Stenhouse Jr, Chevrolet, 173.859.
10. (42) John H. Nemechek, Toyota, 178.462.
11. (3) Austin Dillon, Chevrolet, 180.912.
12. (22) Joey Logano, Ford, 180.270.
13. (48) Alex Bowman, Chevrolet, 180.777.
14. (19) Martin Truex Jr, Toyota, 180.076.
15. (16) AJ Allmendinger, Chevrolet, 180.643.
16. (21) Harrison Burton, Ford, 179.946.
17. (23) Bubba Wallace, Toyota, 180.592.
18. (20) Christopher Bell, Toyota, 179.759.
19. (7) Corey LaJoie, Chevrolet, 180.476.
20. (14) Chase Briscoe, Ford, 179.734.
21. (10) Noah Gragson, Ford, 180.159.
22. (33) Ty Dillon, Chevrolet, 179.669.
23. (17) Chris Buescher, Ford, 180.025.
24. (38) Todd Gilliland, Ford, 179.630.
25. (99) Daniel Suárez, Chevrolet, 179.165.
26. (6) Brad Keselowski, Ford, 179.097.
27. (71) Zane Smith, Chevrolet, 178.962.
28. (1) Ross Chastain, Chevrolet, 178.973.
29. (43) Erik Jones, Toyota, 178.816.
30. (77) Carson Hocevar, Chevrolet, 178.451.
31. (41) Ryan Preece, Ford, 178.713.
32. (31) Daniel Hemric, Chevrolet, 178.366.
33. (84) Jimmie Johnson, Toyota, 178.444.

SOCCER

MLS

EAST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Inter Miami CF	16	4	5	53	56	39
Cincinnati	15	7	3	48	44	33
Columbus	12	4	7	43	47	22
New York	10	4	11	41	42	31
New York City FC	11	9	5	38	36	30
Charlotte FC	10	8	7	37	30	27
Orlando City	9	9	7	34	39	38
Toronto FC	9	14	3	30	34	47
Atlanta	7	11	7	28	35	36
Philadelphia	6	10	9	27	45	42
CF Montreal	6	10	9	27	34	49
Nashville	6	11	8	26	26	39
D.C. United	6	11	8	26	35	50
Chicago	6	12	7	25	30	42
New England	7	14	2	23	23	47

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
x-LA Galaxy	13	5	7	46	47	34
x-Los Angeles FC	13	5	5	44	45	30
x-Real Salt Lake	12	4	8	44	49	31
x-Vancouver	11	7	5	38	40	31
x-Colorado	11	9	5	38	47	41
x-Seattle	10	7	7	37	34	26
x-Portland	10	8	6	36	48	39
x-Houston	9	7	7	34	31	27
Minnesota United	9	10	6	33	40	41
Austin FC	8	10	7	31	28	37
FC Dallas	8	11	6	30	38	39
Sporting KC	6	14	6	24	41	52
St. Louis City SC	4	10	11	23	32	46
San Jose	4	19	2	14	31	61

x-Late match

WEDNESDAY'S RESULTS

D.C. United 3, Minnesota 2
New York City FC 2, Atlanta 2
Chicago 1, Cincinnati 0
Charlotte FC 1, Columbus 1
Miami 3, Toronto FC 1
CF Montreal 2, New York 2
Philadelphia 5, New England 1
FC Dallas 3, Austin FC 1
Orlando City 3, Nashville 0
LA Galaxy 3, Colorado 2
Houston 1, San Jose 0
Seattle 2, St. Louis City SC 0
Vancouver 2, Sporting KC 1
Real Salt Lake 1, Los Angeles FC 1

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

at Atlanta 2, Columbus 1
at Miami 2, Chicago 1
Toronto FC 1, at CF Montreal 0
FC Dallas 1, at New England 1
at New York 3, Cincinnati 1
New York City FC 1, at Orlando City 1
at Philadelphia 3, Nashville 0
Charlotte FC 2, at Austin FC 2
St. Louis City SC 1, at Sporting KC 1
at Minnesota 2, San Jose 0
Real Salt Lake at Colorado, late
Houston at Vancouver, late
Los Angeles FC at Seattle, late
Portland at LA Galaxy, late

SATURDAY'S MATCHES

FC Dallas at D.C. United, 7:30
Seattle at Minnesota, 6
Los Angeles FC at Vancouver, 6
New York at Charlotte FC, 7:30
Cincinnati at Miami, 7:30
New England at CF Montreal, 7:30
Chicago at New York City FC, 7:30
Columbus at Philadelphia, 7:30
Toronto FC at Houston, 8:30
Orlando City at Sporting KC, 8:30
Austin FC at Nashville, 8:30
San Jose at Real Salt Lake, 9:30
Atlanta at LA Galaxy, 10:30
St. Louis City SC at Portland, 10:30

Union 3, Nashville SC 0

NASHVILLE	0	0	0
PHILADELPHIA	2	1	3

First Half: 1, Philadelphia, Gazdag, 12 (Flach), 10th minute; 2, Philadelphia, Gazdag, 13 (Uhre), 38th.
Second Half: 3, Philadelphia, Gazdag, 14, 89th.
Goalies: Nashville, Joe Willis, Elliot Panicco; Philadelphia, Andre Blake, Andrew Rick.
Yellow Cards: Lowe, Philadelphia, 2nd; Uhre, Philadelphia, 20th; Muyl, Nashville, 59th; Elliott, Philadelphia, 61st; Bauer, Nashville, 67th; Godoy, Nashville, 76th.
Nashville, Joe Willis; Josh Bauer, Brent Kallman, Shaq Moore, Taylor Washington (Joey Skinner, 90th); Brian Anunga (Anibal Godoy, 62nd), Sean Davis (Amar Sejdic, 90th), Hany Mukhtar, Alex Muyl (Daniel Lovitz, 71st); Forster Wekem Ajago, Jacob Shaffelburg (Teal Bunbury, 71st).
Philadelphia, Andre Blake; Jakob Glesnes, Damion Lowe (Jack Elliott, 61st), Olivier Mbaizo, Kai Wagner; Leon Maximilian Flach (Jesus Bueno, 75th), Daniel Gazdag, Jose Andres Martinez (Jeremy Rafanello, 87th), Quinn Sullivan (Alejandro Bedoya, 75th); Thai Baribo, Mikael Uhre (Samuel Adeniran, 60th).

Toronto FC 1, CF Montreal 0

TORONTO FC	1	0	1
MONTREAL	0	0	0

First Half: 1, Toronto FC, Laryea, 1 (Insigne), 38th minute.
Second Half: None.
Goalies: Toronto FC, Sean Johnson, Luka Gavran; Montreal, Jonathan Sirois, Sebastian Breza.
Yellow Cards: Lassister, Montreal, 30th; O'Neill, Toronto FC, 53rd; Laryea, Toronto FC, 74th; Petretta, Toronto FC, 85th.
Toronto FC, Sean Johnson; Nickseon Gomis, Richie Laryea, Shane O'Neill (Kevin Long, 67th), Raoul Petretta; Matty Longstaff (Deybi Flores, 67th), Jonathan Osorio, Kosi Thompson; Federico Bernardeschi (Jahkeele Marshall-Rutty, 72nd), Lorenzo Insigne (Deandre Kerr, 87th), Prince-Osei Owusu (Derick Etienne, 66th).
Montreal, Jonathan Sirois; Fernando Alvarez, Ruan (Kwadwo Opoku, 60th), Joaquin Sosa (Nathan-Dylan Saliba, 60th), Joel Waterman; Mathieu Choiniere, Ariel Lassister (Matias Coccaro, 68th), Samuel Piette (Sunusi Ibrahim, 84th); Raheem Edwards, Josef Martinez, Jules-Anthony Vilsaint (Bryce Duke, 46th).

Atlanta United 2, Crew 1

COLUMBUS	1	0	1
ATLANTA	0	2	2

First Half: 1, Columbus, Rossi, 9, 36th minute.
Second Half: 2, Atlanta, Gregersen, 1 (Lobzhanidze), 60th; 3, Atlanta, Gregersen, 2 (Lobzhanidze), 76th.
Goalies: Columbus, Nicholas Hagen, Cole Johnson; Atlanta, Brad Guzan, Josh Cohen.
Yellow Cards: Muyumba, Atlanta, 25th; Cheberko, Columbus, 29th; Guzan, Atlanta, 90th+7.
Columbus, Nicholas Hagen; Rudy Camacho, Yevhen Cheberko (Malte Amundsen, 79th), Mohamed Farsi (Aziel Jackson, 89th), Steven Moreira; Alexandru Matan, Sean Zawadzki; Maximilian Arfsten, Cucho Hernandez, Christian Ramirez (Jacen Russell-Rowe, 79th), Diego Rossi.
Atlanta, Brad Guzan; Stian Gregersen, Ronald Hernandez, Brooks Lennon, Derrick Williams; Ajani Fortune, Saba Lobzhanidze, Bartosz Slisz; Tristan Muyumba (Luis Abram, 90th+3), Xande Silva, Jamal Thiare (Daniel Rios, 63rd, Tyler Wolff, 90th+7).

New York City FC 1, Orlando City 1

NEW YORK CITY FC	0	1	1
ORLANDO CITY	0	1	1

First Half: None.
Second Half: 1, Orlando City, Enrique, 4 (Ojeda), 52nd minute; 2, New York City FC, Wolf, 5 (Martinez), 57th.
Goalies: New York City FC, Matt Freese, Luis Barraza; Orlando City, Pedro Gallese, Javier Otero.
Yellow Cards: Araujo, Orlando City, 13th; Sands, New York City FC, 42nd; Tanasijevic, New York City FC, 70th; Wolf, New York City FC, 71st; Haak, New York City FC, 90th+6.
New York City FC, Matt Freese; Mitja Ilenic (Strahinja Tanasijevic, 69th), Thiago Martins, Christian McFarlane (Monsef Bakrar, 68th), Birk Risa; Justin Haak, Keaton Parks (Maxi Moralez, 58th), Santiago Rodriguez (Tayvon Gray, 90th+5), James Sands, Hannes Wolf; Alonso Martinez (Talles Magno, 58th).
Orlando City, Pedro Gallese; Robin Jansson, Rafael Santos (Kyle Smith, 90th+4), Rodrigo Schlegel (David Brekalo, 85th); Cesar Araujo, Wilder Cartagena, Nicolas Lodeiro (Facundo Torres, 46th), Martin Ojeda (Jeorgio Kocevski, 90th+4), Dagur Dan Thorhallsson; Ivan Angulo, Ramiro Enrique (Luis Muriel, 74th).

FC Dallas 1, Revolution 1

DALLAS	0	1	1
NEW ENGLAND	0	1	1

First Half: None.
Second Half: 1, New England, Tafari, 65th minute; 2, Dallas, Arriola, 3 (penalty kick), 90th+5.
Goalies: Dallas, Maarten Paes, Antonio Carrera; New England, Aljaz Ivacic, Earl Edwards Jr..
Yellow Cards: Polster, New England, 20th; Arreaga, New England, 30th; Ibeagha, Dallas, 37th; Tafari, Dallas, 49th; Wood, New England, 70th; Ivacic, New England, 90th; Kessler, New England, 90th+4.
Dallas, Maarten Paes; Marco Farfan (Dante Sealy, 85th), Sebastien Ibeagha, Sam Junqua (Ema Twumasi, 74th), Nkosi Tafari; Paul Arriola, Bernard Kamungo, Sebastian Lletget (Eugene Ansah, 76th), Carl Sainte (Tarik Scott, 74th); Logan Farrington, Tsiki Ntsabeleng (Anthony Ramirez, 90th).
New England, Aljaz Ivacic; Xavier Arreaga, Brandon Bye, Henry Kessler, Peyton Miller (Nick Lima, 82nd); Esmir Bajraktarevic, Ian Harkes (Jack Panayotou, 90th+9), Mark-Anthony Kaye (Andrew Farrell, 90th+2), Tommy McNamara (Jonathan Mensah, 82nd), Matt Polster; Bobby Wood.

Inter Miami CF 2, Fire 1

CHICAGO	0	1	1
MIAMI	1	1	2

First Half: 1, Miami, Rojas, 4 (Taylor), 6th minute.
Second Half: 2, Chicago, Czichos, 1 (Gimenez), 73rd; 3, Miami, Alba, 4, 75th.
Goalies: Chicago, Chris Brady, Spencer Richey; Miami, Drake Callender, CJ Dos Santos.
Yellow Cards: Taylor, Miami, 39th; Fray, Miami, 85th; Gutierrez, Chicago, 88th.
Chicago, Chris Brady; Allan Arigoni (Justin Reynolds, 86th), Rafael Czichos, Wyatt Omsberg (Mauricio Pineda, 19th), Arnaud Souquet; Kellyn Acosta (Tom Barlow, 86th), Gaston Gimenez, Brian Gutierrez, Maren Haile-Selassie (Georgios Koutsias, 59th); Hugo Cuypers, Fabian Herbers (Chris Mueller, 59th).
Miami, Drake Callender; Jordi Alba, Yannick Bright, Julian Gressel (David Ruiz, 70th), Marcelo Weigandt; Sergio Busquets, Federico Redondo (Noah Allen, 81st), Matias Rojas (Ian Fray, 81st), Robert Taylor (Leonardo Frugis Afonso, 70th); Tomas Aviles, Luis Suarez.

Minnesota United 2, Earthquakes 0

SAN JOSE	0	0	0
MINNESOTA	1	1	2

First Half: 1, Minnesota, Beason, 38th minute.
Second Half: 2, Minnesota, Hlongwane, 7 (Rosales), 75th.
Goalies: San Jose, William Yarbrough, Jacob Jackson; Minnesota, Dayne St. Clair, Alec Smir.
Yellow Cards: Bran, Minnesota, 25th; Gruezo, San Jose, 45th; Rosales, Minnesota, 59th; Lod, Minnesota, 68th; Judd, San Jose, 79th.
San Jose, William Yarbrough; Tanner Beason, Rodrigues, Oscar Verhoeven (Tommy Thompson, 62nd); Cristian Espinoza, Carlos Gruezo, Hernan Lopez (Jack Skahan, 63rd), Jackson Yueill (Alfredo Morales, 78th); Jeremy Ebobisse (Preston Judd, 78th), Benjamin Kikanovic, Amahl Pellegrino (Ousseni Bouda, 77th).
Minnesota, Dayne St. Clair; Devin Padelford; Alejandro Bran (Franco Fragapane, 33rd, Samuel Shashoua, 81st), Hassani Dotson, Carlos Harvey, Robin Lod, Joseph Rosales, Jeong Sang-bin, Miguel Tapias; Bongokuhle Hlongwane (Teemu Pukki, 77th), Tani Oluwaseyi.

Red Bulls 3, FC Cincinnati 1

CINCINNATI	0	1	1
NEW YORK RED BULLS	1	2	3

First Half: 1, New York Red Bulls, Morgan, 11 (Manoel), 7th minute.
Second Half: 2, New York Red Bulls, Duncan, 1, 52nd; 3, New York Red Bulls, Morgan, 12 (Carmona), 59th; 4, Cincinnati, Baird, 2 (Boupendza), 67th.
Goalies: Cincinnati, Roman Celentano, Evan Louro; New York Red Bulls, Carlos Coronel, Ryan Meara.
Yellow Cards: Nealis, New York Red Bulls, 80th; Yedlin, Cincinnati, 88th; Murphy, Cincinnati, 90th.
Cincinnati, Roman Celentano; Bret Halsey (Luca Orellano, 46th), Kipp Keller, Ian Murphy, DeAndre Yedlin; Pavel Bucha, Obinna Nwobodo (Yamil Asad, 85th); Kevin Kelsy (Corey Baird, 60th), Yuya Kubo, Sergio Santos (Aaron Boupendza, 60th), Gerardo Valenzuela (Luciano Acosta, 46th).
New York Red Bulls, Carlos Coronel; Kyle Duncan, Noah Eile, Dylan Nealis, Andres Reyes; Wikelman Carmona, Ronald Donkor, Daniel Edelman, Lewis Morgan (Cory Burke, 90th+4); Cameron Harper (Dennis Gjengaar, 27th), Elias Manoel (Dante Vanzeir, 74th).

St. Louis City SC 1, Sporting KC 1

ST. LOUIS CITY SC	1	0	1
SPORTING KC	0	1	1

First Half: 1, St. Louis City SC, Thorisson, 3 (Klein), 42nd minute.
Second Half: 2, Sporting KC, Agada, 9 (Pulido), 73rd.
Goalies: St. Louis City SC, Roman Burki, Ben Lundt; Sporting KC, Tim Melia, Ryan Schewe.
Yellow Cards: Thorisson, St. Louis City SC, 34th; Watts, St. Louis City SC, 45th; Leibold, Sporting KC, 83rd; Shelton, Sporting KC, 89th; Kijima, St. Louis City SC, 90th+4.
St. Louis City SC, Roman Burki; Kyle Hiebert, Tim Parker, Jayden Reid, Tomas Totland (Joshua Yaro, 70th); Njabulo Blom, Johnny Klein (Anthony Markanich, 63rd), Eduard Lowen, Akil Watts (Jake Max Gordwood-Reich, 84th); Cedric Teuchert (Hosei Kijima, 63rd), Nokkvi Thorisson (Caden Glover, 84th).
Sporting KC, Tim Melia; Robert Castellanos, Tim Leibold, Robert Voloder; Nemanja Radoja, Erik Thommy (Stephen Afrifa, 90th+2), Remi Walter; William Agada, Johnny Russell (Alan Pulido, 64th), Daniel Salloi, Khiry Shelton.

Charlotte FC 2, Austin FC 2

CHARLOTTE FC	1	1	2
AUSTIN FC	1	1	2

First Half: 1, Austin FC, Ring, 2 (Pereira), 11th minute; 2, Charlotte FC, Swiderski, 1 (penalty kick), 33rd.
Second Half: 3, Charlotte FC, Tavares, 3 (Westwood), 56th; 4, Austin FC, Gallagher, 2 (Rubio), 80th.
Goalies: Charlotte FC, Kristijan Kahlina, David Bingham; Austin FC, Brad Stuver, Stefan Cleveland.
Yellow Cards: Privett, Charlotte FC, 59th; Rubio, Austin FC, 75th; Pereira, Austin FC, 86th; Desler, Austin FC, 87th.
Charlotte FC, Kristijan Kahlina; Nathan Byrne, Adilson Malanda, Jere Uronen; Brandt Bronico (Benjamin Bender, 81st), Djibril Diani, Andrew Privett, Ashley Westwood; Karol Swiderski (Patrick Agyemang, 65th), Iuri Tavares (Brecht Dejaegere, 71st), Kerwin Vargas (Tyger Smalls, 71st).
Austin FC, Brad Stuver; Guilherme Biro (Jon Gallagher, 58th), Matt Hedges, Brendan Hines-Ike; Osman Bukari (Owen Wolff, 57th), Hector Jimenez (Mikkel Desler, 57th), Daniel Pereira, Alexander Ring, Jhojan Valencia (Zan Kolmanic, 74th); Jader Obrian, Gyasi Zardes (Diego Rubio, 65th).

CYCLING

Tour de France

20TH STAGE

An 82.5-mile race from Nice to Col de la Couillole.

1. Tadej Pogacar, Slovakia, UAE Team Emirates, 4:04:22s.
2. Jonas Vingegaard, Netherlands, Visma-Lease a Bike, 7s behind.
3. Richard Carapaz, Ecuador, EF Education - Easypost, 23s.
4. Remco Evenepoel, Belgium, Spain, Soudal Quick Step, 53s.
5. Enric Mas, Spain, Movistar Team, 1:07s.
6. Joao Almeida, Portugal, UAE Team Emirates, 1:28s.
7. Matteo Jorgenson, United States, Visma-Lease a Bike, 1:33s.
8. Mikel Landa, Spain, Soudal Quick Step, 1:41s.
9. Simon Yates, England, Team Jayco Alula, 1:43s.
10. Romain Bardet, Team DSM-Firmenich Postnl, 1:52s.

ALSO

79. Neilson Powless, United States, EF Education-EasyPost, 28:54s.
85. Sean Quinn, United States, EF Education-EasyPost, 32:45s.

OVERALL STANDINGS (YELLOW JERSEY)

1. Tadej Pogacar, Slovenia, UAE Team Emirates, 82:53:32s.
2. Jonas

BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Philadelphia	62	36	.633	—	4-6	L-3
Atlanta	54	43	.557	7½	6-4	L-1
New York	50	47	.515	11½	7-3	W-1
Washington	46	53	.465	16½	4-6	W-2
Miami	34	64	.347	28	4-6	L-1

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
x-Milwaukee	55	42	.567	—	3-7	W-1
St. Louis	51	47	.520	4½	5-5	W-1
Pittsburgh	50	48	.510	5½	8-2	W-6
Cincinnati	47	52	.475	9	5-5	L-3
Chicago	47	53	.470	9½	6-4	L-2

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Los Angeles	58	41	.586	—	4-6	W-2
Arizona	51	48	.515	7	7-3	W-2
San Diego	51	50	.505	8	3-7	W-1
San Francisco	47	52	.475	11	3-7	L-2
Colorado	36	63	.364	22	4-6	W-3

x-Late game

American League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Baltimore	60	38	.612	—	4-6	W-3
New York	59	41	.590	2	5-5	L-1
Boston	53	44	.546	6½	5-5	L-2
Tampa Bay	49	49	.500	11	5-5	W-1
Toronto	44	54	.449	16	5-5	L-2

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Cleveland	59	38	.608	—	4-6	L-1
x-Minnesota	54	42	.563	4½	6-4	L-1
Kansas City	54	45	.545	6	6-4	W-2
Detroit	49	50	.495	11	8-2	W-4
Chicago	27	73	.270	33½	1-9	L-6

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
x-Houston	51	46	.526	—	6-4	W-1
x-Seattle	52	47	.525	—	4-6	L-4
Texas	46	52	.469	5½	6-4	L-2
Los Angeles	41	57	.418	10½	4-6	L-2
Oakland	39	61	.390	13½	6-4	W-3

x-Late game

Nationals 5, Reds 4

REDS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
India 2b	3	2	1	0	2	1	.275
De La Cruz ss	4	1	1	1	1	1	.255
Candelario 1b	5	0	0	0	0	1	.236
Steer lf	5	0	1	1	0	2	.242
Stephenson c	2	1	1	1	2	0	.243
Slater cf	2	0	0	1	1	0	.133
Marte dh	4	0	1	0	0	2	.171
Hinds rf	4	0	0	0	0	1	.353
Espinal 3b	4	0	2	0	0	0	.219
TOTALS	33	4	7	4	6	8	—

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Abrams ss	5	1	2	1	0	0	.267
Thomas rf	4	0	1	1	0	1	.249
Yepez 1b	4	0	1	0	0	2	.378
Ramírez dh	3	1	1	2	0	2	.243
Adams c	2	1	0	0	1	0	.234
Ruiz ph-c	1	0	0	0	0	0	.220
Vargas 2b	4	1	2	0	0	0	.258
Wood lf	4	0	0	0	0	1	.230
Lipscomb 3b	4	0	0	0	0	2	.224
Young cf	3	1	2	1	0	0	.257
TOTALS	34	5	9	5	1	8	—

CINCINNATI	211	000	000	—	4	7	1
WASHINGTON	200	100	11X	—	5	9	1

E: De La Cruz (18), Wood (1). **LOB:** Cincinnati 9, Washington 8. **2B:** De La Cruz (20), Thomas (12), Vargas (14). **HR:** Stephenson (11), off Weems; Ramírez (1), off Lodolo. **RBI:** Steer (61), Slater (3), De La Cruz (44), Stephenson (35), Ramírez 2 (9), Abrams (49), Thomas (39), Young (19). **SB:** Steer (15), Abrams (16), Young 2 (24), Thomas (25). **SF:** Slater.

REDS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NP	ERA
Lodolo	6⅓	6	4	4	1	8	104	3.51
Cruz	⅓	1	0	0	0	0	11	4.61
Moll	⅓	0	0	0	0	0	5	2.70
Wilson	1	2	1	1	0	0	19	4.56

NATIONALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	NP	ERA
Gore	2	2	3	3	4	2	67	4.20
Weems	1	2	1	1	1	1	20	5.62
Garcia	1	0	0	0	0	1	14	4.54
Floro	2	2	0	0	1	1	29	2.02
Law	2	1	0	0	0	2	31	3.20
Finnegan	1	0	0	0	0	1	15	2.38

WP: Law (6-2); **LP:** Wilson (1-2); **S:** Finnegan (27). **Inherited runners-scored:** Cruz 1-1, Moll 2-0. **HBP:** Lodolo (Young), Cruz (Ramírez). **WP:** Gore. **T:** 2:49. **A:** 32,734 (41,376).

HOW THEY SCORED

REDS FIRST

Jonathan India walks. Elly De La Cruz walks. Jeimer Candelario strikes out swinging. **Spencer Steer singles, Elly De La Cruz to third, Jonathan India scores.** Tyler Stephenson walks. **Austin Slater out on a sacrifice fly, Elly De La Cruz scores.** Noelvi Marte strikes out swinging.
Reds 2, Nationals 0

NATIONALS FIRST

CJ Abrams singles. Lane Thomas strikes out swinging. Juan Yepez called out on strikes. **Harold Ramirez homers, CJ Abrams scores.** Riley Adams reaches on error. Ildemaro Vargas lines out.
Reds 2, Nationals 2

REDS SECOND

Rece Hinds grounds out. Santiago Espinal flies out. Jonathan India walks. Elly **De La Cruz doubles to deep left field, advances to 3rd, Jonathan India scores.** Jeimer Candelario grounds out.
Reds 3, Nationals 2

REDS THIRD

Spencer Steer called out on strikes. **Tyler Stephenson homers.** Austin Slater walks. Noelvi Marte singles, Austin Slater to second. Rece Hinds grounds out, Noelvi Marte to second, Austin Slater to third. Santiago Espinal flies out.
Reds 4, Nationals 2

NATIONALS FOURTH

Riley Adams walks. Ildemaro Vargas singles, Riley Adams to second. James Wood hits into a force out, Ildemaro Vargas out at second, Riley Adams to third. Trey Lipscomb strikes out swinging. Jacob Young hit by pitch, James Wood to second. **CJ Abrams singles, Jacob Young to second, James Wood to third, Riley Adams scores.** Lane Thomas grounds out.
Reds 4, Nationals 3

NATIONALS SEVENTH

Jacob Young singles. CJ Abrams flies out. **Lane Thomas doubles, Jacob Young scores.** Juan Yepez grounds out. Harold Ramirez hit by pitch. Keibert Ruiz pinch-hitting for Riley Adams. Keibert Ruiz hits into a force out, Harold Ramirez out at second.
Reds 4, Nationals 4

NATIONALS EIGHTH

Ildemaro Vargas doubles. James Wood grounds out, Ildemaro Vargas to third. Trey Lipscomb grounds out. **Jacob Young singles, Ildemaro Vargas scores.** CJ Abrams pops out.
Nationals 5, Reds 4

NATIONALS' LEADERS

Entering Saturday's game.

Batters	Avg	R	H	HR	RBI	BB
Yepez	.390	8	16	1	6	6
Call	.313	6	5	0	1	3
García	.277	34	86	11	45	14
Abrams	.265	59	95	15	48	30
Winker	.263	49	78	11	43	51
Young	.253	48	69	1	18	17
Vargas	.253	15	44	1	22	15
Thomas	.249	38	68	8	38	25
Wood	.246	6	14	1	9	6

Pitchers	ERA	IP	H	ER	SO
Salazar	0.00	2.0	0	0	4
Floro	2.11	47.0	37	11	38
Williams	2.22	56.2	45	14	47
Finnegan	2.43	40.2	28	11	42
Law	3.32	57.0	58	21	50
Irvin	3.49	116.0	100	45	99
J.Barnes	3.52	38.1	34	15	31
Parker	3.90	92.1	84	40	76

NL leaders

Entering Saturday's games.

BATTING

Yelich, Mil .326
Ohtani, LA .316
Arraez, SD .312

HOME RUNS

Ohtani, LA 29
Ozuna, Atl 26
Walker, Ari 22

RBI

Ozuna, Atl 77
Bohm, Phi 70

ERA

López, Atl 1.88
Sale, Atl 2.70
Wheeler, Phi 2.70

SAVES

Helsley, StL 32
Finnegan, Was 26

STRIKEOUTS

Cease, SD 149
Glasnow, LA 143
Sale, Atl 140

AL leaders

Entering Saturday's games.

BATTING

Kwan, Cle .354
Witt, KC .328
Correa, Min .308

HOME RUNS

Judge, NY 34
Henderson, Bal 28

RBI

Judge, NY 86
Ramírez, Cle 79

ERA

Burnes, Bal 2.38
Skubal, Det 2.40
Lugo, KC 2.48

SAVES

Clase, Cle 29
Kimbrel, Bal 23

STRIKEOUTS

Crochet, Chi 150
Ragans, KC 141

Rays 9, Yankees 1

Taj Bradley pitched one-hit ball over seven innings to extend his unbeaten streak to eight starts, Randy Arozarena hit two of Tampa Bay's four home runs, and the Rays pounded Nestor Cortez while routing New York.

Arozarena tied a career high with four hits.

RAYS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Rosario 3b	5	0	1	0	0	0	.306
Paredes 1b	4	2	1	1	1	0	.258
Mead dh	5	1	3	1	0	1	.239
Arozarena lf	5	2	4	3	0	0	.212
DeLuca rf	5	0	0	1	0	1	.172
Siri cf	5	0	1	0	0	1	.204
Caballero 2b	3	1	0	0	1	1	.241
Walls ss	2	1	0	0	2	0	.154
Jackson c	3	2	1	3	1	1	.091
TOTALS	37	9	11	9	5	5	—

YANKEES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Rice 1b	4	0	1	0	0	1	.218
Soto dh	4	1	1	0	0	0	.303
Judge rf	2	0	0	0	1	1	.307
Jones rf	1	0	0	1	0	0	.256
Wells c	3	0	0	0	0	2	.212
Narváez c	1	0	1	0	0	0	1.00
Torres 2b	3	0	1	0	1	1	.232
Verdugo lf	3	0	0	0	0	0	.231
Cabrera lf	1	0	0	0	0	0	.237
Volpe ss	3	0	1	0	0	0	.248
Grisham cf	2	0	0	0	0	0	.185
LeMahieu 3b	3	0	0	0	0	2	.177
TOTALS	30	1	5	1	2	7	—

TAMPA BAY	001	320	201	—	9	11	1
NEW YORK	000	000	001	—	1	5	0

E: Rosario (2). **LOB:** Tampa Bay 6, New York 5. **2B:** Mead (3), Arozarena (18), Rice (4), Volpe (19). **3B:** Soto (4). **HR:** Jackson (2), off Cortes; Paredes (16), off Cortes; Arozarena (13), off Cortes; Arozarena (14), off Maciejewski.

RAYS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Bradley	7	1	0	0	2	5	2.63
Armstrong	1	1	0	0	0	2	5.91
Kelly	1	3	1	1	0	0	3.95

YANKEES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Cortes	4⅓	8	6	6	2	1	3.99
Tonkin	1⅓	0	1	1	2	2	1.64
Maciejewski	3	3	2	2	1	2	2.57

WP: Bradley (5-4); **LP:** Cortes (4-9). **Inherited runners-scored:** Maciejewski 1-1. **HBP:** Armstrong (Grisham). **T:** 2:40. **A:** 43,173 (47,309).



ADAM HUNGER/GETTY IMAGES

Ray of light

Randy Arozarena's eyes are drawn skyward as he crosses home plate following his two-run blast that helped spark the Rays to a 9-1 rout of the host Yankees.

Tigers 7, Blue Jays 3

Jake Rogers hit his third career grand slam during a six-run sixth inning, and Detroit beat Toronto for its 10th win in 12 games.

Vladimir Guerrero Jr. went 3 for 4 with his 16th homer, a two-run blast, but the Blue Jays lost for the fourth time in five games.

TIGERS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Ibáñez 2b	5	1	2	2	0	0	.292
Malloy dh	2	0	0	0	2	1	.214
Keith ph-dh	1	0	0	0	0	1	.249
Vierling cf	5	1	2	0	0	2	.251
Canha 1b	4	1	1	0	1	2	.229
Pérez rf	3	1	0	0	0	0	.261
Rogers c	4	1	1	4	0	1	.204
Báez ss	4	1	1	0	0	2	.180
Urshela 3b	4	0	1	0	0	2	.256
Vilade lf	4	1	1	0	0	0	.296
TOTALS	36	7	9	6	3	11	—

BLUE JAYS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Springer rf	4	0	1	1	0	2	.225
Horwitz 1b	3	1	0	0	1	0	.315
Guerrero 3b	4	1	3	2	0	0	.293
Turner dh	4	0	0	0	0	1	.228
Jansen c	4	0	0	0	0	2	.218
Varsho lf-cf	2	0	0	0	1	1	.201
Schneider 2b-lf	3	0	1	0	0	0	.218
Jimenez ss	3	0	0	0	0	1	.308
Kiermaier cf	2	1	1	0	0	0	.195
Clement ph-2b	1	0	0	0	0	0	.262
TOTALS	30	3	6	3	2	7	—

DETROIT	000	016	000	—	7	9	0
TORONTO	000	003	000	—	3	6	1

E: Varsho (1). **LOB:** Detroit 6, Toronto 2. **2B:** Ibáñez (7), Kiermaier (6). **HR:** Rogers (7), off Richards; Guerrero (16), off Maeda.

TIGERS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Olson	2	1	0	0	2	0	3.23
Faedo	2	1	0	0	0	3	3.35
Maeda	2	3	3	3	0	1	7.07
Holton	2	1	0	0	0	3	3.17
Miller	1	0	0	0	0	0	5.08

BLUE JAYS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Kikuchi	5	5	4	4	2	8	4.54
Richards	⅓	4	3	3	1	0	4.14
Little	⅔	0	0	0	0	0	4.35
Swanson	1	0	0	0	0	0	8.59
Burr	1	0	0	0	0	0	2.08
García	1	0	0	0	0	3	2.48

WP: Faedo (5-1); **LP:** Kikuchi (4-9). **Inherited runners-scored:** Richards 3-3, Little 3-1. **HBP:** Kikuchi (Pérez). **WP:** Kikuchi, Little. **T:** 2:36. **A:** 38,583 (39,150).

Athletics 8, Angels 2

Brent Rooker hit a three-run homer, Lawrence Butler had a three-run double, and Oakland rolled.

The A's have won five of seven and are on a franchise-long eight-game home winning streak against Los Angeles.

Rooker is batting nearly .480 in July.

ANGELS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Rendon 3b	4	0	0	1	0	1	.236
Schanuel 1b	2	0	0	0	0	1	.241
Drury 1b	1	0	0	0	1	0	.166
Ward lf	3	1	0	0	1	0	.223
Calhoun dh	4	0	1	0	0	0	.268
O'Hoppe c	4	0	1	0	0	1	.276
Neto ss	3	0	1	1	1	0	.258
Moniak cf	2	0	0	0	0	0	.207
Pillar ph-cf	2	0	0	0	0	1	.290
Adell rf	3	1	2	0	1	0	.197
Guillorme 2b	4	0	1	0	0	2	.244
TOTALS	32	2	6	2	4	6	—

ATHLETICS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Butler rf	4	0	3	3	0	0	.230
Andujar lf	4	1	3	1	0	0	.296
Bleday cf	4	1	1	0	0	1	.232
Rooker dh	3	2	2	3	1	0	.294
Brown 1b	2	0	0	0	0	1	.198
Nevin ph-1b	2	0	0	0	0	0	.204
Gelof 2b	4	0	0	0	0	2	.201
McCann c	2	1	1	0	0	1	.298
Langeliers ph-c	2	0	0	0	0	1	.212
B.Harris 3b	2	1	0	0	2	0	.165
Schuemann ss	2	2	1	1	1	1	.257
TOTALS	31	8	11	8	4	7	—

L.A.	001	001	000	—	2	6	0
OAKLAND	300	400	10X	—	8	11	1

E: Schuemann (9). **LOB:** Los Angeles 8, Oakland 3. **2B:** Calhoun (14), Neto (23), Bleday (27), Butler (8), Schuemann (9). **HR:** Rooker (22), off Kochanowicz.

ANGELS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Kochanowicz	4	7	7	7	3	4	14.1
Rosenberg	4	4	1	1	1	3	6.30

ATHLETICS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Spence	5⅓	5	2	2	3	3	4.67
Alexander	⅔	0	0	0	0	0	2.79
Adams	1	0	0	0	1	1	4.50
Ferguson	2	1	0	0	0	2	4.35

WP: Spence (6-6); **LP:** Kochanowicz (0-2). **Inherited runners-scored:** Alexander 2-0. **IBB:** off Rosenberg (Rooker). **WP:** Spence (2). **T:** 2:29. **A:** 14,574 (46,847).

NOTES

PERSONNEL DEPT.

Blue Jays: Placed SS Bo Bichette on the 10-day injured list with a right calf strain and recalled IF Addison Barger from Class AAA Buffalo.

Phillies: C J.T. Realmuto was activated from the 10-day IL after he missed more than a month following meniscus surgery on his right knee.

Rays: 1B Yandy Díaz was placed on the restricted list because of a family matter.

Reds: LHP Brent Suter was placed on the 15-day IL with a partially torn muscle in the back of his left shoulder. ... RHP Chase Burns, the second pick in the 2024 draft, agreed to a contract that includes a $9.25 million signing bonus.

Twins: Placed all-star SS Carlos Correa (.308, 47 RBI) on the IL with plantar fasciitis in his right foot.

TODAY

NL games

REDS AT NATIONALS, 1:35	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Abbott (L)	9-6	3.39	12-7
Irvin (R)	7-8	3.49	8-12
PHILLIES AT PIRATES, 1:35			
Phillips (R)	1-0	4.50	1-0
Gonzales (L)	1-0	2.46	3-1
CARDINALS AT BRAVES, 1:35			
Mikolas (R)	7-8	5.13	9-11
Schwellenbach (R)	3-4	4.43	3-5
METS AT MARLINS, 1:40			
Scott (R)	0-2	4.36	2-6
Rogers (L)	1-9	4.72	4-15
DIAMONDBACKS AT CUBS, 2:20			
Pfaadt (R)	4-6	3.97	10-9
Imanaga (L)	8-2	2.97	13-4
GIANTS AT ROCKIES, 3:10			
Hicks (R)	4-6	3.79	8-11
Gomber (L)	2-6	4.60	7-11

NL scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

at Washington 8, Cincinnati 5
Arizona 5, at Chicago Cubs 2
at Pittsburgh 8, Philadelphia 7
at Miami 6, N.Y. Mets 4
at Colorado 7, San Francisco 3
St. Louis at Atlanta, ppd.

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

at Washington 5, Cincinnati 4
Game 1: at Atlanta 3, St. Louis 2 (10)
Game 2: St. Louis 9, at Atlanta 5
N.Y. Mets 1, at Miami 0
at Pittsburgh 4, Philadelphia 1
Arizona 3, at Chicago Cubs 0
at Colorado 4, San Francisco 3

AL games

ORIOLES AT RANGERS, 2:35	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Kremer (R)	4-5	4.38	6-6
Heaney (L)	3-10	3.79	5-13
RAYS AT YANKEES, 1:35			
Baz (R)	0-1	5.23	1-1
Stroman (R)	7-4	3.51	13-6
TIGERS AT BLUE JAYS, 1:37			
Montero (R)	1-2	5.47	3-1
Gausman (R)	7-8	4.50	9-10
WHITE SOX AT ROYALS, 2:10			
Thorpe (R)	3-1	3.58	3-3
Lugo (R)	11-4	2.48	12-8
ANGELS AT ATHLETICS, 4:07			
Fulmer (R)	0-2	3.45	1-0
Estes (R)	4-4	5.29	6-6
ASTROS AT MARINERS, 4:10			
Blanco (R)	9-4	2.56	13-5
Woo (R)	3-1	2.46	6-3

AL scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Baltimore 9, at Texas 1
Detroit 5, at Toronto 4
at N.Y. Yankees 6, Tampa Bay 1
at Kansas City 7, Chicago White Sox 1
at Oakland 13, L.A. Angels 3
Houston 3, at Seattle 0

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

Baltimore 8, at Texas 4
Tampa Bay 9, at N.Y. Yankees 1
Detroit 7, at Toronto 3
at Oakland 8, L.A. Angels 2
at Kansas City 6, Chicago White Sox 1
Houston at Seattle, late

Interleague games

BREWERS AT TWINS, 1:05	W-L	ERA	TEAM
Civale (R)	2-7	4.94	5-14
Ryan (R)	6-6	3.53	10-9
PADRES AT GUARDIANS, 1:40			
King (R)	7-6	3.40	11-8
Lively (R)	8-5	3.58	10-6
RED SOX AT DODGERS, 7:10			
Crawford (R)	6-7	3.04	7-12
Paxton (L)	7-2	4.38	13-4

Interleague scores

FRIDAY'S RESULTS

at Cleveland 7, San Diego 0
at L.A. Dodgers 4, Boston 1

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

San Diego 7, at Cleveland 0
at L.A. Dodgers 7, Boston 6 (11)
Milwaukee at Minnesota, late

GAME 1

Braves 3, Cardinals 2 (10)

Ozzie Albies delivered a sacrifice fly with one out in the 10th inning to lift Atlanta in the opening game of a doubleheader.

St. Louis reliever Chris Roycroft walked Jarred Kelenic, who was in a 0-for-25 slump, to pitch to Albies in the 10th.

CARDINALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Winn ss	5	1	2	0	0	1	.286
Burleson lf	5	0	1	1	0	0	.287
Contreras dh	4	0	1	0	0	0	.271
Goldschmidt 1b	3	0	0	0	1	1	.228
Donovan 2b	4	0	0	0	0	1	.273
Arenado 3b	4	1	1	1	0	0	.270
Nootbaar rf	3	0	2	0	1	0	.237
Pagés c	4	0	1	0	0	2	.215
Siani cf	3	0	1	0	0	2	.228
Carpenter ph	1	0	0	0	0	1	.245
Carlson cf	0	0	0	0	0	0	.211
TOTALS	36	2	9	2	2	8	—

BRAVES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Kelenic cf	3	0	0	0	1	1	.252
Albies 2b	4	0	0	1	0	0	.255
Riley 3b	3	0	1	0	1	2	.258
Olson 1b	4	0	0	0	0	0	.227
Ozuna dh	4	0	1	0	0	2	.303
d'Arnaud c	4	1	3	0	0	0	.257
Rosario lf	3	1	1	2	1	2	.179
Duvall rf	4	1	0	0	0	0	.189
Arcia ss	2	0	0	0	1	1	.209
TOTALS	31	3	6	3	4	8	—

ST. LOUIS	000	001	100	0	—	2	9	0
ATLANTA	000	000	200	1	—	3	6	0

Two outs when winning run scored.
LOB: St. Louis 7, Atlanta 7. **3B:** Winn (4). **HR:** Arenado (9), off Lee; Rosario (1), off Fernandez.

CARDINALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Gibson	6⅔	3	1	1	2	6	3.99
Fernandez	1⅓	1	1	1	1	1	2.22
Kittredge	1	2	0	0	0	1	3.45
Roycroft	⅔	0	1	0	1	0	3.52

BRAVES	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Morton	6	6	1	1	1	4	3.92
Lee	1	2	1	1	0	2	2.13
Jiménez	1	0	0	0	0	0	2.52
Iglesias	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.96
Johnson	1	1	0	0	0	1	3.03

WP: Johnson (3-1); **LP:** Roycroft (1-2). **Inherited runners-scored:** Fernandez 1-1. **WP:** Iglesias. **T:** 2:50. **A:** 37,042 (41,149).

GAME 2

Cardinals 9, Braves 5

Nolan Gorman hit a two-run homer in a four-run second inning, and St. Louis overcame two homers by Marcell Ozuna to avoid being swept in a split doubleheader.

Sonny Gray gave up five runs and a career-high four homers, including two by Ozuna, who has 28 on the season. Gray had 10 strikeouts.

CARDINALS	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Winn ss	5	2	2	0	0	2	.288
Burleson dh	4	1	3	3	0	0	.292
Contreras c	5	1	3	1	0	1	.280
Goldschmidt 1b	5	0	0	0	0	3	.225
Donovan lf	5	1	2	3	0	0	.275
Arenado 3b	4	1	1	0	1	2	.270
Nootbaar rf	4	0	1	0	0	1	.237
Gorman 2b	4	1	1	2	0	3	.207
Siani cf	3	2	1	0	1	2	.230
TOTALS	39	9	14	9	2	14	—

BRAVES	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Kelenic cf	4	1	1	0	0	1	.252
Albies 2b	4	0	1	1	0	1	.255
Riley 3b	4	1	2	1	0	2	.261
Olson 1b	4	0	0	0	0	2	.224
Ozuna dh	4	2	2	2	0	1	.305
Rosario lf	4	1	2	1	0	1	.219
Duvall rf	4	0	0	0	0	1	.185
Murphy c	4	0	0	0	0	1	.204
Arcia ss	3	0	1	0	0	2	.211
TOTALS	35	5	9	5	0	12	—

ST. LOUIS	140	010	003	—	9	14	0
ATLANTA	100	103	000	—	5	9	1

E: Murphy (3). **LOB:** St. Louis 6, Atlanta 3. **2B:** Nootbaar (9), Riley (21). **3B:** Winn (5), Kelenic (2). **HR:** Gorman (18), off Elder; Donovan (9), off Elder; Ozuna 2 (28), off Gray; Riley (13), off Gray; Rosario (2), off Gray.

CARDINALS	IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO	ERA
Gray	7	8	5	5

Social issues not a factor in choosing all-star host

BY CHELSEA JANES

ARLINGTON, TEX. — As Major League Baseball completed its all-star events in the Dallas-Fort Worth area last week, eyes started to turn to Georgia's Cobb County, where the Atlanta Braves and Truist Park will host the game in 2025.

Atlanta was in line to host in 2021 but lost the event amid backlash to changes in Georgia's voting law, and MLB Commissioner Rob Manfred shifted it to Denver. The decision, which was part of a wave of corporate pushback, was not unprecedented. The NBA, for example, pulled the 2017 All-Star Game from Charlotte because of concerns with North Carolina's transgender bathroom law.

But in baseball, it represented a stark departure — both for the event and the sport as a whole. MLB generally doesn't weigh in on social issues. Nor do those social issues generally impact the locations of its major events. The process for awarding an All-Star Game, according to those who have been involved, is focused on the practical — hotels, traffic, logistics — not the political. Those reasons, for example, are why the baseball world gathered at Globe Life Field for last week's All-Star Game.

Globe Life Field is the home of the Texas Rangers, a franchise that sometimes draws attention not just for what it offers fans on the field but also for what it does not at the ballpark: a Pride Night. Pride Nights, focused on inclusion and members of the LGBTQ community, are commonplace in sports, including in MLB. The Rangers are the only MLB team that does not host one.

"There are a whole lot of factors that go into deciding who's going to get an All-Star Game. I don't view whether you hold a Pride Night or not as an outcome-determinant issue," Manfred said. "It's an issue. We look at all those issues and try to make a decision and give it to the place that we think is going to be the best."

Manfred's comments did not come as a surprise to Rafael McDonnell, senior advocacy and policy manager at Resource Center, an LGBTQIA group in the Dallas area, who said he was nevertheless disappointed to hear them.



MARK BLINCH/GETTY IMAGES

The Blue Jays had a Pride Night last month. The Rangers, hosts of this year's All-Star Game, are the only MLB team that does not.

"I have asked people at MLB to ask him to use his bully pulpit on behalf of the North Texas LGBTQ community, and they have said no," McDonnell said. "So this does not surprise me one bit."

MLB did not ask the Rangers to host a Pride Night when it awarded the event to Texas, according to a person with direct knowledge of the process, despite years of urging from local LGBTQ advocates.

Outside of the 2021 Atlanta decision, MLB has little history of using its major events to push on social issues. Teams pull together bids with details of what their cities offer, including hotel availability and sentimental considerations. Franchises negotiate with local leaders to secure necessary funding for added transportation and security costs, all of which go into the bid.

In some ways, the perceived leverage MLB has with the game might be greater than the actual. Multiple executives with teams that have hosted All-Star Games in the past five years emphasized that the event did not make their franchises money and said cities, not clubs, see most of the benefits. Small-market teams generally expect the game to generate around $60 million in revenue for their city. In larger markets, officials plan for as much as $100 million.

Those municipalities, however, usually invest millions in security and logistics. Even ticket sales are split evenly among all 30 teams, so the host receives only a percentage of game-day revenue. Hosting is an honor for any franchise, but it is not necessarily a direct financial boon.

The event is also coveted for the branding impact it can have. Washington Nationals managing principal owner Mark Lerner joked that his family started asking to host a game minutes after they took over the club. Chicago Cubs leadership has been trying to host a game for years, their eagerness best illustrated by the fact that they have endured negotiations over how to handle road closures with three mayors. To this point, none of those years-long negotiations has yielded an agreement. So they wait.

Security or transportation logistics can determine when MLB turns to one city over another. Historical context occasionally matters, too: The Philadelphia Phillies, for example, wanted a game to mark the 250th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. They will host in 2026.

Manfred said Tuesday that the last time a city hosted is also a consideration. A long wait can have a positive impact. So the Baltimore Orioles, who have not hosted since 1993, should be able to secure the event in the near future with a strong bid, even as they transition to new owner David Rubenstein, who plans to renovate Camden Yards.

"Baltimore has expressed interest in an All-Star Game. With the transition, exactly where that application sits, we're kind of in a little bit of flux," Manfred said.

Giving the game back to Atlanta next year was devoid of the political prerequisites the decision to move it four years earlier might have implied.

Officially, the Braves had the best bid for 2025. Logistically, they had a new ballpark and an event hub. Realistically, MLB owed them one. Georgia's controversial voting law remained in effect, but the Braves got their game back anyway.

"As a model of success on and off the field, the Braves deserve to host the All-Star Game," Manfred said in a statement then. "Truist Park and The Battery Atlanta will provide fans a world-class experience in 2025."

After weather turns sour, Open becomes free-for-all

BRITISH OPEN FROM D1

hardest nine holes that I'll ever play," top-ranked Scottie Scheffler said.

"I mean, the back nine [are] the hardest nine holes I think you could ever play in golf right now," two-time major winner Dustin Johnson said.

"You're standing there on the 18th tee," 2019 champion Shane Lowry said, "wondering if you can actually hit the fairway, if you can reach the fairway, and it's 230 yards to the fairway."

So what was a normal-looking Saturday — with American Sam Burns and South African Thriston Lawrence shooting 65s and with Lowry up ahead at 8 under par and Daniel Brown at 7 under — careened into a matter of attrition and retreat. By late, cold nightfall, England's Brown led going into the par-4 No. 18 at 5 under but double-bogeyed, Ireland's Lowry had spent the last 11 holes withering all the way to 1 under, and it figured that nobody would grab the lead but that somebody, in this case Billy Horschel, would inherit it. After Brown felt the cold wind of his closing 6, Horschel stood alone at 4 under after his 2-under 69.

That's the 37-year-old Floridian in his 43rd major tournament without any memorable contention, and that's the guy who said, "I've just always enjoyed the toughness of anything," and, "I get tired of golf where you're making full swings and you lean into a certain [yardage] number and [the ball] stops." Whatever happens with nature Sunday, he will start off with a cavalry just behind.

The six players at 3 under after Saturday included Lawrence and Burns but also Rose and PGA Championship winner and chronic contender Xander Schauffele as well as Russell Henley and the major-debuting Brown. The one player at 2 under, Scheffler, is merely the runaway king of the sport at the moment. There's Lowry at that 1 under. Major winners Adam Scott and Justin Thomas, forgotten much of the day, wound up at even par and viable once everybody came back toward them.

Golf got a rare occasion with descriptions of insufficient equipment and stories seldom told anymore.

Scheffler came to a microphone and told of hitting a driver and a 3-wood "really solid" on the par-4 No. 15 and coming up — come on! — shy of the green. Lowry told of playing a par-3 with a driver and of hitting "driver, driver" into No. 15. Brown, holding up well amid that 3-under crowd in his first major at 29, hit driver into the par-3 No. 17. Here's Schauffele on that hole: "So I literally smoked a 3-wood, a little off the heel and thin into the wind and rain, and it went 218 yards or something like that. So that was pretty humbling." Johnson, long since a long hitter, said: "It's so long I could barely reach the par-4s. I had to smash two to get there."

Rose, 43, said he surely had been a junior when he last "played a round of golf where I've hit 4-iron into 10, 2-iron short at 11, 8-iron into 12, 3-wood into 13, 4-iron into 14, 3-wood into 15 … 3-wood into 17, 2-iron into 18. Yeah."

What fun, and to tack on more, Scheffler said he got distracted once because "raindrops falling off the front of the cap got me in the middle of my stroke." The weather had not promised all it delivered, at least as the seasoned Rose had envisioned it, "and it turned into an absolute survival test out there."

He said, "I think I did a good job of surviving," closing with a nervy six-foot par putt that kept him from finishing bogey-bogey and making his Saturday evening glum. He rejoiced beneath the gray skies after that, and the lingering patrons up in the grandstand sang his name in the 59-degree chill as if at some football — sorry, soccer — match on Boxing Day.

He had joined in the test of fending off agony.

"I found it really hard today to enjoy the crowds," Rose said. "I found it really hard to enjoy the day today. I felt like it was good energy from the crowd, but obviously with everyone with umbrellas up, no one is clapping; everyone is shouting and cheering, people wanting high-fives. I normally engage in that type of stuff; today, I just had my head down. I was not interested in anything. I was just trying to get around the golf course today and hang in there."

And so, with 11 straight pars from No. 5 to No. 16, "I kind of felt like I was hanging on by my fingernails."

That meant the mental approach meant even more than usual. "It means everything," Schauffele said. "It is a true test. It's a long day, and you and your caddie are basically a team. He's going to need an extra arm. I at times need an extra hand. We basically just plod our way around the property. You try to get lost in the process."

And so, "There's times when you have to have a good attitude."

Horschel certainly has that as he approaches his first Sunday in this situation with enough years and turns behind him to imagine being "ecstatic" if he wins or getting "back on the horse" if he doesn't. A winner 10 times on the two tours hugging the Atlantic, he will find a Sunday with who knows what coming from way off in the ocean and over the Firth of Clyde. It has been that kind of British Open, the kind that says damn the equipment and the kind that causes Schauffele to say, "When you look at the flow of an Open Championship, this is like a classic one to me."

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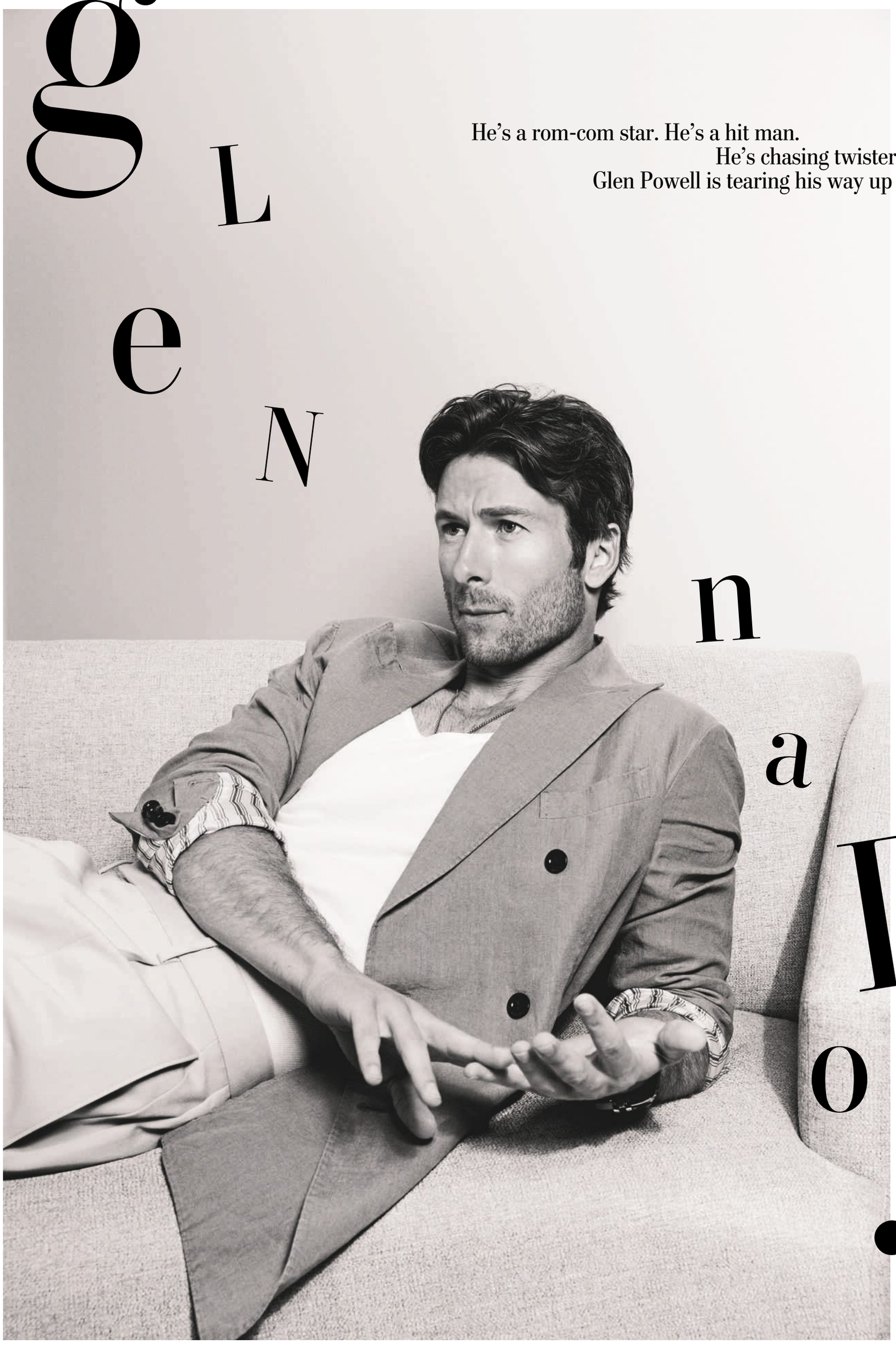
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The Washington Post

Arts&Style

Glen Powell is a Do!

He's a rom-com star. He's a hit man.
He's chasing twisters.
Glen Powell is tearing his way up the A-list. Can he stay there?



JANE GREER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

As his career hits new heights, Glen Powell, the star of the action sequel "Twisters," has left Los Angeles to return to his native Austin.

BY SONIA RAO IN AUSTIN

Glen Powell gestures to the asphalt where his dreams were almost crushed. He was 13 years old, playing pickup basketball on this very portion of the Austin Studios lot with fellow child actors from the third Spy Kids movie, when he accidentally knocked one of his co-stars to the ground. They were taking a break from filming the popular children's franchise, on which Powell, whose character is simply referred to in the credits as "long-fingered boy," was only working for the day. This was his first acting gig. Would he ever be allowed on a film set again?

The other kid was fine. So, it turned out, was Powell. As he relays this memory on a May afternoon, it seems ludicrous he ever worried about such a mishap derailing his acting career. But Powell has always been farsighted. He knows that what you do in the present can determine your future. This apparently manifested as anxiety during his childhood. As an adult, it became business acumen.

Which might help explain why Powell, 35, seems to be everywhere this year. He appears on the covers of glossy magazines. He sneaks into all your social media feeds. He shows up on daytime talk shows, where he tells Gayle King that he isn't chasing love but will accept it if it "hits me in the face."

Not only has Powell gained credibility among critics by becoming a regular weapon in Richard Linklater's arsenal — most recently in the action-comedy "Hit Man," which the actor co-wrote — but he might also be on the verge of reliable blockbuster stardom. After an attention-grabbing supporting role in the massively successful "Top Gun: Maverick," Powell stars in the disaster film "Twisters" (which opened Friday), Lee Isaac Chung's sequel to Jan de Bont's 1996 smash hit featuring Helen Hunt and Bill Paxton.

Paxton, admired for grounding big-budget productions with palpable humanity, is a hard act to follow. Skeptics raise an eyebrow at Powell, who has been described as the next Matthew McConaughey because of his wide grin, chiseled look and Texan geniality. He is already set to expand his résumé with a diverse slate of film and television projects — plus a potential Broadway musical — and keeps a notebook full of advice from the likes of Tom Cruise. But does that translate to trajectory? Is Powell the next McConaughey or Cruise? Could he become a Paul

SEE **POWELL** ON **E11**

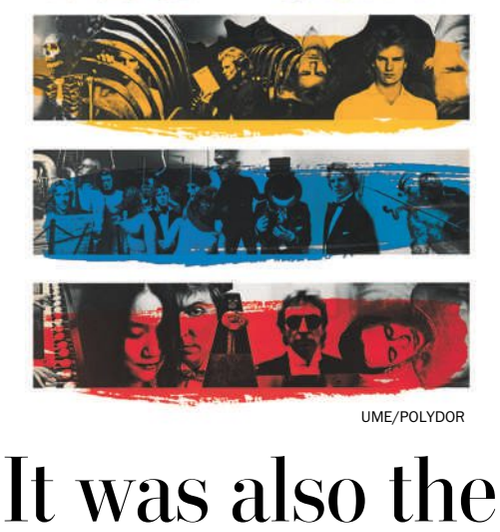
'Synchronicity' was the Police's biggest album.

BY GEOFF EDGERS

In December 1982, the Police flew to the Caribbean to record their fifth album. The executives at A&M Records were excited. A year earlier, the trio had leavened their raw, guitar-driven sound with moody keyboards and skronky saxophone fills for their fourth album, "Ghost in the Machine," generating hit singles like "Every Little Thing She Does Is Magic" and "Spirits in the Material World." Suddenly, they were filling arenas.

But the atmosphere at AIR Studios, on the island of Montserrat, quickly turned sour. Guitarist Andy Summers sniffed at lead singer Sting's demo of "Every Breath You Take" as cheesy pop, not worthy of a band he still insisted was a guitar trio. Drummer Stewart Copeland bristled when the singer tried to give him orders. And Sting, who had been contemplating going solo, was tired of pretending this was still a democracy: Why were they arguing about whose songs were best? Wasn't it obvious? Even their typically unflappable producer tried to flee the island at one point.

These were the circumstances under which the Police recorded one of the most popular records of the 20th century. This oral history of "Synchronicity" comes as UMe/Polydor releases an illuminating box set on July 26, featuring a remaster of the 1983 original as well as never-released outtakes, demos and live recordings. Sting was interviewed in person in New York, Copeland and Summers in Los Angeles. Responses have been edited for space and clarity.



UME/POLYDOR

It was also the band's demise.

Copeland, a drummer for prog-rockers Curved Air, and Sting, singer and bassist from jazz-rockers Last Exit, connect in 1976 and decide to try to make it in London's exploding punk scene. Initially, they tap Henry Padovani, a snarling, black-leathered guitarist from Corsica, as the third in their trio.

Copeland: He was the only bona fide punk. Everybody loved Henry. They were suspicious of Sting and put up their shields when I started talking.

Padovani: [Copeland] wanted to put a punk band together, and you just don't do that. It doesn't work. You're either a punk band or you're not. But trying to sort of dress as punks, act as punks, that sort of cred didn't work, so the Police was really struggling.

Sting: I like bossa nova. I like, you know, ninth chords and sixths and flat fifths.

Copeland: I learned later that Sting had always had these songs. I don't know why he never mentioned them. We're playing my s--- songs. How come he didn't say, "Dude, I got a better song here"?

Sting: Because Henry couldn't play the songs I'd written. ... For some reason, it was me who was given the job to fire Henry. And it was very difficult. But

SEE **'SYNCHRONICITY'** ON **E9**

Kennedy Center to put disabled artists at center stage to mark 34 years of ADA

BY MICHAEL ANDOR BRODEUR



KENNEDY CENTER PHOTOS

On Friday, the Americans With Disabilities Act — which was enacted in 1990 to establish "a clear and comprehensive prohibition of discrimination on the basis of disability" — will turn 34.

Over a quarter of Americans live with some form of disability, and the changes introduced by the ADA helped transform the ways people with disabilities engage with public life, as well as the American perspective on disability itself. It was a matter of civil rights all along.

Though sweeping in its impact, the ADA was no magic wand — issues of opportunity and access continue to create steeper inclines for those with disabilities to surmount. This is especially so in the realm of classical music, where obstacles for disabled musicians remain profound, pronounced and seldom confronted.

A weekend of anniversary programs at the Kennedy Center aims to address the complicated intersection of classical music and disability by putting the talents of disabled musicians center stage. On Friday morning, the Library of Congress's National Library Service for the Blind and Print Disabled will give a presentation on music resources and adaptive technology for blind and low vision musicians at the Reach. And that evening, violinist Adrian Anantawan will offer a Millennium Stage recital in celebration of the ADA's anniversary.

The highlight of the weekend will be a Saturday evening concert presented by the Kennedy Center's Office of Accessibility and VSA (formerly Very Special Arts), honoring and showcasing the four recipients of the 2024 Access/VSA International Young Musicians Award: violinist Julia LaGrand, vocalist and guitarist Téa Ning LaFleur, pianist Cheuk Him "Anson" Tang, and ukulele player Kapono Wong.

The four musicians will participate in this year's VSA International Young Musicians Program. Open to U.S. and international musicians from the ages of 14 to 25, the program grants awards of $2,000 as well as performance and professional development opportunities at the Kennedy Center.

And while the program attracts many young classical musicians, it remains open to musicians across every genre. "We've had jazz, gospel, world music, bluegrass, barbershop quartet and more represented in the program's 40-year history," VSA programmer Wynsor Taylor said in an email.

Anantawan, a violinist who was born with a limb difference and uses an adaptive bow, is a 2002 alum of the VSA program and serves as a program mentor. He considers his experience over 20 years ago a major steppingstone in a wide-ranging career as a performer and educator, introducing him to a more vast ecosystem of disabled musicians than he had ever imagined existed, and encouraging him to see his own place in classical music — specifically, its tradition of disruption.

"When we think about great leaps forward in classical music in particular, they happen because someone thought about something in a wholly unique and different way," he said in a Zoom interview. "These are things we now choose to preserve as artifacts of pristine beauty, when at the time, they were aspects of risk and change. It's very emblematic of the disability experience as it relates to classical music because it's all about adaptation."

LaGrand, 20, is a violinist and disability rights advocate from Grand Rapids, Mich., completing her freshman year at New England Conservatory and preparing to embark on a dual program at Harvard University. The younger sister of a professional musician, she was motivated early to pick up an instrument and quickly fell for the violin.

"Growing up, I was always aware of my blindness to some extent," she said in a Zoom conversation, "but it didn't really feel like a challenge to me musically. It wasn't until high school that I became much more aware of sort of disability in general and how disability is viewed by other people. That really changed how I think about what I want to do with my music."

As a high school sophomore during the height of the covid-19 pandemic, LaGrand started searching out spaces where her needs as a musician could be addressed and accommodated, as well as developing her ability to speak about those needs and have them met. Her advocacy work has centered on not just the needs of disabled musicians, but also the perceptions surrounding them.

"I think there are kind of two distinct questions of perception," she said. "Generally there tends to be not a ton of information about the capacities of disabled people. I think understanding disabled people as competent is so crucial. I've interacted with people in the course of my studies who, to varying degrees, have expressed concern that my disability would stop me from being able to have a fulfilling career in classical music. A non-disabled person might not understand exactly how a blind person navigates certain systems, but it's important for them to understand that they do."

In LaGrand's case, her navigation of violin repertoire has involved a mix of her own notation, Braille music, computerized reading systems and learning by ear.

"The second question of perception is how we do classical music," LaGrand said. "And for me, I think one thing that strikes me very frequently is the supremacy of visual notation. I have a lot of ways of accessing notation, but so often people either don't understand this way or fundamentally believe that there are things in music notation that I'm missing, or that my way of accessing notation is not sufficient to put me on par with my peers. That's a difficult perception to unravel — it has less to do with what I'm capable of as a disabled person and more to do with how they view classical music as essentially tied to visual notation."

Tang, a 26-year-old pianist from London by way of Hong Kong, has used a wheelchair since childhood. By age 4, he had taken to playing the family piano; by age 6, he was taking formal lessons; and by age 8, his instructor at school had helped craft him an adaptive foot pedal — one he still uses in performance today.

After earning a prestigious scholarship in 2014 from Arts With the Disabled Association Hong Kong, Tang pursued studies with Alan Chu, principal keyboard of the Hong Kong Sinfonietta. He is completing a degree in London at the Royal College of Music, where he is the first wheelchair user to join the school's keyboard faculty.

"There aren't many opportunities for disabled musicians to show off," he said. "At many music festivals, there's not enough accessibility. So I think this program is very important. We can learn more, but also we have a platform to showcase our talents and change our audience's perceptions."

By all accounts, increasing access and opportunities for disabled musicians invariably helps open concert hall doors to new audiences.

"Somehow the narrative of virtuosity and perfection [in classical music] has got to include a degree of vulnerability," Anantawan said. "Understanding that we're not perfect can allow us to not only create access into classical music, but help our stories resonate with more people — who are also not perfect."





CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Violinist Adrian Anantawan was born with a limb difference and uses an adaptive bow; Julia LaGrand hasn't let blindness stop her from pursuing a career as a classical violinist. Pianist Cheuk Him "Anson" Tang uses an adaptive foot pedal that was made for him by one of his instructors when he was 8.

"There aren't many opportunities for disabled musicians to show off. At many music festivals, there's not enough accessibility. So I think this program is very important."

Cheuk Him "Anson" Tang, one of four recipients of the 2024 Access/VSA International Young Musicians Award

2024 Access/VSA International Young Musicians Award Winners in Concert, Saturday at 6 p.m. at the Kennedy Center Millennium Stage. kennedy-center.org

Sister calls 85-year-old mom 'selfish' for not moving closer to her



Carolyn Hax

Dear Carolyn: My sister wants our 85-year-old mother to move closer to her. Our mother, who is in good health, still drives, is active in her church and has lots of friends, wants to remain in her home and not move 600 miles away.

I'm supportive of her staying home and have told her I will be available to help her as much as possible. I'm three hours away.

My sister is livid that our mother won't move, is calling her selfish and says she will no longer be available to help her. I think our mom has a right to make her own decisions and don't understand why my sister is so angry.

I really don't want a family rift at this point in our lives. How can I help my sister understand our mom's wishes?

— Trying to Keep the Peace

Trying to Keep the Peace: The biggest issue I can see here, for you, is that every issue in your letter is more of an issue than you realize. So I'll take them one at a time in reverse order, in hopes of making some rift-explaining (or mending!) sense.

First, your signature: This is not about peace. It is about needs and the ability of all three of you to understand, anticipate and meet one another's, respectfully and realistically. So if your focus remains on "keep[ing] the peace," then you will remain as you are now, on the outside helplessly looking in. Bluntly speaking, I'm sorry.

Next: The word "rift" is probably accurate, but the bigger issue is frustration. It's mutual, I'm guessing, between your mom and sister over the mismatched … let's call it *chronology* of their thinking.

Your mom is in the now. I don't blame her for this one bit. She is a healthy, competent adult with her own life, and it doesn't take an oracle to see why she doesn't want to move. I wouldn't either.

Your sister is in the future. I don't blame her for this one bit.

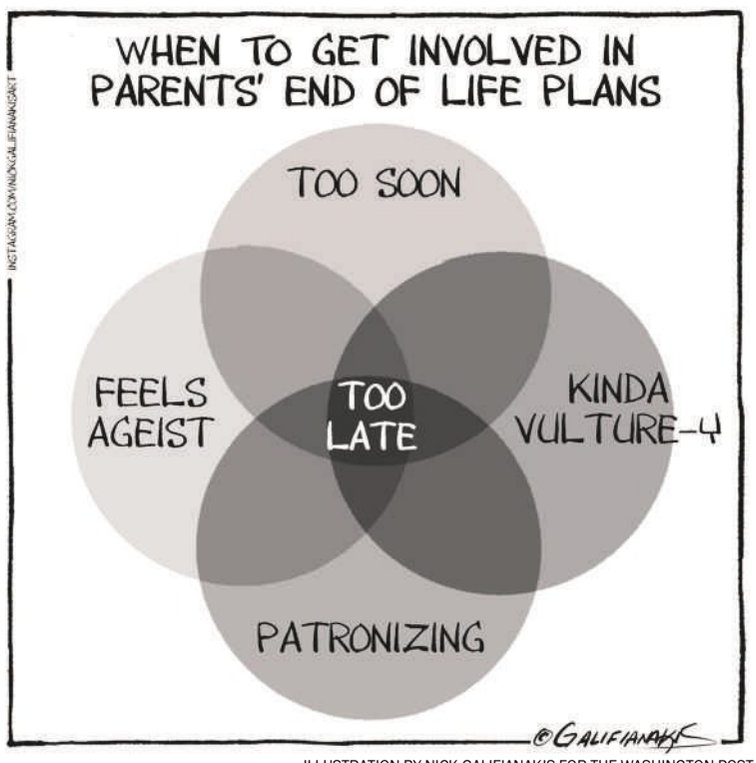


ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

There is so much I can't know about your mom's immediate circumstances, including how valid your sister's concerns are. Your mom could be a decade or more from needing help from either of you, if ever; her peer group could be multigenerational; her home may have been chosen or adapted for aging in place; one of you could need her before she needs you.

But there is something we all can know, just because it's life we're talking about here: Whatever her circumstances, her "now" will come to an end. It doesn't take an oracle, certainly, to see that an 85-year-old and her car keys aren't in a long-term relationship. And while all of us need a Plan B at every age and your mom could be fine for years, her independence is facing more and more immediate challenges.

Next: If she's A-OK with this reality because she assumes you and your sister — from significant drives away — are her Plan B, then your sister's frustration starts making sense, doesn't it?

Because even loving, freely given support over a hard distance takes a physical, emotional and economic toll — on caregivers and recipients alike. It can be done, yes. Families wear out airports and highways for one another every day, and maybe the three of you will ultimately choose to do the same if the need arises. But it's too big and too much just to assume — and it's too sacred a promise for "available to help … as much as possible" to cover it.

It's a commitment that wants a plan.

So, next: Calling your mom "selfish" doesn't help, for sure, nor does your sister's petulance — and if your mom doesn't want to move, then your mom doesn't want to move, and she may not need you or your sister for years or ever, and all that.

Yet: In her regrettable way, whether it was her selfless motive to begin with or not, your sister is making a valid case for some kind of rational communication about What Comes Next, in the hope-it-never-gets-here possible future where Mom's independence runs out.

We know your mom has shut down your sister's proposal. Did she entertain any larger what-ifs? All of you would benefit from getting everyone's preferences out there while you can.

By backing your mom perhaps naively on her "now," you unwittingly helped shut down family-wide talks on the future.

I've worked my way up to the top of your letter, where it's clear you all love one another and want to stay close, supportive, involved.

So don't "keep the peace"; *value communication*. You can't support one another without knowing how to, and that starts with good listening.

Both Mom and Sis are speaking without being heard. You can hear your sister's fear (too far away to help Mom). You can hear your mom's fear (losing herself). You can ask to talk, when they've cooled, about everyone's Plan B, not just Mom's — because life has its own ideas. And because you can't be there for each other when you're just guessing where "there" might be.

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.

No one wants to hear my travel stories

Asking Eric

R. ERIC THOMAS

Dear Eric: I have been fortunate to have met a number of well-known people and visited many locales worldwide, often, due to my business, places where tourists don't go.

Occasionally, someone in a group I am with mentions reading about a person or place I know something about from personal experience. If I volunteer that I personally am acquainted with said individual or locale, the response is nearly always negative. The conversation dies, the people walk away.

Apparently, I come across as a "been there, done that" type. I, for one, would be happy to gain firsthand knowledge about a person or place, but apparently most others don't think that way. My response now is to remain silent and on the periphery of such conversations.

— Lonely Traveler

Traveler: While this isn't your intention, I fear your input may strike some as bragging. Travel isn't equally accessible to everyone. Many travelers love to bring back knowledge and stories, but those who missed the boat may not relish these souvenirs.

When you next find yourself in one of these conversations, take the opportunity to ask those gathered what excites or interests them about an individual or locale. Let them talk about their own connection. It may not be informed in the same way as yours, but that doesn't make it less valuable.

If you do want to share that you have firsthand knowledge, make sure you're responding to their story. Speak from your own enthusiasm, rather than your expertise. This makes the conversation a group of people talking about the wonders of the world rather than one person seemingly lecturing, even though that's not your intent.

I sense in you a desire to tell your travel story. That's also what these people are trying to do. Take advantage of the chance to keep learning about exotic places, even while here at home.

Dear Eric: When I was 16, more than 50 years ago, I had a girlfriend who lived in a nearby city. One day, I brought a joint of marijuana along on a visit. While her parents were away, we smoked it in their garage. Suddenly, we heard a car drive up and stop. In walked her father, a policeman and her pastor.

That is, they were all the same person. Her father was the police department chaplain. He smelled the smoke, took me down to the police station, and then to the bus station, and told me to never come back to their town again. I didn't. I exchanged one card with the girl, a few months later, not really offering much more than vague regret.

Now, 50 years later, I ran into her name in the local paper and she is a county judge!

I struggled with alcohol and drugs for a while in my youth but at age 36 got clean and sober — in part because of a deferred prosecution on a DUI — and I remain so. I was wondering whether it would be appropriate for me to drop her a line, letting her know this, and expressing hope that the fallout of our mistake wasn't too great on her and her family.

— Amends Too Late?

Amends: Congratulations on your decades of sobriety. I'm happy that you found solutions that worked for you and continue to positively impact your life. I think your former girlfriend, the judge, would be happy to hear about this, as well. An unexpected note from someone from the past who isn't asking for anything could be a welcome, happy surprise.

Amends aren't about changing what happened so much as improving the future's possibilities. We do that by acknowledging harm done and striving to fix what we can. So, don't beat yourself up too much for what happened. You may be thinking about the incident through the lens of all the other substance-related missteps in your past.

Bringing the joint to her house wasn't the best strategic choice considering the one-man criminal justice system under her roof, but it may have taken on outsize importance in your mind as the years went by.

Telling her the next chapters of your story and making amends, then, could have a positive, righting effect on both of you.

One hopes that, as a judge, she's familiar with the efficacy of alternative sentencing for nonviolent drug offenses. Particularly, that addiction treatment mandated by drug courts, followed by monitoring, showed a recidivism rate 38 percent to 50 percent less than incarceration for drug offenses, according to the Stanford Network on Drug Policy.

Your story can help put another human face on the problem of substance abuse for her. It's something that she may return to as she weighs the law, the figures and the cases before her. Your story has the power to change a lot more lives than you know.

(Send questions to R. Eric Thomas at eric@askingeric.com or P.O. Box 22474, Philadelphia, PA 19110. Follow him on Instagram and sign up for his weekly newsletter at *rericthomas.com*.)

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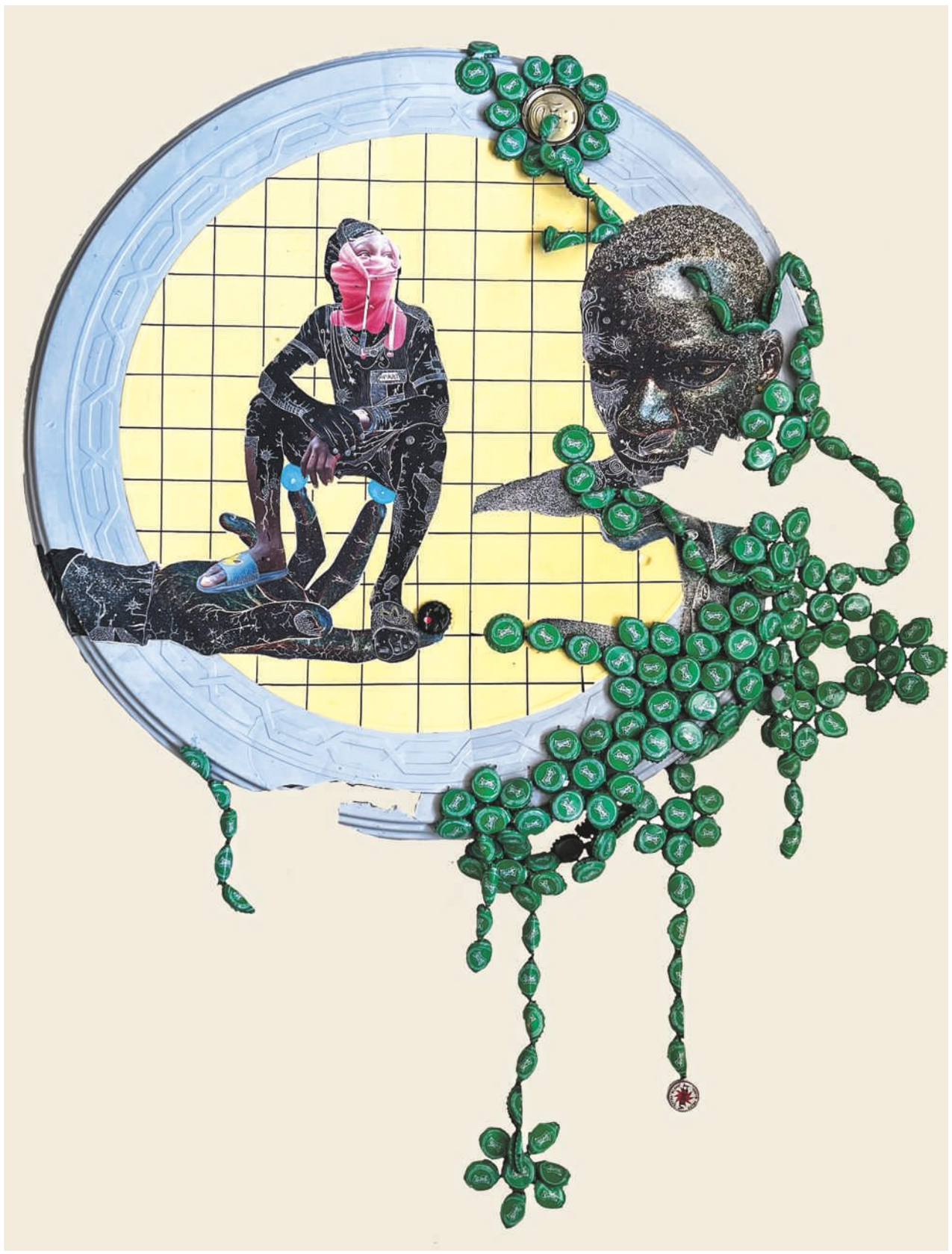
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IN THE GALLERIES



AFRICAN ART BEATS



REDEAT WONDEMU

LEFT: "I Am a Prey" by Diamas (Serge Diakota Mabilama) included in the three-artist show "The Bright Side."
RIGHT: "Phoenix Series VI" by Redeat Wondemu in her show at IA&A Hillyer.
BELOW: An installation view of the four-artist exhibit "Beyond Surface" at Pazo Fine Art.

Dynamism abounds in a tactile, textural exhibition

BY MARK JENKINS

The four participants in "Beyond Surface," a new exhibition at Pazo Fine Art, begin with the language of painting and drawing, but expand that vernacular into the third dimension. The resulting artworks may be sleek or craggy, tightly contained or free form. But all speak fluently to each other, indicating that Pazo Fine Art was astute to convene these artists, three from Washington and one from Baltimore.

Both Joanne Kent and Giulia Livi draw from color field painting, yet their work is also sculptural. Kent's rectangular pieces are essentially blocks of a single hue. The artist complicates the format by applying oil paint in thick tangles that produce swells and shallows, and sometimes by including additional shades that are close but not identical to the dominant one. The paintings' beguiling depths are simultaneously illusory and actual.

Most of Livi's sculptures protrude about as far from the wall as Kent's, undulating in regular curves. Made of painted tile, four of the pieces curl neatly, one into a partial tube and another whose ripples shift from pink to lilac. The other Livi creation is made of painted foam that bulges softly within its hard-edge contour. As with the Baltimore artist's other sculptures, the effect is to freeze motion serenely in space.

Both Ara Koh and Kristina Penhoet draw lines with tangled strands that appear to dangle and pool. Koh's sculptures look like piles of ribbons whose hues become subtly darker toward the bottom of the heap. But the threads are in fact ceramic, so their seeming softness is a canny deception.

Penhoet's works, which really are pliable, are made primarily of off-white wool that's woven and knotted to yield various thicknesses. Two of the pieces hang from ceiling to floor, evoking trees, vines or Rapunzel-length tresses while casting shadows whose movements emphasize how the fibers sway. Of these artists, Penhoet is the only one to forgo color, but she makes the most energetic use of motion.

Beyond Surface Through Aug. 3 at Pazo Fine Art, 1932 Ninth St. NW (entrance at1917 9½ St. NW). pazofineart.com. 571-315-5279.

The Bright Side

The three artists featured in African Art Beats' "The Bright Side" hail from different regions of Africa, and employ diverse styles. But all the men, each known by a mononym, share an enthusiasm for assembling and transforming. Their work is made from everyday stuff, which is both celebrated and transfigured.

Cheerful collage-paintings are the specialty of Soul (Souleymane Konaté), who depicts big-eyed people, animals and hybrid creatures. The self-taught Ivory Coast artist places his subjects amid patterns, often floral, so that the cartoonish beings appear to emerge from, or merge into, their colorful surroundings.

Diamas (Serge Diakota Mabilama) takes a similar approach, but with sculptural paintings that include such recognizable objects as a pan and Sprite bottle caps. The former serves as a metallic canvas for a painting of a faceless figure, while the latter are strung into garlands that festoon another circular picture. The artist, who lives in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, uses automotive varnish and found objects to craft such ironically titled pieces as "Unbreakable," a portrait rendered on a partly broken black plate to which Diamas has playfully attached a battered spoon.

More traditional subject matter is rendered with industrial substances by Doff (Apollinaire Guidimbaye), an artist from Chad who also has no formal artistic training. His search for seemingly worthless scrap materials earned him his nickname, Wolof for "fool." But there's nothing laughable about his relief sculptures of flowers and market scenes, interpreted with such unexpected materials as bullet casings and melted plastic. Doff's simple imagery is deepened by its complex textures, urgent ecological implications and sheer inventiveness.

The Bright Side Through Aug. 15 at African Art Beats, 3501 Lowell St. NW. africanartbeats.com. 202-766-2608.

From Wood to Paper and Back Again

The title of Adah Rose Gallery's "From Wood to Paper and Back Again" reflects such pieces as Jessica Drenk's sculpture in which dozens of concentric paper layers, pressed closely together, simulate a tree trunk's rings. The wide-ranging group show, curated by Mary Freedman and Lisa Rosenstein, includes several other works that emphasize the qualities of their materials. Among these are Rosenstein's own oval collages made of torn paper and Christian Tribastone's "High/Low," which playfully elevates everyday brown cardboard by partly coating it with gold leaf.

The majority of the entries, however, are simply drawings, paintings or prints, most often on paper. The representational works include Freedman's expressionist charcoals of tulips and Nathan Loda's realistic but slightly haunted oils of sylvan scenes; substantially more impish are Gregory Ferrand's pencil renderings of people in Batman costumes. Floral rather than arboreal motifs are dissected and layered in prints by Susan Goldman, a silk-screen virtuoso. As naturalistic as they are abstract, Goldman's prints shift from blossoms to geometry and back again.

From Wood to Paper and Back Again Through Aug. 10 at Adah Rose Gallery, 3766 Howard Ave., Kensington. adahrosegallery.com. 301-922-0162.

VIVIAN MARIE DOERING

Redeat Wondemu

Local photographer Redeat Wondemu often travels home to Ethiopia, where she makes portraits of women that begin with interviews to establish a rapport between artist and subject. Wondemu takes a much less documentary approach to the self-portraits in "Phoenix Series," six of which are on display at IA&A at Hillyer. These five-foot-high pictures feature softly defined images and stress motion over character; the artist's face is visible in only two of the pictures, and even in those the visage is muddied and shadowy.

The "Phoenix" Series photos are contact-printed from digital negatives onto watercolor paper using the blueprint-like cyanotype process. Slow shutter speeds smear Wondemu's flowing clothing into swoops of white, suggesting a bird's plumage. The blurred figures are framed by deep blue expanses that turn mushy around the edges, as if the backdrop is melting. The poses suggest a dance to various freedoms, including an unshackling from photographic verisimilitude. As Wondemu emulates a bird, the photos very nearly turn into paintings.

Redeat Wondemu: Phoenix Series Through July 28 at IA&A at Hillyer, 9 Hillyer Ct. NW. athillyer.org; 202-338-0680.



PHOTOS BY BEN SYMONS/PEACOCK

America's own 'Love Island' finally has fans swooning

After six seasons — and with a new host and a diverse cast — the British-import dating series is No. 1 in viewers' hearts

BY ILANA KAPLAN



TOP: Cast members from Season 6 of "Love Island USA," whose finale airs Sunday. According to preliminary data from Nielsen, the series is the No. 1 reality show in the United States across all streaming platforms.
ABOVE: Host Ariana Madix in the season premiere. She gained fame as a cast member on another reality show, "Vanderpump Rules." Of "Love Island," she says, "I am a fan, I am invested in everything that's going on. I really do care."

Soon after "Love Island" premiered in Britain in 2015, the series — which followed a rotating cast of young, Instagram-attractive singles looking for love — became nightly appointment viewing during sweltering summers. ¶ "Love Island" follows hotties living in a tropical villa, where they go feral, are filmed 24 hours a day and couple (and recouple), on a show that's broadcast six nights a week, typically over eight weeks. The arrival of "bombshells" — new sexy singles — causes romantic chaos as the cast members compete for a prize of 50,000 pounds, or about $65,000 (which viewers vote on), and perhaps a new significant other. ¶ For reality TV fans, "Love Island" wasn't just a show — it became a cultural phenomenon. As the series was syndicated to the United States, it fueled an obsession with a "Love Island" lifestyle, British culture and cheeky Britishisms like "mugged off" (dumped) or having a "banter" (chat), as well as jokes about the personalized water bottles the Islanders constantly lugged around. ¶ After four years on the air in Britain, the show finally launched an American version in 2019. With the hype surrounding the original series, expectations were high. However, "Love Island USA" landed on CBS, which, in a nutshell, sucked the fun out of the show because Federal Communications Commission regulations meant taming it for American television. (Also, half the pleasure of the U.K. franchise was the accents — and while there were a handful of international cast members on the U.S. series, American accents aren't quite as entertaining.) In 2022 it switched to the streaming service Peacock, where there was a bit more raunchiness permitted and a lot more of the Bravo fandom watching. Still, it hadn't fully found its footing. ¶ This summer that all changed. The show has a new host and a diverse cast, and American fans finally fell for the series, with many saying it has begun to outshine the original version. Now, according to preliminary data from Nielsen, "Love Island USA" has become the No. 1 reality show in the United States across all streaming platforms.

From the moment Ariana Madix sashayed into the colorful Fiji villa sporting a dripping, golden revenge gown and a devilish twinkle in her eye, viewers should have assumed, as "Love Island USA's" newest host, that she would be adding an edge to the series. After all, Madix has been a fixture of one of reality TV's most iconic shows, "Vanderpump Rules," for 11 seasons. Even more eyeballs have been on her since last year, when she catapulted to fame virtually overnight in the wake of #Scandoval, the cheating scandal between her and ex-partner Tom Sandoval. Casting Madix as the host of "Love Island USA" was some top-tier reality TV drama, considering it was the reality show her ex famously refused to watch with her.

Not only were "Love Island" fans tuning in this time around, but "VPR" viewers were, too. "I have seen a lot of people comment that they haven't watched before, but they started watching because I was hosting and they stayed because of how great the show was," Madix says. "I am a fan, I am invested in everything that's going on. I really do care." In her "ideal world," she adds, everyone would find themselves in a "long-term, great relationship coming out of the show and live happily ever after."

Simon Thomas, president of ITV Entertainment and head of international programming, can't help but notice parallels between Madix and the late "Love Island" host Caroline Flack. "She's the older sister that the Islanders want to be or grow up to be, and she's been publicly unlucky in love," he says. "And that's tough, but it's relatable."

Of course, it isn't solely Madix who has helped the show hit its stride. The casting, and the chemistry that's come from it, have been divine. Madix herself called the cast both "insane" and "perfect" in an interview with "Entertainment Tonight." According to Thomas, the "magic" comes from the fact that there are no "hard-and-fast rules" when it comes to selecting Islanders. "You have to be really, really ridiculously good-looking," he says. "And you have to be able to chat."

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

TELEVISION

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

This season, there's Rob, a snake-catching, overalls-sporting hunk from Season 5's Casa Amor who experienced a poolside breakdown and seems to flip-flop from charmer to walking red flag. (Casa Amor is a separate villa filled with tempting new singles. Islanders are sent there midway through the season to test their existing relationships.) Then there's JaNa Craig, who loves to read the dictionary, had an epic, tearful rant about plants and has been vulnerable about the exhaustion of repeated rejection. The animal-obsessed Leah Kateb and her dry sense of humor have repeatedly been at the center of the show's drama.

Serena Page, who had been with Kordell Beckham since the beginning, not only gave the brother of NFL star Odell Beckham Jr. a scathing takedown for bringing his Casa Amor connection Daia McGhee back to the villa but also flipped a plate of eggs and avocado toast he made for her onto his bare chest. Then there's the exhausting romance between Kaylor Martin and Aaron Evans — he won "The Traitors UK" — which has been plagued by the aftereffects of his Casa Amor connection with Daniela Ortiz Rivera. If it sounds complicated, it is. But it's been nothing short of the TV equivalent of a chef's kiss.

Ira Madison III, a writer and co-host of the podcast "Keep It," likens the dynamics of this season to competition shows like "Big Brother" and "Survivor," and says it's made "Love Island USA" must-see TV. "It's a competitive sort of aspect to the game that's happening this summer, in a way that I haven't really seen," he says. "If these people were in the 'Big Brother' house, they'd be playing that game well, too."

And yet, one of the most compelling aspects of this season has had nothing to do with the flings or the flirting — it's been the friendships. For the most part, the women on the show have been fiercely loyal to one another, even when vying for the same male suitor.

Ben Thursby-Palmer, the show's executive producer, calls the ladies this season "the Spice Girls of Love Island." "They are a really eclectic bunch of people, but they really support each other," he says. There have also been times on the show when the men seemed to like each other more than the women they're supposed to be pursuing. One of the core bromances has been between Rob and Aaron, and dating the same woman — like Daniela — has never gotten in the way of their bond.

"That [closeness] makes the stakes high when you're watching dramatic moments, or if a recoupling is happening, and you're not sure who's going home, it really matters to everyone there," Madix says. "I think that feeling translates to the audience feeling like all of these things really matter when you're watching them."



BEN SYMONS/PEACOCK

Friendships form quickly on "Love Island USA," and the women have been fiercely loyal to one another. "That [closeness] makes the stakes high," host Ariana Madix says.

The current season, which concludes on Sunday, also brought new twists. For instance, male contestants could choose whether they wanted to go to Casa Amor, and if they did, they'd sneak off into the night. "They didn't even have to go, but they chose to leave. So for the girls back in the villa, [it's like] good to know that they chose that. It's just [about] living in your choices a lot more this year," Thursby-Palmer says.

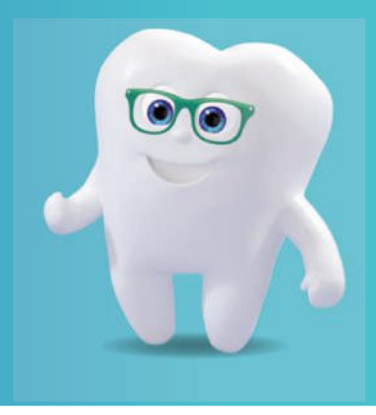
The producers also created a game that had a couple do a dance-off, which at the end would reveal whether one of them wanted to recouple. "It's a very creative and almost diabolical twist to the most simple and mundane aspects of the show [that] I think made the drama that much more heightened and exciting," says Mariah Smith, a writer and co-host of "Smith Sisters Live" on Sirius XM's Radio Andy.

While Season 6 has been addictive for viewers this summer, the team behind "Love Island USA" isn't strategizing or thinking ahead on how to build on the momentum.

Thursby-Palmer says, laughing, "I'm just trying to get through this season, to be honest."

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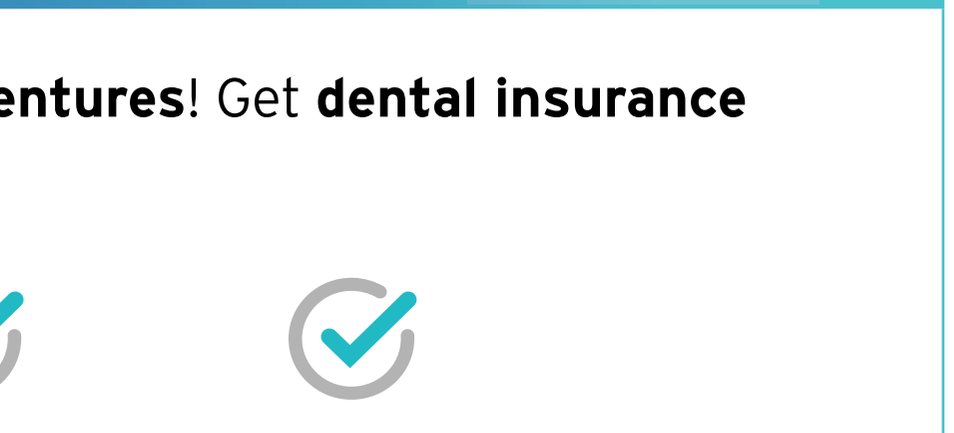
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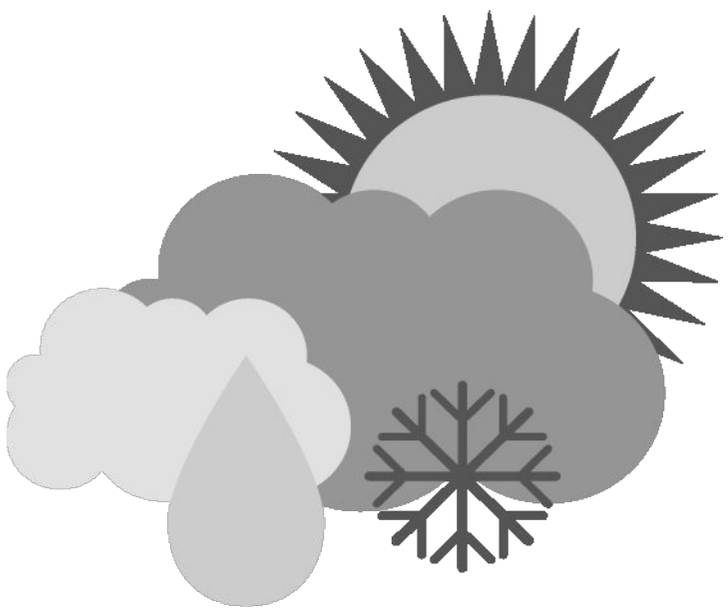
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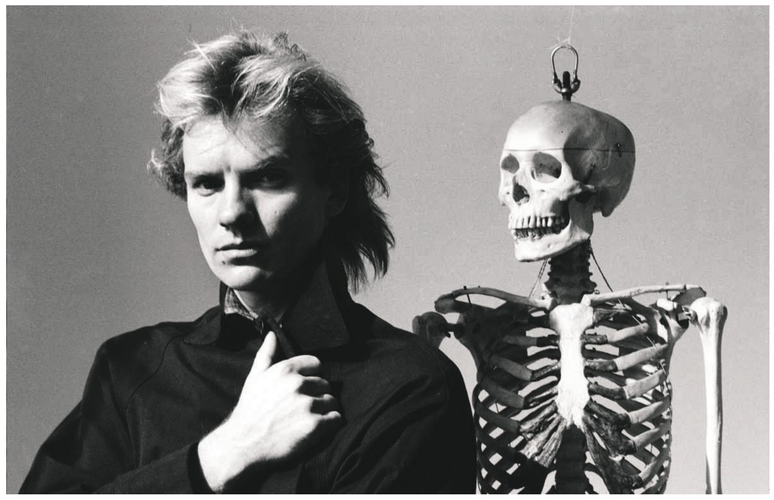
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'SYNCHRONICITY' FROM E1

'SYNCHRONICITY' WAS THEIR DISCONNECTING PRINCIPLE

he was very gentlemanly and was very understanding.

They meet Summers at a recording session.

Copeland: Andy was super cool. Not a gregarious person. We heard Andy playing with that clarity, with this huge vocabulary, with his dynamic charisma on guitar. The music coming out of that instrument lit us up.

Nile Rodgers, super-producer and Chic guitarist: Andy had an amazing tone. He's a great player. [*Rodgers croons a line from "Walking on the Moon."*] The sound of that band is that incredible phasing, flange sound. If you take away that guitar sound, you don't have the Police.

Kathy Valentine, the Go-Go's bassist: I saw them at Madam Wong's on their very first tour. And there was nobody like them. The Police were really different because they were virtuosos. They had this kind of worldliness and sophistication that I didn't see in any other band. I don't think of them as fake punks. I looked at punk rock as being very open.

Bill Flanagan, author and former MTV executive: I went to a record store appearance they did [in Boston]. The manager said, "Well, you can each take 10 cassettes," or something. And they flipped out. They all went for [jazz-fusion band] Return to Forever and Miles Davis. And I remember thinking, wow, that's interesting. … But then, of course, it made sense. So many of the new wave bands were a little older than you thought they would be. The Clash and the Cars and the Ramones, Talking Heads.

After the third Police album, "Zenyatta Mondatta," becomes the first to crack the Billboard Top 10 in the U.S., the bandmates replace their original producer — Nigel Gray, a physician who had started a recording studio as a hobby — for Padgham, who had recorded hits for XTC and Phil Collins, with his reverb-laden "In the Air Tonight."

Copeland: We never got into a fistfight. … The reason why we're screaming at each other is because we both give a s---.

Summers: Great art, great music doesn't come out of a mellow band. You don't want mellow. Avoid it. It's all that tension and creative differences that make it. What is music? I always said it's the sound of a very tight compromise.

Sting: If we had had more in common … we would have been together the same way the E Street Band were together. We have completely different backgrounds. Andy's from Bournemouth, in the south of England. That's a genteel part of the world. I'm from Newcastle. Stewart was brought up in Beirut with the CIA. His dad was one of the founding members of the OSS. So it's a false family, really.

Miles Copeland, Stewart's brother and manager of the Police: Stewart knew that Sting's songs made the Police. That it was really more about Sting than any of the other two. So there was the intellectual Stewart, who understood 100 percent the reality then. Then there was the emotional Stewart. … The Police was *his* — nobody [else] had anything to do with it, it was all him. It was totally irrational.

Summers: I like the second album, "Reggatta de Blanc," because I thought that's where we were still raw. There was so much energy in the tracks. I felt that's where we really became the Police. By the third, there's all sorts of politics and pressure. By the fourth album, this is getting difficult, you know? And the fifth album, it's almost impossible for us to come together.

Sting: I think it was in 1981, I played the Secret Policeman's Other Ball in London for Amnesty [International]. And I sang "Message in a Bottle" on my own and "Roxanne" on my own, with guitar. And I thought, I can do this on my own. And I enjoyed doing it on my own. And so that just gave me the idea. I didn't act on it for another three years.

Copeland: Sometime during "Zenyatta" was when I got the feeling that he was feeling that way. By the way, I was saying that in my secret diaries in 1978.

Kathy Schenker, former A&M vice president and Sting's former longtime manager: I think a little bit of him felt an obligation to Stewart, for really plucking him out of obscurity. And the money was appealing. And the other thing was an uncertainty. I mean, he's always liked risk. He's always been drawn to challenging himself. But that was really an unknown. And there were very few other major members of a group that were going off on their own and making it.

After some unaccustomed time off between albums — Sting starred in a movie, Summers recorded with a side-project combo — the Police reunited in Monserrat for "Synchronicity." Sting brought a set of new songs inspired by Hungarian journalist Arthur Koestler's writings on paranormal phenomena.

Padgham: We started trying to record and, after about a week, if not 10 days, we did not have one backing track. If somebody had come down to the studio and said, "Play a song," there wasn't anything to play.

Sting: A band starts off, and no one's roles are clearly defined. In this case, it was Stewart's band, and he was the drummer, and Andy was the great guitarist, but the currency of the band was songs. … So that creates a lot of tension, because every song that comes onto the table has to go through the process. So they would write as much as I was writing, but they weren't … they weren't good enough, frankly.

Padgham: The deal was that Andy and Stewart had to have a song of theirs on the album.

Sting: So we get "Mother."

Copeland: He and Hugh Padgham have said, "It was hard telling Andy and Stewart that their songs were crap." And Sting said, "It's like telling somebody their girlfriend's ugly." Well, just for the record, those ugly girlfriends of mine, rejected by the band in Monserrat, got me a Golden Globe nomination and a Grammy nomination as the score for "Rumble Fish." … I regret that I didn't support Andy more. But then again. Sting's right about one thing. He's wrong that the other songs were crap. Except for "Mother."

Summers: You know, f--- Sting. That's all I can tell you. I was listening to Captain Beefheart, and that's what I wanted to do, something like that. During that period I wrote songs that were better than his. But he would take the upper whip hand because he was a singer and go, "Well, I'm not doing anything."

Padgham: Sometimes I was just so depressed working with them. I remember going out to the studio and ringing up my manager and saying, "I don't know if I can handle this."

Copeland: "Synchronicity" was the one where it really got to the point where we felt, we're not going to succeed here. And I could be wrong. I mean, my bruised feelings told me, my analysis was: They hate me. They want me out.

Summers: It reached a point where we thought, f---, we needed somebody else to come. And we need a producer, and George Martin, the owner of AIR, was on the island at the time. We'll just get George Martin. We're big enough. He'll come to produce us. The studio is on a hill. And then there's this valley. And then George was over on the other side. So I get the job. Walking through the f--ing jungle, fighting off everything in the way until I got to George Martin's house. The maid opens the door, and he's very much like an admiral. A well-spoken English chap. So I have a cup of tea, telling him we're having a really hard time of it. Can't get along. Would you come and produce? "I think it's going to be all right." Reassuring me. And this is coming from on high — the producer of the Beatles. "I think when you go back, it's all going to work out." So I trudge all the way back into the studio, get back there, and they're still there. And for some reason, there'd been a sort of a shift. Suddenly, we were very polite to one another and we were very nice. And that's the way the rest of the record went on.

Padgham: My recollection is that Miles was summoned to the island for a meeting, and we actually had a meeting around the swimming pool. And I think it sort of ended up with a vote: Do we carry on making this album, or do we stop?

Copeland: Well, we all listened to Miles. And if Miles came down, I guess it brought us down to earth and brought us each out of our silo and to not be grumbling to ourselves about the

SEE 'SYNCHRONICITY' ON E10

LEFT, FROM TOP: Sting, Andy Summers and Stewart Copeland in images taken at sessions for the "Synchronicity" album cover. ABOVE: From left, Summers, Sting and Copeland work on "Ghost in the Machine" in the recording studio in Montserrat in 1981.

MUSIC



LYNN GOLDSMITH

'SYNCHRONICITY' FROM **E9**

injustices of the world and of the band, but having to actually … so what's the next song?

Sting recorded multitrack demos of his ideas, in which he provided all the instrumentals and vocals, and presented them to the group. They included a keyboard ballad called "Every Breath You Take," the driving title track and "O My God," a song he first recorded almost a decade earlier with his previous band, Last Exit.

Sting: I had a little Casio keyboard that only played a single note. That's what I played on "Spirits in the Material World." That melody is me on a Casio that cost $25. And then I got a Prophet-6 [synthesizer]. It has all these string sounds. … I got a Synclavier after that. That was state of the art in a sequencer. And I loved that. I mean, that song "Walking in Your Footsteps" was me having fun sequencing. So the songs weren't created in the band. They were created outside.

Jeff Ayeroff, former A&M Records senior vice president: I actually was in the studio when "Every Breath You Take" was recorded, and Sting does his vocal for it. I heard it on a demo, and it was like, "Okay, that's going to be the first single."

Padgham: Stewart was very anti-"Every Breath You Take" because Stewart wanted to play his style of drumming on it and Sting didn't. You know Sting wanted it more like the demo, which was, like, very, very simple.

Copeland: But that's not what actually happened. Eventually I totally bought into the notion of: It's not a drum-set track, it's a hypnotic rhythm track. There are timpani, there are drum overdubs, there's a gong drum, there's cymbal swells. There's all kinds of cool.

Summers: What I remember is the demo. … Up and down the f---ing keyboard, and f---ing the absolute antithesis of what the Police were. We were a guitar trio. That was it. I didn't think it was great. And Sting and Stewart could not agree on it at all. Where's the kick drum and the bass going to be? You know, there was just no consensus at all. Finally, we had lunch one day and Sting says, "Go on. Go make it your own." We came back in the afternoon, and I played the chords. Everybody stood up in the control room. Cheered. That was it.

Flanagan: "Every Breath You Take" is like "Hey Jude." It's just an undeniable song that's bigger than anything they could ever do, anything they could ever do afterward.

Copeland: ["King of Pain"] is probably my favorite song on the record. I love the lyric. It's so poignant, and it's so honest and so Sting. I love that song. That is one of my favorite songs that he ever wrote. I didn't do anything special with that at all. Just put a backbeat on it.

> "A band starts off, and no one's roles are clearly defined … but the currency of the band was songs. … So that creates a lot of tension, because every song that comes onto the table has to go through the process."
>
> **Sting,** the lead singer of the Police

Ayeroff, wanting to upgrade the band's promotional tools, hires musicians-turned-video producers Kevin Godley and Lol Creme and shows them a black-and-white film of jazzman Lester Young for inspiration.

Ayeroff: In England, they were like a pop band. For us, the Police was an important band, not a pop band. I wanted to basically get away from that kind of dismissible video — which I think colored their seriousness and didn't have any gravitas — and try and do something that has some gravitas. And MTV was the pipeline to every kid in America.

Godley: They wanted something that was very classic and went in the complete opposite direction of what you might imagine a typical music video was at that period of time … all glossy and bright colors and fast-cutting and everything. We didn't want that.

Ayeroff: A friend of mine, Leslie Libman, showed me a film called "Jammin' the Blues" by Gjon Mili. He was a famous photographer, and it was a video from the '30s or '40s.

Sting: I love the black-and-white. I thought it was very classy. I thought we all look great. We made it at Charlie Chaplin's soundstage and on the A&M lot. Trudie [Styler, his future wife] visited. It was the first time she had come to America. She met Herb Alpert and went weak at the knees. Still the most handsome man in the universe. We stayed at the Chateau Marmont. That was great. It was great to be with Trudie at that time. She protected me.

Released on June 17, 1983, "Synchronicity" knocks Michael Jackson's "Thriller" off the top of the charts by the end of July and spends 17 weeks at No. 1. The tour opens to more than 40,000 people at Chicago's Comiskey Park, and opening acts for the 105 shows around the world included R.E.M., Talking Heads, James Brown, Joan Jett & the Blackhearts and Thompson Twins. It was one of the top-grossing tours of the 1980s — and the end of the Police.

Tessa Niles, backup singer: Just the sound of the crowd and the cheering was unlike anything I'd heard. The sound onstage was so loud and so extraordinary. From three guys. *Three guys.* It was insane. I became aware as time went on that there were tensions and frictions, but onstage it didn't seem to do anything other than fuel the gigs. They were just incredible every night, and there was never any sense that they were pissed off with each other. And maybe they just worked it out onstage.

Alannah Currie, Thompson Twins: The standout one for me was at the L.A. raceway — 50,000 people in the audience, so the biggest we had ever played. The band had a big argument at sound check, and I think there was even a bit of a punch-up between Stewart and Sting. A lot of tension and shouting and swearing. Being the support band, we just lay low and tried to keep out of their way. But then I was standing at the side of the stage when they went on to play that night. It was a perfect warm summer evening, and they were incredible. Really tight. Perfect timing. Sublime drumming, and Sting's vocals were incredible. The three women who were doing backing vocals had extraordinary voices that just soared. They were dressed head to toe in soft black fabric that blew in the breeze. It was magical. One of the best gigs I witnessed. And I wasn't even a Police fan.

Summers: It was almost like the height of the rock era. No one had ever done this kind of s--- where we played Shea Stadium, the second band since the Beatles to play it. I mean, it was sort of a glorious moment.

Sting: I think after Shea Stadium, I said, "I think we should stop now." And my memory of the meeting was that everybody agreed. Or that maybe they were just so sick of me by that point.

Schenker: From the moment Sting said, "I want to start my own band, and I'm going to leave," I knew it was over and there was no talking him [out of] it, which, believe me, lots of people tried.

Sonja Kristina, Curved Air singer and Copeland's first wife: It felt like this was the end. There was no sort of feeling that they were going to get together again next year or whatever. They were sort of stopping at the top of their game. There's the creative spark between Stewart and Sting. And it couldn't spark anymore with the way that it was.

Sting: We're very, very connected emotionally, but we can't work together. And it's as much my fault as it's his. But we do love each other. And I have utmost respect for him as a musician, as a mind and energy. I love him, but I can't work with him.

Copeland: Music has a different function in our lives. We make it for different reasons. And the biggest difference which causes the most problems is that a songwriter quite reasonably feels that the reason for a band is to support the song. Now, I'm a drummer. I bang s---. I don't listen to the lyrics. The song is in service of the group. … And by the way, this cognition of the problem has arrived 40 years later. He just thought I was being an a--hole. I just thought he was being a d---. And we didn't understand the fundamental purpose of our lives as musicians were diametrically opposed.

Sting: I haven't completely processed it. I'm grateful for it. I have all of *this* [gestures around his home] because of that band. And my late career was launched on the success of the Police, the momentum that the Police [gave me, for which] I'm so incredibly grateful.

Summers: The thing about the band is it broke up too quickly. We were the best band. I don't think anybody can compete with us. And we were way bigger than anybody like the Talking Heads. But because it got broken up early, for whatever reasons, way ahead of its time, it hasn't assumed the proportions maybe it should have in terms of legend or whatever.

Sting: The pain that we caused each other didn't match the joy of making music. You know, it almost wasn't worth it. But of course, it was. I haven't figured out what the equation is, but I don't think there was any other way.

Geoff Edgers is writing a book about the Police for Hachette Books, to be published in 2026.

The Police — from left, Stewart Copeland, Andy Summers and Sting — in London in 1982.



JANE GREER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Glen Powell is ready for the job, but do we need another movie star?

POWELL FROM **E1**

Newman or a Robert Redford, earning artistic respect on par with his jawline and smile wattage?

If you call up the experts — say one, or two, or eight people who have worked with Powell sometime in his 22-year career — they'll tell you this isn't a flash in the pan. Powell is one of the hardest-working actors around, they say. He gets to know every person on a set. He's the real deal.

But in Hollywood, as Powell himself has long been aware, nothing is guaranteed.

"There's been a lot of talk, and I've had to answer, 'Is Glen a movie star?'" Linklater says. "Anyone who's worked with Glen in the past 10 years knows he's a f---ing movie star. That's not really a question. Does the culture even have a place for a new movie star is the bigger question."

The Hollywood Reporter recently deemed Powell a member of "the new A-list" thanks to "the one-two punch" of festival darling "Hit Man" and the romantic comedy "Anyone But You," which grossed $220 million worldwide — numbers unheard of for the genre these days. But in this age of superhero franchises and obscure streaming algorithms, the traditional definition of a movie star — someone who can carry an opening weekend — seems almost extinct. Though Netflix claims "Hit Man" performed well by landing in its "Global Top 10" list three weeks in a row, Powell is not yet a proven leading man at the box office. Universal is positioning "Twisters" as a tentpole movie, betting on the combined effect of its stars and spectacle.

The film's fate could help determine Powell's.

Last year, Powell found a valuable business partner in Sydney Sweeney, his "Anyone But You" co-star. He went along with her idea to lean into (false) dating rumors as a way

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MOVIES

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Glen Powell goes undercover as Gary Johnson in "Hit Man." Powell plays a cocky fighter pilot known as Hangman in "Top Gun: Maverick," his most successful movie to date. Powell on the set of "Twisters" with co-star Daisy Edgar-Jones and director Lee Isaac Chung.



BRIAN ROEDEL/NETFLIX



PARAMOUNT/EVERETT COLLECTION



MELINDA SUE GORDON/UNIVERSAL PICTURES/AP

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to keep making headlines during the lead-up to the rom-com's release. That part of the plan worked out, but the film was still a slow burn at the box office. (After making just $6 million in its opening weekend, it became a global hit.) Writer-director Will Gluck naturally attributes the word-of-mouth momentum to audiences falling "in love with Syd and Glen," which required the very pretty human beings to seem, well, relatable.

"When you have someone who looks like Glen, you need a character who is kind of self-effacing as well," Gluck says. "It's hard to pull off. I had long talks with Glen about how I'd want him to play it. 'How far are you willing to go to take the shine off your penny?' He was 100 percent game."

While some actors might shy away from rom-coms, afraid to be typecast or not taken seriously, Powell acknowledges their staying power. He was raised on the genre in northwest Austin, where he grew up as the middle kid between two sisters, Lauren and Leslie. The Powell siblings watched, then rewatched, movies such as "10 Things I Hate About You" and "How to Lose a Guy in 10 Days." They quoted "Legally Blonde" to one another. At Austin Studios, Powell earnestly argues that rom-coms are "the most universal film language" because "we all share the desire to love and be loved."

Of course, love tends to be imperfect and messy — and rom-coms only work if the central characters also reveal themselves as such. As a leading man in the genre, Powell says, "you're there to look stupid and you're there to have fun and you're there to be vulnerable. That's it." There isn't much room for pride or ego. You've got to be in on the joke, or the joke is on you.

Powell broke out with another romantic comedy: the 2018 Netflix film "Set It Up," in which he and Zoey Deutch play overworked assistants who try to lighten their workloads by tricking their temperamental bosses into falling for each other. Powell's character is a bit of a finance bro. Screenwriter Katie Silberman says the actor's "inherent warmth" allows him to thrive "when he's playing a jerk — at the beginning, at least — because you care about him so much that you want him to get what he wants."

Think of Tom Hanks in "You've Got Mail," she says. Why else would you root for the big-box villain?

"There's a saying: To play dumb you have to be really smart, and to play mean you have to be really kind," Silberman continues. "There is such a deep, undeniable joy and warmth in [Powell] that allows you to take that and run with it in whatever direction you're going."

This quality is an asset in any genre, including disaster films. While casting the "Twisters" role of Tyler Owens, a self-described "tornado wrangler" whose storm-chasing antics have amassed a substantial YouTube following, Chung ("Minari") looked for a performer with a "deep well of empathy and seriousness and goodness in them" to balance the cockiness. He wasn't sure whether Powell was that guy. Then, Chung stumbled upon one of Powell's morning show appearances.

Powell had brought along his parents, Glen Sr. and Cyndy, who have long supported his acting career — to the extent that they have even cameoed in his projects. (Cyndy, a stay-at-home mom who served as her son's manager early on, appears as an adult spy in the Spy Kids film, for instance; years later, she and Glen Sr. played unsuspecting airplane passengers in a gag from "Anyone But You.") Watching Powell goof around with his parents, Chung realized what the actor could bring to "Twisters."

"I suddenly saw this side of him that really reveals who he is as a person — his upbringing and his relationship to his family," Chung says. "Underneath it all, he has this deep humanness."

"He came in swaggering as this charming, charismatic, good-looking, smoldering, young-adult man. ... (I thought) holy s---, when did Glen Powell get so crazy smart and funny?"

Richard Linklater, director of "Everybody Wants Some!!"

Parents love to brag about their children, but Cyndy brings the receipts. Powell's kindergarten teacher once told his parents he had a remarkable presence and "was either going to be an actor or president," she says. (Maybe he'll be both, the way everyone talks about this guy. He *is* 35.) After Powell turned in a middle-school poetry assignment, his teacher suspected him of plagiarism because, she said, "there is no way a sixth-grader could have written this." She called his parents in and asked him to respond to a writing prompt while seated in their view. The teacher read his work and said, as Cyndy recalls, "I really have to apologize to you and Glen."

The family motto has always been to "advance on all fronts," Cyndy says. When the kids showed an interest in something new, she and their father, an executive coach for corporations, encouraged them to try it out. Powell was an athletic child, but he also ran around with a video camera. After he landed an agent and was cast in "Spy Kids 3-D," Cyndy accompanied him to Austin Studios, where he hovered around various crew members, unofficially shadowing them.

"If I couldn't find him on set, he was with the DP or behind a cameraman," she says.

Powell has returned to the studio lot to work with the Austin Film Society, which Linklater founded. The day after he gives me a tour of what he remembers from working on "Spy Kids 3-D" — the site of the basketball incident is a highlight, as is the green screen where he shot his scene — the actor is inducted into the Texas Hall of Fame. His parents join him on the red carpet, trolling their son with signs that read, "Stop Trying to Make Glen Powell Happen" and "It's Never Gonna Happen."

Also present at the ceremony? Powell's high school teacher F.J. Schaack, who says Powell was "the only one writing screenplays" in his creative writing class. Schaack texts me a few photographs of Powell's assignments from back then. They are unmistakably the work of a teenage boy. A screenplay excerpt describes a county jail inmate mooning a woman from inside his cell. A written ode to Christopher Walken admires how the actor is "flawed to the point of perfection."

Schaack was the one to introduce Powell to Linklater's body of work, including "Dazed and Confused" (1993) and "Before Sunrise" (1995). Soon after, Powell landed a tiny role in Linklater's 2006 adaptation of the nonfiction bestseller "Fast Food Nation." But it wasn't until he auditioned to play a cheerfully pompous baseball player in the sports comedy "Everybody Wants Some!!" nearly a decade later that he left a real impression on the director. "He came in swaggering as this charming, charismatic, good-looking, smoldering, young-adult man," says Linklater, who recalls thinking to himself, "Holy s---, when did Glen Powell get so crazy smart and funny?"

During the pandemic, Powell emailed Linklater to discuss a 2001 Texas Monthly article he read about Gary Johnson, an unassuming man who posed as a professional hit man while working with the Houston police. He wore a wire to collect evidence to use in court against the people ordering hits. Linklater said something like, "Great. I've been obsessed with that for years. Here's why I don't think it works as a movie." The events were too repetitive. There was no clear story arc.

Linklater credits Powell with having the

MOVIES





SONY PICTURES/EVERETT COLLECTION



JANE GREER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



MARIO ANZUONI/REUTERS

JANE GREER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: Actor Glen Powell in Austin. Powell and co-star Sydney Sweeney in "Anyone But You," a romantic comedy that made a staggering $220 million worldwide. Many Hollywood observers think Powell, who began his career as a child actor, is on the verge of becoming a breakout star. Powell holds a dog named Brisket at the "Twisters" premiere this month in Los Angeles.

idea to use the Texas Monthly piece as a jumping-off point. "I was like, 'You can do that?'" the director says. The article ends with a story about Johnson helping a woman seek therapy and safe shelter — as opposed to ensnaring her — after learning she was a victim of abuse. Powell wondered what might have happened from there. Did Gary regret his decision to help her? What might their relationship have looked like?

When Powell moved to Los Angeles, he paid the bills by working on screenplays. But "Hit Man" — on which he and Linklater are credited for the screenwriting and journalist Skip Hollandsworth for the original story — is his first feature to make it across the finish line. He admires actors who have "these real writer sides" to them, listing George Clooney and Matt Damon as examples.

"You can be an actor for hire, and that is a worthy profession," he says. "You don't have to be at the keyboard. But I do think you have to be a fan of good writing — and to understand why you engage with good writing — to stay in the game. Otherwise, once you get on set, it'd just be luck."

Though "Everybody Wants Some!!" and "Set It Up" put Powell on the map, his biggest movie to date is "Top Gun: Maverick." In the long-awaited sequel — which was the second-highest-grossing film of 2022, raking in nearly $1.5 billion worldwide — he plays an arrogant Navy fighter pilot with the call sign "Hangman," referencing his willingness to "leave you out to dry."

Tom Cruise's character puts an end to all that, teaching the young folks how to support one another. The actor himself shared a great deal of advice with Powell, who scribbled it down in the notebook he keeps full of wisdom from industry elders. Powell learned early on to make the most of proximity to greatness. After Denzel Washington cast him in the 2007 film "The Great Debaters," the then-teenager met Washington's big-shot agent, Ed Limato, who helped discover stars such as Richard Gere and Kevin Costner. Limato urged Powell, then a freshman at the University of Texas, to move out to Los Angeles — which he took as gospel. (Powell notes that Limato, who went on to sign him, is also the one who discovered McConaughey, whom Powell later befriended through Linklater.)

He began the notebook on the set of the 2014 ensemble film "The Expendables 3," when Sylvester Stallone, who co-wrote the screenplay, taught his co-star about how to adapt elements of older genres, such as westerns, for a modern audience. But it's Cruise whose advice could fill chapters, Powell says, most of it gathered on the "Top Gun: Maverick" set. "There's not one part about that movie that felt small," Powell adds of the blockbuster production, but Cruise reminded the cast that "every frame in this movie is an emotional frame. It's all about the story, and all has to be driven back there."

Few understand the movie business the way Cruise does. He knows what people want from him and works overtime to deliver. At the European premiere of "Twisters," which he attended in support of Powell, Cruise could even be seen showing him how to pose with popcorn.

Listening to Powell describe his own approach to selecting projects, it's clear which of Cruise's lessons resonates most. (Hint: It isn't the popcorn pose, which he didn't quite master.) "It's like, if I can keep audience trust over the course of my whole career, or if I can just continue to make good movies, then [I] keep getting to spin the roulette wheel," he says, sipping a Celsius energy drink he's grabbed from an office fridge.

Powell had wanted to be a part of "Twisters" since he learned that Joseph Kosinski, his director on "Top Gun: Maverick," was developing the disaster film's story. The actor brought a Cruise-like energy to the set. The first scene he shot was Tyler's introduction, in which the character arrives to Oklahoma in a tricked-out pickup truck. He hoots and hollers and sticks his head out the window while yelling, "If you feel it," to which a crowd of fans screams back the rest of the fictional YouTuber's catchphrase, "Chase it!" Chung says he didn't give the background actors any specific directions. They just responded to Powell's energy. "And I knew we had a movie," he adds.

"Twisters," like the original film, is ambitious in its use of special effects. At one point, Tyler and Kate (Daisy Edgar-Jones), the scientist who chases storms with him, drive into the eye of a tornado. And that's when Cruise's reminder comes to mind.

While working on the film, Powell shared a childhood story about witnessing a destructive tornado near his aunt's house in East Texas. "He had this line where he said he didn't know he was supposed to be scared until he looked at her," Chung remembers. "And I put that into the movie … because our movie is so much about the emotion of fear, and what you do with fear."

It's the kind of relatable detail that cultivates the broadest audience but also serves the story. "That's where I want to play," Powell says. "Making a movie of that size for people to collectively experience in a theater is the hardest thing to do. … I watched Cruise nearly destroy himself trying to bring 'Top Gun: Maverick' to life. I watched it every day, and I was like, 'This is worth my time.'"

Earlier this year, Powell moved back to Austin after growing tired of Los Angeles. "It's turned into a bit of a TikTok influencer town," he says, "which for someone like me, right now, is kind of my biggest nightmare." Living in Austin means he's closer to family. Plus, he never finished his undergraduate degree in radio, television and film at the University of Texas, which he would like to work on between projects, aiming to graduate in the spring.

Powell is the sort of guy to learn the rules so he can bend them. Most people wouldn't skip town as their career begins to soar, but he seems determined to make it work. And why not, when even industry leaders are throwing spaghetti at the wall?

As we near the end of our time at Austin Studios, Powell mentions the advocacy work he has done to encourage Texas legislators to implement certain tax incentives as a way to lure productions to the state. (Last year, he appeared in a promotional video alongside other famous Texans such as McConaughey, Woody Harrelson and Dennis Quaid to urge residents to support the cause.) Even if Powell doesn't end up emulating Redford as a marquee star, he just might as a determined businessman.

But as long as theater marquees exist, and regardless of whether they remain a barometer for movie stardom, Powell will aim to grace them. Soon after we chat, he hops on a plane to South Africa to shoot the A24 revenge thriller "Huntington." He has already been cast in Edgar Wright's Paramount-backed take on Stephen King's "The Running Man" and John Lee Hancock's Netflix legal drama "Monsanto" and is co-creating "Chad Powers," a Hulu comedy series about college football. J.J. Abrams is reportedly "eyeing" him to star in his next movie.

Then, there's that Broadway musical curveball. Powell is concocting the unnamed stage show with Ryan Murphy, who cast him in the satirical comedy series "Scream Queens" nearly a decade ago after getting to know him on the set of "Glee." (Powell wasn't in the musical TV series but used to hang around with his pal, cast member Chord Overstreet.) Murphy says the actor had star appeal back then — even co-stars Jamie Lee Curtis and Niecy Nash pulled their boss aside to ask, "Who is this? Where did you find him?" — and continues to surprise him. Without divulging specifics, Murphy notes that the musical was Powell's idea. "That's an interesting thing, that someone who's done Top Gun would want to do a Broadway musical," Murphy says.

Powell, ever the movie-biz theorist, says that's exactly the point.

"I think where actors go wrong is they forget about their past," he says. "To give audiences the same flavor over and over and over is a bad thing. McConaughey gave me this advice. He says, 'When they think you're going to zig, you gotta zag.'"

Answers to last week's puzzle.

CAPTAIN OBVIOUS, POKER EXPERT (JULY 14)

I	N	F	O	R	M	■	S	N	L	■	P	A	D	D	L	E	■	M	B	A
R	A	I	N	E	Y	■	W	I	I	■	O	B	R	I	E	N	■	O	I	L
A	G	R	E	A	T	D	E	A	L	■	U	S	E	N	E	T	■	U	S	A
■	■	■	O	C	H	O	A	■	A	I	R	E	D	■	C	R	I	S	E	S
S	C	A	N	T	■	S	T	A	C	K	I	N	G	T	H	E	D	E	C	K
O	L	D	■	I	D	E	S	T	■	E	N	T	E	R	■	A	O	R	T	A
B	O	O	B	O	O	■	■	T	S	A	■	■	S	I	F	T	S	■	■	■
S	T	R	O	N	G	S	U	I	T	S	■	T	U	T	U	S	■	B	F	F
■	H	E	M	■	C	I	R	C	A	■	T	A	P	E	D	■	B	R	I	O
■	■	■	B	R	A	G	G	■	S	N	O	B	■	■	G	O	L	O	N	G
■	W	H	E	N	T	H	E	C	H	I	P	S	A	R	E	D	O	W	N	■
C	H	I	R	A	C	■	■	E	E	L	S	■	R	E	S	E	T	■	■	■
O	O	P	S	■	H	A	L	L	S	■	O	O	M	P	A	■	C	H	A	■
W	A	S	■	S	E	M	I	S	■	T	I	P	Y	O	U	R	H	A	N	D
■	■	■	P	U	R	I	M	■	■	E	L	I	■	■	C	A	Y	U	G	A
P	S	Y	O	P	■	N	O	D	E	S	■	N	A	P	E	S	■	T	E	D
A	C	E	U	P	Y	O	U	R	S	L	E	E	V	E	■	P	I	E	R	S
N	O	S	T	R	A	■	S	O	C	A	L	■	A	S	T	I	N	■	■	■
E	R	A	■	E	L	N	I	N	O	■	B	E	T	T	H	E	F	A	R	M
R	E	N	■	S	T	O	N	E	R	■	O	V	A	■	I	S	O	B	A	R
A	D	D	■	S	A	G	E	S	T	■	W	A	R	■	S	T	R	E	W	S

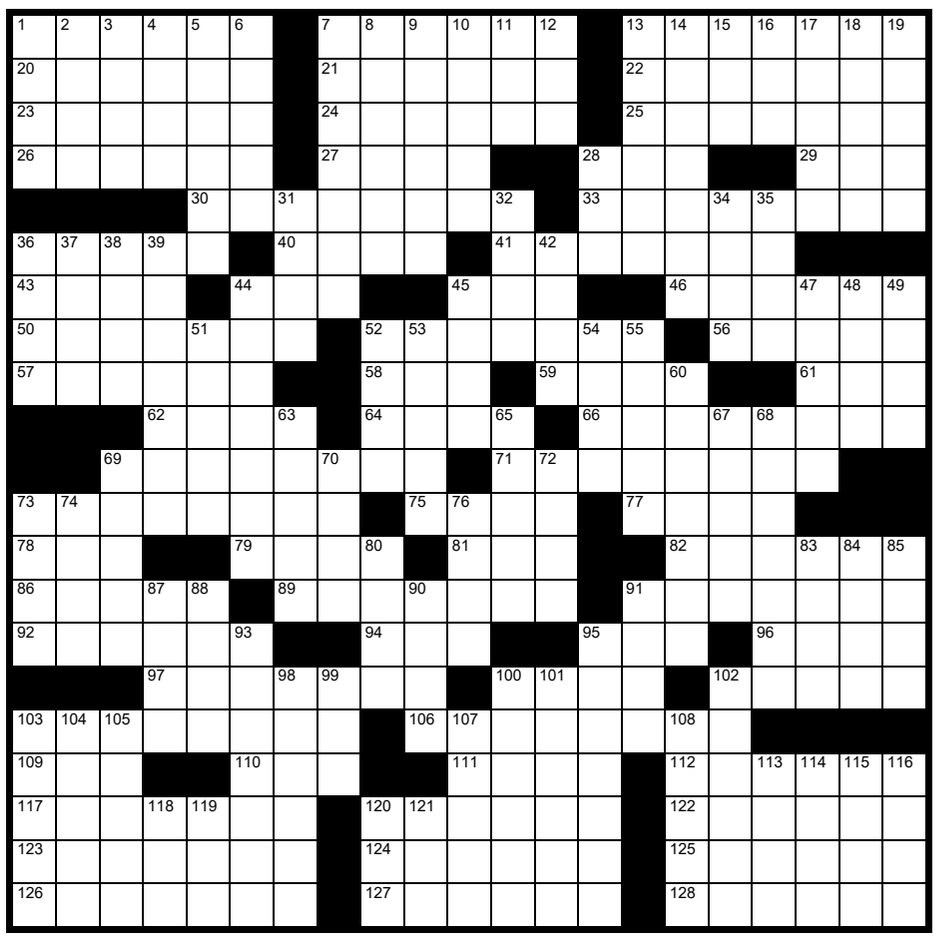
Answers to last week's L.A. Times Sunday puzzle.

P	A	N	D	A	■	B	A	S	T	A	■	B	A	L	E	■	S	N	O	G
A	L	A	R	M	■	A	S	T	I	N	■	A	B	I	T	■	C	A	P	E
R	E	D	U	C	E	S	P	E	E	D	■	C	O	N	S	■	A	V	E	R
T	R	I	M	■	S	H	I	P	S	■	E	A	V	E	■	S	M	A	R	M
■	T	A	R	T	S	■	C	H	I	L	D	R	E	N	A	T	P	L	A	Y
■	■	■	O	H	O	K	■	■	N	E	E	D	■	■	X	I	I	■	■	■
■	I	S	L	A	■	E	A	T	■	A	N	I	S	T	O	N	■	J	A	B
F	A	L	L	I	N	G	R	O	C	K	S	■	M	I	N	G	V	A	S	E
A	G	O	■	■	E	S	T	A	R	■	■	F	O	G	S	■	O	M	A	N
D	O	W	N	E	R	■	■	S	O	U	R	A	L	E	■	A	D	E	P	T
■	■	D	O	N	O	T	S	T	O	P	O	N	T	R	A	C	K	S	■	■
C	R	A	I	G	■	R	E	E	K	S	O	F	■	■	L	E	A	D	E	R
Z	I	N	C	■	S	U	E	D	■	■	M	E	T	R	O	■	■	E	A	U
A	C	C	E	P	T	E	D	■	P	A	S	S	W	I	T	H	C	A	R	E
R	O	E	■	S	E	S	S	I	O	N	■	T	O	N	■	I	A	N	S	■
■	■	■	S	H	E	■	■	C	E	N	T	■	■	D	E	F	T	■	■	■
P	R	E	P	A	R	E	T	O	M	E	R	G	E	■	L	I	B	R	A	■
R	E	N	E	W	■	T	I	N	S	■	E	A	R	N	S	■	O	H	I	O
A	L	T	A	■	C	A	L	C	■	E	N	D	R	O	A	D	W	O	R	K
D	A	R	K	■	D	I	E	U	■	S	T	O	O	L	■	E	L	D	E	R
A	X	E	S	■	T	L	D	R	■	T	E	T	R	A	■	A	S	A	D	A

7/14/24

CROSSWORD

"MADE TO ORDER" BY EVAN BIRNHOLZ



One of this puzzle's theme answers is the wrong one. The answer to this week's metapuzzle is the theme answer that should replace it, formed by combining two entries in the completed grid.

ACROSS

1 "Sugar" Shane ____ (former boxing champ)
7 Boring power tools
13 Share an apartment, say
20 How some people fall
21 Distribute new cards
22 Humerus, e.g.
23 Shortsighted people
24 "Gangnam Style" rapper, when he's musically moody?
25 Impish rogues
26 One in a short-term job shadowing program
27 Unit circle's y-coordinate
28 Exhibit display
29 Lunar festival in Hanoi
30 Excuse meant to arouse sympathy
33 Uncouth person's messy room?
36 Frou Frou song with the lyric "There's beauty in the breakdown"
40 Take a breather
41 Cornered, using an arboreal metaphor
43 Extremely meticulous
44 Wicked, but good
45 "A few years ____ ..."
46 From Sanaa, say
50 Books in a collection
52 Big car belonging to a red Muppet?
56 Prepared, as a meal
57 Out and in bed
58 On the ____ (escaping from the authorities)
59 Historic periods
61 Feel nauseous, say
62 Lacking color
64 Fan favorite
66 All over the world
69 Pertaining to the community at large
71 Powerful card that's no longer in my possession?
73 Single inning, compared to all innings of a typical baseball game
75 Soulful James
77 Hand (out)
78 Take down a ____
79 Source of poi
81 "Behind ____ Eyes" (novel by Sarah Pinborough)
82 Fla. city on the Pinellas Peninsula
86 Blue eyes, e.g.
89 Underlying message
91 Top-shelf prom suit?
92 "A little bit"
94 Moving day rental
95 Chew the ____ (chat)
96 Concerning, on a memo
97 "... otherwise you can expect my resignation!"
100 Greek P's
102 Computerized images
103 Expert in messing things up
106 "Between Mr. Vigoda and Mr. Erwin, which actor do you prefer?"?
109 Catan resource obtained from mountains
110 Did a marathon
111 Eurovision-winning band of 1974
112 Cover completely
117 Device that uses a compressed substance to lift a car
120 Ellsbury who was the first Native American of Navajo descent to play in Major League Baseball
122 "Bring me Hawaiian tuna right away!"?
123 One granted early release
124 "Becket" actor
125 Baby shower purchase
126 Buffy Summers and Faith Lehane, vis-à-vis vampires
127 Covered, at a campsite
128 Cavalry horses

DOWN

1 One seemingly stuck in an invisible box
2 Black stone
3 Keycard opening
4 Move with bounding steps
5 Quite
6 Like some closed-ended questions
7 Sporting apparel
8 Mails in, as payment
9 "You would never see me behave like that!"
10 Person in a biblical colony
11 ____ Vegas Aviators (Triple-A team)
12 Like someone who may be hiding something
13 Bite for Bugs Bunny
14 Speaker's strength
15 British fleet initials
16 Jackson 5 hit with the lyric "easy as 1 2 3" and "simple as do re mi"
17 Apt settings for playing yacht rock
18 Coastal recess
19 Like a grouch
28 Esq. grp.
31 Maidenform garments
32 Former Serbian auto
34 Marine ridge
35 Trucker's rig
36 Volcanology stream
37 Chimp in orbit, 1961
38 Stand ____ (show courage)
39 Attached, as with paste
42 Model stance
44 Put on a different coat?
45 Oppo research collection, figuratively
47 Raise up with praise
48 "Fateful Findings" filmmaker Breen
49 In a lazy way
51 Word of appreciation spoken in Angers
52 "Wild River" director Kazan
53 Gazpacho server
54 Thirst
55 Based on truth
60 Pieces played by a single musician
63 Tech trial versions
65 Material of lab gloves
67 Metal props on Boris Karloff's neck, in "Frankenstein"
68 Free of contaminants
69 Popeye's creator
70 "No ____ traffic"
72 What a shopper pushes
73 Chooses, with "for"
74 Wolfe in "The Red Box"
76 As a consequence
80 "Well, duh," for short
83 Sicilian stratovolcano
84 ____ of the century
85 Past sweethearts
87 Langston Hughes poem published in "The Weary Blues"
88 Libel or slander, e.g.
90 "Ciao" relative
91 "Smallmouth" fish
93 More frightening, as a beast
95 Made an incursion
98 Seismograph readings
99 Coffee or tea vessel
100 New version of a show
101 Walk awkwardly
102 Broad-brimmed blocker of beams
103 Sources of relationship drama?
104 ____ Black (font)
105 "It gets late early out there" speaker Yogi
107 Sizzling strips of meat
108 Drops on one's face
113 Mention, as an author
114 Initial casino payment
115 Auctioneer's word
116 Mothers in a pasture
118 What you might jump for
119 Irish red ____ (drink)
120 Scribble (down)
121 Took part in a picnic

HOROSCOPE

BY GEORGIA NICOLS

Happy Birthday | July 21: You're dynamic, innovative, creative and daring! Your curiosity puts you at the cutting edge of things. This is the end of a nine-year cycle for you, which means it's time to let go of the people, places and things that have held you back. Do some internal and external housecleaning.

Moon Alert: The Full Moon peaks at 6:17 a.m. Avoid shopping or important decisions from 7 a.m. to 8 a.m. After that, the Moon moves from Capricorn into Aquarius.

ARIES (March 21-April 19)
You might feel rebellious because of today's Full Moon. And the object of your rebellion is parents, bosses, authority figures or the police. Keep your cool. This is actually a fun-loving, romantic day!

TAURUS (April 20-May 20)
Today's Full Moon can produce an accident-prone day. Pay attention to everything you say and do. Avoid a verbal faux pas or a physical accident. Meanwhile, enjoy redecorating and entertaining at home.

GEMINI (May 21-June 20)
Keep an eye on your possessions, money and assets, because today's Full Moon could create a dispute with someone about the ownership of something. Go gently. Meanwhile, this is actually a social, fun-loving day!

CANCER (June 21-July 22)
The Full Moon is opposite your sign, which will create stress in your relationships. Because this is a fleeting influence (gone in 48 hours), consider this an opportunity to demonstrate grace under pressure.

LEO (July 23-Aug. 22)
Despite this Full Moon day, with fair Venus in your sign, you'll be able to be charming and diplomatic. Talk to friends and groups, especially competitive teams.

VIRGO (Aug. 23-Sept. 22)
Tension with members of a group or a friend might arise because of the energy of the Full Moon. Don't take the bait. You might risk ruining a friendship over a temporary annoyance.

LIBRA (Sept. 23-Oct. 22)
You might feel pulled between the demands of home and family and the demands of your career or your work. You can't ignore your external world, your reputation or your job.

SCORPIO (Oct. 23-Nov. 21)
This is an accident-prone day for you. Think before you speak or act. Fortunately, relations with authority figures are smooth. In fact, romance with someone might begin. This is a passionate, romantic weekend!

SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 22-Dec. 21)
Disputes about shared property, loans, jointly held items and inheritances might come to a head. Furthermore, with Mars opposite your sign, you're ready to argue! Don't do anything you will regret later.

CAPRICORN (Dec. 22-Jan. 19)
The Full Moon is in your sign, which is why you might feel irritable, impulsive or indecisive. Basically, emotions are building up within you, and they have nowhere to go. It might be smart to channel this energy to work, which will be rewarding for you.

AQUARIUS (Jan. 20-Feb. 18)
This is a playful, fun-loving day; nevertheless, you're keen to work! However, your efforts at organizing your world or working at a particular job might be thwarted by someone or an event because of the energy of today's Full Moon. Patience.

PISCES (Feb. 19-March 20)
Although this is a playful, romantic weekend, the Full Moon might stir things up and create problems, especially disputes and arguments. Parents should be extra patient with their kids. Likewise, romantic partners should chill out.

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All materials must be received by Monday at 1 p.m.

L.A. TIMES SUNDAY PUZZLE

EDITED BY PATTI VAROL AND JOYCE NICHOLS LEWIS

"COURSE WORK" BY KYLE DOLAN

ACROSS

1 Part that stretches over a foot
5 Zinger
9 Desert refuge
14 Whodunit genre
18 Field
19 Roofed veranda
20 Oil source
21 Cogito, __ sum
22 The golfer's engineering course involved making __
25 ET rides
26 Part of London where Cockney originated
27 Popular pooch
28 Cook in a wok, say
30 Founder
31 Vail outfit
35 Victorian __
36 Approve of
38 The golfer's psychology course helped develop a __
43 Persian Gulf fed.
44 Alex and __ jewelry
45 Some elders
46 Campus org.
47 The golfer's biomechanics course covered __
53 "Road Rules" airer
54 Tree with delicate bark
55 Manhattan univ.
56 Words on Alice's cake
58 Battery in a science experiment
59 "Samesies!"
62 Cereal for Bart Simpson
65 Designer Armani's nickname
66 Deep cut
69 The golfer's rhetoric course included debates on __
71 Bench press muscles, for short
72 Dada artist Jean
73 Filing for Chapter 11 protection
74 Corrupt offer
76 Bear in fire-prevention ads
78 Columns that lean
80 Trunks
84 Donald Duck's nephew
85 "Success!," in textspeak
87 The golfer's art course taught how to draw a __
90 Displace
91 Northwestern capital
93 Eliza Hamilton portrayer Phillipa
94 "What have we here!?"
95 The golfer's landscape architecture course included the __
99 Pack with 78 cards
101 "Titanium" singer
102 Tournament favorite
103 "Carnation, __, __, Rose": Sargent painting
104 One of many Kens in "Barbie"
108 AOL alternative
109 "Perfect!"
112 Febreze target
113 After completing the courses, the golfer had a well-rounded __
118 Super Soaker maker
119 Encourage
120 Mars neighbor
121 Upmarket hotel chain
122 Talks a lot
123 Coped (with)
124 Takes legal action
125 Party in the back?

DOWN

1 Batman cover
2 Delivery to a house
3 "Show us!"
4 "Truthfully ... "
5 Wedding hire
6 Director Lee
7 Plow (into)
8 Actress Mayim
9 "You got roasted!"
10 MSNBC's Velshi
11 Misdeed
12 Currier and __
13 Segments of sonnets
14 AI learning model
15 "Carmina Burana" composer
16 Inventor Sikorsky
17 Pink-cheeked
19 Web shortcut
23 Coop denizens
24 Attaché, e.g.
29 Nonworking capital, for short?
31 Gymnastics champion Lee
32 Carving tool
33 "Don't look at me!"
34 Fair venue
36 Perform in the subway, say
37 House work?
38 "Ridiculous!"
39 Display on a dash, for short
40 Period of glacial growth
41 Zone defense, say
42 "Gulliver's Travels" people
48 Part of rock's CSNY
49 Bygone Pontiac
50 Shipping route
51 Occupy
52 Rockfish, by another name
54 Logan International code
57 Absolute necessity
58 Theorizes
60 Gents
61 "Beats me," briefly
63 Spot for a soak
64 "__ out!"
66 Rustic-looking fireplace option
67 Tower of London display
68 Legal partner?
70 Slowly becomes more appealing to
71 __ Noël
73 Classroom competition
75 __ choy
77 Rides the waves under wind power
79 Essman of "Curb Your Enthusiasm"
81 Part of a preschooler's day
82 Cuatro x dos
83 Tequila serving, perhaps
85 Hook, to Pan
86 Early DVR
88 In, as a field goal
89 Little endearment
91 Made a fishtail, maybe
92 Iron, e.g.
96 Nada
97 Nat. dissolved in 1991
98 Past and future
99 "The MAGA Diaries" writer Nguyen
100 Many
103 Scottish body
104 Tokyo-based tech giant
105 Think piece?
106 1970s Robin Williams role
107 Beseech
109 Sundae garnish
110 Many millennia
111 Huff
114 Four-time French Open winner Swiatek
115 Encyclopedia div.
116 La pluie, e.g.
117 Rapper Dr. __



7/21/24

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MOVIE DIRECTORY

(!) No Pass/No Discount Ticket

Sunday, July 21, 2024
www.washingtonpost.com/movies

DISTRICT

AMC Georgetown 14
3111 K Street N.W.

Inside Out 2 (PG) OC: 12:15
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 5:10-9:10
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:40-11:50-4:50-7:10-9:45
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:20-2:50-5:20-7:45-10:10
MaXXXine (R) CC: 10:20
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:30-6:30-9:30
National Anthem (R) CC: 11:40-2:10-6:50-10:00
The Bikeriders (R) CC: 1:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 2:40-4:40-7:15-9:20
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:00
Touch (R) CC: 4:00-6:50-9:40
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 1:20-4:00
Twisters: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: 10:30-1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30
Oddity (R) CC: 9:30
Kinds of Kindness (R) CC: 12:20
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 11:00-1:10-4:10-7:20-9:50
Widow Clicquot (R) CC: 7:40
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 10:50-6:40
Disciples in the Moonlight 4:30
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 4:40
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:10-4:20-7:20-10:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) OC: 2:20
MaXXXine (R) OC: 8:00
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 11:30-5:30-8:30
Oddity (R) OC: 2:00
Widow Clicquot (R) OC: 2:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) OC: 1:50
Twisters (PG-13) OC: 2:30

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - DC Bryant Street
630 Rhode Island Ave NE

Josie and the Pussycats (PG-13) 11:50AM
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:00-3:15-6:30-9:45
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 10:45-1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:00-1:45-4:30-5:30-7:15-8:15-11:00
MaXXXine (R) 10:15
Twisters (PG-13) 12:20-3:40-7:00-10:20
Stop Making Sense 6:00
Longlegs (R) 12:15-3:15-6:15-9:15
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:30-1:15-2:45-4:00-6:45-9:30
Twisters (PG-13) 10:15-11:00-2:15-4:45-8:00-8:45; 1:30

Angelika Pop-Up at Union Market
550 Penn Street NE - Unit E

Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:10-2:35-5:00-7:30
Twisters (PG-13) 12:45-3:45-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 1:00-4:00-7:10

Avalon Theatre
5612 Connecticut Avenue

Thelma (PG-13) 12:00-2:15-4:45-7:15
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:00-1:45-4:35-7:30

Landmark Atlantic Plumbing Cinema
807 V Street Northwest

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 1:30-4:20-7:20
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 1:50-4:30-6:45
Inside Out 2 (PG) 2:10-4:50-7:10
Twisters (PG-13) 2:00-4:00-5:00-7:00-8:00
Longlegs (R) 1:40-4:40-7:30
Twisters (PG-13) 1:00

Landmark E Street Cinema
555 11th Street Northwest

Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:45-3:00-5:15-7:25
Twisters (PG-13) 12:15-2:15-3:15-7:15-8:15
National Anthem (R) 1:30-4:30-6:45
Longlegs (R) 7:45
Touch (R) 12:30
Thelma (PG-13) 1:15-3:25
Kinds of Kindness (R) 12:00-3:30-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 1:00-7:35
Microphone Check 6:15
Twisters (PG-13) 5:00
Longlegs (R) 4:15
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 4:00

Regal Gallery Place
701 Seventh Street Northwest

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:40-2:40-5:20-7:50-9:25
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 9:50-10:50-12:20-1:20-3:20-4:20-6:20-7:20-9:50
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:40-1:40-4:10-6:50-9:40
MaXXXine (R) 10:20-1:10-3:50-10:25
Twisters (PG-13) 10:00-1:00-4:05-7:00-10:00
Longlegs (R) 10:10-11:25-12:50-1:50-3:40-4:40-6:40-7:40-9:20-10:15
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 11:10AM
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:10
Oddity (R) 10:30
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:10-3:10-6:10-9:10
Disciples in the Moonlight 7:15
Twisters (PG-13) 10:30-11:00-11:30-12:00-1:30-2:00-3:00-3:30-4:30-5:00-6:00-6:30-7:30-8:00-9:00-9:30-10:20

MARYLAND

AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center
8633 Colesville Road

Top Hat (1935) (NR) 4:40
Mothra vs. Godzilla (Mosura tai Gojira) (1964) 2:30
Freaks (1932) (NR) OC: 11:25AM
Longlegs (R) OC: 4:15
To Die For (R) 8:30
Freaks (1932) (NR) 9:40
Queen Christina 11:45AM
National Theatre Live: Present Laughter 12:45
Longlegs (R) 7:10
Thelma (PG-13) 2:00-6:30
Easy Rider (1969) (R) 9:15
Shall We Dance? (2004) (PG-13) 6:50

AMC Academy 8
6198 Greenbelt Road

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 10:45-1:30-4:40-7:20-10:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:20-1:50-4:30-7:00-9:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:15-12:45-3:15-8:10-9:50
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:15-1:45-4:15-9:10
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 10:00-11:30-1:00-2:30-4:00-5:30-7:00-8:30-10:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 11:45-2:15-4:45-7:15-10:30
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 5:45
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 10:30-1:30-4:10-7:30-10:10
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 6:45

AMC Annapolis Mall 11
1020 Annapolis Mall Road

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:10-2:00-5:00-7:50-10:40
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:50-2:20-4:50-7:40-10:10-10:50
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:10-12:40-1:40-3:05-6:30-9:00
MaXXXine (R) CC: 10:50
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 10:35-1:30-4:25-7:20-10:15
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:00-2:40-5:20-7:30-10:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 10:00-1:00-4:10-7:10-10:20
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 5:30-8:40
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 11:00-4:05
Disciples in the Moonlight 4:30
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 11:30-1:50
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:00-10:45-11:45-1:10-2:10-3:35-4:35-6:00-7:00-8:30-9:30
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 12:30-3:25-6:20-8:00-9:15

AMC Center Park 8
4001 Powder Mill Rd.

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:00-3:15-6:15-9:15
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:00-2:15-4:45-7:15-9:45
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 12:30-2:45-5:15-7:45-10:15
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:45-1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 1:00-2:30-4:00-5:30-7:00-8:30-10:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00-10:30
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 12:15-3:00-6:00-9:00

AMC Columbia 14
10300 Little Patuxent Parkway

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:00-1:00-3:50-6:40-9:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:50-2:20-4:50-7:20-9:50
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:45-1:15-2:30-3:45-6:15-7:30-9:00
MaXXXine (R) CC: 5:30-9:35
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:00-11:00-12:30-1:30-3:00-4:00-6:30-9:45
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 12:00-3:00-6:00-9:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 11:40-2:10-4:40-7:10-8:10-9:00-10:00
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:00
Touch (R) CC: 6:40
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 12:00-5:00
Twisters: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: 10:00-1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00
Oddity (R) CC: 9:40
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 11:50-6:05-9:15
Bad Newz 7:45
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 3:30
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 10:30-1:00
Disciples in the Moonlight 4:30
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 11:30-1:45
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 11:00-2:00-5:00-8:00
Oddity (R) OC: 1:50
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) OC: 2:55

AMC DINE-IN Rio Cinemas 18
9811 Washingtonian Center

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 10:40-1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:45-2:30-5:10-7:45-10:45
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:15-1:45-4:15-4:30-6:45-9:15
MaXXXine (R) CC: 2:10-8:00-10:45
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 11:00-2:00-5:00-8:00-11:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 10:45-12:00-2:45-5:30-7:15-8:15-10:00-11:00
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 5:15-9:15
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:00
Touch (R) CC: 11:15-10:00
Thelma (PG-13) CC: 10:45-1:15
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 10:00-12:25-2:50-5:15-7:45-10:15
Twisters: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: 10:00-1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00
Oddity (R) CC: 2:15-5:00-7:30
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 10:30-3:45-7:00-10:10
Bad Newz 2:20-9:50
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 11:00-9:30
Indian 2 10:15-6:00
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 11:30-2:15-4:45-7:15-9:45
Disciples in the Moonlight 4:45
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 10:45-1:15-3:45
Darling 6:15-9:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:15-12:45-3:30-6:15-8:45
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 1:30-3:00-6:00-9:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) OC: 12:30
Twisters (PG-13) OC: 12:00

AMC Magic Johnson Capital Center 12
800 Shoppers Way

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 12:30-3:15-6:00-8:45
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 12:45-3:15-8:15
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 12:15-2:45-5:15-7:45
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 12:00-2:00-5:00-6:00-8:00-9:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:15-2:45-5:15-7:45
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 5:45
Twisters: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: 1:00-4:00-7:00
Oddity (R) CC: 5:45-8:15
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 12:45-4:00-7:10
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 12:20-3:30-6:45
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) CC: 1:00-3:20
Twisters (PG-13) OC: 3:00

AMC Montgomery 16
7101 Democracy Boulevard

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 6:00-8:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:00-1:45-4:30-7:30-10:20
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:30-1:45-3:15-4:30-7:00-9:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30-9:15
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 10:45-12:15-2:30-4:15-5:30-7:15-9:00-10:30
Longlegs (R) CC: 11:15-2:00-4:45-7:30-10:10
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 1:00-4:15-7:00-10:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) OC: 12:00
Twisters (PG-13) OC: 1:15

AMC St. Charles Town Ctr 9
11115 Mall Circle

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 1:30-3:20-6:15-9:45
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 12:15-2:45-5:15-7:45-10:45
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:45-2:15-4:45-7:15
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 4:15-6:45-9:15
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 12:00-1:00-3:00-4:00-6:00-7:00-9:00-10:00
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00-10:30
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 9:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 12:15-3:15-6:15-10:15
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 1:00-4:15-7:30-9:30
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 12:45

Cinemark Egyptian 24 and XD
7000 Arundel Mills Circle

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 4:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 2:20; 9:00-11:40-5:00-7:40-8:05-10:20-10:45
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 2:25
Inside Out 2 (PG) 5:25; 9:00-9:20-9:40-11:35-11:55-12:15-2:10-2:30-2:50-4:45-5:05-7:20-7:40-9:55-10:15
Twisters (PG-13) XD: 10:00-1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00; 11:00-2:00-5:00-8:00-11:00; 9:30-10:15-10:30-12:00-12:30-12:45-1:15-3:30-4:15-4:30-6:15-6:30-6:45-7:15-7:30-9:30-9:45-10:15-10:30; 1:30
Kalki 2898 AD 6:40-10:40
Longlegs (R) 11:45AM; 9:05-9:30-12:10-2:25-2:50-5:05-5:30-7:45-8:10-10:25-10:55
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 3:35
Indian 2 9:55
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 1:05-6:55-9:50
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 9:05-9:25-9:45-10:55-11:15-11:55-12:15-1:25-2:05-2:50-3:55-4:15-4:55-5:20-6:45-7:05-7:25-7:50-9:15-10:20-12:05
MaXXXine (R) 9:15-3:35-9:15
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 9:05AM
Touch (R) 11:35AM
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 11:35-1:45-4:35-9:35
Twisters (PG-13) 10:45-1:45-4:45-7:45-10:45
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 9:00-12:20-6:50-10:05
Oddity (R) 9:30-2:40-5:15-7:55-10:35
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 9:10AM
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 9:10-12:10-2:35-5:00
Bad Newz 9:50-1:05-4:20-7:35-10:50
Darling 7:25-10:50

Cinépolis Gaithersburg
629 Center Point Way

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:00-3:00-6:00-9:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:00-1:45-4:30-7:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:30-1:15-4:15-7:15-10:30
Twisters (PG-13) 10:15-12:30-1:30-3:45-4:45-7:00-8:00-10:15
Longlegs (R) 10:45-1:45-4:45-7:45-11:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:15-3:45-7:15-10:45
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 10:15

Greenbelt Cinema
129 Centerway

Kinds of Kindness (R) 12:30-4:00
Janet Planet (PG-13) 4:15
Thelma (PG-13) 1:00

Landmark Bethesda Row Cinema
7235 Woodmont Avenue

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 12:30-1:30-2:45-3:45-5:00-7:15
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:00-2:15-4:30-6:00-6:10-7:10-8:10
Twisters (PG-13) 12:15-1:15-3:15-4:15-5:15-6:15-7:00-8:00
Thelma (PG-13) 12:45-3:20
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 2:00-4:45-7:45
Touch (R) 1:45

Landmark at Annapolis Harbour Center
2474 Solomons Island Road Unit H-1

The Secret Life of Pets (PG) 11:00AM
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:15-12:10-1:10-2:25-3:25-4:40-5:40-7:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:35-2:50-5:05-7:20
Twisters (PG-13) 12:30-1:15-2:00-3:10-4:00-4:50-5:50-6:40-7:30
Longlegs (R) 12:05-2:20-4:45-7:05
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:50-3:40-6:30

Phoenix Theatres Marlow 6
3899 Branch Avenue

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:35-3:30-6:45-9:35
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:10-2:30-5:00-7:35-10:00
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 12:00-2:30-4:45-7:05-9:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00
Twisters (PG-13) 11:00-1:45-4:30-7:30-10:30
Longlegs (R) 12:05-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00

Regal Cinemas Majestic Stadium 20 & IMAX
900 Ellsworth Drive

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 10:40-1:20-4:10-6:50-9:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:00-11:15-12:50-3:25-4:25-6:10-7:10-8:55-9:55
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:25-12:25-1:55-3:00-4:35-5:35-7:20-8:20-10:05
MaXXXine (R) 9:50
Twisters (PG-13) 10:45-11:30-12:00-1:00-1:30-2:00-2:45-4:15-4:30-4:45-5:15-5:30-6:00-7:30-8:00-8:30-8:45-9:15-9:45
Longlegs (R) 11:10-2:10-4:50-7:45-10:30
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 11:40AM
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:05
Touch (R) 3:40-6:45
Thelma (PG-13) 1:45
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 1:50
Twisters: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) 12:30-3:45-7:00-10:15
Oddity (R) 5:20-8:10
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 10:50-2:05-5:25-8:40
Bad Newz 11:05-2:40-5:55-9:20
Widow Clicquot (R) 1:25-3:50-6:40-9:25
Disciples in the Moonlight 7:40
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 11:20AM
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:15-3:10-6:05-9:10
Twisters (PG-13) 2:15

Regal Germantown
20000 Century Boulevard

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 9:40
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:00-2:50-5:30-8:10
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:50-11:30-2:00-4:40-7:10-9:35
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:55-1:30-4:10-6:40-9:20
Longlegs (R) 11:50-2:30-5:10-7:50
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:00
Oddity (R) 7:20-9:50
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:30-3:40-6:50-9:55
Bad Newz 11:20AM
Indian 2 11:25-3:30
Disciples in the Moonlight 7:40
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 11:00AM
Twisters (PG-13) 11:10-11:40-12:20-12:50-1:20-1:50-2:10-2:45-3:20-4:20-4:50-5:20-6:00-6:30-7:05-7:30-8:00-8:30-9:10-10:10
Kalki 2898 AD 11:05-3:10
Twisters (PG-13) 3:50

Regal Hyattsville Royale
6505 America Boulevard

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 11:20-9:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:10-2:50-5:50-8:40-10:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 12:00-1:00-2:40-3:50-6:30-9:10-10:05
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:10-12:30-2:00-3:10-4:50-6:10-7:40-9:00-10:20
Twisters (PG-13) 11:30-12:20-12:50-1:40-2:30-3:20-4:40-6:00-6:40-7:20-8:00-9:20-10:00-10:30
Longlegs (R) 1:20-4:10-7:00-9:50
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:05-6:55
Oddity (R) 5:20-8:10
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:50-3:30-6:50-10:10
Disciples in the Moonlight 6:45
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 11:40-2:10-4:30
Twisters (PG-13) 4:00

Regal Laurel Towne Centre
14716 Baltimore Avenue

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:10-3:10-5:35-8:00-9:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:20-1:00-1:40-2:10-3:30-4:10-5:00-6:00-7:20-9:55
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:05-10:40-11:10-12:40-1:50-3:00-3:40-6:10-8:45-9:50
Twisters (PG-13) 10:00-11:00-12:00-12:50-2:00-3:50-4:30-6:30-6:50-7:45-8:15-9:30
Longlegs (R) 9:55-11:20-1:30-4:20-6:40-8:30-9:45
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 10:30-4:40-6:20-9:15
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 12:30
Disciples in the Moonlight 7:30
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:20-3:20

Regal Rockville Center
199 East Montgomery Avenue

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:45-3:20-6:10-8:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:40-12:40-2:20-3:40-4:45-6:20-7:15-8:50-10:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:20-1:40-4:20-6:50-9:15
MaXXXine (R) 1:15-3:50-9:20
Twisters (PG-13) 11:00-12:00-12:30-1:00-2:00-3:00-4:10-5:00-6:00-7:10-8:00-9:00-9:30
Longlegs (R) 11:50-2:40-5:10-7:45-9:40
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:15-2:10-5:20-8:20
Disciples in the Moonlight 6:30
Customs Frontline 12:10-2:50-5:40-8:30

Regal Waugh Chapel
1419 South Main Chapel Way

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 3:50-9:50
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:00-2:10-5:20-8:05-10:35
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:25-11:50-12:50-2:20-3:30-5:10-6:20-7:40-10:20
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:30-11:10-12:40-1:50-3:20-4:30-7:20-10:10
Kingdom of the Planet of the Apes (PG-13) 9:20
Twisters (PG-13) 10:35-11:30-1:00-1:30-2:40-4:10-4:40-6:00-7:30-8:00-9:10-10:30
Longlegs (R) 11:20-2:00-4:50-6:10-7:50-9:00-10:25
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:10
Twisters: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) 12:30-3:40-7:00-10:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:40-9:40
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 12:20
Disciples in the Moonlight 6:50

Regal Westview
5243 Buckeystown Pike

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:25-1:10-3:50-6:20-8:50
Twisters (PG-13) 11:15-2:10-2:25-5:05-5:20-8:10; 10:15-11:40-12:10-1:00-1:15-2:40-3:10-5:40-6:10-7:10-8:40-9:10; 4:10
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 12:00-9:20
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:30-2:05-4:45-7:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:25-1:50-4:15-6:55-9:30
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:00
Oddity (R) 5:15-8:00-9:50
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:50-3:20-6:45
Bad Newz 10:30-1:35-4:50-8:05
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 10:00AM
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:10-2:00-4:35-7:20
Inside Out 2 (PG) 10:50-8:15
Twisters (PG-13) 12:40-3:40-6:50-9:45
Longlegs (R) 12:25-3:00-5:35-8:30
Twisters: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) 10:40-1:40-4:40-7:40

Xscape Theatres Brandywine 14
7710 Matapeake Business Drive

Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows - Part 1 (PG-13) 1:00-7:00
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 10:50-11:40-1:50-2:50-4:30-5:40-7:10-8:40-10:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 11:00-1:40-4:05-6:40-9:00
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:10-1:30-3:50-6:10-8:30
Twisters (PG-13) 11:50-12:50-2:30-3:30-5:30-6:30-8:20-9:20
Longlegs (R) 12:00-2:20-4:15-4:55-7:20-9:45
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 12:20-3:20-6:30-9:30
Bad Newz 3:45-10:00
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 1:45-5:15-8:25
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 11:30AM
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:40-12:10-1:00-2:40-3:20-5:10-5:50-7:30-8:10
Twisters (PG-13) 10:30-12:20-1:20-3:00-4:10-6:00-7:00-8:50-9:50

iPic Pike & Rose
11830 Grand Park Avenue

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:30-3:15-6:15-9:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:15-2:30-6:00-9:00
Twisters (PG-13) (!) 11:30-12:45-3:00-4:15-6:30-7:30-10:00-10:45
Longlegs (R) (!) 1:00-4:30-7:45-10:45
Inside Out 2: The IMAX Experience (PG) 11:45-3:45-6:45-9:45
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) (!) 11:00-3:30-7:30-11:00

VIRGINIA

AMC Courthouse Plaza 8
2150 Clarendon Blvd.

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 11:15-2:00-4:55-7:40-10:25
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 10:40-11:50-2:20-4:50-7:20-10:50
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:40-1:05-6:00-9:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:45-2:05-3:30-8:25-10:00
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 11:00-12:50-1:50-3:40-4:40-6:30-7:30-9:20-10:20
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:30-3:00-5:30-8:00-10:30
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 4:30
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 1:10-4:10-7:10-10:10
Inside Out 2 3D (PG) CC: 7:00

AMC Hoffman Center 22
206 Swamp Fox Rd.

Twisters (PG-13) OC: 3:00; 1:30
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) OC: 4:30
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 10:55-1:35-4:20-7:00-9:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:30-7:00-9:30
MaXXXine (R) CC: 2:00-7:10-9:40
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 11:00-2:00-5:00-8:00-11:00
National Anthem (R) CC: 10:40-1:05-3:30-5:55-8:20-10:45
The Bikeriders (R) CC: 3:15-6:00-8:45
Longlegs (R) CC: 10:30-11:45-1:00-2:15-3:30-4:45-6:00-7:15-8:30-9:45-11:00
Daddio (R) CC: 11:30-3:40
Kill (R) CC: 10:50
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) CC: 12:40
The NeverEnding Story 40th Anniversary (PG) 4:00-7:00
Touch (R) CC: 4:00
Thelma (PG-13) CC: 12:45-5:25-7:50-10:15
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 1:00-3:30-6:00-8:30-11:00
Twisters: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00
Oddity (R) CC: 11:40-2:05-4:30-7:00-9:25
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) CC: 10:30-1:30-7:30-10:30
Dandelion (R) CC: 11:15-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:00
Bad Newz 7:35
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) CC: 12:55-6:50-9:30

AMC Shirlington 7
2772 South Randolph St.

A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:30-2:00-4:35-7:10-10:35
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 11:10-4:05-6:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 10:05-12:30-5:25-10:15
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 10:00-11:00-1:00-1:50-4:00-4:40-7:00-7:40-10:00-10:35
Longlegs (R) CC: 12:10-2:40-5:20-8:00-10:30
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 1:40-9:00
Oddity (R) CC: 4:55

AMC Worldgate 9
13025 Worldgate Drive

Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) CC: 5:45-8:30
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) CC: 11:30-2:00-6:00-8:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) CC: 10:45-3:45-6:15-8:45
Inside Out 2 (PG) CC: 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30
Twisters (PG-13) CC: 10:30-11:45-1:30-2:45-4:30-5:45-7:30-8:45
Longlegs (R) CC: 11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) CC: 1:15

Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13)
CC: 11:15-2:15-5:15-8:15
Indian 2 11:00-2:00-4:30
Darling 10:45-2:45-8:15

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - One Loudoun
20575 East Hampton Plaza

Josie and the Pussycats (PG-13) 11:15AM
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 10:50-1:50-4:55-7:45-10:40
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:15-1:05-3:20-3:55-5:45-6:45-9:40
Twisters (PG-13) 10:45-2:05-9:00
Longlegs (R) 12:15-2:15-5:10-8:15-9:25
Stop Making Sense 6:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:05-2:40-6:15-9:45
Inside Out 2 (PG) 12:00-2:55-6:30-10:20
Twisters (PG-13) 12:25-1:20-3:40-4:40-7:00-8:00-8:45; 10:00AM

Angelika Film Center Mosaic
2911 District Ave

Despicable Me 4 (PG) 10:55-12:30-2:45-5:00-7:15-9:30
Inside Out 2 (PG) 11:30-12:45-3:00-5:15-7:30-9:45
Twisters (PG-13) 10:45-1:30-4:15-7:00-9:45
Longlegs (R) 1:10-3:25-5:45-8:00-10:20
Touch (R) 1:45-4:30-7:15-10:00
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 10:00-1:00-3:55-6:45-9:35
Widow Clicquot (R) 10:30-12:40-2:50-5:00-7:10-9:25

CMX Village 14
1600 Village Market Boulevard

The Neverending Story III (G) 4:00-7:00
Vacation (R) 4:00
Bad Boys Ride or Die (R) 6:10-9:00
A Quiet Place: Day One (PG-13) 12:30-3:00-5:50-8:30
Despicable Me 4 (PG) 11:10-12:10-1:40-2:30-5:10-7:40-8:10-10:40
Twisters (PG-13) 11:00-11:30-12:20-1:00-2:00-2:40-3:30-4:00-5:00-6:00-6:30-7:00-7:30-8:00-9:15
Longlegs (R) 11:20-2:10-4:45-7:20
Horizon: An American Saga Chapter 1 (R) 12:00-4:20-8:20
Despicable Me 4 3D (PG) 12:40-3:45-8:50
Inside Out 2: The IMAX Experience (PG) 12:40-3:10-5:35-8:10-9:20
Fly Me to the Moon (PG-13) 11:55-3:40-6:45
Sound of Hope: The Story of Possum Trot (PG-13) 11:40-2:50
The Lion King 30th Anniversary (G) 11:05-1:35

Cinema Arts Theatre
9650 Unit 14 Main St.

Twisters (PG-13) 9:40-12:00-2:30-7:30-9:55
Janet Planet (PG-13) 12:10-7:20-9:30
Touch (R) 9:40-12:05-2:35-7:40-10:00
Ghostlight (R) 9:45-2:25
Thelma (PG-13) 10:00-12:15-2:20-7:10-9:10

Taqueria Sabor Mixteco brings Oaxacan charm to Silver Spring

A trio of talented co-owners light up this sunny spot with exceptional hospitality

BY TOM SIETSEMA



PHOTOS BY SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

From top, chorizo, lingua and al pastor tacos, accompanied by arbol, green tomatillo and morita chile sauces.

Two of us are a few chomps into a tlayuda at the youthful Taqueria Sabor Mixteco when the chef approaches our table.

"Want to make it even more Oaxacan?" asks Juan Solano, 54. He says this with raised eyebrows and a smile. We nod and go back to eating the feast, an enormous tortilla packed with cheese, vegetables and chorizo, doubled over to form a dome above the contents and blistered from the grill.

A few moments later, the chef reappears with a ramekin of something black and mysterious and invites us to guess what's in the little bowl.

Having visited Oaxaca before, I think I know the answer. Sure enough, Solano wants us to complete our tlayuda with fried grasshoppers, expectedly crisp and jolted with lime.

Similar vignettes play out every time I've eaten at this charming storefront in Silver Spring, close to the Wheaton Metro stop and co-owned by the chef; Apolinar Cervantes, 47; and Marisol Gonzales, 52. The trio bring a lot of hospitality to the business. Solano previously cooked at the late and admired Mixtec and Enriqueta's in Washington. Cervantes worked his way up from dishwasher to waiter at Bobby Van's Steakhouse, where he spent 22 years, while Gonzales, a onetime hostess at a children's party restaurant in her native Mexico City, works as a nanny when she's not at the restaurant.

Day or night, I've never visited without seeing Cervantes. His quiet enthusiasm alone pulls me back. The host takes his time detailing the dishes, instructs diners which of the three housemade salsas are best for which presentations, and offers free refills of agua fresca. (One glass of tamarindo or pineapple juice with hints of peach is never enough.) The food is apportioned as if you're eating at Madre's house. "Any sauce you want to take?" asks the host as he bundles the inevitable leftovers. I like the mild green tomatillo and the racy red arbol salsas, but the sauce sprung from the smoky morita chile, recommended for the tlayuda, lights my fire.

The chef is from La Mixteca, one of eight regions in the Mexican state of Oaxaca, which explains the restaurant's name and the sweetness of his mole. A sauce made primarily for celebrations, Mixteco mole is offered with sugar for guests to pass at the table, he says. At Taqueria Sabor Mixteco, the sauce is created from raisins, cinnamon and chocolate as well as almonds, oregano and dried peppers including guajillo and ancho. The inky black combination drapes the very good shredded chicken enchiladas, striped with white crema and shored up with tomato-tinted rice and (vegetarian) refried black beans redolent of the garlic and onions that "go into everything," jokes the chef.

The chef left Washington for Mexico City in 2008 to run a taqueria for several years before returning to the States. How delicious to have him back. I appreciate whatever meat — zesty chorizo, earthy braised beef tongue, pork sweetened with pineapple — dresses his warm, saucer-size corn tortillas. The canvases — thin enough to fold, thick enough to hoist without tearing — pick up color and texture from cilantro, sliced radishes, sweet chopped onion and your salsa of choice, although a simple spritz of lime is plenty sassy.

Maybe you're in the mood for a torta. Credit for the two-fisted pleasure goes to Gonzales, whose mother made and sold tortas and tacos to workers building Mexico City's metro when Gonzales was a young girl. As with so much that leaves the kitchen, the taqueria excels with the sandwich. Fluffy-crumbed telera bread is sliced in half, toasted and slathered with creamy mayonnaise (on top) and black beans (on the base). A choice of filling — make mine flame-colored al pastor — plus shredded, slightly rubbery Oaxacan cheese and crisp lettuce truly elevate the slices and make for one of the best tortas I know.

One of the biggest comforts on a menu full of them is alambre, a rib-sticking collaboration of your choice of meat, onions and poblano peppers under a blanket of melted cheese. Those who like variety should ask for the juicy duo of braised beef and chorizo — and plan for a siesta afterward.

The list of daily specials might include one of the best chiles rellenos in memory. Fluffy egg clings to the velvet-textured poblano, which oozes warm cheese when it's cut. A light sauce of tomato, onion and garlic burnishes the pepper. The one off note across several meals: chileajo, a Oaxacan pork stew from the chef's hometown of Tezoatlán whose occasional bites of dry meat were partially salvaged by potato chunks swollen with the flavor of fruity costeno and guajillo peppers in the mix.

Gonzales whips up the flan, dense with cream cheese and scented with Mexican vanilla. Ask for a caramel-glossed slice to go if you've filled up on tacos, tortas or alambres. The dessert is a sight for sleepy eyes late at night: soothing nursery food no matter your age.

Color-drenched Oaxaca is channeled in a bright orange dining room where tables are covered in oil cloth and the ceiling is dressed with papel picado, Mexican paper cutouts. A few sombreros and upbeat chilena music complete the Mexican theme.

This cooking deserves something spirited to wash it back; the owners say they've applied for a license to sell alcohol. For the moment, if you ask about cocktails, the trio shows off ready-to-go jicaras, the small, shell-like cups used to serve mezcal.

The biggest problem I see? Too few diners. That might be music to the ears of people who don't want to raise their voice at lunch or dinner but not to the owners, whose labor of love deserves to play to a larger audience. Frankly, I'd trade the quiet for some noise, even a line out the door. Hence this shout-out.

Taqueria Sabor Mixteco

2462 Ennalls Ave., Silver Spring. 240-500-3833. *sabormixteco.com*. Open for indoor and outdoor dining and delivery and takeout, 10:30 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily. **Prices**: Dinner appetizers $3 to $14.95, tacos $3.75 to $4.95, main courses $12 to $29.75. **Sound check**: 69 decibels/ Conversation is easy. **Accessibility**: No barriers to entrance; ADA-compliant restroom.





LEFT: From left, Juan Solano, Marisol Gonzales and Apolinar Cervantes co-own Taqueria Sabor Mixteco. ABOVE: The alambre campechanos at the Silver Spring restaurant, which is near the Wheaton Metro stop.

The Washington Post
TRAVEL
SUNDAY, JULY 21, 2024 · SECTION F

The Swedish secret to the perfectly balanced vacation

BY ANNE RODERIQUE-JONES

If you're the planning type, your vacations may begin to feel so structured that you need a do-nothing holiday by the time you return. Sound familiar? It may be time to consider the Swedish practice of "lagom." ¶ The word, pronounced lah-gom, means "not too much, not too little." When applied to a trip, it means striking the ideal balance of exercise, adventure, food and relaxation. ¶ Remember the coziness craze inspired by the Danish concept of hygge? Similarly, lagom has been practiced for generations but is now gaining steam worldwide. Lagom is an overarching mind-set that applies to balancing all aspects of life, and it is ideal for travel. ¶ Helen Russell, journalist and author of "The Atlas of Happiness: The Global Secrets of How to Be Happy," says that the word "lagom" derives from the Swedish word "lag," or "team," and that Swedish folklore suggests that "laget om" — or "around the team" — was a phrase Vikings used to make sure everyone got their fair share when a horn full of mead was passed around.

SEE **BALANCE** ON **F3**



ILLUSTRATION BY ANNA PERS BRÄCKE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

FLYING
Pilots explain how to stay safe during a turbulent flight. **F2**

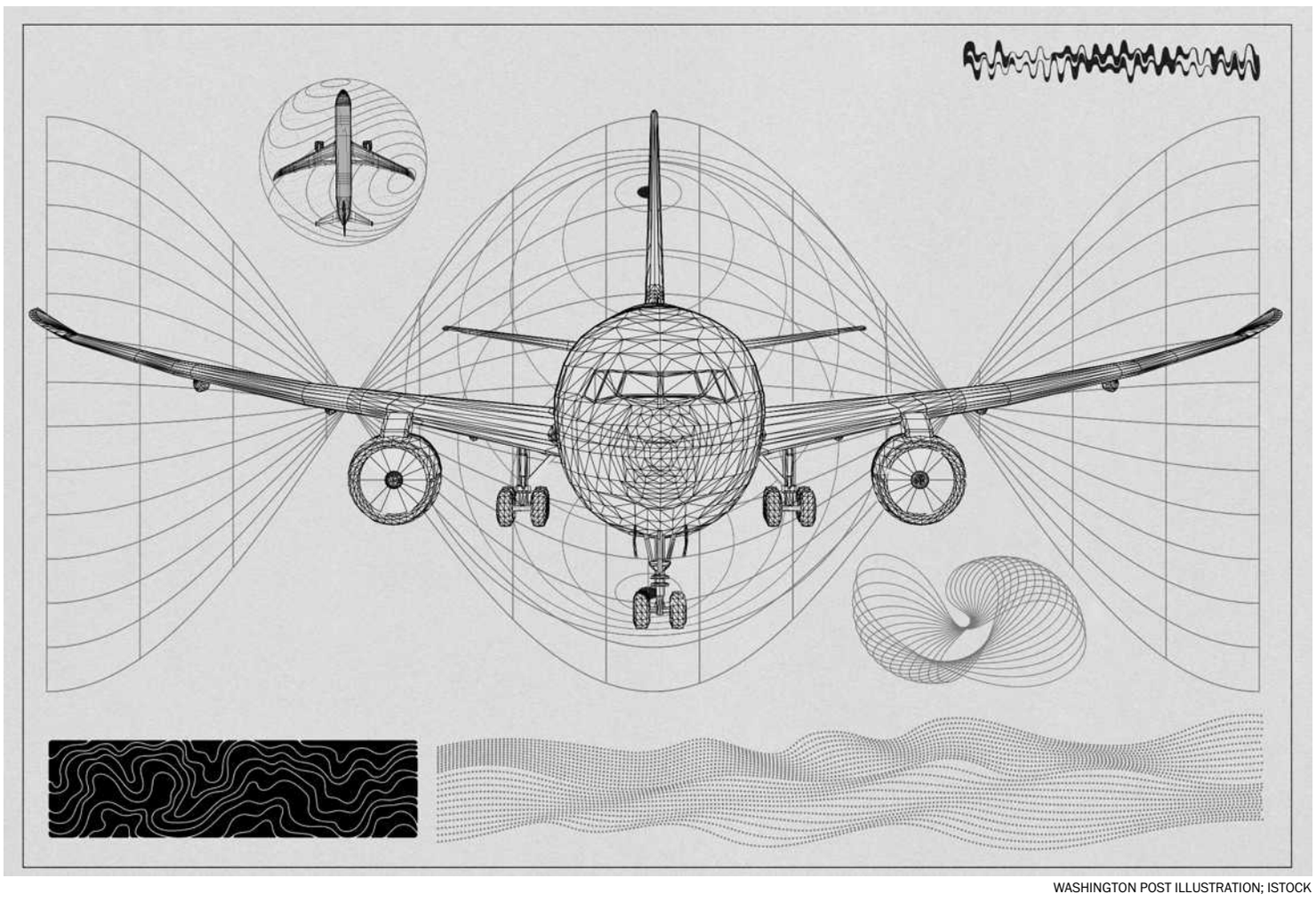
THE UPGRADE
It's time to embrace a vacation where you do absolutely nothing. **F3**

AIRPORTS
Why do Americans keep trying to bring guns through security checkpoints? **F5**

SHOPPING
18 things to help you keep cool during a hot vacation. **F6**

Pilots offer advice on how to stay safe during turbulence

BY HANNAH SAMPSON



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

One minute, passengers may be sleeping, or eating, or enjoying an unremarkable flight. The next: chaos.

That's the scenario that unfolded in repeated high-profile incidents of turbulence in recent months. Earlier this month, more than 30 people were treated for injuries after an Air Europa flight hit turbulence while traveling from Spain to Uruguay. In May, one person died and dozens were hospitalized after a Singapore Airlines jet encountered "sudden extreme turbulence" while flying near the coast of Myanmar.

Patrick Smith, an airline pilot for three decades who runs the Ask the Pilot blog, said in an interview that he gets questions from the public about turbulence "every day, all the time." He thinks there isn't a good understanding of what turbulence is, what it can and can't do, and how pilots deal with it. But he understands why travelers might be uneasy.

"If you're predisposed to flight anxiety, rough air is going to make the experience more nerve-racking," he said.

While extreme incidents can happen, experts say planes are built to withstand the forces of turbulence and that pilots are trained on how to respond to it. Passengers have little control about the conditions their planes are facing, but safety experts and current and retired pilots told The Washington Post that there are some safety tools fliers can take into their own hands.

Always buckle up

Experts agree: Seat belts are passengers' main recourse for staying safe during turbulence. Flight attendants and regulators say children under 2 who could fly free as lap babies should instead be buckled into a seat approved for use on planes. Hassan Shahidi, CEO of the Flight Safety Foundation, said people who are not buckled up suffer most of the injuries caused by turbulence.

"Every safety professional that I know, when we're on an airplane, if I'm not up walking around for a reason, then my seat belt's at least loosely fastened," said John Cox, a retired airline pilot and an instructor at the University of Southern California. "The evidence is literally overwhelming that you can reduce the likelihood of injury."

He said there's still some risk: Another passenger could fall onto a buckled person during turbulence, or a serving cart could get loose.

"The higher number of passengers with their seat belts fastened reduces the likelihood of injury to everybody on the airplane," said Cox, who also founded the aviation consulting firm Safety Operating Systems.

Doug Moss, a retired airline pilot, aviation instructor and safety consultant, said in an email that passengers should stay buckled whenever seated, even if the seat-belt sign isn't lit. But they should definitely take it seriously when it is lit.

"Many times, the weather may actually be smooth and the sign is ON. More likely than not, that means that the pilot has reason to be expecting turbulence," Moss said. "Just because the air is smooth at one moment doesn't mean that turbulence isn't only seconds ahead."

Pick the right seat

The seat you pick won't keep your plane from hitting rough patches, but it could determine how much motion you feel.

Pilots say those in the back of the plane will bear the brunt of turbulence because the tail is designed to move, while the area over the wings or in front of them will feel more stable. Smith said the difference might only be mild, but the center would have the smoothest ride.

Kathleen Bangs, a former airline pilot and a spokeswoman for the flight-tracking service FlightAware, said a window seat is a good option for fliers who are nervous about turbulence, because they can see obvious weather conditions out the window. They would also be more protected if the overhead bins open and items start flying around.

Given how rare that level of turbulence is, however, Smith cautioned that choosing a window seat for turbulence-safety purposes might be "unnecessarily cautious."

Do your research (with a caveat)

Several apps or websites, such as Turbli, Fly With Courage and Turbulence Forecast, provide travelers with weather forecasts and turbulence outlooks along a flight path.

Bangs said she often uses those apps when she flies to test them out. But she also will check FlightAware to see what route the pilot has filed and whether there is a diversion to avoid bad weather.

"People can kind of get their head in the game and feel a little more empowered about what's going on," she said.

For some, knowledge might be power — but pilots also warn that checking forecasts can cause passengers to panic unnecessarily. Airlines have more information than those sites to work with, and pilots often will adjust to avoid areas where turbulence is expected.

Smith said he urges friends who are nervous fliers to avoid the apps.

"Airplanes don't always fly the route that you think they're going to fly, the altitude that you think they're going to fly," he said. "These things are often decided on or revised on short notice to avoid the areas of roughest air."

Travelers may also reassure themselves that turbulence is not likely to hurt them: The Federal Aviation Administration says there were 184 serious injuries on U.S. airlines because of turbulence from 2009 to 2023. Most of those injured were crew. The FAA does not track incidents of turbulence more broadly.

"There isn't a one-stop shop if you will, a centralized database that captures these turbulences that occur," Shahidi said.

Take in-flight precautions

Once you're on your flight, pay close attention to what the flight attendants and pilots are telling you.

"It is important to follow the cabin crew instructions at all times," Shahidi said. "They're there for the safety of the passengers."

Bangs said to be "conscious" of what possessions you have out, especially if bumps are expected. If by some chance you had an empty seat next to you, she said, you wouldn't want to place a laptop there in case you hit turbulence "and that thing goes flying." In a safety video about turbulence posted in May, the FAA advises passengers to "make sure loose items are stowed properly."

Bangs was on a flight once when the pilots made an announcement in the middle of meal service about a rough patch ahead. They told everyone to put their meals on the floor and tray tables up. Bangs said the turbulence wasn't that memorable, but the warning was.

Cox said he would give passengers a heads-up if he knew there was turbulence ahead that the plane couldn't get around. He said electronics can be pretty well stowed, but liquids are tougher to contain.

"You probably don't want a cup of hot coffee in your hands," he said.

Understand pilots' tools

Pilots have more information at their fingertips than passengers — and that includes reports from other pilots who are encountering turbulence in real time. Some forms of turbulence can come without warning when skies are clear, but many others relate to factors such as weather or nearby mountains.

Moss said in his email that pilots review weather reports before departure to identify where shears in the winds might create turbulence, so that they can modify their routes or be prepared for rough air. They also use weather radar on board to identify conditions that could make for a bumpy ride. Air traffic controllers share reports of abnormal weather, often provided by other pilots.

It all means pilots have better information now to warn them about potential problem areas.

"This is the exciting part of the future, where pilots will be able to see, in real time, all the areas in the country where turbulence is being recorded, giving the pilots a greater ability to either avoid the area or at least to know when the seat-belt sign should go on," Moss wrote.

Airline tornado protocol can make fliers feel like sitting ducks

BY HANNAH SAMPSON, SOFIA ANDRADE AND MATTHEW CAPPUCCI

The message appeared on social media channels late Monday night: "Severe weather is imminent at O'Hare International Airport." The National Weather Service issued tornado warnings. Wind gusts roared at 75 mph. Federal Aviation Administration workers briefly evacuated areas at the airport, including the control tower.

Aviation officials in Chicago said Tuesday that the severe weather hit O'Hare and Midway International airports around 9:20 p.m. local time. Both airports engaged their safety plans, requiring travelers and workers to seek shelter away from windows into underground locations.

From the tarmac, several people who reported they were sitting on planes during the storms asked: What about us?

Travelers took to social media to describe waiting on board at O'Hare while planes rocked in the wind and listening to storm alerts blare from their phones. Similar scenes unfolded at Chicago Midway.

"We sit here in a tin can with wings," wrote one X user, posting a video showing rain streaming down a window and lightning flashing.

On TikTok, a user posted a video from a basement area at O'Hare and wrote that her flight actually boarded before a flight attendant told everyone to get out because of a tornado.

"I was expecting the plane to just be torn in half at some point," Justin Smolenski, who was stuck on a Spirit Airlines plane, told The Washington Post. When it wasn't, he decided that "either planes are built really well, or we were very lucky."

NWS would later confirm 11 tornadoes were in the Chicago forecast area during the storm, based on initial investigations.

Tornado protocol for airports

Because of their aerodynamic designs, aircraft are easy to loft if air flows over the wings quickly enough. If wind speeds reach, say, 90 or 100 mph, you'll start seeing commercial aircraft moved or smaller aircraft thrown. And that's just for straight-line winds.

Tornadoes, meanwhile, bring their own lift with them. They are vortices of powerful upward suction. Even a lower-end tornado, like an EF1 with 100 mph winds, could flip aircraft. And a "significant" tornado with 120 mph winds could throw them, especially considering a tornado's rotating or changing winds. If a tornado hit a fully loaded passenger aircraft, a mass casualty event could ensue. The majority of tornado fatalities stem from head injuries and blunt force trauma, which could result if a plane were thrown.

It wasn't clear why passengers on Monday night had been loaded onto planes and sent onto the tarmac ahead of the line of severe storms. Chicago aviation officials directed questions about aircraft movements to the FAA. That agency referred questions about why passengers were boarded to airlines.

Once fliers were out on the tarmac, aviation experts say, that's where they had to stay for their own safety. A tornado striking a plane could be disastrous, but so could leaving the shelter of the aircraft.

"In a situation like this, the safest option is for customers and crews to stay in the aircraft and for our teams to stay indoors," United Airlines spokesman Charles Hobart said in an email.

He said that the carrier works to operate "safely and efficiently" ahead of a storm strike, but adjusting immediate plans too far ahead of an impact could disrupt customers' travel plans.

"We rely on our safety procedures to ensure we are making the right decisions, operate when we can and clearly pause when we can't," Hobart wrote.

Other carriers contacted by The Washington Post, including American and Spirit, did not explain when asked about their decisions to board passengers before the Monday evening storms hit.

Denver International Airport, located in an area that has seen dozens of tornadoes in the past 50 years, said in an email that operations teams would not send people out to aircraft with stair trucks and buses during a tornado warning. Airlines make decisions about how they are going to operate their planes, the airport's statement said.

"If an airplane is boarding or deplaning during an event, the plan is for passengers and flight crew to deplane and immediately go to shelter," the statement said.

Mike McCormick, an assistant professor at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University with more than three decades of experience at the FAA, said in an interview that once lighting is spotted, ramp activity stops at the airport. That would make returning to the gate "not a practical alternative."

Doug Moss, a retired airline pilot, aviation instructor and safety consultant, said in an email that ramp workers are needed for a plane to back out from a gate or park at one. He said he's been in that situation many times.

"We were just about ready to push back and we get a call from Ops that all the ramp workers were ordered inside," he wrote. "Therefore, we just had to sit there until the thunderstorm and lightning passed."

Leaving a plane via stairs or a jet bridge could be risky because of wind or lightning, Kathleen Bangs, a former pilot and the spokeswoman for the flight-tracking site FlightAware, said in an email.

Chris Cooper, an adjunct professor at the University of North Dakota's Aviation Department, said airlines will make the call whether to delay or cancel a flight due to approaching weather. But sometimes a flight might be boarded and ready to go when weather suddenly worsens. At an airport with limited space, there may not be anywhere to go.

"You're certainly not going to fly right into the weather," said Cooper, who is also an airline pilot.

McCormick and Cooper both said that planes can withstand high winds on the ground. Moving a plane in bad weather could also be dangerous because of reduced visibility. McCormick said the risk "is generally going to be greater if you try to move versus waiting it out."

No one at either Chicago airport was injured Monday, according to the Chicago Department of Aviation. Staffers found minor damage to the outside of some O'Hare facilities but did not immediately spot damage at Midway.

American Airlines said in a statement that employees "worked swiftly to return aircraft to the gate" once ground operations resumed at O'Hare following the storm-related pause. The statement said American works with Chicago aviation officials and the FAA to "closely monitor airport and airfield conditions in inclement weather."

"After the all-clear was given and the FAA resumed its staffing, airlines — including United — were able to resume their operation and safely move aircraft," Hobart wrote. "Our staff and crew do their best to always ensure everyone's safety."

After workers cleared debris from the airfields, operations started shortly after 10:30 p.m. Monday. Normal FAA operations resumed just after 11 p.m.; the Chicago Air Route Traffic Control Center assumed the airspace during the evacuation, the agency said. FAA, which routes planes away from bad weather, "briefly paused" flights into O'Hare and Midway on Monday night.

According to FlightAware, there were 786 delays and 132 cancellations at O'Hare and 214 delays and 71 cancellations at Midway on Monday.

Past tornadoes and close calls

Over the years, dangerous weather, including tornadoes and tropical storm-level winds, have swept by — and even through — airports. The National Weather Service warns that tornadoes "are capable of completely destroying well-made structures, uprooting trees, and hurling objects through the air like deadly missiles."

In the early morning hours of March 3, 2020, tornadoes plowed through parts of Nashville and hit John C. Tune Airport, a sister facility to Nashville International that caters to smaller regional, corporate and private planes. It caused nearly $100 million in infrastructure damage, but that estimate from the airport didn't include 90 aircraft that were destroyed.

A 2011 tornado at St. Louis Lambert International Airport tore off part of the roof of a concourse, sent people scrambling for shelter in restrooms and pushed planes away from jet bridges, CNN reported. One passenger reported that the plane she was on shook violently and experienced air pressure changes.

After Oklahoma City officials issued a tornado warning in May 2015, two arriving Delta planes were stranded on the tarmac at the Will Rogers World Airport. Ground crews fled to an underground tunnel for safety, unintentionally leaving the passengers onboard. About 15 minutes later, according to local reports, help arrived and the travelers were escorted to a shelter.

In July 2023, a funnel alighted near Chicago O'Hare. The airlines canceled nearly 170 flights and delayed 500 takeoffs, according to FlightAware. Inside the airport, video from that evening showed passengers cramming into a concourse for safety.

In late May of this year, powerful storms with winds gusting up to 80 mph pushed an American Airlines plane parked at Dallas-Fort Worth International Airport.

One long night

At O'Hare on Monday night, Smolenski and his family were looking forward to returning home to San Diego when they found themselves trapped on the plane after boarding a leg to Las Vegas.

"We got on the plane, taxied onto the runway, and we stopped, and we waited, and we waited, and we waited some more," he said. "And while we're waiting, it started to rain and it started to thunder."

Soon afterward, he and the rest of the flight received emergency broadcast alerts on their phones, warning of possible tornadoes in the area. Though the pilot spoke over the loudspeaker to tell the passengers not to worry about the alerts — "it's just a little rain," Smolenski remembered him saying — the father of young kids could feel the plane shaking.

As the storm raged, he said his kids were "absolutely panicking." The wait on the tarmac ended up stretching to four hours, Smolenski said.

By the time the plane took off from O'Hare and landed in Las Vegas, it was late at night, and the family had missed their connecting flight. Without a hotel voucher, they slept in the airport until finding an early morning flight to San Diego, with another connection in Sacramento, and arriving home over 12 hours later than anticipated.

"It was brutal," Smolenski said, calling the whole ordeal an "absolute nightmare."

He said there was one final indignity.

"On top of it all, Spirit's like, 'Yeah, we lost your bags,'" he said.

Andrea Sachs contributed to this report.

TRAVEL

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Why not embrace spontaneity?

BALANCE FROM **F1**

There's no exact science or recipe to lagom; it varies by each individual's own balance.

Lola Akinmade Åkerström, travel photographer and author of the book "Lagom: The Swedish Secret of Living Well," says to think of lagom as an internal scale that must always stay balanced. Too much or too little of any one thing stresses the scale.

"Lagom actually means the optimal (not best) solution for maintaining balance and removing stress within your control," she says. "As a personal ethos, it's trying to help you live a sustainable life you can comfortably maintain."

This means that lagom can be as simple as the "just-right" amount of salt in your soup or an entire idea such as eschewing bigger and better. Here are a few practical ways to fold lagom into your travel plans.

Start with a declutter

I grew up in a Southern household devoted to maximalism, so every suitcase-packing session ended with a good sit-and-zip because you never knew when you'd need a silk caftan and feather fascinator.

But packing items you don't need is the antithesis of lagom. Clutter can make a person anxious. Packing light (but smart), as with a travel uniform, better suits lagom travel.

My husband once told me that I have an otherworldly talent of turning our hotel room into a disaster zone in a matter of seconds.

But with the practice of lagom, I now spend five minutes organizing my belongings and there's an instant sense of calm in a new environment.

Akinmade Åkerström says that while traveling, you want to think simple, practical and sturdy, "from the gear you pack, so it lasts for a long time, to the activities you engage in."

Pause for fika

In Sweden, "fika" is loosely defined as a practice to stop and recharge. And while Swedes do this on a daily basis, a vacation is the perfect time to dip your toe into the concept.

"This social act is often translated as taking a break several times during the day to socialize with friends, loved ones and colleagues over cups of coffee and pastries like cinnamon buns," Akinmade Åkerström says.

"The unspoken reason why we fika is to center and reconnect with ourselves."



TLF IMAGES/SHUTTERSTOCK

Fika means swapping your order-ahead Starbucks latte for a sit-and-chat over a drink in a real mug. For solo travelers, it's a fine time to people-watch in a new environment.

In its simplest form, fika is about recharging — perhaps by sitting for half an hour to rest your tired feet, or taking a refreshing nap before your next tour.

Leave room for spontaneity

Confession: I used to rely heavily on my No-Fun-Type-A Travel Planning Document, a spreadsheet that documented down-to-the-minute plans for every single day of our vacation. A sample:

6 a.m. Wake everyone up!

6:30 a.m. Please shove breakfast in your face, and make it snappy.

6:35 a.m. Leave hotel for a must-do tour. (Don't be late!)

Noon: Exhausted, but who cares because we have coveted restaurant lunch reservations!

3 p.m. Not hungry? It doesn't matter — we have a food tour on tap.

4 p.m. Wanna nap? Too bad, it's museum time.

5 p.m. Happy hour? What's that? No one here is happy.

I've since pared down my planning to a skeletal version that contains important details and a few plans but also some room for relaxation or spontaneity.

My husband and I have adopted a new acronym that fits with lagom travel: TWOO, for "the world is our oyster." In other words, no plans!

This approach has led to glorious days spent zooming around Laos on a motorbike, stumbling upon perfectly briny oysters near a peat-fed stove in Ireland, and making a last-minute decision to drive the Mississippi Blues Trail and finding live music in a smoky juke joint.

Spread out the indulgences

I don't have enough fingers to count the number of times I've overeaten (and over-imbibed) on vacation. I wish I could turn back the clock and tell 21-year-old me that "all-you-can-drink mimosas" doesn't mean you actually have to drink all the mimosas.

With lagom, the idea is to savor. Swedes have a diet rich in whole grains, lean proteins, veggies and berries — but they also have a serious sweet tooth (as in those beloved cinnamon buns for fika).

So eat the rich dessert and drink the beautifully made cocktail or mocktail, but do so with a sense of balance. For me, this means putting the brakes on at the breakfast buffet so that I can splurge on the multicourse prix fixe dinner.

Exercise — but also rest

I've always envied a skier's vacation that includes a vigorous day of swooshing down the slopes and then the reward of an après-ski hot toddy and a warm soak.

Lagom allows you to forgo the hotel gym and instead enjoy the offerings of your destination. I like to think of it as making exercise local: a jog along the sea in San Juan, Puerto Rico; a hike in a Swiss forest; a bike ride in Amsterdam.

Aside from T-WOO, Russell suggests we embrace the letters WWASD: What Would a Swede Do? In short: Be mindful of biting off more than you can chew.

"To vacation like a Viking, lagom-style, think WWASD — is your cup really half-empty, or is there, in fact, just enough?" Russell says.



NATHANIEL NOIR/ALAMY

The Swedish concept of lagom can help you restore spontaneity to your trip without hitting a wall. ABOVE: The practice of fika, taking a break to recharge, could be accompanied by cinnamon rolls. TOP: A blues club in Clarksdale, Miss., could be a fortuitous stop on a road trip with no set plan.

Anne Roderique-Jones is a travel writer who splits her time between New York and New Orleans. You can follow her on Instagram: @anniemarie_.

THE UPGRADE

The art of the do-nothing vacation

Doing little more than reading and watching the waves can help counteract the stress of office culture

BY GABE HIATT

To submit a travel hack to The Upgrade, visit wapo.st/upgrade.

Corporate life is exceptionally noisy. Before most keyboard warriors begin the workday, we're getting our daily download of podcasts, playlists and drive-time radio. Then you take your seat, and your phone starts buzzing before there's time to crack your knuckles. Here come the emails, the chats and the meetings — so many meetings.

No one would argue that a desk job is hard on the body. But your brain is another story. When your mental RPMs are close to the redline, you need to get away, ideally to a place where very few decisions are required. That's why I practice the do-nothing vacation.

In its ideal form, the do-nothing vacation takes place on a faraway beach, the lapping of waves replacing the ping of electronic devices. That soothing sound will be your only tether to reality while you get lost in a book for hours. Your phone is stowed away in a bedside drawer. Periodically you may dip in the sea. The shirts are linen. The drinks are rum. The soundtrack is steel drums.

When your mind is not occupied with deliverables, you're free to contemplate existential questions. *What am I doing? Where am I going? Can I get a little umbrella in my cocktail?*

The do-nothing vacation is not about being a bore, ignoring local culture or rejecting adventure for the rest of your days. It's about giving yourself the time and space for a mental reset. Don't call it laziness; call it wellness.



ILLUSTRATION BY MIN HEO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Besides, travel planning is too much like work now. I enjoy mocking up an itinerary prospectus as much as the next person with control issues. But there are no documents in the cloud allowed on the do-nothing vacation. You should not require a PowerPoint presentation to decide on a restaurant.

The do-nothing vacation is not about being a bore, ignoring local culture or rejecting adventure for the rest of your days. It's about giving yourself the time and space for a mental reset.

When you're traveling somewhere new to you, you may feel compelled to see and do it all. This can be exhilarating, exhausting and inevitably disappointing, because you can do only so much.

Something is bound to go wrong. A seasoned traveler expects this turbulence and recovers quickly. But by doing nothing, you've removed opportunities to spiral, preventing yourself from becoming your own worst enemy. It's admirable to appreciate the Acropolis in person. It's also likely hot, crowded and stressful.

All-inclusive resorts were built for the do-nothing vacation. But it doesn't really matter how far you're willing to go or what you're willing to spend. Want to do nothing? You're in.

Not a beach person? How about a snowed-in cabin with a roaring fireplace? No budget for travel? Hot summer days were made for doing nothing except curling up in bed with a pile of pulpy thrillers.

This will not be a group trip, because coordinating around friends and family will cause the cortisol to flow. Honeymoons are just the ticket for the do-nothing vacation. The couple that does nothing together stays together.

If you can't bring yourself to do nothing, you may permit yourself some physical movement, as long as you're not logging into a device or hopping on a conference call. Approved activities for the do-nothing vacation include long walks, body-surfing, bike rides, hacky sack and horse shoes.

If the idea of the do-nothing vacation makes you twitch with FOMO, know this: When you're done doing nothing, all of your obligations, office gossip and social media discourse will be waiting to greet you as soon as you get back.

Everyone will ask, "How was it?" Then you can look wistfully in the distance and say "Great!" Because you did nothing. And it was just what you needed.

How to haggle at foreign markets without being a jerk



ILLUSTRATION BY MARIA JESUS CONTRERAS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

BY ANDREA SACHS

Years ago at a crafts market in Mexico City, I found a shadowbox of Day of the Dead figurines and immediately started bargaining for it. When the vendor would not go down further, I walked away, a common ploy. But this time, it backfired. Instead of enticing me back with the lower price, he closed up shop. ¶ I was left empty-handed and ashamed, all because of a $5 difference over a box of skeletons. ¶ In destinations around the world, haggling is an ancient tradition integral to the shopping experience. Visitors are not expected to pay the original price. Instead, buyer and seller engage in a verbal fandango that — depending on the circumstances — can feel lighthearted and fun or uncomfortable and offensive, especially in a time of widening inequity and threatened resources. ¶ Katie Leary Sebastian, director and co-founder of Ixöq, which specializes in home goods and accessories made by Guatemalan women, said she once relished the competitive sport of haggling. These days, she will fold more quickly and accept a higher price. ¶ "They might have gone lower," she said, "but I'm much more sensitive to their circumstances." ¶ Travelers can avoid conflicts and score a deal by learning the business and customs of ethical bargaining. The ultimate goal: sharing the victory.

Know where to bargain

Many countries, such as Egypt, Turkey and Ecuador, are known as hot spots for bargaining. But don't assume the practice is a nationwide pastime. Though it's common in many parts of Mexico, for instance, the popular tourist destination of Oaxaca does not embrace it as enthusiastically.

"There's not a big culture of haggling here. The local people don't do it much," said Suzanne Barbezat, co-owner of Discover Oaxaca Tours and a travel expert with Go Ask a Local. "But some tourists expect that, so it can be an issue sometimes."

Even in the same city, the activity may be acceptable in one type of commercial venue, such as a souk or open-air market, but discouraged in another, such as a mall or international retailer. As a deterrence, some proprietors will post signs stating that the prices are fixed.

"Attempts to negotiate in these scenarios … may be considered disrespectful, and any such efforts usually do not result in discounts," Ignacio Curbelo, the general director of Uruguay's Ministry of Tourism, wrote in an email.

Fernando Rodriguez, Intrepid Travel's general manager in Peru, encourages travelers to bargain in the South American country's produce and crafts markets. Touristy areas, where the markups are typically higher than in local haunts, are especially receptive to bargainers. But travelers should abstain from the practice in stores with cashiers and price tags, Rodriguez said.

Sherif Khalil, managing partner with Dunes & Beyond Travel and a Go Ask a Local expert, said the guidelines are similar in Egypt. He tells his clients to banter over prices in bazaars, such as Khan el-Khalili in Cairo, but not in shopping malls with brand-name stores. He said visitors used to bargain for cab fare, but the rise of meters has nixed that habit.

Leary Sebastian, who visits Guatemala several times a year, will often buck custom on principle. She refrains from bargaining at produce markets because the goods are already inexpensive, even at the "tourist" price.

"Vegetables are so cheap that I don't care if I'm paying five quetzals and the Guatemalan woman next to me is paying three quetzals," Leary Sebastian said. "I just got an avocado for 50 cents."

If you are unsure about whether bargaining is appropriate, take a reconnaissance stroll around the venue and observe the exchanges between customers and merchants. To avoid any missteps, hire a guide or consult with a local. While they can offer advice and tips, they are usually not allowed to haggle for you.

Adopt the right negotiating attitude

When you are ready to take the plunge, start with a soft opener, such as "Is this the best price?" Or suggest a price that is a third or half off — or whatever custom dictates. (Rodriguez said it's 10 to 20 percent in Peru, for example.) If the vendor reciprocates, then proceed. Go back and forth until you land on an amount that works for both of you.

Anu Taranath, a professor at the University of Washington and author of "Beyond Guilt Trips: Mindful Travel in an Unequal World," said to keep negotiations light, friendly and fun. Taranath, who has haggled all over the world, encourages travelers not to take the transaction — or themselves — too seriously.

"There has to be some joviality to it," she said. "If one gets tangled up in the sense of superiority or the sense of being aggrieved, that sours the interaction."

Hala Benkhaldoun, Intrepid Travel's general manager in Morocco, said a novice or hypercompetitive haggler can insult a vendor by suggesting a sharp discount, such as 70 percent off the original price, and then standing firm on the amount.

If negotiations turn tense, pause and take stock of the situation. Christine Buzinde, a professor and director of Arizona State's School of Community Resources and Development, reminds travelers about the greater purpose of bargaining: connecting on a humanistic level, not a materialistic one.

"If we have a more interrelated approach to being world citizens, then we're less likely to worry so much about how low can I go price-wise," Buzinde said. "We can move beyond the transactional elements to more of a 'How can I get to know this person?'"

If you can't reach a compromise, accept the final price or walk away. Extricating yourself from the situation is not an insult, experts say. If the vendor is still interested in the sale, they will come after you.

Don't feel dispirited when a deal falls through, Khalil said. Markets sell many of the same objects, so get back in the game — all the wiser.

Understand the souvenirs you're haggling for

When shopping around for souvenirs and crafts, you might notice a range of prices for the same item. One reason for that is the influx of cheap imports that has devalued and commodified once unique and handcrafted items. Before kicking off a bargaining round, ask the vendor about the origins of the product and the efforts involved in producing it. Adjust your asking price depending on whether it was made by hand or purchased in bulk from abroad.

One of Peru's most popular trinkets is a llama set in a miniature Machu Picchu, Rodriguez said, and vendors in tourist markets welcome rigorous bargaining because they purchase the items from China and sell by volume. Such bargaining is inadvisable, however, when you purchase directly from local artisans, many of whom spend hours preparing natural dyes and fibers and toiling on their craft.

"We ask people to avoid bargaining because local communities are not merchants. They don't feel comfortable doing this," Rodriguez said. "It may be very expensive, but it's a fair price."

To help you calculate a "just" price, Buzinde said to take into account the country's cost of living, wages, and economic and political stability.

"What might be a good deal for us might be robbing them of the quality of life that we seek for ourselves," Buzinde said. "At the end of the day, you might feel as though you've gained, but you've left them at loss."

Taranath said travelers should be mindful when engaging with locals but warns against overthinking it. If you're fretting over social inequities, you may miss the joy of the interaction.

"If I am in a Guatemalan market and an auntie is selling something that I am interested in purchasing, I would like that exchange to be pleasurable for both of us," she said. "Only thinking about how much I have in relation to how much she might not takes us away from the experience of that moment."

If you feel racked with guilt, you can always pay full price.

A few years after the tough lesson I learned in Mexico City, I bought a hand-carved stool in Ankara, Turkey, without haggling at all. To show his gratitude, the vendor threw in a free pillow he had woven, too.

Submit your photo to the 2024 Washington Post Travel contest

BY STAFF OF BY THE WAY

Submissions are open for the 25th annual Travel photo contest! Please read the complete contest rules (**wapo.st/contest-rules**) before you submit your photograph. You can submit your photos at **wapo.st/2024photocontest**.

Here are some highlights:

• Photo must have been taken between July 1, 2023, and June 30, 2024.

• Images that have been heavily manipulated or generated by artificial intelligence will not be accepted.

• Only amateur photographers are eligible. Professional photographers (i.e., anyone who earns more than 50 percent of their annual income from photography, determined at Sponsor's sole discretion) are not eligible.

• Entrants must be 18 or older and residents of the United States.

• By entering, you grant The Washington Post permission to use your photo in perpetuity in any medium.

• Only one entry is allowed per person. By submitting a photo, you are stating that you took the photo and own the rights to the photo. All submissions must be received by 11:59 p.m. Eastern time on Aug. 1, 2024.

Winners will be announced in print Sept. 5, 2024, and online shortly beforehand.



AMY GARRICK

Last year's second-place photo, which was made in Antarctica in December 2022.

Copenhagen rewards eco-friendly tourists with free coffee, museum tours

BY ANDREA SACHS

Wonderful Copenhagen, the Denmark capital's tourism office, is launching a pilot program that rewards visitors for going green. Starting this past Monday, participants who engage in a sustainable activity earn a gift of appreciation, such as a free kayak rental or coffee and Danish pastry.

The new initiative, CopenPay, is simple: partake of an eco-friendly endeavor and receive a perk from the two dozen businesses and institutions participating in the program. It is open to visitors and locals.

For instance, you can collect plastic trash and turn it into jellyfish art at a workshop run by the National Gallery of Denmark. If you ride a bike or take public transportation to the Amager Resource Center, you can receive 20 extra minutes of ski time on CopenHill, an artificial slope on the power plant's roof. (Non-skiers can ride the elevator to the top free.) Volunteer at Oens Have, northern Europe's largest urban garden, or the historic garden at the Karen Blixen Museum and enjoy a complimentary vegetarian meal or free museum admission, respectively.

"We want to turn tourism into a positive force for change in regards to sustainability," said Rikke Holm Petersen, director of communications at Wonderful Copenhagen, "but we want tourists to have a memorable and fun experience as well."

Holm Petersen said the program is based on the honor system, though a few venues might ask for proof, such as a photo of your bike or a public transportation ticket. It will run through Aug. 11. Depending on its success, it could return next summer with more activities and for a longer stretch of time.

Destinations around the world are experimenting with creative ways to promote environmental responsibility and engage visitors in their cause. With the Mālama Hawai'i Program, travelers can earn a hotel discount or free night by volunteering. For example, guests who donate time to the Pacific Whale Foundation receive a free fourth night and breakfast for two at the Hana-Maui Resort. (Relatedly, the Hawaii Tourism Authority unveiled a certification system last month that verifies companies committed to sustainable practices. Thirteen businesses have received the designation, including major airlines, tour boat companies, restaurants and the Bishop Museum.)

In 2017, Palau instituted the Palau Pledge, which tourists must sign upon entering the country. The agreement to "preserve and protect" the islands is stamped in their passport.

Hotels are also incentivizing guests to reduce their consumption. Properties affiliated with the Yotel's "Purple Goes Green" plan offer visitors a food and beverage credit for every day they opt out of housekeeping. Best Western Hotels and Resorts has a similar program, with guests earning points or a meal voucher.

Randy Durband, chief executive of the Global Sustainable Tourism Council, applauds programs that reward good behavior instead of guilting people into acting responsibly or scolding them for falling short.

"Copenhagen deserves some credit for not shaking a fist at bad behavior but trying to make it fun and have some incentives and benefits," Durband said.

Holm Petersen has higher aspirations for CopenPay. She sees it as an agent of change.

"We hope visitors will feel inspired to make more conscious choices about green actions when they go home," she said, "and that other destinations will do something similar."



NIELS CHRISTIAN VILMANN/RITZAU SCANPIX/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

A ski slope built on the roof of a waste-to-energy plant in Copenhagen, is seen in 2019. A new initiative from the Danish capital's tourism office encourages visitors and locals to partake of an eco-friendly endeavor and receive a perk from the two dozen businesses and institutions participating in the program.

Americans keep trying to take guns through security checkpoints

BY SOFIA ANDRADE

Michael Lee Evans remembered he had misplaced the ammunition clip for a pistol years ago, but he didn't expect to see it come out of his luggage. It was an even bigger surprise for the 72-year-old from Texas to learn he could be facing years in prison for bringing the bullets into Turks and Caicos.

Evans said a December anniversary trip turned into a "nightmare" when he and his wife, Sharon Evans, were stopped by security at Providenciales International Airport. He was arrested and taken to the police station, but it wasn't until he talked to an attorney provided by the local government that he realized the severity of the situation.

"I asked him, 'How much trouble am I in?'" Evans recalled, and the attorney answered, "You are in significant risk."

Turks and Caicos prohibits the possession and use of unlicensed firearms and ammunition under an ordinance that has led to at least five arrests of Americans in the British territory over the past seven months, including Evans.

In interviews with The Washington Post or reports by other media, each of those travelers have said they packed ammunition by accident. That was the same explanation that Rep. Victoria Spartz (R-Ind.) gave after she was charged with bringing an unloaded handgun to Dulles International Airport on June 28.

The incidents in Turks and Caicos tie into a trend with U.S. travelers. The number of firearms detected and intercepted at U.S. airports has risen for the past 10 years, with the exception of 2020, when travel diminished with the start of the pandemic. This summer, with a record-breaking number of Americans traveling, more guns and ammo are making their way into airports.

Flying with an unloaded gun and ammunition is legal in the United States, but only in a checked bag. Transportation Security Administration regulations require that any guns and ammunition be packed and locked inside a hard-sided case and that travelers declare them at baggage drop. Attempting to bring either in a carry-on bag is illegal, as well as dangerous for TSA agents and other travelers, TSA spokesperson Alexa Lopez said.

"The number one reason we hear from people, and I kid you not, is 'I forgot I had it in my bag,'" Lopez said.

Though shootings inside airports are rare because of fortified security, there have been reports of shootings in pre-security areas as recently as November, when a woman inside Portland International Airport in Oregon was accused of firing a gun near a TSA checkpoint.

Tim Carey, law and policy adviser at Johns Hopkins University's Center for Gun Violence Solutions, called the rise in Americans caught with improperly packed guns and ammunition a "perfect-storm situation" brought about by two factors: large-scale increases in U.S. gun ownership and states' deregulation of firearm purchasing and possession.

In a Gallup poll last year, 30 percent of U.S. adults said they personally own a gun. A 2013 survey requested by the European Commission showed the same was true for only 5 percent of Europeans.

"There is a very justifiable increased scrutiny on Americans and guns in foreign places," Carey said. Besides Turks and Caicos, he cited Mexico, which is suing five U.S. gun dealers for allegedly facilitating gun trafficking across the border.

Misses by TSA

Some of the Americans who have been detained in Turks and Caicos, such as Florida resident Sharitta Grier, passed through TSA checkpoints without being stopped. In response to Grier's case, TSA acknowledged that rounds of ammunition inside a carry-on were probably missed at Orlando International Airport.

Oklahoma resident Ryan Watson was apprehended with ammunition in Turks and Caicos after clearing TSA in Oklahoma City. TSA officials at Will Rogers World Airport made changes, including additional training, in response to a review.

According to TSA, loose ammunition can be missed when there is no firearm present, which is why gun owners should start packing with an entirely empty bag each time they travel.

Though the U.S. Embassy in the Bahamas had issued a warning about Turks and Caicos's strict gun regulations last year, Sharon Evans said she and her husband "had no idea" about the law before their December trip.



JEFF GREENBERG/GETTY IMAGES

The number of firearms detected and intercepted at U.S. airports has risen for the past 10 years, with the exception of 2020. Pictured is a checkpoint at Miami International Airport.

Michael Lee Evans, who suffers from several health conditions, faced months of hearings and ultimately received a suspended 33-week sentence. Another American arrested in Turks and Caicos, Bryan Hagerich of Pennsylvania, had to wait more than 100 days in crowded jail cells and emergency apartment rentals before receiving a suspended 52-week sentence. Both received their sentences after U.S. leaders — including the governors of Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Virginia and a bipartisan congressional delegation — advocated for the release of Americans.

Stateside, large GoFundMe campaigns and anxious social media posts raised money and awareness for those arrested. Most have paid fines and received suspended sentences.

In January, TSA reported that 2023 was a record-breaking year for guns flagged at security checkpoints. A total of 6,737 firearms were detected at airports across the country, about 93 percent of which were loaded. In the first quarter of this year, TSA intercepted 1,503 firearms.

Whether it's intentional or inadvertent, trying to pass a gun through airport security has consequences for the gun owner. TSA officers don't confiscate firearms, but they do call local law enforcement, which can then enforce fines or criminal charges that could lead to jail time, depending on local laws.

How state laws might be changing gun travel

Between 2019 and 2021, an estimated 7.5 million Americans became new gun owners. However, the vast majority of guns purchased during that time were bought by people who already owned one. On average, approximately 1.9 million firearms were purchased per month between January 2020 and April 2021. Just 300,000 of those went to first-time buyers.

"Following covid, there are millions of excess firearms relative to what we would have expected in a country already inundated with firearms," said Michael D. Anestis, a professor at the Rutgers School of Public Health and executive director of the New Jersey Gun Violence Research Center. "If there's more firearms, then there are more opportunities for people to, even unintentionally, bring a firearm with them to a TSA checkpoint."

A 2022 Supreme Court decision then opened the door for legal challenges against state attempts to regulate or limit how people can carry their firearms in public.

"States that are more conservative and more centered on a pro-gun facet have been virtually stripping away their entire regulations or imposing laws to prohibit future regulations," Carey said. The looser regulations and habits around improper gun storage, he said, mean "we're going to see more guns in places where they shouldn't be."

The Turks and Caicos travelers, for example, all lived in states with relatively scant firearm regulations, Carey said. Pennsylvania, Oklahoma and Virginia have neither safe-storage requirements nor license or permit requirements for firearm purchases, advocacy groups say.

An issue of responsibility

Beyond security issues, gun ownership experts say it's simply poor form to skirt laws for travelers.

"To assume that just because you have a firearm, that you can take it anywhere, any place, any time … it's just not responsible," said Tom O'Connor, a board member of the Oregon-based Gun Owners for Responsible Gun Ownership. "If you're going to travel, firearm outside the home, you need to know what the safety rules are, what the firearm regulations are."

Hagerich, the traveler from Pennsylvania, describes himself as a responsible gun owner who had a slip-up. He keeps his firearms in a separate room protected by two sets of locks and keys and an alarm system, precisely out of an "utmost respect for firearms and ammunition."

"I am one of the most responsible individuals with firearms. … So, it's not like we're reckless individuals here," Hagerich told The Post in a phone interview. "I'm a human. I make mistakes. We all make mistakes. Unfortunately, mine was a mistake that had very, very, very severe consequences."

But gun-owning advocates for gun safety said that forgetting a firearm while traveling — even when a gun owner takes great care otherwise — is reckless, especially given that there are legal ways to travel with them.

"I think it's recklessness and disrespect for laws," said Paul Kemp, a founding member of Gun Owners for Responsible Gun Ownership. As a lifelong gun owner, he said, "I'd be even more concerned about getting everything right."

Peter Gurfein, 75, has hunted for more than 50 years and frequently travels with his firearms across the United States. Whenever he does, he said, he locks his guns in a four-pad-locked, hard-sided case and gets to the airport four hours early to avoid any problems. TSA regulations are "very efficient," he said. "There's no excuse for someone not following TSA regulations."

Gurfein said a responsible gun owner is one who knows where their gun is at all times. "That's basic safety. And for someone to say they don't know where their gun is is one of the most irresponsible things I can imagine," he said.

18 things to cool you down on a hot vacation



ILLUSTRATION BY KATTY HUERTAS/THE WASHINGTON POST

BY ANDREA SACHS AND HANNAH SAMPSON

With record-high temperatures and extended heat waves, you might be tempted to change your outdoor vacation plans for an air-conditioned building tour or a resort pool hop. ¶ As we've seen over the past few summers, extreme heat is no joke. To reduce the health risks, you should adopt such common practices as seeking shade, staying hydrated (but not overhydrated) and avoiding the hottest period of the day. ¶ "I think of it like a barbecue," said Jonathan Bar, assistant professor of clinical emergency medicine at the University of Pennsylvania's Perelman School of Medicine. "It's time and temperature. You don't want to barbecue yourself." ¶ Besides minding your exposure to the sun, you'll want to acquire some accessories beyond a water flask. With many more hot days ahead, we compiled a list of 18 items with a high cool factor.



Portable fan

There's nothing like a cool breeze in your face — even if you have to create that breeze yourself. Tote a fan along, whether it's an old-school paper version, a battery-operated number that fits in the palm of your hand or a fancier, pricier gadget that wraps around your neck.



A superior water bottle

If you are traveling light, choose a collapsible bottle that pops up or rolls out. For longer outings, a model with double insulation will keep beverages cold from sunup to sundown.

Bar said unless strenuous exercise is on your itinerary, you do not need to drink beverages spiked with electrolytes or extra vitamins. "Your kidneys are pretty smart," he said. "They know how much sodium and potassium you need."



Cooling towel

Anyone who has visited a theme park in summer has probably noticed a fashion trend: thin, damp towels draped around flushed necks. Take the hint from those who brave the Florida heat in August and soak, wring or snap the fabric to take a bite out of the heat. Re-wet for a refresh.

Prickly Heat cooling powder

If hot temps irritate your skin, sprinkle Snake Brand's Prickly Heat powder on the affected areas and you can almost hear your body's largest organ sigh with relief. The main ingredients — talc, menthol, camphor — soothe itchy rashes and bumps and prevent future epidermal meltdowns.



Facial mist

Face spray works like ocean spray. The dewy drops draw out the heat in your cheeks, chin and forehead, or wherever you spritz. Evian makes a version, as do cosmetic companies and the old-guard apothecary Thayers, which infuses its mist with witch hazel.



UV umbrella

A UV umbrella offers movable shade while blocking harmful rays from beaming down on you. Unlike your clothing, go for black, which absorbs heat, and choose an SPF of at least 50.

Thigh chafe stick

To prevent rubbing and irritated skin, smear an anti-chafing stick on the insides of both upper legs. The moisturizing balm creates a defense barrier, so that when your thighs meet again, they won't cause any friction.



Thigh Society cooling shorts

If Spanx and the anti-chafing stick collaborated on a fashion line, they'd create the cooling short. The high-tech wicking fabric pulls heat away and helps cool the body without adding bulk or unseemly seams.

Cooler bag

Tote a small insulated bag to keep snacks (and maybe your cooling towel, when you aren't using it) at refreshing temps. You can freeze a small bottle of water to serve as an ice pack — and drink it once melted. One Post colleague said she packs her bag full of "cold fruit for my kids, which also keeps them hydrated."

Cross-body bag

Sure, backpacks keep your hands free and store a lot of stuff. But in summer, they also "trap too much heat," one colleague points out. Pick an option that drapes a little more loosely but still travels well, like a cross-body bag or hip pack.



Moisture-wicking socks

If your vacation will be active — or if athleisure is just your go-to wardrobe — pick clothes designed to dry quickly and keep sweat away from your skin. Sweat-wicking socks tout the added benefit of reducing the risk of blisters.

All-linen clothes

Listen to science — and several of our Post colleagues: Linen is the way to go if athletic wear isn't in the dress code. On a molecular level, fabric experts say, linen beats cotton at moisture removal and airflow.



Protective hat

Bar, the physician, favors a "boonie," which has a wide brim that protects everything above the neck. Some styles come with vents and a tail flap that covers the neck. You can also try a bucket hat; just pull it down low to protect any protruding parts from burning.

Camp shirt

The more rugged relative of the Cuban guayabera is ideal for steamy settings because of its boxy, breezy fit that lets air stream through like a screened-in porch. Choose an option with vents to maximize the effect.

Aloe vera gel

Spent too much time in the sun? A bottle of aloe vera gel — especially when chilled — can provide relief from a burn. But an ounce of sun prevention is better than a pound of goopy cure. Make sure to use a strong sunblock and save the aloe for later.

Neck coolers

If a towel won't cut the heat, a cooling tube around the back of your neck might do the trick. It starts out frozen, so it'll be good and cold.

Instant cold packs

Used for medical purposes like swelling reduction or postpartum relief, instant cooling packs don't require refrigeration and can provide some temporary chill.

Baby wipes

Carry a resealable packet of baby wipes or face towelettes for swiping away sweat and grime. You'll feel as refreshed as if you had splashed around in a fountain, but without getting dripping wet (or breaking the law).

Natalie B. Compton contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

BUSINESS



ISTOCK

Self-driving cars leave cyclists at crossroads

Future has riders optimistic, but early stages present risks

BY TRISHA THADANI AND GERRIT DE VYNCK

SAN FRANCISCO — Cyclist Reed Martin was happy to share the road with the autonomous vehicles that roam the streets of this dense and hilly city — until one barreled toward him last summer as he and his 5-year-old daughter rode their bikes through a crosswalk.

"We jumped out of the way, and it just kept going as if we weren't there," Martin, 42, wrote in a complaint filed with the California Department of Motor Vehicles. It was "scary to our family, it felt like it didn't see us at all, and there was nothing we could do."

In San Francisco, where cyclists already contend with angry drivers and unpredictable jaywalkers, self-driving cars present a new obstacle. In recent years, more of the vehicles have swarmed into the city, making it a national laboratory for companies to test and improve the technology.

With biking fatalities on the rise — more than 1,100 on American roads in 2022, according to the most recent federal data — autonomous-car companies are pitching themselves as part of the solution. But Bay Area cyclists who have firsthand experience with the futuristic technology are wary, according to interviews and a Washington Post analysis of nearly 200 complaints about autonomous vehicles submitted to the California DMV since 2021.

Many bike riders are hopeful about a world of robot drivers that never experience road rage or get distracted by their phones. But

SEE **CYCLISTS** ON **G5**

Tesla's claims on its cars face scrutiny

Musk's 'Full Self-Driving' assertions targeted in investigations, lawsuits

BY FAIZ SIDDIQUI

A growing number of investigations and legal complaints are targeting Tesla's claims that its cars are "Full Self-Driving," scrutinizing the company's decisions to brand and market its suite of driver-assistance technologies for evidence of potential fraud.

The U.S. Justice Department is probing the company's marketing of both Full Self-Driving and Autopilot, Tesla's advanced driver-assistance systems. California's Department of Motor Vehicles is also reviewing those features in light of provisions, including a 2022 law prohibiting companies from using marketing and language that would "lead a reasonable person to believe that the feature allows the vehicle to function as an autonomous vehicle." Tesla has received inquiries from the Securities and Exchange Commission related to its claims to investors, according to news reports and public filings. And a civil lawsuit in California represents drivers who say they were defrauded by the company's claims and are seeking refunds and damages over their purchases.

At issue is whether the term Full Self-Driving implies that the cars are autonomous — meaning drivers don't need to pay attention. In recent court filings, Tesla says that the cars are not "autonomous" and that its user manuals and sensors alert drivers to the need to hold the wheel and keep their eyes on the road. Yet in a post on X last month, Tesla's head of Autopilot, Ashok Elluswamy,

SEE **TESLA** ON **G5**

Levi's can't quite get a leg up

Denim is having a moment, but the iconic brand has been unable to capitalize

BY HANNAH ZIEGLER

Griffin Brown wears Levi's jeans with nearly every outfit, but he can't imagine paying full price for a new pair.

Brown, a 19-year-old Maryland resident, owns four pairs of Levi's — three thrifted, one purchased from a department store. He loves the fit and style of the brand and knows the quality will always be good, but he rarely feels the urge to buy a new pair.

"If I'm like, 'Oh, let me go buy a new pair of jeans,' I'm never like 'Oh, let me go to a Levi's store,'" Brown said. "I just think there's always going to be cheaper denim to find."

Denim is trendier than ever, but consumers like Brown have made it hard for Levi Strauss & Co. to capitalize on the moment. The company synonymous with blue jeans still sells plenty of clothes — last month it reported better-than-expected earnings in the second quarter, but many analysts had

SEE **LEVI'S** ON **G2**

A VIRTUAL CONNECTION

A look at two transgender friends finding each other in the digital world. **G3**

DEPARTMENT OF DATA

What the data tells us about jobs in the ailing U.S. news industry. **G4**

A boss overheard some disparaging talk on his security cameras. What to do?



Work Advice

KARLA L. MILLER

Reader: I own a company with about 30 employees. Managers report directly to me, but I don't play a day-to-day role in operations. I live out of state and visit the business for four or five days each month.

We recently filled a long-vacant key manager position. I was unable to be in town during the new manager's first week, so I planned to call and speak with both the new manager and the senior manager who helped make the hire.

We recently installed motion- and voice-activated security cameras for staff safety and after-hours protection. While this is not something I normally do, on the new manager's first day, I decided to check the main reception camera to see if it was a good time to call. When I accessed the feed, I saw only the senior manager. Skimming through recordings from earlier that morning, I saw that the new manager had arrived earlier.

While scrolling, I stumbled upon a clip of the senior manager speaking disdainfully of the new manager, and poorly of me, to an entry-level staffer. Complaints about salary and bonuses were also discussed.

I can't unhear what was said. My ego is bruised, but more than that, the senior manager's sharing of confidential salary information has floored me. I also wonder what else this manager is saying to staff.

The senior manager, who is well liked and a critical part of our operations, helped us through a tumultuous transition, earning an expanded role and a 30 percent pay increase this year. This manager also knows about the cameras and has the same access I do, so there would be no reason to assume the conversation would be private.

Do I tell the senior manager what I saw and heard? The embarrassment could be devastating, but if I don't, I can't address what is clearly deep-seated resentment and a lack of professionalism. How can I trust this manager with important core decisions ever again?

Karla: I can think of several reasons you shouldn't tell the senior manager what you caught on camera, and why you should probably avoid making a habit of using security cameras for general employee surveillance.

First, state and federal privacy laws can be tricky, especially when it comes to recording audio — even when it's a security system in a business you own. For example, the National Labor Relations Board prohibits employers from recording union activity and conversations; even if your workers aren't unionized, what you call "sharing confidential salary information" might still be considered protected discussion of working conditions and compensation. If you don't have a lawyer-vetted policy describing appropriate use of security cameras, you should probably look into creating one for yourself and anyone else with access to those feeds.

Even assuming you have the legal right to randomly access and review recordings at your workplace, think about the message it would inevitably send if you started calling employees out on what you witness: A system purportedly installed for employee security is instead being used to scrutinize their whereabouts and conversations by an overseer they rarely see in person. And then you'll probably end up with a lot more vacancies to fill. They may know they're on camera, but their tolerance of that fact is based on a fragile trust that you won't use recordings for other than their intended protective purpose.

Now, I don't know what the deal is with your likable, team-playing, well-paid senior manager who seemingly let the mask drop. Was it just an off morning that caused some simmering snark to boil over? Is this person a two-faced malcontent, or a burned-out workhorse with legitimate concerns that aren't being heard? Is the 30 percent increase a poor reward compared with what you offered the new manager?

I have no way of finding that out. But you do. You went fishing and pulled up a boot; instead of stewing and speculating about what else is lying under the surface, dive in and see for yourself. You can't un-hear what you heard, but you can review it for clues about issues that need addressing, such as personnel conflicts and pay.

Ask questions: "How do you think the new manager is settling in?" "What's something that would make your job easier?" Commission a third-party review of your pay practices to make sure they're competitive and equitable. Be present and open to honest feedback.

Consider whether morale would improve if employees got to see more of you in person, and vice versa. The eye-in-the-sky view is temptingly convenient for spotting problems, but it's no substitute for immersing yourself in the vibe at ground level.

Or maybe the hands-off ownership model with monthly visits is your most viable option. That can still work so long as you manage through human connection and communication, instead of relying on electronic spies that capture people in their worst moments.

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Levi Strauss & Co.'s stock dropped after its second-quarter earnings report

Shares of the denim maker rose for much of the past year but plunged in late June after the company reported disappointing second-quarter sales.



Source: Yahoo Finance

HANNAH ZIEGLER / THE WASHINGTON POST

It's the 'year of denim,' yet Levi's feels the blues

LEVI'S FROM **G1**

expected higher sales than the $1.44 billion reported.

Levi Strauss's stock price had been rising for several months before that June 26 earnings report, but shares have fallen 17 percent since then.

Levi Strauss's financial setback stands out because trend forecasters have crowned 2024 the year of denim. The fabric's popularity started to boom as consumers emerged from the pandemic with a desire to elevate their wardrobes from lockdown-era leggings and sweatpants. Google searches for the fabric hit a 20-year high earlier this year, and demand for denim skirts, dresses and ultrawide-leg jeans has surged among young consumers.

"We assume Levi's shouldn't have a challenging position at all, because there are many ways in which Levi's is synonymous with denim," said Emma McClendon, an assistant professor of fashion studies at St. John's University in New York. "But I would say historically, in these moments of high-fashion denim, of high-experimentation denim, of really cutting-edge denim, Levi's tends to be a follower."

Executives for Levi Strauss argue that their company remains formidable in the denim world, with the ability to stay atop fashion trends while pursuing traditional styles. They attributed the recent revenue letdown to disappointing results from Dockers, the company's business casual brand, and the U.S. dollar's strength hurting overseas sales. Sales in China also lagged because of that country's economic woes, Levi Strauss Chief Financial Officer Harmit Singh told The Washington Post.

The company has also experienced difficulties with sales through traditional channels in recent years. It historically has relied on retailers such as Macy's and Nordstrom, but with some of those companies struggling, Levi Strauss has started to prioritize its own stores and website.

Levi's still looks "very strong" in traditional retail channels compared with its peers, Bank of America analyst Chris Nardone said. But those retailers have issues the company can't control.

"There's somewhat of a challenge in the wholesale market, where there's just certain retailers that are ordering products a little bit more cautiously," Nardone said.

In 2022, Levi Strauss outlined plans to open 400 new stores and triple its e-commerce business as part of a massive direct-to-consumer push. That's paying off — nearly half of the company's sales last quarter came via its website or stores, fueling an 8 percent increase in direct-to-consumer revenue.

"Direct-to-consumer is the leading indicator of the brand's health," Nardone said.

Levi's has also seen growth in its trendier styles, including triple-digit sales bumps for denim skirts and dresses last quarter. Loose fits make up more than 50 percent of the company's bottoms assortment.

Singh said Levi's could have responded faster to trends in broader denim clothing, including skirts and dresses. Capitalizing on head-to-toe denim trends became a bigger priority in 2023 after Michelle Gass took the helm as CEO, he said. Since then, those products have become a meaningful part of the Levi's brand, he added.

Gass echoed that sentiment during the company's second-quarter earnings call last month.

"This whole trend of baggy, loose, wide leg, that's resonating," she said on the call. "Our key customers are excited. … Our strategy around denim lifestyle, and in particular with women, we're seeing outsize growth there."

But the company hasn't maintained the same explosive stock growth as some of its biggest denim competitors. Shares of Abercrombie & Fitch have more than tripled in value over the past year, while American Eagle Outfitters shares are up 60 percent.

Levi's has an "unenviable position" when denim becomes the focal point of the trend cycle, according to Joshua Williams, an expert in fashion management and merchandising who runs the New York-based Consort fashion agency.

If Levi's leans too much into trends, it could alienate customers who turn to it for classic, consistent denim styles. But the jeans-maker misses out on the denim boom entirely if it doesn't pursue new styles, Williams said.

"It's a tricky thing for Levi's, because Levi's isn't really known as a fashion trend company," Williams said. "They're trying new styles, and, in some cases, I think it's working for them, but in other ways, I'm guessing that there's some conversation internally, like, 'Let's really stay on course as being true to our core.'"

Levi Strauss executives argue that they can balance trendiness with tradition. "It's well-known that the brand's an iconic brand, and you don't become iconic unless you lead trends," Singh said. "It's our responsibility to try and get a head start on trends, sometimes lead those trends."

And though inflation has eased, shoppers remain price-sensitive. Young consumers, in particular, aren't willing to pay $100 for new pair of Levi's 501 jeans when they can buy them at a thrift store or simply buy a cheaper brand, Williams said. Levi's has always welcomed the robust resale market for its older jeans, but Gen Z's focus on finding one-of-a-kind denim outfits at vintage shops means there is "surely some market share that could be going to new Levi's products going to resale," Williams said.

Elli Ward, a University of Maryland student, is one of those consumers. All of Ward's go-to pants are Levi's, but they would never buy new clothing directly from the company — last month, they snagged a pair of jeans from the brand for only $1 at a thrift store.

"A lot of people I spend time with and hang out with and see online are just no longer willing to spend big money on things like jeans," said Ward, 20.

Retailers should keep those attitudes in mind, said Jennifer Bentivegna, an assistant professor of fashion business management at the Fashion Institute of Technology: "The price points have to be really sharp."



MEIYING WU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Griffin Brown, 19, likes Levi's but rarely buys them new. He owns four pairs — three thrifted, one purchased from a department store.



Michelle Singletary

THE COLOR OF MONEY

She is away. Her column will resume when she returns.

BUSINESS

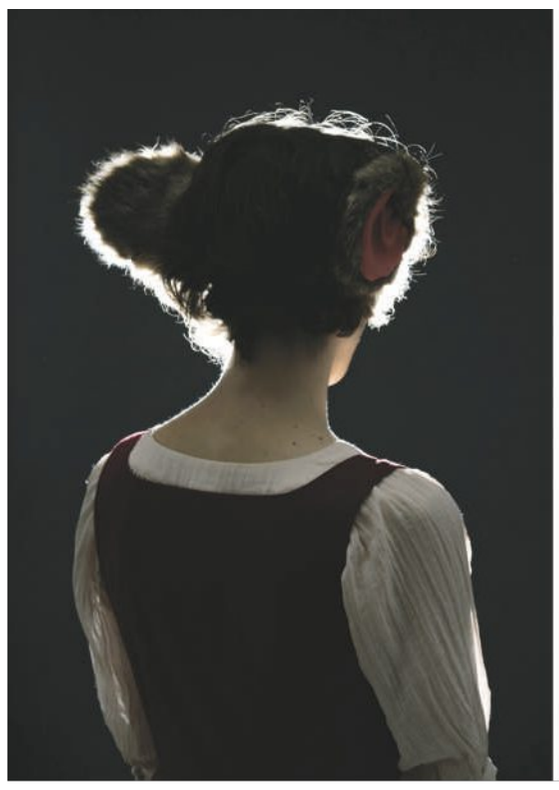
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TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION



Silent and a disassembled Game Boy, her first digital device — which her brother now dismantles to create personalized music boxes.







Radar and her compass. As an analog person and VR desktop user, she doesn't use a smartphone and, therefore, uses a compass to get around.



PERSPECTIVE

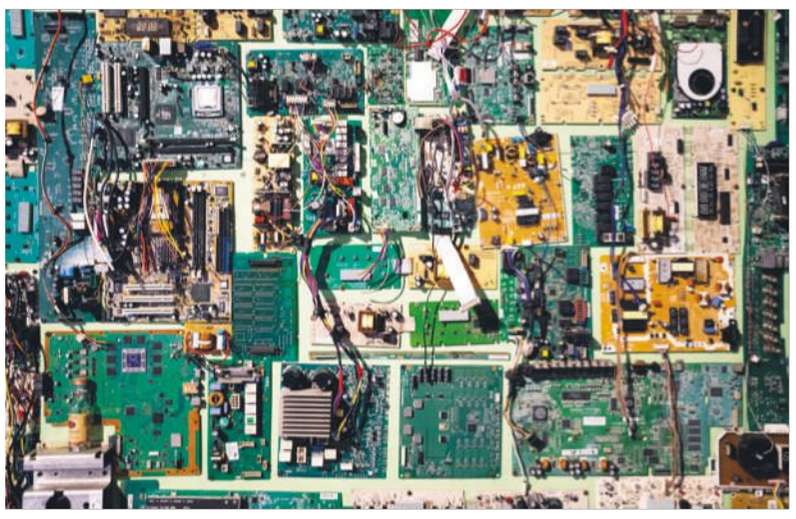
Choosing virtual worlds over real life

STORY AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAOLA CHAPDELAINE

They go by Silent and Radar. The two transgender friends spend most of their time on the virtual reality platform where they met: VRChat. This growing community of about 70,000 people is a space where they can explore their identities and overcome boundaries — whether it's borders or language. Inside the 10-year-old software, they have created an environment of limitless, fast-paced creative expression. I spent several months working with Silent and Radar, their chosen avatar names, to uncover the intricacies of their peculiar digital lives.

Silent lives in her childhood home in Connecticut with her parents, brother and niece. After experiencing a severe concussion in high school, she turned the gazebo outside her home into a place of solace and personal exploration. There, before she discovered virtual reality, she'd spend entire days on the web. "Walking and travel don't exist, it doesn't need to exist. It's antiquated," she says. "It's like horses and buggies. Why would I use a horse and buggy when I have a car? Why would I use a car when I could just teleport?"

On the Upper West side of Manhattan, Radar turns vinyl records from the '90s rave scene at home. The rent-stabilized apartment complex where she lives with her parents and sibling is the only home she has ever known. To her, VR "is like a simulation of a world that doesn't have landlords. Because it doesn't cost money to keep a world up and running. And it doesn't matter if nobody shows up to your world, or your event, or your whatever, because it's still there."





FROM TOP: A scene from Silent's VRChat bedroom photographed through her virtual reality headset. A wall of electronic circuits used as the facade of a shop selling and repairing household appliances in New York near a club that Silent frequents regularly. Silent puts up signs in the basement of her childhood home when she goes into VR.

For both of them, it has never been about the technology itself, but about the human emotional need and how it's being satisfied.

I started this project with a hint of skepticism around digitally immersed ways of life — which I thought could be detrimental to real, physical lived experiences. But I quickly opened my eyes to a more complex perspective. Silent and Radar both find deep value in their digital worlds. Their avatars are a way to embody and project who they want to be perceived as. The environment itself is an extension of where they live: rural and relatively remote for Silent; urban, confined and unaffordable for Radar — circumstances many of us can relate to.

Silent works in a cathedral-themed VR club called Sanctum. Often, she is asked to DJ or VJ — to create visuals that project during DJ sets. "I maybe have more of a connection to my avatar than I do to my physical self," Silent says. "That was the epitome of the person I wanted to become. I want to be there now all the time so I can be this person, especially to constantly relive that memory of me realizing who I was. My 'VR self' influences my 'real self' and vice versa. I am fully integrated at this point."

"I want people to find the thing that makes the most sense. I want people to find who they are. I want you to be the most you. In addition to being as often as you as possible," says Radar, who since the project has moved to Vermont, letting her inner mouse run free.

Go to *washingtonpost.com* to experience this photo essay through virtual reality with voice-overs from Silent and Radar.

BY ANDREW VAN DAM

DEPARTMENT OF DATA

Wait, does America really still employ a ton of news reporters?

Amid all the wringing of hands and gnashing of teeth about the collapsing American news industry, we stumbled on a seemingly hopeful sign when charting arts-related jobs for our columns on authors and musicians.

America has about as many reporters and editors as it did three decades ago, according to our analysis of millions of responses to the Census Bureau's decennial census and the American Community Survey, the twin pillars that support much of our modern data infrastructure.

Through everything — the rise of the internet, the rise of social media, the fall of Huey Lewis and the News, the novel coronavirus — journalism jobs stayed more or less flat.

We had to look into it.

But maybe not right away.

We cherished our tiny sliver of hope and weren't ready to reach for the tweezers. It felt nice, however briefly, to coexist with the remote possibility that American journalists were secretly chugging along, hale and hearty as ever.

And we've embarked on enough of these supposedly hopeful columns to know that once we started pulling on threads, the whole cozy illusion would unravel.

But a decent journalism rule of thumb — take notes, all you interns — is that you probably shouldn't ignore reality indefinitely. We'll start with the obvious point: Flat counts as a win only in Zamboni driving and concrete finishing. America has almost 20 percent more jobs and people than it did in 2000. If journalists are treading water, they're losing ground.

But when the alternative is drowning, treading water sounds amazing.

We know from other data that newspaper publishing is, as an industry, red all over. Newspapers lost 77 percent of their jobs over the past 20 years, the single steepest dive among any of the 532 industries tracked by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

How do you reconcile the continuing existence of news jobs with the collapse of the news industry? If you're like us, you might guess it had something to do with the obnoxiously nerdy distinction between occupation and industry. The first describes a worker's job, such as editor, blacksmith or accountant. The second describes an employer's sector, such as newspapers, theater companies or iron foundries.

Perhaps newspapers had protected editors and reporters while slashing every other occupation?

After all, while we focus on the bloviators with bylines, newspapers have long been an industry in the smoke-stackiest sense of the word. Even midsize dailies were once gritty and sprawling manufacturing and logistics outfits that employed factory workers, delivery drivers, door-to-door sales staff and more.

As recently as the early 2000s, reporters made up just 9 percent of the workforce at the average newspaper. Now, we're 19 percent. Editors have increased almost as rapidly, with both jobs making up bigger and bigger slices of a smaller and smaller pie.

In absolute terms, the number of newspaper reporters and editors has dropped by an astonishing 56 and 63 percent, respectively, since 2000. It's just that almost everyone else in news (other than tech-related jobs) has had it even worse. Production and sales jobs have dropped by around 90 percent.

The confusing part? People are still spending money on news. Last year, adjusted for population growth and inflation, spending on "newspapers and periodicals" hit its highest level since 2001, according to the Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Maybe a handful of heavyweight national newspapers thrived while everyone else got hammered? If that were true, we'd expect to see employment climb in Washington and New York — the nation's political and financial capitals — while wilting, unfortunately, in less-influential areas.

But newspaper jobs have vanished everywhere, according to our beloved Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. (To be sure, a slightly slower decline in those two metros means they were home to about 17 percent of newspaper jobs by 2022, up from their more traditional 10 percent.)

But our anxious focus on newspapers — a fourish-century-old technology — may be akin to wondering why there are still so many jobs in wheel-making when the horse-drawn-buggy industry is on the rocks.

If we look at other kinds of publishers, we're nigh-on blinded by a massive bright spot: internet publishing. In a handful of states — notably New York, California and Washington — the industry that includes anything from blogs to Bing has grown fat on advertising and other revenue that once went to Podunk print publications.

Which raises a complementary theory: Maybe we have just as many reporters and editors, they're just working for outlets that don't bother hiring tweens to dump dead trees on your porch each morning. After all, the newspaper industry definition used by the Census Bureau doesn't include online-only publications (though that's changing as new definitions roll out).

Alas, deeper analysis reveals that reporters and editors make up just 4 percent of workers in internet publishing, compared with the third of employees who are computer programmers or administrators, and the quarter who are in management. Even in our extremely online age, only about 1 in 20 editors and reporters work for what the government classifies as online publishers.

Still, it's a clue. There must be other sectors out there snapping up folks with newspaper skills. After all, you can be an editor or even a reporter in many industries.

We decided to narrow our focus to reporters. (Editor can mean many things, but reporter seems specifically news related. The government's endless examples of the job include cub reporter, art critic, legman, news anchor and market reporter.) At the turn of the millennium, more than half of reporters worked for newspapers and a quarter worked in broadcasting. Now, the two industries combined don't employ even half of America's reporters.

The fastest-growing industry categories for reporters, other than internet publishing, are independent journalists and a category that includes newswires and other distribution services. Similarly, while nonprofits cut across industries, the number of reporters working at such outlets has more than doubled over the past two decades. Today, nearly 1 in 10 reporters work at a nonprofit, whether an upstart neighborhood newsletter, a revered public broadcaster or one of several fast-growing public interest investigative shops.

But that still leaves a broad "other" category, which has grown substantially in its own right. It includes scores of industries and doesn't fit any clean pattern. So who are those reporters?

The numbers kept telling us they were pretty similar to any other reporter in terms of pay, hours worked, age and gender balance. That's when we realized the answer must be the real-deal reporters who don't happen to be in any news-related industry.

Consider David "Spork Pollster" Montgomery, YouGov data journalist and a veteran of several daily papers. Or the reporters at Redfin, a national brokerage that releases endless analyses of real estate data. Or, like, half the folks we've cited at the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that churns out data analyses. Or the communications teams that write up research at hundreds of universities, engaged in the same weekly grind we are, only with a focus on research from one specific institution and fewer dumb jokes.

Why are their ranks growing? Well, the decline of traditional media has scrambled public relations. Nationally, public relations reps now outnumber reporters almost 2 to 1 (and about 7 to 1 if you're counting only newspaper reporters). As persistent PR pitchman Matt Siegler made the rounds after the worst days of the coronavirus pandemic, calling editors at small papers on behalf of his clients, he noticed that the lines between local news and private industry were blurring.

"Newspaper and magazine publishers and editors are increasingly requesting, 'Have your expert write the story. I don't have the time,'" Siegler told us. "This is largely due to news interviewers being spread thinner than ever at publications and needing to wear multiple hats."

So he built an entire side gig — Contributed Content Connection, now part of a media-monitoring firm — around linking cash-starved newspapers with private-sector experts who could fill the papers' threadbare pages with "content" about health-care costs, franchising or even practicing gratitude. He won't call it reporting, and you won't see it in a national paper, but it might hint at the grander forces scattering reporters to every corner of the North American Industry Classification System.

Speaking of which, it all probably comes back to heavy industry. When reporting the news no longer requires you to build a manufacturing and distribution empire to support a handful of scribes, and when fewer newspaper reporters remain to answer your calls and distribute your news anyway, it seems reasonable to take matters into your own hands. And in many cases, as with YouGov or the ambitious Sherwood News (an outlet spawned by the meme stock merchants at Robinhood), they're doing a bang-up job.

So, incredibly, yes: America still has reporters (and editors). They're a little different. They have hollowed out in age, with fewer in their prime earning years and more youngsters and folks in their 60s. And a few of them might not be as independent as they once were. But we're all still beavering away, working the same long hours for the same unimpressive pay, feeding fact-checked information to a doubt-racked nation.

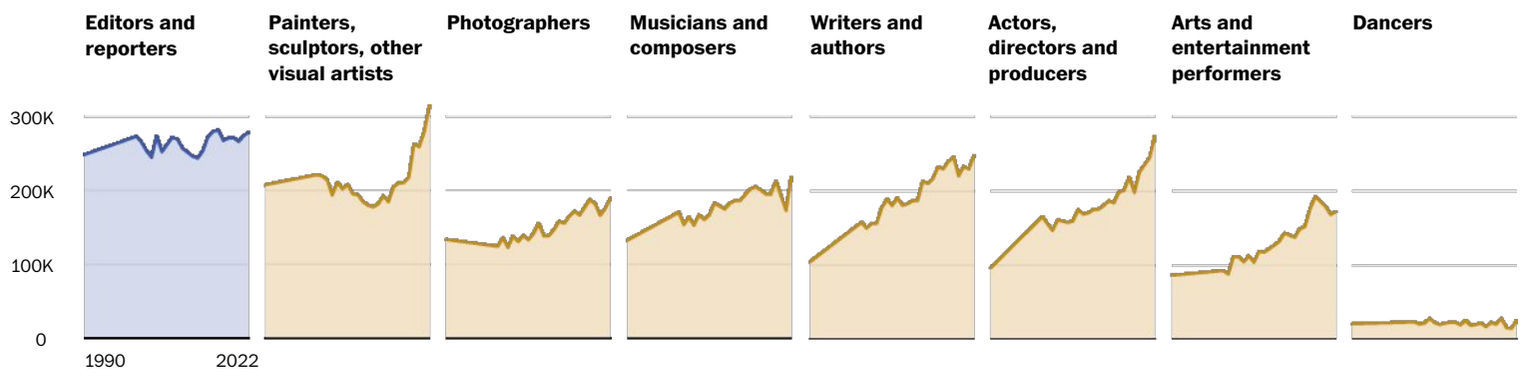
Which, at this late stage of the media apocalypse, counts as genuinely wonderful news.

The Department of Data collects queries. What are you curious about: Why the sudden boom in employment for sculptors, painters and other visual artists in the charts above? Is cancer really killing more millennials? Is AI coming for anyone's job yet? Just ask!

If your question inspires a column, we'll send you an official Department of Data button and ID card. This week's envelope goes to our friend and colleague Dorine Bethea, whose keen queries nudged us finally to pull this thread.

After decades of newspaper apocalypse, has America really not lost any editing and reporting jobs?

Jobs in each occupation as a share of total U.S. employment



Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey via IPUMS

Of more than 500 industries tracked by the government, newspapers have lost jobs more rapidly than any other

Change in employment, by industry, for the biggest losers and biggest gainers of the past two decades

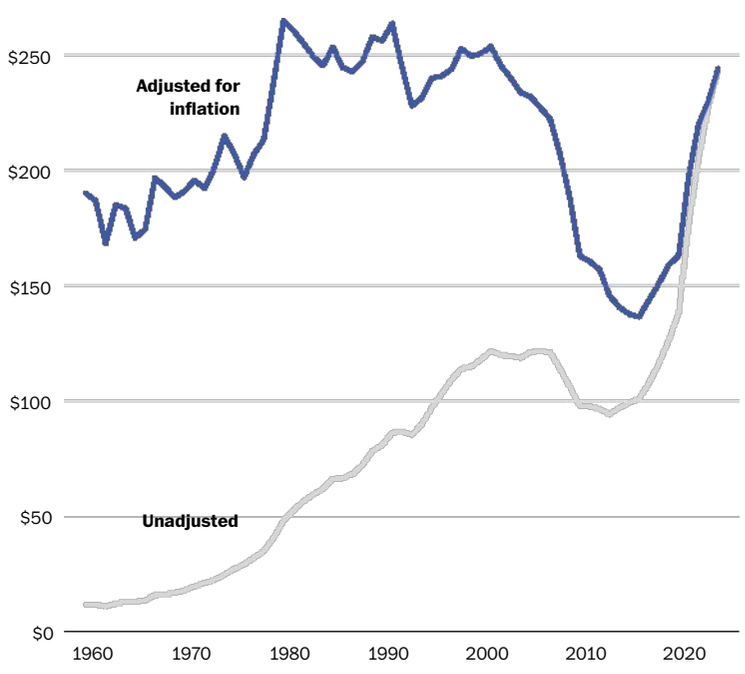
INDUSTRY	CHANGE FROM 2004 TO 2024	2024 EMPLOYMENT
Newspaper publishers	−77%	88,100
Telecommunications resellers	−75%	37,800
Apparel manufacturing	−70%	84,000
Textile furnishings mills	−64%	38,100
Office supplies and stationery retailers	−63%	67,600
Textile mills	−62%	90,100
Manufacturing and reproducing magnetic and optical media and audio and video equipment	−62%	30,900
Nonupholstered household and institutional furniture manufacturing	−59%	57,100

INDUSTRY	CHANGE FROM 2004 TO 2024	2024 EMPLOYMENT
Nail salons	441%	145,600
Translation, interpretation, and all other professional, scientific and technical services	439%	298,000
Pet care (except veterinary) services	367%	188,000
Offices of mental health practitioners (except physicians)	332%	229,000
Offices of all other miscellaneous health practitioners	310%	153,500
Services for the elderly and disabled	267%	2,473,000
General warehousing and storage	255%	1,637,400

Note: Adjusted for seasonality; as of May of each year
Source: Current Employment Statistics from the Bureau of Labor Statistics

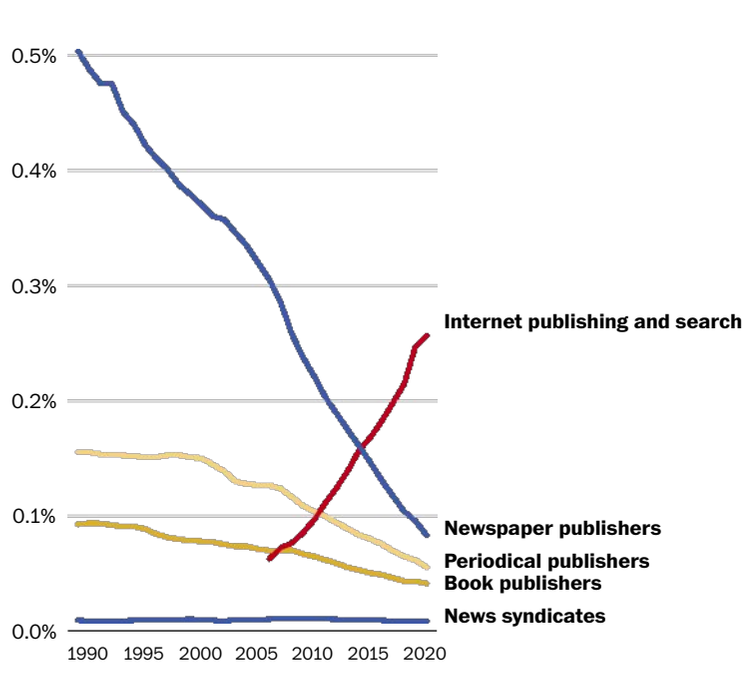
People are still spending just as much on newspapers and periodicals, but it may be going to online publishers

Per person, per year



Note: Inflation adjustment is based on the price of news, not on overall consumer prices.
Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis

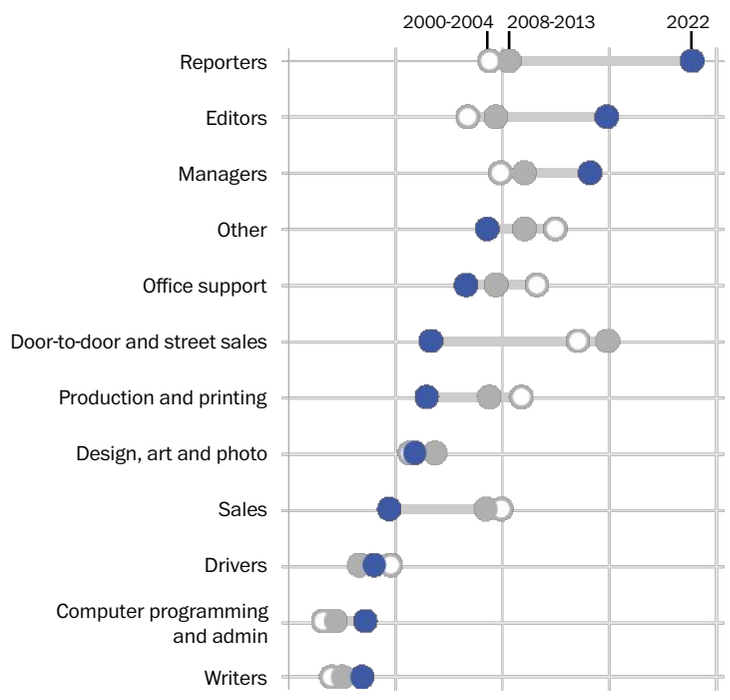
Each industry's employment as a share of all U.S. workers



Source: Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages from the Bureau of Labor Statistics

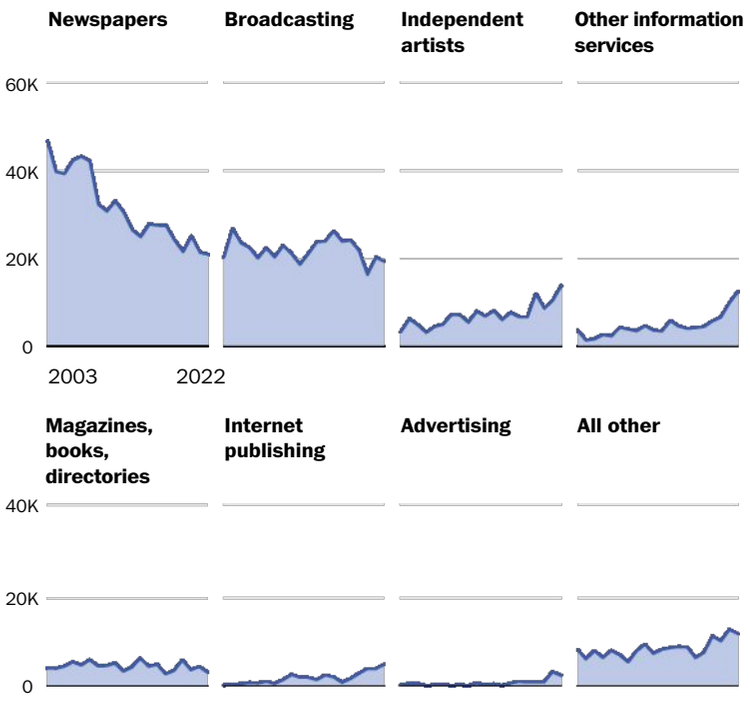
Reporters and editors make up a fraction of the newspaper industry, and most of them work in other industries

Each occupation's share of news industry employment

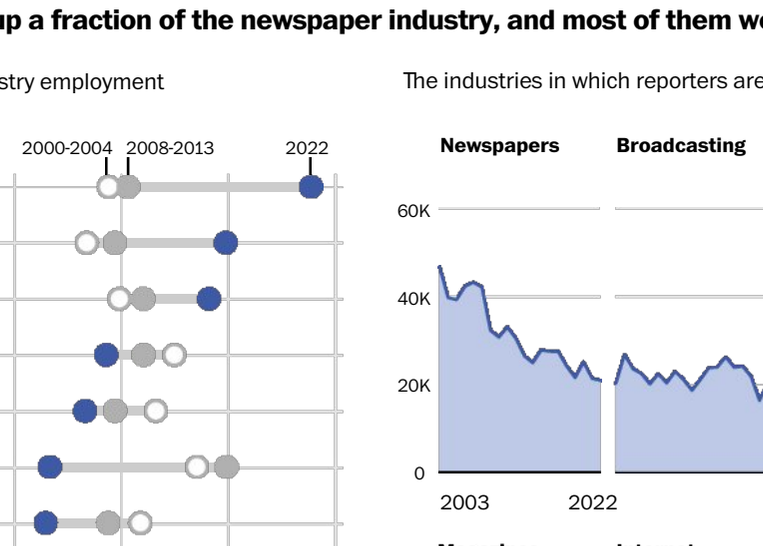


Source: Census Bureau's American Community Survey via IPUMS

The industries in which reporters are working



DEPARTMENT OF DATA / THE WASHINGTON POST



IPGGUTENBERGUKLTD/GETTY IMAGES/ISTOCKPHOTO

The newspaper industry has seen a vast drop in production jobs.

Investigations focus on whether Tesla fraudulently marketed cars' capabilities

TESLA FROM **G1**

used the word, writing that the cars "have the most autonomous capability compared to any production car."

Tesla, CEO Elon Musk and Elluswamy did not respond to requests for comment. The Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission, through spokespeople, declined to comment.

The wave of scrutiny comes less than a month before Tesla is due to unveil what it calls a robotaxi, a dedicated vehicle that would run a version of its Full Self-Driving software, shuttling passengers between destinations without a driver. (It has no known production timeline, and Tesla is known for making ambitious product announcements without concrete delivery plans.)

Many of the probes and lawsuits weigh similar claims made by Musk.

Most Tesla cars today come with a feature it calls Autopilot, a suite of software that allows vehicles to keep their distance behind others, maintain a set speed and steer on highways, following the trajectory of lane lines. The company has for years offered an upgrade package called Full Self-Driving, which costs $8,000 (down from $15,000) — or $99 a month — and enables its vehicles to navigate city and residential streets on their own, provided the driver demonstrates they are paying attention.

Tesla promised customers years ago that this upgrade would turn cars into an appreciable asset — meaning their value would increase over time — after they one day become autonomous through a software update. That has yet to happen, and that's what the California lawsuit is about.

"Contrary to Tesla's repeated promises that it would have a fully self-driving car within months or a year, Tesla has never been remotely close to achieving that goal," reads the civil complaint in U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California, which is seeking class-action certification. In addition to financial remedies, it asks for an injunction prohibiting Tesla from continuing to market its technology in "deceptive and misleading" ways.

"One of the arguments we make is you can't get more self-driving than fully self-driving," said attorney Andrew Kirtley, who is representing customers in the Autopilot class-action suit.

Among the statements under scrutiny, according to interviews and documents: Musk's 2019 pronouncement that Tesla would put 1 million robotaxis on the road by 2020 and Tesla's assertions that its vehicles have all the hardware needed to deploy the Full Self-Driving feature. The Northern California civil lawsuit specifically cites Musk's assertion on a 2016 conference call that a Tesla would be able to drive itself from Los Angeles to New York "by the end of next year without the need for a single touch."

In that case, drivers allege that they were misled into paying for a feature that still hasn't materialized. Meanwhile, at least two dozen people have died in crashes in which Tesla's driver-assistance features were engaged, according to the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration; in some cases, they were alleged to be driving under the influence or distracted.

In Tesla's response to the California lawsuit, the company claims its driver-assistance features — including steering, accelerating and merging — make the cars "self-driving, but not autonomous." It has made the same claim on its website, saying that Autopilot and Full Self-Driving "features do not make the vehicle autonomous" and that its systems are "intended to be used only with a fully attentive driver."

But legal experts question the distinction: "When I hear self-driving and autonomous I kind of hear the same thing," said Anthony Casey, a University of Chicago law professor, adding that the legal question will revolve around "what would a normal person hear" in the term "self-driving."

Still, he said, the bar for proving that Tesla's marketing claims amount to fraud, particularly criminal fraud, is high. "You also would have to show that they intended to get [a person] to buy it by misleading you," Casey said.

Tesla is far from the first company to tussle with regulators and federal officials over the ambitious promises of its tech. Legal experts said other companies in similar situations have made the same argument Tesla is making: that failure to deliver on its promises is not a crime.

An attorney for Elizabeth Holmes, the disgraced Silicon Valley wunderkind who promoted a medical device that could purportedly perform a battery tests with a tiny amount of blood, made this argument explicitly during Holmes's 2021 criminal trial. "Failure is not a crime," the attorney argued. "Trying your hardest and coming up short is not a crime." A jury disagreed: Holmes was convicted and is serving an 11-year prison sentence.

In the ongoing Justice Department probe, investigators have focused on Tesla's promises, according to John Bernal, a former Tesla Autopilot employee who was interviewed by an FBI agent and a representative of the U.S. Transportation Department for five hours in 2022.

"They kept saying over and over again their focus is in terms of marketing with the namesake," Bernal said, referring to terms such as Autopilot and Full Self-Driving. "They believe that those namesakes imply a higher sense of functionality than they actually deliver."

Bernal said "their main holy grail info they were seeking was they wanted physical, written documentation in advertisement or marketing form" that Tesla was billing its driver-assistance systems as autonomous. Bernal did not have evidence of that, he said. He said the officials told him their investigation had stretched back to 2018 and involved interviews with numerous employees.

Federal officials have focused at least in part on a 2016 Tesla marketing video, set to the Rolling Stones song "Paint It Black," that purported to show a Tesla maneuvering near the company's headquarters on its own, which came up repeatedly in the interview with Bernal. "The person in the driver's seat is only there for legal reasons," the 2016 video's opening slide reads. "He is not doing anything. The car is driving itself."

A Tesla official later acknowledged, after reporting by the New York Times, that the video was staged and the car in fact crashed during filming.

At the time, Musk was deep into a push to make Teslas capable of autonomy, an effort that led to heated back-and-forths between him and the engineers responsible for delivering. At one point, Musk left a car during a test drive after the software performed badly, slamming the door shut and walking back toward Tesla's offices.

"Nothing f---ing works," Musk fumed before storming off, according to a person with knowledge of the episode, speaking on the condition of anonymity for fear of retribution.

A recent Musk biography said Musk frequently would show up to Tesla's office dismayed by the software's performance.

A few months after the incident newly detailed by The Washington Post, Tesla released the "Paint It Black" video.

Tesla, in response to another lawsuit, called the video an "aspirational" demonstration of its software's potential capabilities.

Similar videos have been used in other cases — even against another electric vehicle manufacturer. Trevor Milton, the founder of electric truck start-up Nikola, was found guilty of misleading investors in a federal fraud case that alleged a video demonstration of its truck's capabilities, in reality, showed the truck rolling downhill rather than propelling itself on its own.

Carl Tobias, a University of Richmond law professor, said the civil case would be most likely to gain momentum in the short term, given the extended nature of federal investigations and the lower burden of proof in civil cases.

"There were some representations, especially video, that they made … look better than it actually was," he said. "And I think people felt manipulated in that context: that they overrated how quickly they could do things or how well it could perform and that kind of thing as a sales technique."

Tobias said customers' reliance on those claims could entitle them to refunds.

Musk had been pushing for autonomous capability in his cars for years, in ways that were at times inconsistent with Tesla's level of progress and to the chagrin of safety officials who had not anticipated such a brazen effort to bill consumer vehicles as self-driving, The Post has reported.

Around late 2014, software entrepreneur Dan O'Dowd said he'd learned Musk was planning to deliver an autonomous vehicle by the end of the following year. Now a vocal Tesla critic, O'Dowd was at the time a contractor for Tesla whose company helped streamline the Autopilot technology to take up less computer space.

In 2019, Musk made another audacious promise: to put 1 million robotaxis on the road by 2020, in part by utilizing the privately owned Teslas sitting in people's driveways. "The fleet wakes up with an over-the-air update," Musk said at the time.

That didn't happen. Instead, Tesla has focused on smaller developments, releasing the first iteration of its Full Self-Driving software, known as Full Self-Driving Beta, in late 2020, followed by successive improvements such as better recognition of road signs and lane markings and aiming for smoother driving. Musk launched the latest version of the software, known as V12, this year, touting it as a revolutionary leap forward.

In April, Musk made a new promise: "Tesla Robotaxi unveil on 8/8," he wrote. On July 11, however, Bloomberg News reported that Tesla planned to delay the event to October.

Tom Gorman, former senior counsel in the SEC's division of enforcement, said Musk's robotaxi statements could also be reviewed by the agency, which would scrutinize the promises in light of investor decisions. Musk's robotaxi promise was made amid slumping stock prices in the first half of 2024.

"If he really doesn't have the ability to do what he's doing … they'd go after him for that," Gorman said. "If you're saying, 'I am going to have a completely self-driving car and it can drive you around the planet completely by yourself two weeks from now,' and you're starting to hype that, he'll probably get sued."

Hope, wariness collide for cyclists weighing a world with more self-driving cars

CYCLISTS FROM **G1**

some resent being guinea pigs for driverless vehicles that veer into bike lanes, suddenly stop short and confuse cyclists trying to navigate around them. In more than a dozen complaints submitted to the DMV, cyclists describe near misses and close calls — including Martin's alarming brush with a Cruise vehicle that he reported in August.

Cruise, owned by General Motors, and Waymo, owned by Google parent company Alphabet, are the two biggest self-driving car companies and have launched taxi-style services for paying customers. Several smaller players, including Amazon-owned Zoox, also are testing in San Francisco and other cities.

Cruise and Waymo say that they prioritize bicycle safety and that their vehicles' safety records are better than human-driven cars.

Still, Cruise is no longer allowed to operate in California after one of its cars rolled over and dragged a pedestrian who had been flung into its path by a human driver. And Waymo, Cruise and Zoox are under investigation by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration over potential flaws linked to dozens of crashes — a sign of heightened scrutiny as the fledgling industry lays plans to expand nationwide.

Of the nearly 200 California DMV complaints analyzed by The Post, about 60 percent involved Cruise vehicles; the rest involved mostly Waymo. About a third describe erratic or reckless driving, while another third document near misses with pedestrians. The remainder involve reports of autonomous cars blocking traffic and disobeying road markings or traffic signals.

"Car was driving erratically and at least twice the speed limit on a residential street. I was nearly hit while riding my bicycle," said one complaint about an interaction with a Waymo vehicle in March 2022. The author did not provide their name to the DMV.

Only 17 complaints involved bicyclists or bike lane disruptions. But interviews with cyclists suggest the DMV complaints represent a fraction of bikers' negative interactions with self-driving vehicles. And while most of the complaints describe relatively minor incidents, they raise questions about corporate boasts that the cars are safer than human drivers, said Christopher White, executive director of the San Francisco Bike Coalition.

Robot cars could one day make roads safer, White said, "but we don't yet see the tech fully living up to the promise. … The companies are talking about it as a much safer alternative to people driving. If that's the promise that they're making, then they have to live up to it."

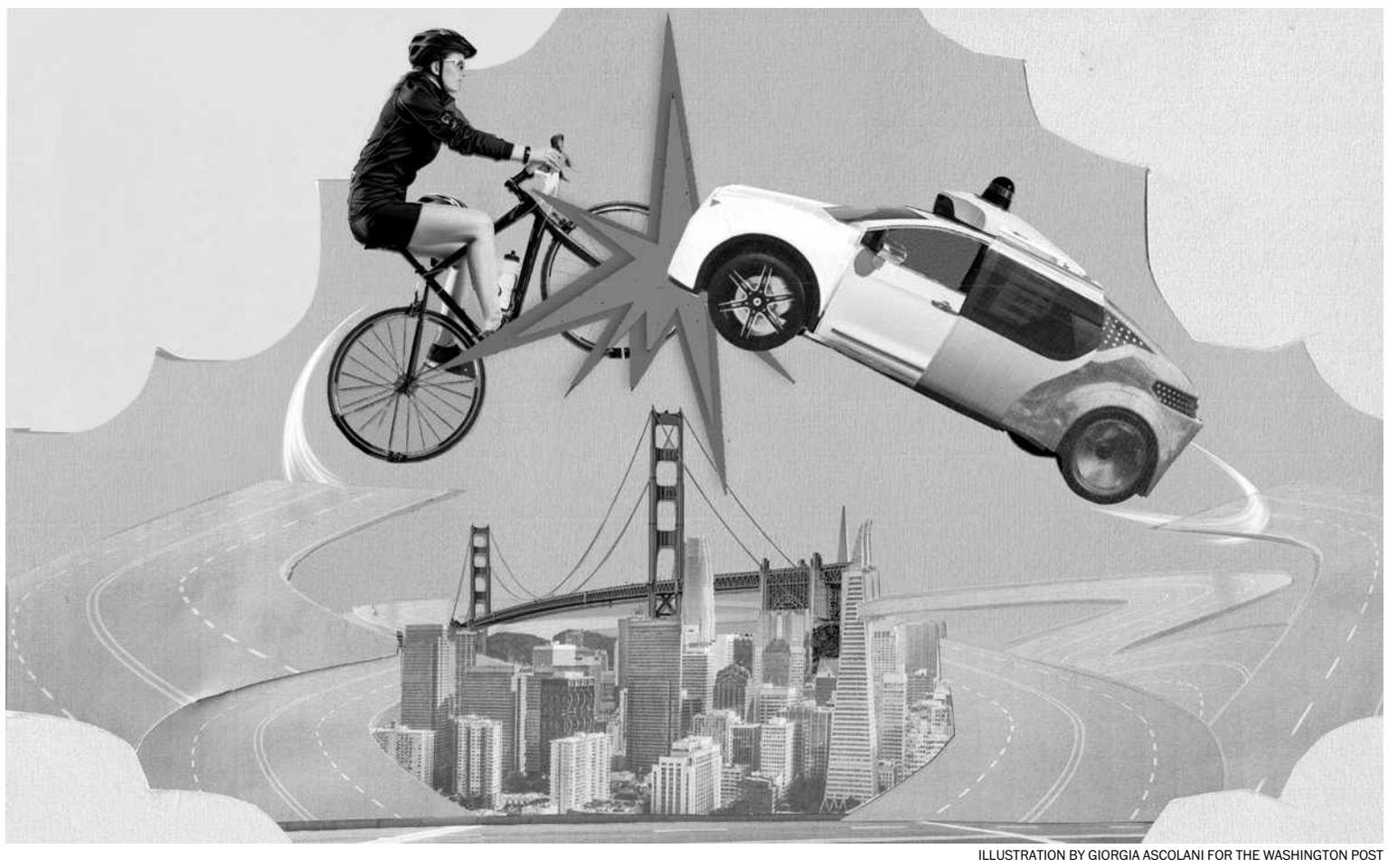


ILLUSTRATION BY GIORGIA ASCOLANI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Though California is the nation's top testing ground for autonomous vehicles, state regulators have few ways to track problems beyond citizen reports — and many interactions are not reported. That leaves officials reliant largely on companies' self-reported data, which can be light on detail.

California regulators allowed Waymo and Cruise to expand in San Francisco last summer, a moment seen as a win for the industry and a step closer to wider adoption of the technology. Even as federal regulators dig in, Cruise is starting to return its fleet to U.S. roads, and Waymo has expanded its driverless taxi service in California and Arizona.

Those moves will expose more cyclists to autonomous cars. Martin, the San Francisco rider, says he once thought of the vehicles as more predictable than human drivers. But the crosswalk incident punctured his "utopian idea" of what a future ruled by robot cars could be.

"There's this weird sensation where there's nothing you can do when it's coming right at you," Martin said. "You can't ring your bell. You can't shout at it. All you can do is quickly get out of the way."

Sharing the roads

Many bicycle safety advocates support the mission of autonomous vehicles, optimistic that the technology will cut injuries and deaths. They are quick to point out the carnage associated with human-driven cars: There were 2,520 collisions in San Francisco involving at least one cyclist from 2017 to 2022, according to state data analyzed by local law firm Walkup, Melodia, Kelly & Schoenberger.

In those crashes, 10 cyclists died and 243 riders were severely injured, the law firm found.

Nationally, 1,105 cyclists were killed by drivers in 2022, according to NHTSA, the highest on record.

Gee Kin Chou, a 73-year-old San Francisco resident who "bikes everywhere," is eager for a future with reliable self-driving cars — especially as he gets older and one day won't be able to hop on his bicycle. To him, the robots are courteous, predictable and a welcome contrast to distracted or drunk human drivers. But he has also seen self-driving cars behave erratically.

In one incident last summer, which he reported to the DMV, a driverless Cruise passed "uncomfortably" close to him, nearly grazing his elbow as he biked past the Botanical Garden in Golden Gate Park. In a second incident, which he did not report, a Cruise cut him off at "full speed" while he waited at an intersection.

"I am an advocate for these things," he said. "I don't expect them to be perfect, and they'll never be perfect. I just want them to be better."

Cruise recently began to ease its autonomous cars back onto city streets, starting with human-supervised autonomous driving in Phoenix and Dallas.



MIKE KAI CHEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Reed Martin and his daughter bike through a crosswalk in San Francisco, keeping an eye on a Waymo taxi that stopped for them.

In a statement, Cruise said safety around bicyclists is core to its mission. Spokesperson Hannah Lindow listed protocols the company developed with the League of American Bicyclists. They include Cruise vehicles being programmed to shift slightly in their lanes as a cyclist approaches and "regularly" updating the vehicles' technology to recognize infrastructure such as bike lanes and bike boxes.

"Safety is the defining principle for everything we do and continues to guide our progress toward resuming driverless operations," Lindow said.

Waymo continues operating in San Francisco and last month made its driverless taxi service available to anyone who downloads its app. The cars are a fixture in the city, picking up and dropping off passengers like an Uber or taxi.

Keeping cyclists and pedestrians safe is paramount, said Anne Dorsey, a staff software engineer at Waymo who oversees the company's approach to vulnerable road users. "Anybody who's not in a big metal box, it's my job to worry about," Dorsey said. A frequent cyclist, she has gone her whole adult life without owning a car.

Waymo's tech has been trained on more than 20 million miles of driving, alongside all kinds of road users, from a group of people wearing dinosaur costumes to someone doing the worm in an intersection, Dorsey said. Its cars use multiple cameras, radar and a laser scanner to view what's happening in all directions up to three football fields away, she said.

Waymo cars have a sensor dome on the roof that can display a message visible from all directions around the vehicle. It shows a graphic to inform other drivers when a car is stopping to pick up or drop off a passenger, but the company is considering other ways it could be used to communicate with human road users, Dorsey said.

"As a cyclist or as a pedestrian, I always have this fear with human drivers of 'Does this person see me?'" Dorsey said, but she doesn't have that concern around Waymo vehicles. The cars are programmed to give cyclists ample space and can recognize when a rider is a child or riding erratically, Dorsey said. The cars warn passengers to look for bikers before opening their doors, she said.

Close calls

Despite those measures, a Waymo car hit a cyclist in February, causing injuries that were not life-threatening. The biker was riding through a four-way stop closely following a truck when the Waymo struck them, the company said at the time. Dorsey declined to comment on the incident, which is under investigation by San Francisco police, but said the company was learning from it.

Meanwhile, the fraction of complaints to the DMV related to bicycles demonstrates the shaky relationship between self-driving cars and cyclists. In April 2023, a Waymo edged into a crosswalk, confusing a cyclist and causing him to crash and fracture his elbow, according to the complaint filed by the cyclist.

Then, in August — days after the state approved an expansion of these vehicles — a Cruise car allegedly made a right turn that cut off a cyclist. The rider attempted to stop but then flipped over their bike.

"It clearly didn't react or see me!" the complaint said.

Even if self-driving cars are proven to be safer than human drivers, they should still receive extra scrutiny and aren't the only way to make roads safer, several cyclists said.

Jane Arc knows the worlds of cycling and self-driving cars intimately. She's training to become a professional triathlete. In 2018 and 2019, she worked on Uber's self-driving-car team, developing software to protect the vehicles against hackers. Arc was initially excited to work on the project, but then an Uber self-driving car hit and killed Elaine Herzberg as she pushed a bicycle across a road in Tempe, Ariz. Uber later sold off its autonomous-driving unit.

"All of us got a wake-up call that this is a real thing that can and will kill people — and that was the cost of building this product," Arc said.

The Washington Post

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Steps to future-proof your organization

By Bob Helbig

What's ahead? If you can beat the competition at figuring that out, your organization will be better off. Think of it as creating a future-proof business.

That means anticipating change, increasing resilience, maintaining a competitive advantage and mitigating risks. These initiatives help organizations find sustainable success for themselves and their employees, no matter what happens.

Here are 11 ways to do just that.

Establish your company's purpose: When your purpose is meaningful and unique, it stands the test of time. It's essential to create strong internal and external identities for your business. Communicating those strong values will help attract top talent and improve employee retention. Plus, it boosts employee engagement and sales.

Boost company culture: A great culture makes work meaningful for employees, improving their performance. If shared attitudes, behaviors, beliefs and values are aligned, employees are more invested in the company's future – even if there are bumps in the road.

Re-think your organizational hierarchy: Successful companies keep their structures efficient and lean. Keeping organizational structures flat (and flexible) helps employees envision new roles, find autonomy, grow skills and offer more meaningful insights.

Streamline decision-making processes: There's a difference between fast decision-making and good decision-making. The secret weapon to quick, intelligent decisions is often a well-defined structure. Delegating decision-making responsibilities to the right people saves momentum, resources and time. Streamlining all processes helps companies handle problems more efficiently.

Prioritize professional development: Investing in employee training and development boosts business and personal satisfaction. When employees grow professionally, they also grow personally. This process increases employee well-being and allows individuals to help their company grow and evolve.

Forge external partnerships: External partnerships are a great way to collaborate with and learn from other companies. Partnerships should be mutually beneficial, so investing time into partnerships that elevate your creativity, productivity and innovation is crucial.

Hire innovators: If your organization is passionate about future planning, hiring individuals who are positive, forward-thinking and interested in their own development and growth is crucial. Those individuals are top talent, which means they will have plenty of employment options. Organizations must have strong employer branding and a supportive employee experience to hire innovators.



Understand the value of your talent: Creating a supportive and growth-focused company culture influences how many employees stay and thrive. Survey employees to learn more about how to support their values. Most companies succeed with DEI and employee well-being initiatives, boosting retention.

Be sustainable: Eco-friendly initiatives save businesses energy and money, but it goes further than that. Anticipating and preparing for environmental changes shows that a company is thinking about its future and people. When a company values economic and ecological sustainability evenly, it attracts higher levels of business and top talent. Employees and business partners are attracted to companies with strong purpose and values.

Listen to your clients and customers: Clients and customers have great insights. Listening to customers helps companies anticipate future demands and operational bottlenecks. That's because sometimes people on the outside can see problems more clearly. Plus, supporting clients and customers encourages more positive brand recognition and word-of-mouth.

Embrace technology: Integrating technology into your workflows saves resources and prevents human headaches. Innovative companies don't rely solely on automation. They maintain a "human touch" but support those humans with the necessary tools.

Bob Helbig is media partnerships director at Energage, an employee survey firm that is The Washington Post's survey partner for Top Workplaces. The production of this section did not involve the news or editorial staff of The Washington Post.

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A JOBS

Staff Accountant: Wang & Associates, CPAs in Washington, D.C. Prepare tax return for corporations and individuals, maintain and analyze financial and business record, advise clients on tax and financial issues, assist in audit & review process. Req'd: Bachelor's degree in Accounting. Resume to: Wang & Associates, CPAs, Attn: # 753174, 606 7th St SW, Washington, DC 20024

Accountant: EIG Management Company, LLC. Senior Accountant - Washington, D.C. Analyze quarterly expense gross-up in accordance with ASC 606: Revenue Recognition; maintain subledgers, compile monthly and quarterly Group Distributable Earnings packages with analysis, supporting schedules, and reconciliations. Req's Bachelor's degree or foreign equivalent degree in Accounting, Finance or related field followed by 5 years of progressively responsible general accounting experience. Hybrid role; part time telecommuting authorized. Please apply on-line at https://jobs.lever.co/eigpartners/274c5fc0-4e4d-46ab-b547-e3bb477cc59c

Staff Accountant- to anlyze finan info & prep finan reprts to detrmne & maintn recs of assets, liabilities, profit & loss, tax liability, or other finan acts. Spef duties incl: Prep, exam, & anlyze acct'g recs, finan stmnts, & other vari finan reps to assess accurcy, cmpltness, & confrmnce to report'g & proced stndrds; Devel, implmnt, mod, & docmnt rcrdkeep'g & acct'g systms; Anlyze & assess taxes owed & prep tax retrns, ensur'g compl w/pymnt, report'g or other tax reqs; Anlyze budgts, prep periodic reps that cmpare budgeted costs to actual costs; Prvde ext audt'g services for businesses; Anlyze bus ops, trnds, costs, revenues, finan commitmnts, & obligations, to compare w/currnt opert'g results & future budgeted expecs; Est tbles of accnts & assign entries to propr accnts. Min Req's: BS (US or for equiv. – 4 yr sing source only) deg in acct'g or other rel'd academic discpine req'd, plus 2 yrs of exp in the job offered & CPA lic (or substantial completion of CPA exam & 150 creds). Mail resume to Sarfino and Rhoades, LLC, 11921 Rockville Pike, Suite 501, Rockville, MD 20852

Rapid7 LLC – Arlington, VA – Detection & Response Analyst – Work within Rapid7's Managed Detection and Response (MDR) operations to deliver threat detection services using traditional threat intelligence-based detection and user behavior analytics. Telecommuting is permitted up to two (2) days/week. **To apply: Send resumes to careers@rapid7.com**. Req# 001.

Budget Analyst 40 hrs/ week at ProsToYou Tennis, LLC at Laytonsville, MD. Min. Requirements: Master's degree in business administration or related field or foreign equivalent and 1 year of experience in Data Analysis. 1 year of experience evaluating data and developing sales reports and financial projections. 1 year of experience evaluating performance metrics. 1 year of experience in MS Excel. 6 months of experience in SQL. Mail resume to Marco Impeduglia at 21008 Layton Ridge Drive, Laytonsville, MD 20882.

A JOBS

Lehman Smith McLeish, PLLC seeks an Associate Architect in Washington, DC to manage the design and production of schematic drawings, design development drawings and scaled construction document drawings, using both 2D CAD software and 3D rendering software. 20% domestic travel required. Send your resume to careers@lsm.com and reference job 22123.10.2 in the subject line. EOE. Salary range: $145,000 - $155,000.

Opening for a full-time EMS System Architect in Reston, VA by Ellucian Company, LLC Job duties include but not limited to oversee operations and strategy of designated architect team. Provide technical leadership, technical architect expertise, and adoption leadership experience; continuous service improvement activities Take ownership to ensure successful completion of work for team; Lead and enable best practices for DevOps and operations within the architect teams; Educate and coach Ellucian employees. Requires a Bachelor's or its foreign equivalent in Computer Science, Computer Engineering or in related IT discipline. Higher degree accepted. Plus 6 years experience in job or in related IT occupation with experience in administration of Ellucian Banner administration and with Oracle RDBMS administration. Must have 4 years experience: with Apache/Tomcat administration, with fundamentals of web application and relational database architectures, with agile and other development processes and methodologies, with ServiceNow and Clarity, with Linux (RHEL/CentOS) and Windows system administration, with Shell, Python or other programming language, in various services and capabilities of AWS/Azure/GCP, in CI/CD processes and tools (Jenkins, Bamboo), with Configuration Management tools (Ansible, HashiCorp Packer), with Docker, Kubernetes, Amazon ECS, in monitoring cloud and on-premise infrastructure and applications, with Amazon Web Services (AWS) such as IAM, EC2, EBS, ELB, RDS, S3, Route 53, Gateways, VPCs, CloudWatch, Lambda scripts, highly desirable, with database technologies such as MySQL, MS SQL, PostgreSQL, Oracle; & 3 years experience with applications such as DataDog, SolarWinds, etc. ** Home Benefits available - can work from anywhere from within the United States** Email resumes to: Dawn.rowe@ellucian.com.

Archt'l draftr. Survey, model, design buildings. Req. Bach of arch pls 2 yrs related exp. Skills req'd: portfolio showing knowledge of adobe creative suites, sketchup, autocad and revit. Mail res. & salary req't to employer: Samaha Associates, Attn: HR. 10521 Rosehaven St. Ste 200 Fairfax VA 22030

Assistant Manager
F/T (Falls Church, VA) Min. Req.: Associate's Degr. in Bus. Adm. To apply, send resume to: Atlas General Contractors, 7777 Leesburg Pike, Ste 414-N, Falls Church, VA 22043. No phone calls.

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B JOBS

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Washington, DC
$149,600-$171,400

Responsible for the planning, design and implementation of business intelligence and analytics reporting across the organization. Work closely with stakeholders to ensure the timely and accurate flow of critical information to serve fundraising, programs, supporter engagement, finance, human resources and administration teams.

Must have a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration or a related field. Must have four (4) years of experience as a Business Intelligence Analyst, Business Intelligence Consultant or Decision Support Analyst. Must have four (4) years of experience working with and analyzing multiple types of data from a variety of sources to build management reports and support organizational decision making. Must have four (4) years of analysis and business intelligence experience including understanding of relational and predictive modeling concepts, tools, and data management best practices. Must also have four (4) years of experience working with large databases, reporting, and visualization tools (Tableau, Looker, PowerBI, etc.). Remote work allowed 75% of the time.

Qualified candidates should send their resumes to gpusaresumes@greenpeace.org, and reference job code BIAM1403.

Business Development Specialist in Herndon, VA. Seek & provide info to help the company determine its position in marketplace; collect & analyze data on customer demographics, preferences & needs; gather data on competitors & analyze their prices & sales. Bachelor's Deg (or foreign equiv) in Marketing, Business Admin, Public Admin or a closely rel. field + 6 months of exp in job offered or as Sales Representative req'd. Mail resume to Elegant Kitchen and Bath LLC, Attn: HR, 2465 Centreville Rd, Ste J21 Herndon, VA 20171.

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C JOBS

Huxley Hospitality seeks carpenter/maintenance worker based in Kissimmee, FL. High school degree & 48 mos experience in construction/carpentry & 6 mos training in carpentry, painting, electrical, and gen'l construction required. 9am-5pm M-F. Job duties include: inspection, repair, floors/stairs, manage construction activities, meet deadlines, build furniture, framing, electrical. Mail resumes to Attn: Zaid Said, 10101 Harewood Ct Great Falls VA 22066. EOE.

Chef at restaurant Saravana Palace LLC d/b/a Saravana Palace in Fairfax, VA. Prepare South Asian food. Supervise or coordinate activities of cooks. Reqs 24 mos exp as chef & skills prep South Asian cuisine. Send resume: rjsshahi@gmail.com

Construction Engineer (Washington, DC) BSc Degree in Construction/Civil Engineering. 24 months construction experience required. Proficiency in AutoCAD, Autodesk Civil 3D, Nitropro, GSLOPE, KeyWall. Mail Resumes to National Service Contractors INC, 2007 Martin Luther King Jr Ave Se, Washington, DC 20020 United States.

Specialty Head Cook, Washington, D.C. Season, prep, and cook Turkish recipes. Prep handle and cut halal meats. Supervise, and train cooks and kitchen staff. Maintain stocks, inventory, records, and accounts. High school diploma and 36 months exp req. Mon-Fri. 9AM-5PM. Comp wages. Mail resume w/3 refs to MEZE INC 2437 18TH ST NW WASHINGTON DC 20009. NO PHONE CALLS.

Cook at Pelicana Virginia Inc. d.b.a. Pelicana Chicken Annandale, VA. Prepare food and meals for customers at a restaurant. HS Diploma or foreign equiv.Send resume: jeongjoonpmoon@gmail.com

Corporate Accountant (R0004338)

Prep mnthly journal entries, accnt recniciliatns, schdles for 10K,10Q. Mntn lrge fixed asset CIP schdle by prjct to capture mnthly additns & timely trnsfrs out of CIP for assets placed into srvce. Mntn PP&E rollfrwrd schdle, paid capital, outstndng capital & capital cash flow. Prvde SOX cntrl procedure walkthru & dcmntatn. Prep mnthly & qrtrly financial stmnt analysis & PBC rqst for audit firm. REQ: Mstr's degree in Finance, Accounting or closely rltd fld + 2 yrs' exp in Sarbanes-Oxley OR Bchlr's degree in Finance, Accounting or closely rltd fld + 5 yrs' exp in Sarbanes-Oxley. Exp must incld 2 yrs in each of the foll: Data modeling, mathmaticl calculatn & formulas; Hlookup, Vlookup & pivot/pivot slicer tables; Accounting recnciliatn; Credit card recnciliatn; Tableau; Advanced Excel; financial reporting & analysis; Salesforce; Alteryx & Microsoft Dynamics. Hughes Network Systems, 100 Lakeforest Blvd, Gaithersburg, MD 20877. To apply go to https://echostar.wd5.myworkdayjobs.com/echostar. Enter job number R0004338 into search job field & follow instructions to apply.

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C JOBS

Customer Service Representative, Frederick, MD
Commercial customer management - book estimates, schedule projects, accommodate special requests, send invoices, review accounts. Coordinate with field crew to ensure project timelines and customer goals are met. Train and supervise other office staff. Work on weekends or holidays during busy seasons and emergencies, as needed. Spanish language capability required to communicate with company field crew members. Ability to study and obtain ISA Certified Arborist certificate within six months of hire. Send resume to Chapingo, LLC DBA Chapingo Tree Care Specialists at jose@chapingotreecare.com

D JOBS

Navy Federal Credit Union has F/T permanent opening for **Data Analyst III pos.** to analyze data and design dashboards. Reqs: Bach/equiv in Comp/ Management Info Sys/Engg (any field)+ 5 yrs exp as Data Analyst or in lieu Master's/equiv + 2 yrs exp. Job Loc'n: Vienna, VA. Part time telecommuting permitted. Mail Cvr Ltr & CV: Venkatesh Kawthale at 820 Follin Lane SE, Vienna, VA 22180 or email openpositions@navyfederal.org. Must use Ref# " Data Analyst III Ref#240023"

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E JOBS

Engineering: Airbus Americas, Inc.: Services Sales Contracts Director in Herndon, VA. Providing contractual support to the development & to the sales of Airbus Americas services, in line w/ the objectives of Airbus Americas, Airbus Americas policies & as per the expectations of the Commercial & Int'l Division & of the relevant biz lines within Customer Services. Job reqs Bach's deg in Aerospace Engg, Biz Mgmt, or rltd quantitative fld + 4 yrs in any job title involving exp in multi-million US Dollars int'l biz transactions in maintenance, components, training, services, in the aviation industry. Tlwk benefit permitted up to 2 days/wk. Up to 33% domestic and int'l travel rqd. To apply, send resume identifying Job Code AA169 to: AirbusRecruiting.NA@airbus.com. No calls.

Engineering
Protection & Control Engineer: Req. Bach in EE + 4 yr exp. Use NEC, IEEE, AutoCAD, & power calculation skills for 12kV – 500kV substation protection and control design. F/T. Leidos Engineering LLC. Reston, VA. May telecommute w/in US. $132500-$150000/yr. Benefits: https://www.leidos.com/careers/pay-benefits. CV to ryan.p.hermann@leidos.com & ref. #6737. Principals only. No calls/visa sponsorship.

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Enterprise Account Executive (BlueCat Networks (USA), Inc., Alexandria, VA): ID, qualfy, orchestrate & close new business; Dvlp undrstndg of org strctre, lndscpe & tech heat map w/in accnt list; Dvlp & excute sales campgns to create demnd while wrkg w/ Lead Generatn & Sales Eng resrcs to bld & mng new business; Articulate compny's value propostn to sr IT leadrs, ID & quantfy custmer pains, highlght ROI & value through sales apprch; Wrk in team, mng resrcs to execute accnt & deal w/ strtgy while mxmz'g sales effrts & succss rate. Reqd exp: sell'g DDI (Micetro prodcts, Edge + Integrity) at entrprse lvl as soltn; speak'g w/ C-Lvl contcts in Netwrkg indstry re netwrkg automtn, DNS security, & hybrd cloud environmts; Enterprise sales exp incldg complt'g trnsctns w/ Fortune 1000 Companies; Exp w/ accnt sell'g & income attnmnt; bldg qualty pipelne, execut'g account plan & strtgy; wrkg collabtvly in rsltsdriven, team-orientated sales orgnzatn; SFDC (Salesforce.com) acumen; Force Mgmt exp; Forecast'g & Deal discvry exp; Exp doing netwrk archtctre rviews; Exp w/ accnt mapp'g & future state bldouts. Reqs Bachelor's or frgn equiv in Business Admin or rltd fld, & 1 yr exp as Enterprise Sales Exec in DDI or rltd occ. Trvl reqd up to 35% acrss westrn region of U.S. Optn to WFH avail. Salary: $84,000 - $145,000. Send C.V. to: applications@bluecatnetworks.com.

E JOBS

European Business Development Manager at Capital Edge. Dvlp strategies to acquire signif mkt share of West Eur local govt entities tht need assistnce doing bus in U.S. Dvlp pricng strats w/ goal of maximizng firm's profits & share of mkt. Mng needs & srvices for West Eur local govt clients. Ensure client satisfaction. Oversee dvlpmnt of servs provided. Monitor trends tht indicate need for new servs. Advise West Eur clients on fed issues of interest & impact. Prep clients for mtings w/ US officials & orgs incl written backgrnd & talking points. Attend mtgs w/ clients. Travel w/in US & West Eur to attend local gvmt confrnces & other mtngs attended by local gvmt officials frm West Eur countries. HQ in Wash, DC. Some remote work. Reqs: Bach in major &/or fields of study of Marktng, Lang, Bus Mgmt, Acctng, or Lib Arts + 60 mnths exp as Bus Mngr incl exprnce in dealing w/ West Eur gvrmntl agencies & admins, & knwldge of West Eur Bus Prctices incl contracts, fin & accnting, banking, org mngmt, & sales analytics. Salary: $208,520/yr. Appl by email to R. Garboushian, Managing Member at: ralphg@capitaledge.com. EOE

Education

Montessori County School of Maryland, Inc. (d/b/a Butler Montessori) seeks f/t Primary Montessori Guide in Darnestown, MD to foster growth towards independence and social responsibility in students and ensure safety and well-being of children at all times. Req. Masters in Education + 1 yr. in any teaching position with children newborn to 5 yrs. in a certified child development center, AMI diploma (primary), MSDE certificate. Email resume to: natasha@butlerschool.org and Ref: 22-1271.

F JOBS

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Finance: EIG Management Company, LLC: Investment Associate – Washington, D.C. Conduct financial analysis on investments in energy sector, prep investment recs, assist in closing transactions & contribute to management of portfolio investments. Req's Bachelor's degree in business, Finance, Economics or Engineering and 1 year of analytical experience in private equity, leveraged finance, project finance and/or investment banking. Part time telecommuting authorized. Please apply online at https://jobs.lever.co/eigpartners/bc675dcd-d0de-4034-8c6e-69a37217383d.

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F JOBS

Finance Senior Manager for The Boston Consulting Group, Inc. in Washington, DC, to serve as a business advisor by leading a team to provide financial and accounting through partnership, analysis, and reporting to assist senior stakeholders in managing business economics, finance operations, and strategic business planning topics. Req. Bachelor's deg. or foreign equiv. in Finance, Accounting, Business Administration or related field (willing to accept foreign education equivalent) & 6 yrs. of exp. as an Analyst, or related occupation, responsible for accounting, forecasting, budget planning, reporting and/or controlling which must include at least 2 yrs. of experience managing financial or accounting teams or, alternatively, a Master's deg. or foreign equiv. in aforementioned fields & 4 yrs. of exp. as stated, including at least 2 yrs. of experience managing financial or accounting teams. Partial telecommute benefit available. Mult. positions available. Salary range: $148,000 - $163,000/year. Resume to GlobalBoston@bcg.com. Reference Position Number: 31-2024.

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Bechtel Global Corp has an opening in Reston, VA for Financial Planning & Analysis (FP&A) Manager: Leads prep of corp budgets & operating plans. Position reqs a Master's degree or foreign degree equiv in Civ Eng, Biz Admin or a related field, and 5 yrs of work exp in any occupation in which the req'd exp was gained. CFA license req'd. Telecommuting permissible. When not telecommuting, must report into worksite. Various unanticipated locations. Relocation possible. To apply, email resume to bechtelusjobs@bechtel.com & ref job #6264034.

Financial Quantitative Analyst- International Division (R0004339)

Prvde finance spprt to Intrntnl Dvsn to anlyze & rprt grp financl rslts incld anlysis of prjct rvnues & costs, dprtmnt expnses, captl expenses & balance sht accnts. Wrk clsly w/ Hughes Accntng tm to ensure accntng policies & procdres are implmntd & mntnd prprly. Assist Intrntnl Finance tm & mngmnt tms w/ mnthly anlysis of financl rslts, updates to mnthly frcsts & annual bdgt process. Wrk clsly w/ intrntnl busness grp & mngmnt to prep financl anlyses to undrstnd busness prfrmnce. Imprve rprting & frcstng processes & idntfy areas & processes for automatn. REQ: Mstr's degree in Quantitative Finance, Finance, Accounting or clsly rltd quantitative fld + 2 yrs' exp in corporate accounting or finance group setting. Exp must also incld 2 yrs in each of the foll: financial analysis; variance analysis & reporting; financial forecast including p&L, cash flows & Balance Sheet & advanced Excel skills. Hughes Network Systems, 11717 Exploration Ln, Germantown, MD 20876. To apply go to https://echostar.wd5.myworkdayjobs.com/echostar. Enter job number R0004339 into search job field & follow instructions to apply.

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General Jobs

General Manager
Food Retail-direct operations; recruit, train & supervise personnel; develop processes & marketing strategies; provide strategic leadership; Oversee contracts w/ vendors; payroll; ensure compliance with policies & quality control; monitor suppliers; resolve customer complaints determine profitability & price schedules; review financials & activity reports; develop partnerships. 40 hrs/wk; 9am-5pm Requ: Bachelor's in Finance, Marketing, Bus Admin, or Bus Devpmt; 24 mo supervisory exp in retail services. Send CV to David Nammour, CEO, La Duree DMV LLC, 3060 M St NW Washington DC 20007.

Healthcare - General

Bioinformatics Analyst I - Children's National Medical Center - Washington, DC: prvde cmprhnsve bioinform. spprt for genetics prjcts & offr exprtse in various aspcts of the fld. Reqs: Mast. deg. in Bioinform, Biotech, Comp Sci, Life Scncs. Altrntvly, emplyr will accpt Bach in Bioinfo, Biotech, Comp Sci, Life Scncs + 2yrs exp in bioinform. occ. Send resume/CV to aphuong@childrensnational.org & ref code BAND.

Chiropractic Assistant – Req'd 2yr Exp as hospital or clinic staff or insurance planning staff. Req'd 40hr/wk. $46738/yr. Rsm to job site @ Chang Advanced Chiropractic, Attn: Ki Won Chang, 7004 Little River Tnpk #C, Annandale, VA 22003

Pediatric Radiologist -Children's National Medical Center-Washington, DC: Rvw, eval, and intrprt medcl imags, incl. x-rays, comp. tmgrphy (CT) scans, ultrasounds, mgntc resonance imag'g (MRI), & moleculr imag'g. Reqs: MD or frgn equiv + must hve compltd radiolgy resdncy prgrm; 1y pedtrc radiolgy fllwshp; elgble for or hve board cert frm American Board of Radiology; Qualified to be grnted "authorized user" status to be licensd to prscrbe & suprvse lw dose & high dose radiopharmaceuticals usd for medcl diagnosis & thrpies; elgble for or hve vald DC medcl license. Send resume/CV to: aphuong@childrensnational.org & ref code PRHA.

I JOBS

Columbia Capital, L.P. seeks Investm Associate in Alexandria, VA to conduct investm due diligence & portfolio mgmt activities incl finan anlys, performance mntr'g, rpt'g results, & rltd tasks. Reqs Bach in Bus Admin, Econ, or rltd fld & 1 yr of exp wrk'g in invest bank'g M&A advisory svcs or institutional invest'g in the tech or telecom industry, w/exp in finan anlys & rpt'g, construction of detailed co forecast mdels, & comparable co anlys. Email CV to Brian Ohlhausen, Columbia Capital, L.P. at: associatejob@colcap.com with subject line: Investment Associate.

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J JOBS

ComputerPackages Inc
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Java Developer
Computer Packages Inc, a global company specializing in Intellectual Property software is seeking Java Developers with at least three years practical experience. You will be responsible for design, development and management of Java-based applications. Knowledge of Jasper, Spring-Boot and/or Angular a plus. Apart from experience with Java we're seeking someone with solid database structure knowledge and analytical skills. CPI does offer internal and external training. B.S. in Comp Sci or other technical major preferred. Recent or upcoming grads are encouraged to apply. Excellent benefits including tuition reimbursement, health & dental and opportunity for advancement. Please send resume to: **cpijobs@computerpackages.com.**

M JOBS

Navy Federal Credit Union has F/T permanent position for Machine Learning Engineer II to develop data modelling & machine learning techniques. Reqs: Bach/equiv in CS/IT/Engg (any field)+ 5 yrs exp in developing data modelling techniques or in lieu Master's/equiv + 3 yrs exp. Job Loc'n: Vienna, VA. Part time telecommuting permitted. Email Cvr Ltr & CV : 820 Follin Lane SE, Vienna, VA 22180 or email openpositions@navyfederal.org. Must use Ref# " Machine Learning Engineer II Ref#240022"

Manager Development and PR wanted by a healthcare organization in Beltsville, MD. Lead the PR function, incl PR (internal & external) & fundraising strategies; apply for grants; dvlp multimedia mktg materials; interview guests; supv 2 Communication Specialists/Assistants. Reqs a bachelor's deg in Public Relations (foreign equiv deg accepted) + 2 yrs of exp in Public Relations. Alternatively, 4 yrs of PR work exp, 2 of which accepted in lieu of a BS deg. Out of 4 yrs, 1 yr exp. managing large events & campaigns, managing multimedia platforms, fundraising, & donor relations. Demonstrated ability in oral & written communication (such as press releases w/ attention grabbing messages). Mail resume to Frontline Community Services, HR, Attn. Mr. Shrady Jr., job # FCS20686416, 6900 Virginia Manor Rd, Beltsville, MD 20705.

O JOBS

Operations Analyst (Job ID# OA0604) sought by Himalaya Trading Inc. in Beltsville, MD. SOC: 15-2031.00 Operations Research Analysts. Reqmt: Master's deg in Bus. Analytics, Data Analytics, or rltd field; Knowl of using Tableau & R. Mail CV w/ Job# to 11900 Baltimore Ave, Ste C, Beltsville, MD 20705.

P JOBS

Plumber Assistant
(Chantilly, VA) Assisting the Master Plumber w/ plumbing installations & repairs. Locating pipe leaks & prep'g the work area. Measuring, cutting & threading pipes. Packing & sorting plumbing eqpmt for each job. 40hrs/wk. Please send application to Mega Plumbing Corp., 14325 Willard Rd., Chantilly, VA 20151.

Prep Cook - food prep duties; no exp req'd; full-time; KBHG, Inc. Alexandria, VA; kbhginc2018@gmail.com

P JOBS

Project Leader/Principal (The Boston Consulting Group, Inc. - Washington, D.C.): Manage the design and development of long-term business strategies, including managing case team responsibilities; oversee business development, client relationships, project planning, and the preparation of outputs. Requires Master's degree (or higher) in business administration, management science, or a quantitative field related to a BCG client industry and 3 years exp. as a management consultant, business analyst, or quantitative analyst which must include at least 1 year in management strategy. Will alternatively accept a Bachelor's degree in business administration, management science, or a quantitative field related to a BCG client industry and 5 years exp. as a management consultant, business analyst, or quantitative analyst which must include at least 1 year in management strategy. Partial telecommute benefit available. Domestic/international travel required based on company/client need. Salary: $225,400 - $268,400. Submit resume to BCGPLP@bcg.com. Reference Position Number: PLWAS-F24. Mult. pos. avail.

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Find more nonprofits, government contractor, arts, journalism, travel, publishing, public relations, and media jobs.

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R JOBS

Research Analyst sought by Sands Capital Management, LLC in Arlington, VA. 40/week. Remote Working/Telecommuting Position: Hybrid Position. Must report to office worksite 2 days per week. Must live within MSA of office worksite located at 1000 Wilson Blvd, Suite 3000, Arlington, VA 22209. Requires up to 40% International Travel. SALARY RANGE: $200,000 - $250,000.00/year BENEFITS: Sands Capital offers a generous benefits package to include medical insurance (which includes a discount program for vision), dental insurance, life and personal accident insurance, short and long-term disability insurance, flexible spending accounts (medical and dependent), as well as paid holidays (NYSE), vacation, sick, and parental leave. DUTIES: New idea screening and industry landscaping for public equity investment ideas in the financials, Industrials and consumer/consumer-tech sectors. Develop and recommend investment ideas, with particular focus on companies that operate in Emerging Markets (for example, businesses domiciled or doing business in key emerging markets such as India, Brazil, other countries in Latin America, countries in SE Asia, countries in Middle East, etc.). Execute discrete projects to assess and analyze relevant companies' strengths and weaknesses relating to their business models, growth drivers, industry trends, competitive advantages, financial strength, management team/execution, and historical operating track record using the Firm's investment criteria as a guide. Develop and build complex financial models to assist when making investment decisions. Draft investment case summary documents for companies under serious investment consideration. Conduct research activities, in Portuguese when appropriate and/or necessary (mostly relevant for companies in Brazil) for both existing investments and new investment ideas including sell-side analyst meetings, management meetings, interviews with key industry contacts, attending industry conferences, visiting company facilities, reviewing trade and financial journals, and analyzing financial filings. Closely follow existing investments in Companies where Analyst is the lead research person. This would include activities such as following relevant industry trends, company results, management touchpoints, competitive analysis, etc. Collect and track pertinent company, industry, and portfolio level data over time. Actively participate in weekly Investment Team and Strategy Team meetings, sharing research views, company and industry updates and potential Investment Actions. Participate in Management and select Client Service/Business Development efforts. Reports to Senior Portfolio Manager, Research Analyst. MIN REQS: Bachelor's degree or foreign equivalent in Business Management, Economics, Commerce or a related field. MIN EXP: 4 years of experience in the job offered or related experience in roles such as Research Analyst, Investment Analyst, Investment Research Analyst, Asset Management Analyst, Equity Analyst, Equity Research Analyst. SPECIAL REQS: 4 years of experience performing fundamental investment research of global companies. 4 years of experience in Emerging Markets. 4 years of experience in equity research. 4 years of experience in global equity research. 4 years of communicating research findings both through verbal and written communication including PowerPoint presentations, written email communications, written reports, and data input into FactSet. Must be fluent in English and Portuguese.

E-Mail resumes to: Emily Miller, Sands Capital Management, LLC at emiller@sandscap.com; or mail resumes to 1000 Wilson Blvd., Suite 3000, Arlington, VA 22209; or apply at https://www.sandscapital.com .

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RPG Programmer/Analyst
Computer Packages Inc, an international business specializing in Intellectual Property management software and services, is seeking programmers with knowledge of RPG, D82. Experience with iSeries/AS400 application development preferred. Experience with Java, Access or COBOL a plus. Excellent salary and benefits including health insurance, tuition reimbursement and opportunity for growth.
Please send resume to:
cpijobs@computerpackages.com

S JOBS

Sewer, Hand - Sew, join, reinforce, or finish garments using needles, thread and other materials and tools; High School/Equivalent req.; 40 hr/wk in Vienna, VA. Mail resume to Park Street Valet and Tailoring Inc., 425 Maple Avenue East, Vienna, VA 22180

Social Service Coordinator (Washington, DC) Assist in coord. for individuals w/ intellect disabilities: Create Service plans. Collaborate w/ DDS Service Coordinator Prep & mng ISP docs. Coord logistics for ISP meetings. Maint. legal & reg docs. Assis DSPs in training & dvlpmnt. Submit reports. Recruit & evaluate stuff. Plan activities. Monitor clients' finances. Organize sessions. Develop schedules for DSP. Assess client's needs for employment $52,125/yr. Reqs: BA in SW/HS/rltd w/ knldge of communication studies/ PR / frgn equiv +1 yr exprr assist w/ devplmnt disabilities ACRE Cert. Send CV to Melhor Life, 810 7th Street NE, Washington, DC 20002.

Navient Solutions, LLC seeks a Software Engineer I - Tableau in Herndon, VA to be actively involved in the development, maintenance, and support of several Tableau applications that provide visual analytic services to the business users of Navient. Duties may be performed remotely. BS&1 year. For full req's and to apply Visit: https://jobs.navient.com Job Reference Number: 24REQ-05318.

Software Developers –Multiple opening - Ashburn, VA

GRP Solution Inc needs professionals:

Works on SAP S/4 HANA, Change & Service Ticket Management, SLA Monitor, Web/UI & SAP Testing.

Req. - Masters + 1-yr. Exp. Comp. salary, Relocate to unanticipated site. No National/International travel. Please mail resume to Ref: President, 20130 Lakeview Center Plaza, Ste 400, Ashburn, VA-20147.

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Software Trainer
Computer Packages Inc, the leader in Intellectual Property software for 55 years, is seeking a Software Trainer to train clients on the use of our web-based applications. Our specialized IP management systems are developed in-house and used by organizations worldwide. Seeking a highly motivated individual with technical experience or education, and ability to do some travel. Excellent benefits including health & dental, tuition reimbursement, pension & opportunities for advancement.
Please send resumes to
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Sr Policy Associate (DC) Study economic & statistical data on housing, economy & environmental justice. Lead project teams, manage budgets, assist w. fundraising, develop project proposals. Write reports & briefs. Provide tech assistance, training & advisory services to stakeholders/state & local agencies. Master's in public administration or social science-related field & 3 yrs exp experience as a researcher w. exp. partnering with state & local agencies to research economic & social policy issues. Must have the ability to analyze large data sets using Python, R, SAS, Stata & SQL. Salary Range: $120k - $160k. The Urban Institute is an Equal Opportunity Employer. Minorities/Women/Disabilities/Veterans. To apply for this position, please visit https://www.urban.org/aboutus/who-we-are/careers

Supervisory Consultant, Int'l Trade needed for UNO Int'l Trade Inc in Bethesda, MD. Conduct economic analysis of sales & cost info as it pertains to int'l trade disputes, among other duties. Req: Bach degree in Economics, Finance, or Business Admin, or its foreign degree equiv. 5 yrs exp in the position, or as Consultant in the Int'l Trade field. Ability to travel 2-3 times/yr for on-site audits in Mexico, S. America & Asia, among other locations. Exp. must incl: Int'l trade consulting activities w/ specialization in trade remedy matters; Preparing for & participating in audits concerning trade remedy matters; Managing client engagements.
Mail resume to UNO Int'l Trade - 3 Bethesda Metro, #440, Bethesda, MD 20814.

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T JOBS

Tattoo Artist
We are seeking a skilled tattoo artist to create quality tattoos for clients, consulting with them to draft design concepts based on their ideas. The artist must perform allergy tests, sterilize work areas, and non-disposable equipment between sessions, and stay updated on the latest tattoo trends such as micro realism, fine line, UV light designs, and angel ink. Responsibilities include scheduling appointments, discussing pricing, preparing clients' skin, advising on tattoo size, color, and placement, and stenciling and tattooing designs. The artist must maintain a clean, safe work environment and provide aftercare instructions. Proficiency in English, Spanish, and/or Portuguese is preferred due to the local community's demographics. Social media marketing is essential, involving photography, content creation, and managing platforms like Instagram, Facebook, and TikTok. Annual travel to the Baltimore Tattoo Arts Convention is required for client appointments and competition participation. Email resume to:
admin@
legacyimigragroup.com

Team Lead, eDiscovery Services (KLDiscovery ONTRACK LLC, McLean, VA): Prvd assistnc to clients: rspnd to questns, invstgate queries, & outline explntns for errors &/or remedy them; Member of Escalatn Team mng priorties & prvd sprt to EPM Teams, ensure clients have techgly & tools to devise planning initiatives; review job brd & tickets, incldg simplfyg srch logic & peer QC on srch tasks w/ mgmt; Complete SQL manipulatns, incldg T-SQL scriptg & creatn of reprts & apps; Keywrd syntx normlizatn for use w/ srch engns; Anlys in oprtnl issues, utlz data to make recmmndtns to slv issues & implement mthds to drive resolutn; Assist dvlpt, documntn, & refinemnt of prcdrs to ensre prcss'g stndrds are met; Cndct keywrd & metadata srchs & review rslts for anlys, ID problmtc terms, & error resltn. Reqd exp: Litgtn Spprt App Exp (Digital Reef, Nuix, LAW, Concordance, Summation, Relativity, Clearwell, IPRO); undrstnd (Robo/Rich) copy tools, BAT (PowerShell) scrptg, & Acitve Directry; Exp w/ scrptg or d/b langs (SAP/SAS/SQL, VB, Access); Advncd exp in statstcl or mathmtcl anlys; Prfcnt use of Text Editor Apps, MS Excel & Office prdctivty apps; Exp dsgng & maintn'g spreadsheets for queryg; Knwldg of Windows, Linux/Unix, & Mac oprt'g systms; Ablty to prvd custmr srvc & spprt. Reqs Bachelors or frgn equiv in Statistics, Math or rltd fld & 2 yrs exp as eDiscovery Search Anlyst or rltd occ. Optn to WFH avail. Salary: $85,218 - $90,000. Send C.V. to
steven.nangle@kldiscovery.com.

Antimo LLC Falls Church VA seeks Trader. Send resume to dsuter@murfininc.com

Z JOBS

Zancan Press, Inc. (Upper Marlboro, MD) seeks Print and Media Specialist. Design & create graphics to meet specific commercial or promotional needs. Req: BS in Graph. Comms., Print Media, Graph. Design, or rel/ equiv. 2 yrs as Print Specialist, Graph. Dsgnr, or rel. 2 yrs exp w/ Adobe Suite, Microsoft Suites, Spectrophotometer, & Densitometer req. Send resumes: nickie@zancanpress.com

Tech Jobs

Associate Manager Software Engineering
DXC Technology Services LLC hiring for Associate Manager Software Engineering in Ashburn, VA (Ref. #6852693). Spprt a tm of sftwr engnrs in the dvlpmnt of sftwr prdcts and sltns, prvdng gdnc, cde rvws, and tchncl spprt. Cllbrt with crss-fnctnl tms to dfn prjct rqrmnts, ensrng the scc-ssfl dlvry of sftwr prjcts. Assist in the prfssnl grwth and mntrshp of team mmbrs thrgh rgulr fdbck, coachng, and career dvlpmnt plnng. Pstn rqrs a Bchlr's dgr or a frgn eqvlnt in cmptr scnc, mngmnt infrmtn systms, or rltd fld, and 2 yrs of wrk exprnc in job offrd, as an Assct Mngr Sftwr Engnrng, or rltd occptn. Will work at unanticipated client sites throughout the U.S. Telecommuting is permissible. Annual Salary range: $88,442 to $156,100. Full-time hires are eligible to participate in the DXC benefit program. DXC offers a comprehensive, flexible, and competitive benefits program which includes, but is not limited to, health, dental, and vision insurance coverage; employee wellness; life and disability insurance; a retirement savings plan, paid holidays, paid time off; and much more. To apply, email resume to globallmobility@dxc.com resume must include Ref. #6852693, full name, email, address & mailing address. No phone calls. Must be legally authorized to work in the U.S without sponsorship. EOE

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Tech Jobs

BUSINESS ANALYSTS: Washington, DC & various unanticipated locations throughout the U.S.: Mntr & anlyz the market data to prvde sols & implt prdct. Mntr KPIs & prfmnce indicators. Anlyz trends to idtfy markets for future prdct dvlpmt or to imprv sales of exist prdcts. Confg & autmte CI/CD pplns. Track user stories, tasks, & bugs. Crte dshbrds & rprts, & prep presentations for stkehldrs. Skills req'd: PowerBI, Azure, YAML, Kanban, & Scrum boards. Bachelor's in Sci, Tech, or Engg (any), or Mktg w/1yr exp in job offr'd or rltd occup is req'd. Mail Resume: HR, BPM BI, Inc, 1025 Connecticut Ave. NW, Ste 1000, Washington, DC 20036.

ONTIME EXPRESS, LLC (Manassas, VA) seeks Computer Systems Analyst to: consult w/CEO on IT systems role in orgnztn., research diffrnt. tech. for orgnztn. efficncy., analyze costs/benefits of IT systems & upgrades, recommend IT installtns. to managers, add funcnlty. to existing comp. systms., design/configure new hardware & software systms., oversee installtn. & custmztn., test systms. & ensure funcnlty., write instruct. manuals & train users. Req.: HS diploma & 2 years as IT specialist. Salary: $80,000/yr. Mail CV to 10432 Balls Ford Rd., Ste 338, Manassas, VA 20109.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Database Administrator in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to plan computerized databases, including base definition, structure, documentation, long-range requirements, operational guidelines, & protection. Job req Bach deg (3-year foreign deg accepted) in Comp Sci, Engg, IT or a rel field & 3 yrs in any job title involving Oracle database administration experience. Up to 20% telework permitted. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1358.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Engineer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to design, devel, document, test & debug apps s/w & systs that contain logical & mathematical solutions. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT or rel field & 3 yrs in any job title involving exp developing test plans to verify logic of new or modified programs. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1326.

Computer/IT: CGI Federal Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA to research, design, devel, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Math, Engg, IT, or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp using SAS. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1352.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Engineer in Fairfax, VA to design, devel, document, test & debug applications software & systems that contain logical and mathematical solutions. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT or a rel field & 5 yrs of experience in any job title involving analyzing, designing, developing, & implementing Business Intelligence & Data Analytics solutions. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1362.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps software. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systs, IT or rel field & 5 years in any job title involving experience developing back-end features of multi-tier applications using Java-J2EE, Oracle SQL, PL/SQL, Spring MVC, & Spring Boot. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1334.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT or a related field & 5 years in any job title involving exp with Visual Studio, C#, ASP.Net, MVC, WCF and ADO.Net. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1359.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Quality Assurance Analyst in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to perform installations & run quality assurance programs to test, identify, reproduce, & report defects in s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp writing functional & system integration test cases. Up to 60% telework permitted. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1332.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, devel, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT, or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp developing UI layout & forms for widgets using Angular JS, JavaScript, HTML5, & CSS3. Up to 80% telework permitted. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment.
Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1335.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systs &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT or a related field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp developing ETL solutions. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1348.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps software. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp with J2EE. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may also incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1323.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Engineer in Fairfax, VA to design, develop, document, test & debug applications software & systems that contain logical and mathematical solutions. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving analyzing business problems & assessing IT solution & architecture using ThoughtSpot, Microsoft Visio, Tableau & Lucid chart. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1306.

Computer/IT: ICF Incorporated, LLC: Program Specialist, Health – Reston, VA. Provide analytics support to track & measure the performance of efforts and initiatives. Req's bachelor's or its equiv in Comp Sci, Information Systems, or Econ or a closely rltd specialty fld & 5 yrs of exp in in business intelligence analytics. Hybrid position - at least 1 day/wk in office. Position may be assigned to work at various, unanticipated client locations. (EEO / AA – Minorities / Females / Veterans / Individuals with Disabilities). Please apply on-line at https://careers.icf.com and reference (Req ID R2402345)

Computer/IT: Mapbox, Inc: Senior Software Engineer – Washington DC. Contribute to, maintain, and improve software relating to EV routing. Req's bachelor's or frgn equiv in Comp Sci or rltd fld & 3 yrs of s/ware engg exp. 100% remote; job may be performed anywhere w/in US. 5% Domestic & International Travel. EOE. Apply directly at https://jobs.ashbyhq.com/mapbox/b104f361-411f-4f07-9a9e-274135e87fb3.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, devel, &/or modify enterprise-wide systs &/or apps s/w. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Info Systems, IT, or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving exp developing back-end features of multi-tier applications using Java-J2EE, Oracle SQL, PL/SQL, Spring MVC, & Spring Boot. Full-time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1348.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA to research, design, develop, &/or modify enterprise-wide systems &/or apps software. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT, Physics, or rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving experience with Java, J2EE, & jQuery. Full time telework permitted. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment.
Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1345.

Computer/IT: CGI Technologies & Solutions Inc. seeks Software Developer in Fairfax, VA (& various unanticipated locations throughout US) to research, design, devel, &/or modify enterprise-wide systs &/or apps software. Job req Bach deg in Comp Sci, Engg, Information Systems, IT, or a rel field & 5 yrs in any job title involving experience designing, developing, & executing business applications. Must be willing to relocate to various unanticipated work locations throughout US. All offers of emp are contingent upon successful comp of a background check, which may incl drug screen depending on work assignment. Email resume to recruiting@cgifederal.com & ref job code 1313.

Computer/IT: The Nature Conservancy: Sr. MA-Data/SAS Platform Administrator & Developer Constituent Engagement Systems - Arlington, VA : Support, maintain & develop SAS Direct Marketing Tasks, SAS Information Maps, Segment Maps, Ad-Hoc Imports, Custom Stored Processes and data exchanges as assigned. Req's Bachelor's degree in information systems or related field and 3 years of experience in an IT position. 100% remote; may be performed from anywhere in the U.S. Successful applicant must meet reqs of TNC's background screening process. Apply online at www.nature.org/en-us/about-us/careers/your-career/ and reference Job ID 55319. The Nature Conservancy is an Equal Opportunity Employer. EOE M/F/Vet/Disability.

Consulting, Senior Consultant
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Senior Consultant in Rosslyn, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to enable end-to-end journey from On-Premises to Cloud; may perform design and development within the following focus areas: Cloud messaging, ground-to-Cloud connectivity, Cloud Strategy, Operating Model Transformation, Cloud Development, Cloud Integration and Application Programming Interfaces (APIs), Cloud Migration, Cloud Infrastructure and Engineering, and Cloud Managed Services. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C113161 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

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Consulting, Project Delivery Specialist
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Project Delivery Specialist in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to modernize business and core environments to leverage technology innovations across multiple platforms as well as drive operational efficiency by maintaining their data ecosystems and sourcing analytics expertise for continuous insights and improvements. 80% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C125171 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Senior Consultant
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Senior Consultant in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to drive software testing and implementation services to help companies unlock the value of big technology investments, ranging from requirements to architecture, design to development, testing to deployment, and beyond as discrete services and comprehensive solutions in the insurance, financial services, healthcare, state and local government, telecom, and retail industries. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C104461 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Specialist Master
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Specialist Master in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage information technology projects, including data cleansing and conversions, interface design/development, and systems development life cycle for the development of Cloud-based technologies. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C81902 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Senior Solution Specialist
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Senior Solution Specialist in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to modernize business and core environments to leverage technology innovations across multiple platforms as well as drive operational efficiency by maintaining their data ecosystems and sourcing analytics expertise for continuous insights and improvements. 15% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com . Enter XB25C100971 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

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Consulting, Specialist Leader
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Specialist Leader in Rosslyn, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to lead information technology projects, including the development of Cloud-based technologies, interface design and development, and overseeing all aspects of the systems development life cycle. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C58332 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Manager
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Manager in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage Oracle software advisory, information technology project, and implementation services to help companies unlock the value of technology investments as discrete services or comprehensive solutions. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C119881 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Senior Manager
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Senior Manager in Rosslyn, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to oversee information technology projects and the software advisory and implementation of services to help companies unlock the value of technology investments as discrete services or comprehensive solutions. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C17722 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Specialist Senior
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Specialist Senior in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to drive software development and implementation services to help companies unlock the value of big technology investments, ranging from requirements to architecture, design to development, testing to deployment, and beyond as discrete services or comprehensive solutions. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C42852 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Manager
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Manager in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage information technology projects including development and implementation ranging from requirements to architecture, design to development, testing to deployment, and beyond as discrete services or comprehensive solutions. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C105521 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Project Delivery Lead
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Project Delivery Lead in Rosslyn, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to oversee the creation of innovative and transformative Cloud-based information technology project solutions that address clients' next generational needs; create effective IT visions, strategies and roadmaps, in direct alignment and support of business and technology objectives. 80% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C131271 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

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Tech Jobs

Consulting, Manager
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Manager in Arlington, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage Oracle software advisory and implementation services to help companies unlock the value of technology investments as discrete services or comprehensive solutions. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C56361 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Consulting, Manager
Deloitte Consulting LLP seeks a Consulting, Manager in McLean, Virginia and various unanticipated Deloitte office locations and client sites nationally to manage information technology projects through the creation of innovative and transformative technology solutions for clients that address their next generational needs. 50% Travel required nationally. Telecommuting permitted. To apply visit apply.deloitte.com. Enter XB25C97521 in "Search jobs" field. EOE, including disability/veterans.

Data Analyst
Inovalon, Inc. seeks **Data Analyst** in Bowie, MD (& other US locations), to generate bus. logic, custom queries & reports from SW apps using Microsoft T-SQL per defined tech specs. Master's in CS, Info Sys, Eng., or rltd field, or fgn equ., plus 1 yr of exp. in job off. or any Assoc., Data Analyst, or rltd job titl. Compensation for role between $102,274-$112,274/year. Telecomm. Perm.
For complete requirements, submit resume to: https://www.inovalon.com/careers/job/?gh_jid=6044034003

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Tech Jobs

Data Engineer III sought by LexisNexis Risk Data Management LLC in Washington, DC to own specific set or group of data transfers in various capacities including collection setup, data transfer setup, contributor/customer setup, etc. Minimum of Master's degree or foreign equivalent in Computer Science, Electrical and Computer Engineering, Management Information Systems, or rltd + 2 yrs exp in job offered or rltd occupations required.
Employee reports to LexisNexis Risk Data Management LLC office in Washington, DC but may telecommute from any location within US. ($110,000 to $114,700/year) Interested candidates should apply via following link: https://relx.wd3.myworkdayjobs.com/relx/job/Washington-DC/Data-Engineer-III_R79885

DATA SCIENTIST: PenFed seeks Sr Data Scientist Credit Risk Modeling in McLean, VA (Full-time telecommuting permitted). Dvlp & eval models assoc w PenFed's lnding functn to quant org's crdit risk expsre & eval perfrmnc of estblshd cntrls. Job reqs Masts in Math, Biz Analytics, Stats, or rltd quant field & 2 yrs of exp in any occup invlving blding stat models & advncd data analysis. Email cvr ltr & CV to recruit@penfed.org. Ref "Senior Data Scientist Credit Risk Modeling 4270690".

ENGINEERING
Inovalon, Inc. seeks **Senior Software Engineer** in Bowie, MD (& other US loc.), to dev & main. solns for Terabyte scale DA. Bachelor's in CS, Info Sci., Info Tech, or rltd field, plus 5 yrs of exp. in job off. or any SW Eng., Program., Anlyst, or rltd titl. Telecomm. Avail. $165,173 - $185,173/year. For complete requirements, submit resume to: https://www.inovalon.com/careers/job/?gh_jid=6043360003.

Navy Federal Credit Union has F/T permanent position for ETS Developer III to develop ENT appl'ns and SQL queries. Reqs: Bach/equiv in CS/IT/Engg (any field) + 5 yrs exp as a Software Developer/Engineer or in lieu Master's/equiv + 3 yrs exp. Job Loc'n: Vienna, VA. Part time telecommuting permitted. Mail Cvr Ltr & CV: Venkatesh Kawthale, 820 Follin Lane SE, Vienna, VA 22180 or email openpositions@navyfederal.org. Must use Ref# " ETS Dvlpr III Ref#240020"

Tech Jobs

Greenpeace, Inc.
IT Solutions Manager
Washington, D.C.
$212,950-$216,000

Responsible for managing the design, development, testing and implementation of project workstreams that support the Organization's overall technology program. Responsible for managing and planning of client equipment and software budget. Lead the Solutions Specialists team and manage the Senior Cyber Security and System Architect to a variety of challenging, high priority objectives.

Must have a Bachelor's degree in Computer Science, Information Systems, or a related field. Must have five (5) years of experience as an IT Solutions Specialist or a related field. Must have five (5) years or experience with the following programming languages and operating systems: Windows 10 & 11, and all versions of MacOS. Must have five (5) years of experience in implementing, configuring, and testing IT solutions. Must have five (5) years of experience in managing remote hardware admin tools, firmware, and software distribution. Must also have five (5) years of experience in a technical support team, supporting MacOS, Microsoft Windows and/or ChromeOS computers. Remote work allowed 50% of the time.

Qualified candidates should send their resume to: gpusa-resumes@greenpeace. org, and reference job code ISM1403.

Interon IT Solution LLC has multiple openings in Chantilly, VA, **Computer Programmer ($124,363/yr.):** Write, Collabrte, Implmnt, Crct, Dbug, Create & Updt code libraries. **Programmer Analyst ($124,363/yr):** Create, Write, Prfrm, Assist & Prpre rprts on analyses, findings, & prjct progress. **Software Developer ($139,589/yr):** Anlyz, Rview, Dsgn, Pln, Implmnt, Assist, Wrk & Trck all coding chnges using hlp desk. Sr. **Software Developer ($165,173/yr):** Dvlp, Rsolves, Condct, Dsgn, Anlyz, Lead, Prvide & Serve as a task leader.
All positions req trvl/reloca to var unanticiptd client loc throughout U.S w/expenses paid by emplyr. Mail res & position to, CEO, Interon IT Solution LLC, 4211 Pleasant Valley Rd, Ste #200, Chantilly, VA, 20151 or email hr@interonitsolutions.com

Anitech Corporation has multi opngs in Ashburn, VA, Computer Programmer ($114,026/yr): Write, Collab, Implmnt, Crct, Dbug, Create & updt code libraries. Python Developer ($114,026/yr): Wrk, Intgrte, Connect, Demnstrate, Manage, Write, Assist & Dvlp deplymnt softwre. Software Developer ($139,589/yr): Work, Dvlp, Build, Dsgn, Trnsfrm, Intract, Anlyz, Create & Perform Defect Tracking. Sr. Software Developer ($139,589/yr): Dvlp, Condct, Resrch, Prvide & Serve as a task leader. Sr. Software Engineer ($165,1730/yr): Dsgn, Dvlp, Involve, Lead, Maint, Articulte, Wrk, Particpte & Resolve customer systm issues post deplymnts. All pos. req trvL/reloc to var unanticiptd client locs thruout U.S w/expenses paid by emplyr. Standard co. bnfts will be offered. Mail res & pos. to, Pres., Anitech Corporation, 20755 Williamsport Pl, Ste #330, Ashburn, VA, 20147 or email ID: srikanthanitech@gmail. com

Tech Jobs

Navy Federal Credit Union has F/T permanent opening for Business Systems Analyst III to implement **Oracle Fusion Cloud HCM sol'ns** & work in Oracle environment. Reqs: Bach/equiv in CS/IT/Engg (any field) + 5 yrs exp in implementing Oracle Fusion Cloud HCM sol'ns or in lieu Master's/equiv + 3 yr exp. Job Loc'n: Vienna, VA. Part telecommuting permitted. Mail Cvr Ltr & CV to Venkatesh Kawthale, 820 Follin Lane SE, Vienna, VA 22180 or email openpositions@navyfederal.org. Must use Ref# " Buss Systems Analyst III Ref#240021

IT Advisor, Technology Consulting, Technology Strategy & Transformation, (Technology Strategy & Operations) (Manager) (Multiple Positions) (1519068), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, Tysons (McLean), VA
Collaborate in the creation of technology-enabled business models of the future with our clients. Requires travel up to 60%, of which 50% may be international, to serve client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $212,960.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number – 1519068).

IT Professionals:
Ent. Lvl to Sr. Lvl. QA Anlysts, SW Devs., & SW Engnrs. are needed for our Ashburn, VA office. May require travel. Pls send resume, Cvr Ltr., & Sal. Req. to ITiyam LLC at 44790 Maynard Sq., Ste. 230, Ashburn, VA 20147.

IT Professionals:
Ent. Lvl to Sen. Lvl (Multiple Positions) Salesforce Dvlprs, QA Anlysts, Data Engnrs, are needed for our Chantilly, VA Office. Must be willing to travel to set up systems to various clients at unanticipated locs across the nation. Pls send resume, Cvr Ltr., & Sal. Req. to Raks Group LLC at 4451 Brookfield Corporate Dr., Ste 103, Chantilly, VA 20151.

IT Professionals:
Ent. Lvl to Sen. Lvl QA Analysts, Sftwr Dvlprs & Sftwr Engnrs are needed for our Sterling, VA Office. May req. traveling. Pls send resume, Cvr Ltr., & Sal. Req. to Ingenious Heads LLC, 21135 Whitfield Pl., Ste. 207, Sterling, VA 20165.

Lead Software Engineer
Cvent, Inc. seeks Lead Software Engineer in McLean, VA. Telecommuting is permitted. Apply at https://www.jobpostingtoday.com/Ref# 82229.

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Tech Jobs

Market Research BI Analyst (Latam regions) (R0004340)

Prvde anlytcl & ad-hoc sprt to custmr exp for Latam rgns (Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Ecuador) to reduce churn rate. Create vislztns using SQL & Tableau to undrstnd custmr pymnt bhvrs & prpse tctcs to imprve ARPU (custmr revenue). Prfrm price elstcty anlysis thru A/B tstng tchnqs to eval rspnsvnss of consmr dmnd to chngs in prdct pricing. Prvde rprtng tools for fld ops to undrstnd custmr satsfctn surveys & track main KPIs. REQ: Mstr's degree in Data Analytics, Data Sci or clsly rltd quantitative fld + 6 mnths' exp in SQL/PL SQL OR Bchlr's degree in Data Analytics, Data Sci or clsly rltd quantitative fld + 5 yrs' exp in SQL/PL SQL. Exp must incld 6 mnths in each of the foll: Tableau; Python (Jupyter Notebooks, Spyder); Python libraries: Pandas, Matplotlib, GeoPands, Shapely; EXCEL VBA; QGIS (Geographic Information System); Power BI; machine learning techniques (incld exploration data analysis, sampling, decision trees, clustering, random forest, logistic regression; & SAS language (Base/Macro). Hughes Network Systems, 11717 Exploration Ln, Germantown, MD 20876. To apply go to https://echostar.wd5.myworkdayjobs.com/echostar. Enter job number R0004340 into search job field & follow instructions to apply.

Packaged Application Development Manager
(Accenture LLP; Arlington, VA): Manage project execution to ensure adherence to budget, schedule, and scope. Must have willingness and ability to travel domestically approximately 80% of the time to meet client needs. Multiple Positions Available. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply, go to: www.accenture.com/us-en/careers (Job# R00223369).
Equal Opportunity Employer–Minorities/Women/Vets/Disabled.

Principal Software Engineer-Cvent, Inc. seeks Principal Software Engineer in McLean, VA. Telecommuting is permitted. Apply at https://www.jobpostingtoday.com/Ref# 35740.

Pycube Inc, has multiple openings in Sterling, VA, Business Analyst ($100,069.00/yr) Wrk, Rview, Prfrm, Asist, Prvide & Prep or cntribute to briefings of appl owners.. Software Developer ($165,173.00/yr): Dvlp, Rslves, Cndct, Rsearch, Troublshoot & Prvide prjct effort estimations. Software Engineer ($139,589.00/yr): Dsgn, Anlyz, Troublshoot, Dvlp & dirct sftwre systm testing. Sr. Business Analyst ($117,749.00/yr): Anlyz, Imprve, Wrk, Creat, Oversee & Use a variety of data anlysis. Sr. Software Developer ($139,589.00/yr): Anlyz, Rview, Cnslt, Lead, Pln, Documnt & Mentor jnr dvlopprs. Sr. Software Engineer ($165,173.00/yr): Dsgn, Dvlp, Lead, Maint, Articulte, Wrk, Prticipte & Rslve custmer systm issues. All positions req trvl/reloc to var unanticiptd client locs throughout U.S w/expenses paid by emplyr. Mail res & position to CEO, Pycube Inc, 21525 Ridgetop Circle, Stel #110, Sterling, VA 20166 or email HR@PYCUBE.COM

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Tech Jobs

COMPUTER/IT: DSFederal Inc. (Rockville, MD). SW QA Analyst & Tester: Dev & execute sw tests to identify sw problems & their causes. Test sys mods to prepare for implementation. Document sw & app defects using a bug tracking sys & report defects to sw or web devs. Create & maintain DBs of known defects. May participate in sw design reviews to provide input on functional reqs, operational characteristics, product designs, & schedules. Reqs MS in Comp Sci, Comp Engg, Engg, IT, Comp Apps or related. 1 yr exp in the field & exp w/ Cypress, Java, JavaScript, PHP, SQL, Drupal & CSS. We offer competitive salaries & benefits. Travel may be req'd. Email CVs to jingjing.li@dsfederal.com

Security Delivery Associate Manager
(Accenture LLP; Arlington, VA): Provide Tier 2 and 3 (severity 1, 2, 3, 4) level troubleshooting and resolution of device-specific issues which are affecting the clients log ingestion stream. Must have willingness and ability to travel domestically approximately 5% of the time to meet client needs. Multiple Positions Available. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply, go to: www.accenture.com/us-en/careers (Job# R00222730).
Equal Opportunity Employer–Minorities/Women/Vets/Disabled.

Security & Infrastructure Lead (Reston, VA): Be involved in designing, implementing, & maintaining systems built on the Microsoft Azure platform; monitoring & managing Azure components' utilization & cost; rev business needs, architect & iterate through infrastructure revisions; designing & managing the overall security posture, incl identity management; as well as implementing & upkeep SOC2 reqs. Req's Bachelor's degree (or foreign equi. degree) in Computer Science, Information Technology, or related w/ 5 yrs. of progressive exp in IT & knowl of at least 7 of the following skills: Azure AD, VPN, Azure Security Center, VMware, Azure Cloud Infrastructure, Salesforce Cloud Platform, UNIX, LINUX, Citrix Firewall, MS Exchange & Windows. Apply HR, IOTAP, INC. 11710 Plaza America Drive, Suite 2000, Reston, VA 20190.

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Tech Jobs

Senior Engineer Sr. Specialist
Stride, Inc. has an opening for a Senior Engineer Sr. Specialist in Reston, VA. Job duties include: Facilitate medium-to-high complexity Agile initiatives from initiation through release providing oversight to ensure alignment with CNB Digital Agile/Scrum practices incl. but not limited to project kick-off, sprint, release and deployment planning. Remove impediments to dlvry success through proactive mgmt of ext. dependencies, medium-to-high complexity team problem-solving and the dvlpmnt of new solutions or approaches to ongoing challenges. Accountable for creating and maintaining the appropriate vehicles for open comm. within the scrum team (eg. Tracker boards) to create a trusting and safe team evnirnmnt. Ensure dvlpmnt teams are practicing the core Agile principles of collab., prioritization, team accountability, and visibility. Understand Platform Dvlpmnt org goals and develop a short-term tech. road map and best practices for the scrum team by coord. with Product Owner and Eng. Mgr. Remote work benefit position. Can work anywhere in U.S. Min Req: Bachelor's or its equiv. in Comp. Sci., Comp. Eng., or a related field and 10 yrs of exp. as a Sftwr Dvlpr or any equiv. comb. of education and exp. accepted. Exp/must include: 8 yrs of experience with Jira and Confluence software; with Scrum Methodology; 7 yrs of exp. with Agile Software dvlpmnt methodologies, values, and procedures; 6 yrs of exp. in dvlping enterprise apps using Java, Spring, Angular, Java script, HTMLS tech.; 4 yrs of ex. in using DevOps tools and techs. such as Jenkins or Bitbucket; and 4 yrs of exp. in any cloud-platforms based envirn. Apply online at https://www.stridelearning.com/careers.html or email resumes to: HRcompliance@k12.com.

Senior Professional Programmer Analyst
Computer Sciences Corporation hiring for Senior Professional Programmer Analyst in Ashburn, VA (Ref. #7552327). Cds, tsts, dbgs, implmnts, and dcmnts mdrtly cmplx prgrms. Crts apprprt dcmnttn in wrk assgnmnts sch as prgrm cde, and tchncl dcmnttn. Dsgns systms and prgrms to meet cmplx bsnss nds. Pstn rqrs a Bchlr's dgr or a frgn eqvlnt in Cmptr Scnc, Mthmtcs, or rltd fld, and 6 yrs of wrk exprnc in job offrd, as a Snr Prfssnl Prgrmmr Anlst, or rltd occptn. Will work at unanticipated client sites throughout the U.S. Telecommuting is permissible. Annual Salary Offer: $165,173. Full-time hires are eligible to participate in the DXC benefit program. DXC offers a comprehensive, flexible, and competitive benefits program which includes, but is not limited to, health, dental, and vision insurance coverage; employee wellness; life and disability insurance; a retirement savings plan, paid holidays, paid time off; and much more.
To apply, email resume to globallmobility@dxc.com resume must include Ref. #7552327, full name, email, address & mailing address. No phone calls. Must be legally authorized to work in the U.S without sponsorship. EOE

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Tech Jobs

Senior Professional Product Developer
Computer Sciences Corporation hiring for Senior Professional Product Developer in Ashburn, VA (Ref. #7716801). Utlz prgrmng lnguags such as Pythn, R and SQL to prfrm advncd qry of big dta. Prior prgrmmng lnguags utlzd for anltcl actvts inclded COBOL, thugh ths is not rqre in crrnt rle. Wrt hgh-qlty mchne lrnng mdls and algrthms usng sttstcl anlyss cncpts. Pstn rqrs a Mstr's dgr or a frgn eqvlnt in Sftwr Engnrng, Infrmtn Systms, Cmptr Scnc, or rltd fld, and 3 yrs of wrk exprnc in job offrd, as a Snr Prfssnl Prdct Dvlpr, or rltd occptn. In lieu of a Mstr's dgr or a frgn eqvlnt in Sftwr Engnrng, Infrmtn Systms, Cmptr Scnc, or rltd fld, and 3 yrs of wrk exprnc in job offrd, as a Snr Prfssnl Prdct Dvlpr, or rltd occptn, will accept a Bchlr's dgr or a frgn eqvlnt in Sftwr Engnrng, Infrmtn Systms, Cmptr Scnc, or rltd fld, and 6 yrs of wrk exprnc in job offrd, as a Snr Prfssnl Prdct Dvlpr, or rltd occptn. Will work at unanticipated client sites throughout the U.S. Telecommuting is permissible. Annual Salary Offer: $165,173. Full-time hires are eligible to participate in the DXC benefit program. DXC offers a comprehensive, flexible, and competitive benefits program which includes, but is not limited to, health, dental, and vision insurance coverage; employee wellness; life and disability insurance; a retirement savings plan, paid holidays, paid time off; and much more.
To apply, email resume to globallmobility@dxc.com resume must include Ref. #7716801, full name, email, address & mailing address. No phone calls. Must be legally authorized to work in the U.S without sponsorship. EOE

Senior Software Engineers
Inovalon, Inc. seeks **Senior Software Engineers (mult. positions avail.)** in Bowie, MD (& other US locations), to dev & maintain solutions for Terabyte scale data analytics. Master's in CS, Info Science, Info Tech, Comp Info Sys, Info Systems or rltd, plus at least 3 yrs of exp. in job off. or any Soft Eng., Dev., Programmer, Analyst, or rltd titles. Compensation for role between $139,589-$149,589/year. Telecomm. Avail. For complete requirements, submit resume to: https://www.inovalon.com/careers/job/?gh_jid=6043801003

Software Analysts-ASRC Federal Highland Technology seeks Software Analysts in Beltsville, MD to create and Present Business Requirements Definition (BRD) documentation. Telecommuting Permitted.
Apply @ www.jobpostingtoday.com Ref#13475

Software Engineer
Qualtrics, LLC seeks Software Engineer in Reston, VA to develop scalable, fast, robust, and simple web-based solutions to solve complex business problems. Apply at www.jobpostingtoday.com Ref #79025.

Software Engineer 4
Asurion, LLC seeks Software Engineer 4 in Sterling, VA. Develops effective, maintainable code in a timely fashion. Telecommuting permitted. Apply @ https://www.jobpostingtoday.com/Ref #38865.

Tech Jobs

Software Engineer (Wi-Fi/Embedded Applications) (R0004337)

Anlyze, dsgn, dvlp, tst, dcmnt & implmnt hgh prfrmnce, rl-time Wi-Fi/embd apps incrpratng tchncl elmnts from lw lvl drvr dvlpmnt to user intrfcs. Rvw systm rqrmnts & dsgn. Wrk w/ tchncl lds across tms & dscplns to dvlp hgh avlblty scible Satellite-Wi-Fi comm systms. Implmnt sftwre apps passing thru all stgs of dvlpmnt. Anlyze & rslve sftwre issues. Fix Wi-Fi issues from App lvl to Frmwre lvl. REQ: Mstr's degree in Comp Sci, Comp Ntwrks, Comp Engrg or closely rltd fld + 6 mnths' exp in embd sftwre apps or Bchlr's degree in Comp Sci, Comp Ntwrks, Comp Engrg or closely rltd fld + 5 yrs' exp in embd sftwre apps. Exp must incld 6 mnths in each of the foll: GDB; ntwrk device drvrs; Wi-Fi commnctn protocols; Wi-Fi stack & device drvr; Linux ntwrk device drvr; Rl-time Operating Systm; light weight IP & Kernel prgrmmng; IoT & IP prgrmmng on QEMU hrdwre virtualizatn envrnmnt. Hughes Network Systems, 100 Lakeforest Blvd, Gaithersburg, MD 20877. To apply go to https://echostar.wd5.myworkdayjobs.com/echostar. Enter job number R0004337 into search job field & follow instructions to apply.

SOFTWARE ENGINEERS: Fairfax, VA & various unanticipated locations throughout the U.S. Dsgn, impl, doc, & Perf rqmt anlys. Dsgn & dvlp CI/CD pipeline to prodtnz code from dplymnt. Dvlp & mntn cmplx micro srvc archt apps. Dvlp test cases to achieve Integ & end to end test cases. Dvlp data modls for var use cases. Dsgn soltn-bsd mesagng pltfrms to enable producer/consumer patrns as per rqmt. Skills Req'd: Java, SpringBoot, Angular, Azure, Junit, NodeJS, Jenkins, Docker, ReactJS, OpenShift, AWS, Cucumber, & Kubernetes. Master's in Sci, Tech, or Engg (any) w/1 yr exp in job offd or rltd occup is req'rd. Mail Resume: HR, Vizens Corp, 11350 Random Hills Rd, Ste 800, Fairfax, VA 22030

Strategy and Transactions, (Transaction Diligence - Transaction Support) (Data Analytics) (Manager) (Multiple Positions) (1519966), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, Tysons (McLean), VA
Provide data analytics-driven solutions that enhance our client's decision-making including buy-side and sell-side financial due diligence. Requires domestic travel up to 50% in order to serve client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $149,594.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number - 1519966).

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Tech Jobs

Tech Architecture Manager
(Accenture LLP; Arlington, VA): Design, implement, and/or support world-class information technology architecture for Accenture or our clients, spanning simple IT projects to large-scale, enterprise-level change programs. Must have willingness and ability to travel domestically approximately 80% of the time to meet client needs. Multiple Positions Available. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply, go to: www.accenture.com/us-en/careers (Job# R00222457).
Equal Opportunity Employer–Minorities/Women/Vets/Disabled.

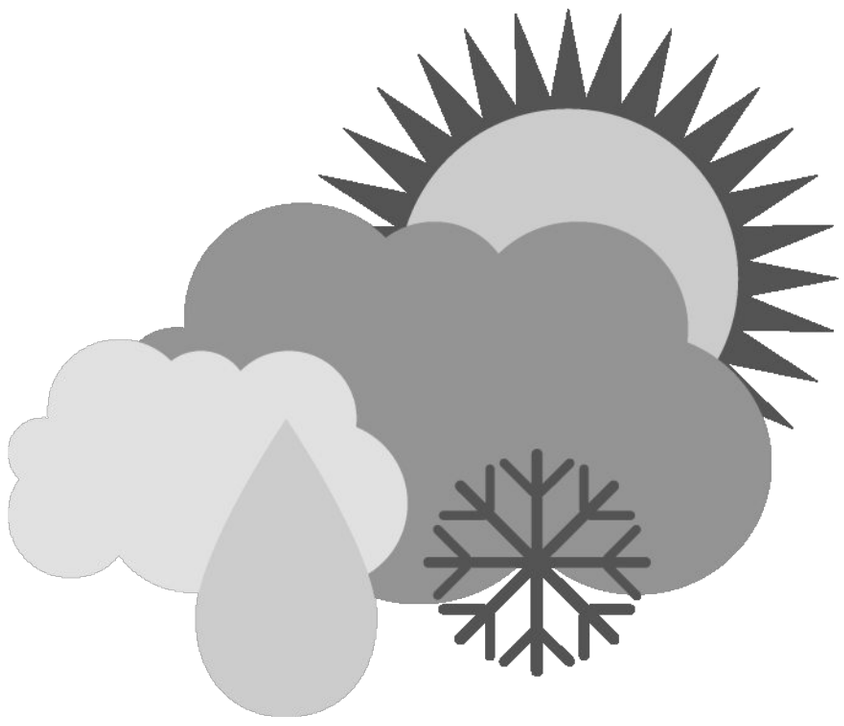
Technical Product Management Specialist, The Boeing Company, Arlington, VA
Plan, initiate, and manage information technology (IT) projects. Conduct research to determine customer needs and to create strategies for the development of products. 100% telecommuting permitted; candidate may reside anywhere in the U.S. To apply, visit jobs.boeing.com and search Job ID # 00000431449.

Technology Consulting - Cyber Security – Identity & Access Management (IAM) (Senior) (Multiple Positions) (1519934), Ernst & Young U.S. LLP, Tysons (McLean), VA
Help clients gain insight and context to their complex Identity and Access Management (IAM) environments. Requires travel up to 60% of which 5% may be international to serve client needs. Employer will accept any suitable combination of education, training, or experience. $146,800.00 per year. For complete job description, list of requirements, and to apply online, go to: ey.com/en_us/careers and click on "Careers - Job Search", then "Search Jobs" (Job Number - 1519934).

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The Washington Post Jobs

FEATURED EMPLOYERS SPOTLIGHT

WHO ARE FEATURED EMPLOYERS?

JOBSEEKERS: Washington Post Featured Employers are D.C.'s largest and most prominent organizations. They include employers across a range of industries, like IT, accounting, healthcare, and government, and are hiring candidates today! Whether you're applying to your first job, transitioning to a new career or looking for a promotion, our Featured Employers have the jobs you want.

This weekly FE spotlight showcases just a small sample of our Featured Employers, enabling you to learn more about each company and some of the thousands of jobs they are currently hiring for. Stay in the game and check out the FE Spotlight each Sunday to discover new D.C. area companies and other great jobs. Washington Post Jobs is D.C.'s #1 Source for Jobs.

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Washington Post Jobs' Featured Employer packages offer you a valuable and unique way to source qualified candidates. Featured Employers also enjoy value-added exposure across The Washington Post and washingtonpost.com. Become an FE today and leverage the power of Washington Post media. To learn more, contact your Jobs account representative and call 202-334-4101.

Featured Employers of The Week

Adventist HealthCare

Employer Industry: Healthcare/Location: Gaithersburg/Openings: 456—*We are a faith-based healthcare organization, based in Montgomery County, Maryland. We are the largest employer in Montgomery County with over 6,000 employees! Our comprehensive approach to caring for our community includes three acute-care hospitals – Shady Grove Medical Center, White Oak Medical Center and Fort Washington Medical Center – as well as two Physical Rehabilitation hospitals, Outpatient centers, Imaging Centers, Urgent Cares, Home Care Services, Employer Health Programs and Physician Networks. We are nationally recognized and honored especially for our Cardiac, OB, Cancer, Stroke, Orthopedic, Rehabilitation and Mental Health services. Our mission is to extend God's care through the ministry of…*

Registered Nurse (RN), Day Shift, Operating Room–*Silver Spring*
White Oak Medical Center seeks to hire a Registered Nurse for our Operating Room who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As an Operating Room Registered Nurse, you will: Report directly to the Clinical Nurse Manager and…

Unit Support Coordinator, Day Shift, Emergency Department–*Silver Spring*
White Oak Medical Center seeks to hire an experienced Unit Support Coordinator for our Medical Surgical Unit who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As a Unit Support Coordinator, you will: Support departmental operations by providing…

Patient Care Technician (CNA), Day Shift, Rehabilitation–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Patient Care Technician for our Rehabilitation department who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Patient Care Technician, you will: Perform various service duties and routine…

Community Health Worker, Day Shift, Care Navigation–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Community Health Worker for our Care Navigation Department who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Community Health Worker, you will: In collaboration with the Primary Care RN…

Visiting Physical Therapist, Day Shift, Home Health–*Waldorf*
Adventist HealthCare is hiring a full-time Home Health Physical Therapist (PT) in our Prince George County, with a sign-on bonus of up to $12,000. We're seeking a Physical Therapist (PT) who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As…

Stationary Engineer 1st Class, Night shift, Plant Operations–*Rockville*
Adventist HealthCare seeks to hire an experienced Stationary Engineer 1st Class who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental, and spiritual healing. As a Stationary Engineer 1st class, you will: Be responsible for maintaining and controlling…

George Mason University

Employer Industry: Education/Location: Fairfax/Openings: 223—*George Mason University is a university with three campuses, each with a distinctive academic focus that plays a critical role in the economy of its region. At each campus, students, faculty, and staff have full access to all the university's resources, while duplication of programs and support services is minimized through the use of technology. In addition to the main campus in Fairfax, the university has campuses in Arlington and Prince William Counties.*

Research Services Librarian–*Fairfax*
Department: Antonin Scalia Law School. Job Category: Administrative or Professional Faculty. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Arlington, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background Check: Yes. About the Department…

Term Assistant Professor–*Fairfax*
Department: Col of Humanities and Soc Science. Classification: 9-month Instructional Faculty. Job Category: Instructional Faculty. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: On Site Required. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background…

Academic Program Coordinator–*Fairfax*
Department: College of Engineering and Computing. Classification: Education Support Spec 2. Job Category: Classified Staff. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Pay Band: 03. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background…

Clinic Administrative Medical Assistant–*Fairfax*
Department: UL. Classification: GMU Worker. Job Category: Part-Time / Hourly Wage. Job Type: Part-Time. Location: Arlington, VA. Workplace Type: On Site Required. Salary: Salary starting at $26 an hour, commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background Check: Yes. About the Department…

Compliance Investigator–*Fairfax*
Department: Diversity Equity and Inclusion. Job Category: Administrative or Professional Faculty. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background Check: Yes. About the Department…

Academic Advisor, BSed–*Fairfax*
Department: Col of Ed and Human Development. Classification: Education Support Spec 3. Job Category: Classified Staff. Job Type: Full-Time. Work Schedule: Full-time (1.0 FTE, 40 hrs/wk). Location: Fairfax, VA. Workplace Type: Hybrid Eligible. Pay Band: 04. Salary: Salary commensurate with education and experience. Criminal Background…

Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority

Employer Industry: Delivery and Transportation/Location: Washington D.C. / Openings: 31—*The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority operates the second largest rail transit system and the fifth largest bus network in the United States. Safe, clean and reliable, "America's Transit System" transports more than a third of the federal government to work and millions of tourists to the landmarks in the Nation's Capital. Metro has earned a worldwide reputation for security and architectural beauty. WMATA is clearly the employer of choice for over 10,000 area residents. The Authority was created in 1967 by an interstate compact to plan, develop, build, finance and operate a balanced regional transportation system in the National Capital area. Construction of the Metrorail system began in 1969. Four area…*

Contract Administrator II–*Washington D.C.*
Education: Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration, Engineering, or a related field. In lieu of a Bachelor's Degree, a high school diploma or GED and an additional four (4) years of experience in developing and administering requests for proposals and/or quotations, specifications…

Contract Manager–*Washington D.C.*
Education: A Bachelor's Degree in business administration, engineering, or a related field. Or in lieu of degree four (4) additional years of professional experience in the procurement and contracting of materials, equipment and service contracts. Experience Nine (9) years of professional…

Senior Small Business Auditor–
Education: Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration/ Management, Accounting, Finance or a related field. Experience: A minimum of seven (7) years of experience in accounting, conducting audits and/or compliance with standards, policies and procedures Certification/Licensure Possession…

Compensation Specialist–
This opportunity is a hybrid opportunity allowing for flexibility between virtual and in-person work subject to the Authority's telework policy. Are you passionate about ensuring fair and competitive compensation within a dynamic and innovative environment…

Financial Analyst II–*Washington D.C.*
This opportunity is a hybrid opportunity allowing for flexibility between virtual and in-person work subject to the Authority's telework policy. We are seeking an Entry Level Financial Analyst to join our Management & Budget team. As a Financial Analyst II…

General Equipment Mechanic D–*Washington D.C.*
The selection for Maintenance and Construction is made on the basis of fitness and ability with preference given to: Maintenance and Construction District, System-Wide (L689), Authority-Wide and external candidates, respectively. Education: High School Diploma or…

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Capital One

Financial Services and Banking–*We Don't Only Think Big Things—At Capital One, We Do Big Things. You're dedicated to your career. You deserve professional satisfaction and personal fulfillment. You belong at Capital One. Here, every day brings another chance to do impactful work that matters: helping millions of customers confidently manage their money, building stronger communities and delivering truly disruptive tech. You'll give your all alongside some of the brightest, most resilient people in the industry—and in return, you'll enjoy…*

Senior Software Engineer, Back End (Java, Python, AWS)–*Plano, TX*
As a Financial Services Senior Risk Associate, you will provide professional risk judgment that enables business partners to tackle major company challenges. In this role, not only will you lean into your analytical and problem solving skills by developing…

Sr. Risk Associate–*Plano, TX*
As a Financial Services Senior Risk Associate , you will provide professional risk judgment that enables business partners to tackle major company challenges. In this role, not only will you lean into your analytical and problem solving…

Adventist HealthCare

Healthcare–*We are a faith-based healthcare organization, based in Montgomery County, Maryland. We are the largest employer in Montgomery County with over 6,000 employees! Our comprehensive approach to caring for our community includes three acute-care hospitals – Shady Grove Medical Center, White Oak Medical Center and Fort Washington Medical Center – as well as two Physical Rehabilitation hospitals, Outpatient centers, Imaging Centers, Urgent Cares, Home Care Services, Employer Health Programs and Physician…*

Registered Nurse (RN), Day Shift, Operating Room–*Silver Spring*
White Oak Medical Center seeks to hire a Registered Nurse for our Operating Room who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As an Operating Room Registered Nurse, you…

Unit Support Coordinator, Day Shift, Emergency Department–*Silver Spring*
White Oak Medical Center seeks to hire an experienced Unit Support Coordinator for our Medical Surgical Unit who will embrace our mission to extend God's care through the ministry of physical, mental and spiritual healing. As a Unit Support…

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Education–*George Mason University is a university with three campuses, each with a distinctive academic focus that plays a critical role in the economy of its region. At each campus, students, faculty, and staff have full access to all the university's resources, while duplication of programs and support services is minimized through the use of technology. In addition to the main campus in Fairfax, the university has campuses in Arlington and Prince William Counties.*

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Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority

Delivery and Transportation–*The Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority operates the second largest rail transit system and the fifth largest bus network in the United States. Safe, clean and reliable, "America's Transit System" transports more than a third of the federal government to work and millions of tourists to the landmarks in the Nation's Capital. Metro has earned a worldwide reputation for security and architectural beauty. WMATA is clearly the employer of choice for over 10,000 area residents. The Authority was created in 1967 by…*

Contract Administrator II–*Washington D.C.*
Education: Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration, Engineering, or a related field. In lieu of a Bachelor's Degree, a high school diploma or GED and an additional four (4) years of experience in developing and administering requests for proposals and/or…

Contract Manager–*Washington D.C.*
Education: A Bachelor's Degree in business administration, engineering, or a related field. Or in lieu of degree four (4) additional years of professional experience in the procurement and contracting of materials, equipment and service contracts. Experience Nine (9) years…

Dewberry

Engineering–*Dewberry is a leading, market-facing professional services firm with more than 50 locations and 2,000 professionals nationwide. What sets us apart from our competitors are our people. At Dewberry, we seek out exceptional talent and strive to deliver the highest quality of services to our clients. Whether you're an experienced professional or a new graduate, you'll have the chance to collaborate with the best and brightest and work on innovative and complex projects at the forefront of the industry. Our commitment to excellence…*

Geospatial Data Analyst–*Fairfax*
Dewberry is currently seeking a Data Analyst for our Fairfax, VA office. Dewberry's Geospatial and Technology Services creates geospatial and analytical solutions for real-world engineering, environmental, and community problems. Our analysts perform a variety of data…

Marketing Pursuit/Proposal Manager (Hybrid)–*Fairfax*
Dewberry is currently seeking a Hybrid Marketing Pursuit/ Proposal Manager with A/E/C experience to support our Site/Civil Business Unit and can be based in out of one of our Virginia (Fairfax, Gainesville, Leesburg) or Maryland (Lanham, Rockville, Baltimore, Frederick)…

Westat

Research–*Westat, headquartered in Rockville, Maryland, near Washington, D.C., is an employee-owned research corporation serving agencies of the U.S. Government, state and local governments, businesses, and foundations. We conduct surveys and program evaluations, provide statistical research, and offer related services. Our multiproject environment provides career opportunities in health, energy, education, transportation, the environment, human services, and the workforce. We combine the relevant research area expertise…*

Senior Identity Access Management Engineer (Remote-ET/CT time zone)–*Rockville*
Westat is seeking a Senior Identity Access Management (IAM) Engineer who will be responsible for the design, implementation, and support for the organization IAM solutions. This role will interface with the IT security team…

Research Analyst-Project Coordination–*Rockville*
Westat is seeking a Research Analyst to join our team engaged in social policy and economic research. This early-career position will support research in the areas of food and nutrition, labor and workforce development, family support and aging, transportation, and military and…

American Speech-Language-Hearing Association

Associations–*The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association was founded in 1925. It is a not-for-profit scientific and professional association for speech-language pathologists, audiologists, and speech and hearing scientists. ASHA is committed to the consumers of our services, the more than 42 million Americans with communication disorders. ASHA's mission is to ensure that all people with speech-language, and hearing disorders receive quality services from well-educated professionals. The American Speech-Language-Hearing…*

Senior Director, Speech-Language Pathology in Health Care–*Rockville*
The purpose of this position is to track national trends; recommend, facilitate and coordinate the development of Association practice policies; provide expert practice policy information and technical assistance to ASHA members; and serve as…

Continuing Education, Administrative Assistant–*Rockville*
The purpose of this position is to provide administrative support for activities of the Continuing Education (CE) Team of the ASHA National Office, coordinating and maintaining an effective and efficient flow of work. The incumbent serves as the…

Fairfax County Government

Government and Public Services–*Fairfax County, Virginia is a diverse and thriving urban county. As the most populous jurisdiction in both Virginia and the Washington metropolitan area, the County's population exceeds that of seven states. The median household income of Fairfax County is one of the highest in the nation and over half of its adult residents have four-year college degrees or more educational attainment. Fairfax County also is home to an extensive commercial office market and is a major employment center. Fairfax County Government is a…*

Director Of County Library–*Fairfax*
The Director serves as the Chief Executive Officer for the Fairfax County Public Library (FCPL) system. Subject to the policies, guidelines, and supervision of the Fairfax County Public Library Board of Trustees and under the administrative direction of the Deputy County Executive…

Deputy County Executive–*Fairfax*
The Deputy County Executive is appointed by the Board of Supervisors and reports to the County Executive. This position serves at the pleasure of the Board of Supervisors. The incumbent works closely with the other deputies on county-wide initiatives, board priorities, and…

Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority

Airport Operations/Management–*The Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority operates a two-airport system that provides domestic and international air service for the mid-Atlantic region. The organization consists of approximately 1,700 employees in a structure that includes central administration, airports management, and police and fire departments. In addition to operating Ronald Reagan Washington National and Washington Dulles International Airports, the Airports Authority is responsible for capital improvements at both airports and management of the Dulles Toll Road.*

Vice President and Airport Manager–*Washington D.C.*
Compensation Grade: Vice President. Salary Range: $175,888.00-$287,050.00. Opening Date: July 15, 2024. Closing Date: July 30, 2024. Please Note: All job announcements close at 11:59 p.m. of the day before the posted closing date. As Vice President and Airport…

Emergency Communications Technician II–*Washington D.C.*
Compensation Grade: PS11B. Salary Range: $27.05-$44.64. Opening Date: July 15, 2024. Closing Date: Please Note: All job announcements close at 11:59 p.m. of the day before the posted closing date. As an Emergency Communications Technician II, you will receive and create calls for…

Fairfax Water

Science–*Fairfax County Water Authority (Fairfax Water) is Virginia's largest water utility, serving one out of every five Virginians who obtain their water from public utilities. Nearly 1.5 million people in the Northern Virginia communities of Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William and Alexandria depend on Fairfax Water for superior drinking water. That's 1.5 million friends, neighbors and family members. We don't need any other reason to demand the highest in water quality standards! Chartered in 1957 by the Virginia State Corporation Commission as a…*

Laboratory Field Technician I - Temporary–*Herndon*
Under close supervision of the Laboratory Supervisor(s), performs routine field sampling and analysis of water from various sources to assure that drinking water meets regulatory requirements. Performs general laboratory maintenance…

System Control Engineer I/II/III–*Herndon*
Under close supervision of the Supervisor Systems Control, performs engineering work associated with the maintenance of computerized process control, data acquisition and data transmission for water plant production and distribution systems. Responsibilities…

Alexandria City Public Schools

Education–*Alexandria City Public Schools is one of the most diverse school systems in the country and we celebrate that diversity. Our students come from more than 80 different countries, speak more than 60 languages, and represent a rainbow of ethnic and cultural groups. They are economically diverse, but all are rich in that the residents of Alexandria are dedicated to ensuring that each and every one of them achieves success. The children of Alexandria have benefited significantly from the strong support of City Council and the Alexandria…*

Special Education Teacher (Middle School) - (2024-25 SY)–*Alexandria*
The Special Education Teacher develops special education students' success in academics, interpersonal skills, and activities of daily living by implementing district approved curriculum; documenting teaching and student progress/activities…

High School Science Teacher (Biology) - General Pool (2024-25 SY)–*Alexandria*
The Teacher facilitates student success in academic and interpersonal skills through implementing district approved curriculum; documenting teaching and student progress/activities; addressing specific educational needs of…

The MIL Corporation (MIL)

Government Contractor–*Established in 1980, MIL provides innovative cyber, engineering, financial, and information technology services to the federal government. Our subject matter experts help advance customer operations through proven tools and methodologies. Dedicated to excellence, service, and support, MIL recognizes that sustained high-quality service delivery is a critical contributor to our success. We are recognized by our clients and industry professionals alike for our integrity, diligence, and expertise across our core service areas: Cyber…*

Warehouse Specialist II–*Lexington Park*
Clearance Required: Ability to Obtain a Secret. Education Required: HS/GED. US Citizenship: Required. The MIL Corporation is seeking a Warehouse Specialist II to support a Federal Government client at our Lexington Park, MD locations. This position currently requires an…

Systems Engineer, Journeyman (Security Engineering, Analyst)–*Lexington Park*
Clearance Required: Top Secret. Education Required: BA/BS. US Citizenship: Required. The MIL Corporation is seeking a Systems Engineer, Journeyman (Security Engineering, Analyst) to support a Federal Government…

AARP

Associations–*AARP is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, social welfare organization with a membership of nearly 38 million. Our aim is to disrupt preconceived notions about aging, turn goals and dreams into Real Possibilities, strengthen communities and fight for the issues that matter most to people 50-plus and their families; such as health care, employment security and retirement planning.*

Senior Medicare Patrol Project Analyst–*Washington D.C.*
The Senior Medicare Patrol (SMP) Project Analyst, organizes and implements the Legal Counsel for the Elderly's (LCE) Senior Medicare Patrol (SMP) project, a federal grant-funded project to educate the public on how to identify and report Medicare and…

Legal Intake Specialist–*Washington D.C.*
The Legal Intake Specialist performs a broad range of administrative support for one or more attorneys. Performs intake for potential clients and supports attorneys with client communications and investigative work such as gathering evidence, searching records and documents…

Ensco, Inc

Technology and Software–*ENSCO, Inc. represent a $165 million international technology enterprise with over 750 employees headquartered in the Washington, D.C., area. Since 1969, ENSCO has provided innovative engineering, science, and technology solutions to government and private sectors worldwide, specializing in aerospace, national security, and surface transportation. Their projects operate in mission-critical environments where safety, security, reliability, and resilience are paramount. ENSCO's culture emphasizes creativity, innovation…*

Maintenance Planner Scheduler–*Pueblo*
ENSCO is seeking an experienced Maintenance Planner Scheduler at the Transportation Technology Center (TTC) to support facility maintenance activities. Responsibilities shall include the following: Create and update work tickets in a computerized maintenance…

Systems Engineer - SkillBridge Internship - Hybrid Opportunity–*Colorado Springs*
ENSCO's Lead from the Front (LFF) Military Transition Program is an approved SkillBridge internship under DoDI 1322.29. The LFF program provides eligible service members the opportunity to gain work experience…

Rigil Corporation

Engineering–*Rigil is an award-winning strategy, technology, and products company committed to making life better for every individual and community they support. Founded in 2005 as a woman-owned business, Rigil had one premise: There is always a better way. A better way to serve customers, deliver solutions, and foster a balanced working community. Rakhi Sharma founded Rigil in 2005 on one premise: There is always a better way. A better way to serve customers, develop solutions, and foster a balanced working community…*

Mechanical Engineer for Western Service Area Districts–*Los Angeles*
Mechanical Engineer (Experience with HVAC OR Elevators is required). About RigilRigil is an award-winning, woman-owned, small business that specializes in technology consulting, strategy consulting and product development. We value…

Civil Engineer for Western Service Area Districts–*Los Angeles*
Benefits: 401(k). 401(k) matching Competitive salary. Dental insurance Health insurance. Opportunity for advancement Paid time off. Training & development Tuition assistance. Vision insurance. Role: Civil Engineer. About Rigil: Rigil is an…

City Of Alexandria Virginia

Government and Public Services–*The City of Alexandria is an award-winning, innovative, and progressive local government that brings together elected leaders, residents, businesses, and staff to foster a thriving community. We are an independent, full-service city, providing the services typically operated by both counties and cities in areas such as public safety, transportation, human services, parks and recreation, planning, and administration. We offer a wide range of exciting career opportunities in a variety of fields, with the resources…*

Division Chief of Administrative Services–*Alexandria*
The Division Chief for Administrative Services manages all administrative and support functions in the Finance Department and supervises the Administration Division. The incumbent is responsible for the department's budget development and monitoring…

Emergency Services Sr. Therapist - Youth Specialist–*Alexandria*
The Senior Therapists/Emergency Services Clinician provides assessment, crisis intervention, and psychiatric stabilization to citizens of Alexandria, as well as to other persons who are within Alexandria city limits while experiencing a mental health crisis.

Chenega MIOS

Government Contractor–*Chenega Corporation's Military, Intelligence, and Operations Support (MIOS) Strategic Business Unit (SBU) provides innovative solutions for federal, DOD, and commercial customers worldwide. Founded in 2005 and headquartered in Lorton, Virginia, Chenega MIOS is a shared services division of Chenega Corporation. As an Alaska Native Corporation, 100% of our profits benefit our Native shareholders through preservation of culture and heritage or being reinvested in the business, truly making Chenega a "Corporation…*

Software Engineer, Mid-Level–*Gaithersburg*
Provide technical leadership and deliver an innovative product, service, or a combination of products and services that address a customer's specific requirements in support of ESRI-based GIS systems. Develop APIs for geospatial data ingest and transmission to external…

Intermediate Information Security Specialist–*Arlington*
The Intermediate Information Security Specialist uses current information security technology disciplines and practices to ensure the confidentiality, integrity, and availability of corporate information assets by established standards and procedures.

PEG LLC

Consulting–*PEG, LLC is in its twenty-sixth year being a diverse energy efficiency, engineering, environmental and management consulting firm operating principally in the Eastern and Central United States. As a leader in Home Energy Ratings, a winner of multiple Energy Star Awards, and a standout in the construction industry, PEG has provided Home Energy Ratings for over 170,000 homes. We strive to continually improve building energy efficiency and therefore, the quality of homes and life in the communities that we service. Please visit our website at www.pegenv.com to learn more about PEG!*

Building Energy Performance Programs Analyst–*Fairfax*
As an analyst in PEG's Building Energy Performance Programs Team, you fill a critical position that serves as the middleman in the home modeling/rating timeline, simplifying the data collected during a home's detailed inspection.

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Coordination of Community Services (CCS) Program Manager–*Silver Spring*
A CCS Program Manager has operational responsibility of the CCS program to include regulatory compliance and program specific outcomes related to the strategic plan. Under the direct supervision of the CCS Vice Presidents, Program Managers…

Team Member Experience Coordinator (TME Coordinator)–*Frederick*
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All medical records retained by Laura Primakoff, Ph.D will be destroyed after September 3, 2024. Clients can obtain their records or have them transferred by contacting Dr.Primakoff at drprimakoff@gmail.com, calling 301-299-6888, or coming to Davis Library, 6400 Democracy Blvd., Bethesda on September 3 between 10am and 12noon.

830 **Special Notices**

Public Notice
All medical records retained by Dana O'Brien, PhD, LLC will be destroyed after September 5, 2024. Clients can obtain their records or have them transferred by contacting Dr. O'Brien at dr.danaobrien@gmail.com, calling 3014934320, or coming to 11119 Rockville Pike, #200, Rockville, MD on Sept. 5 between 9:00 and11:00 AM.

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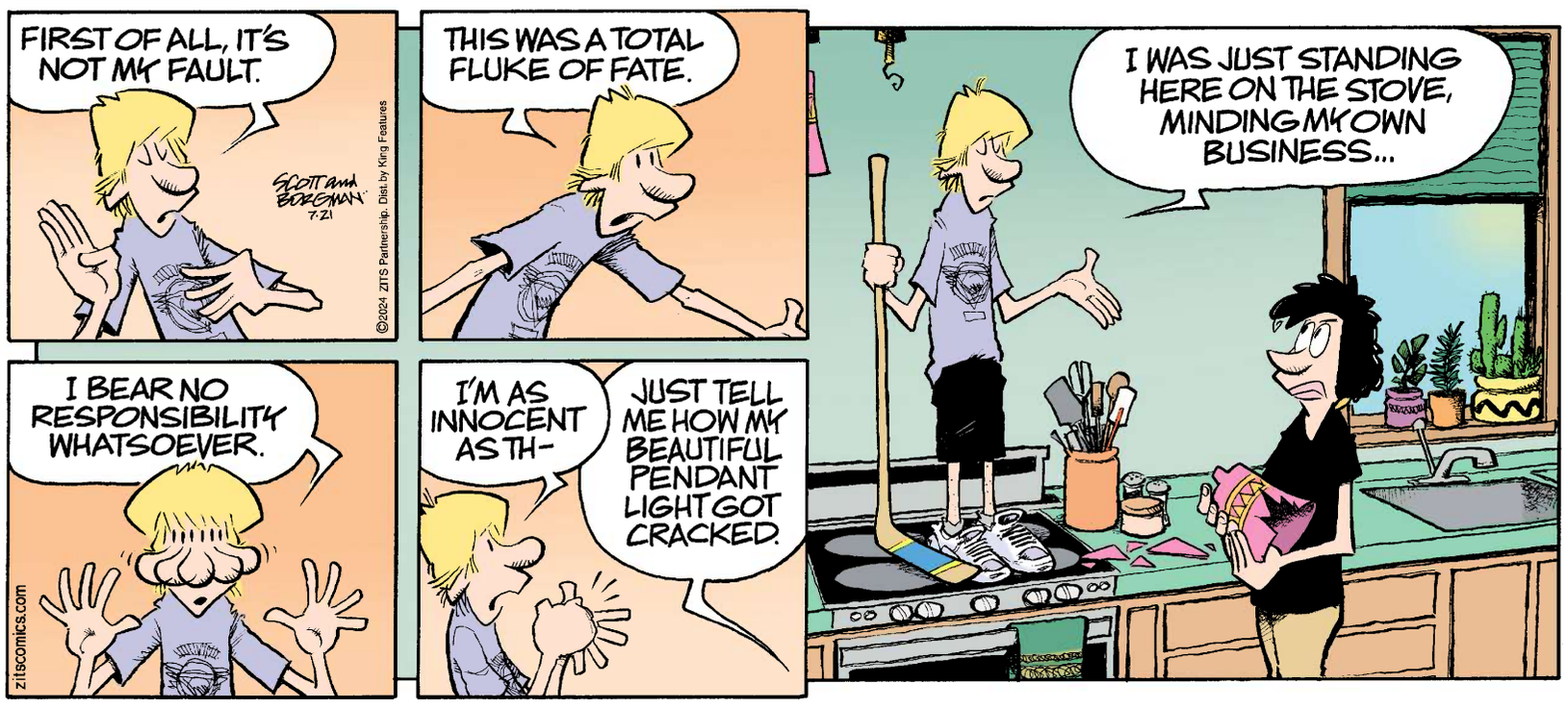
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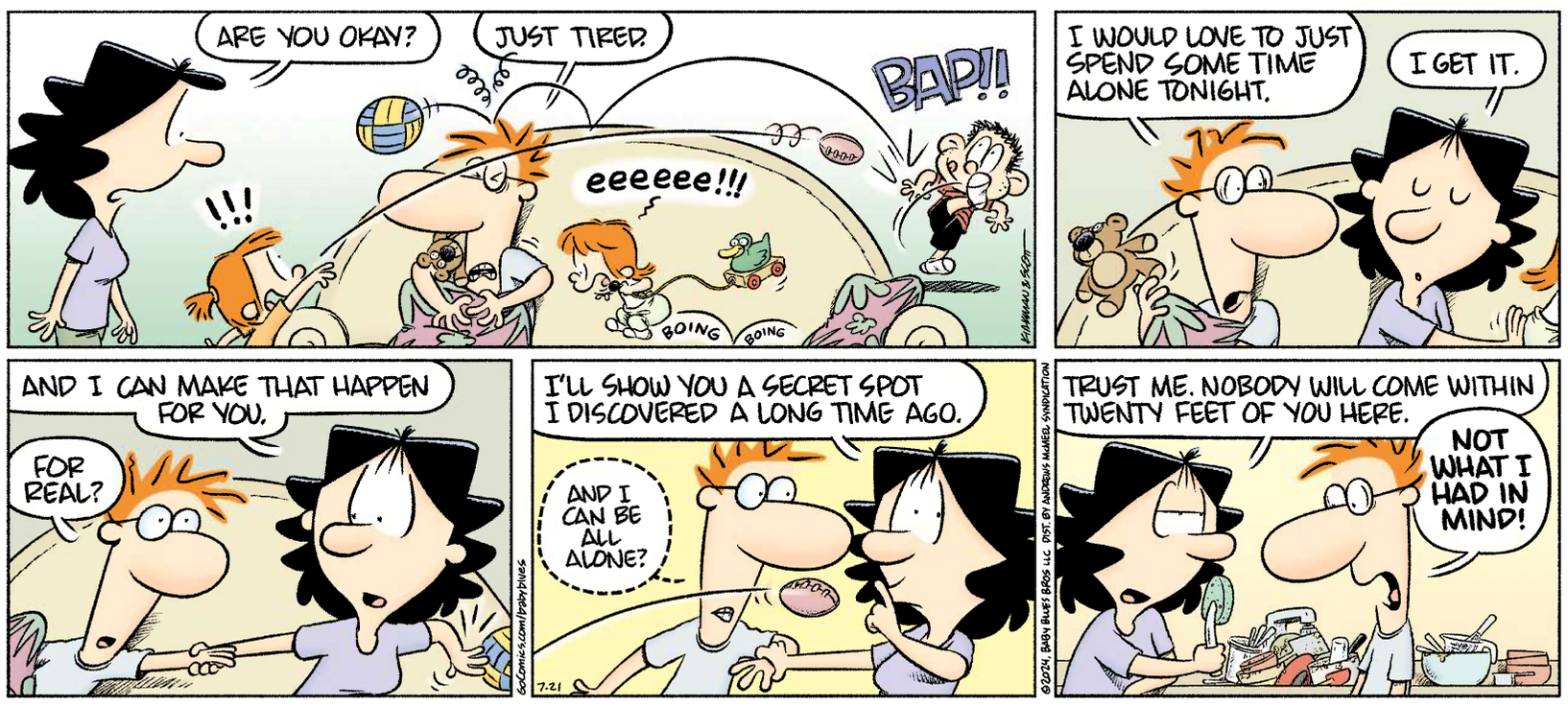
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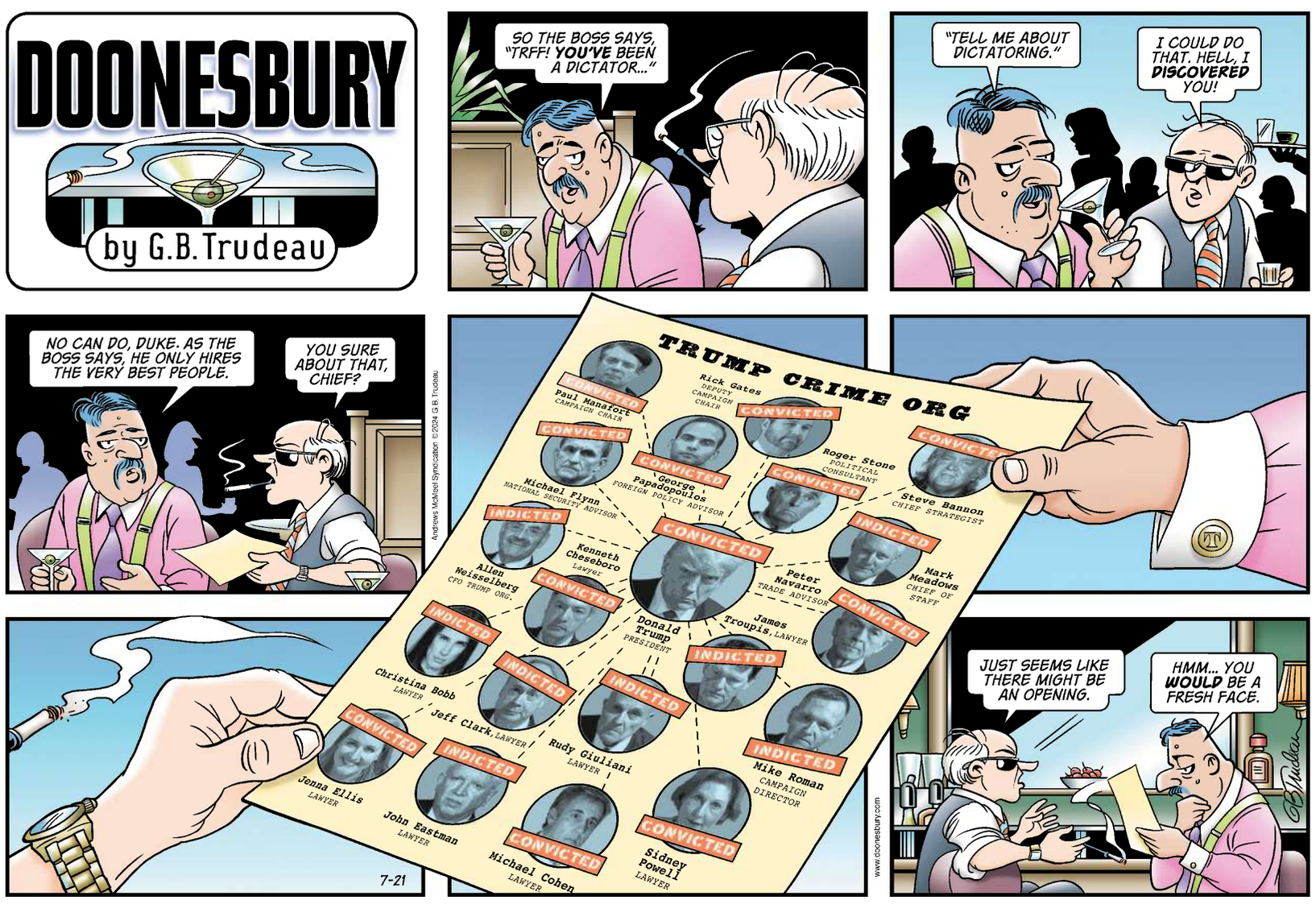
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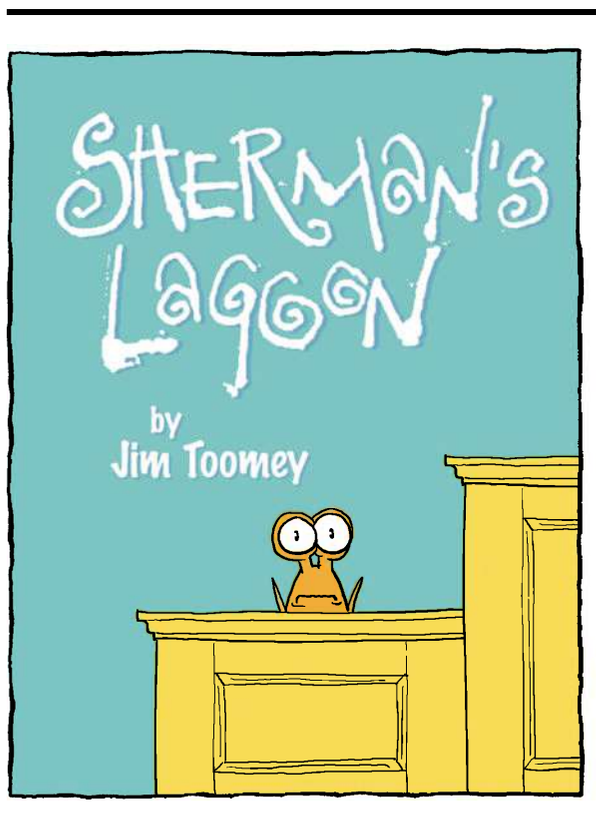
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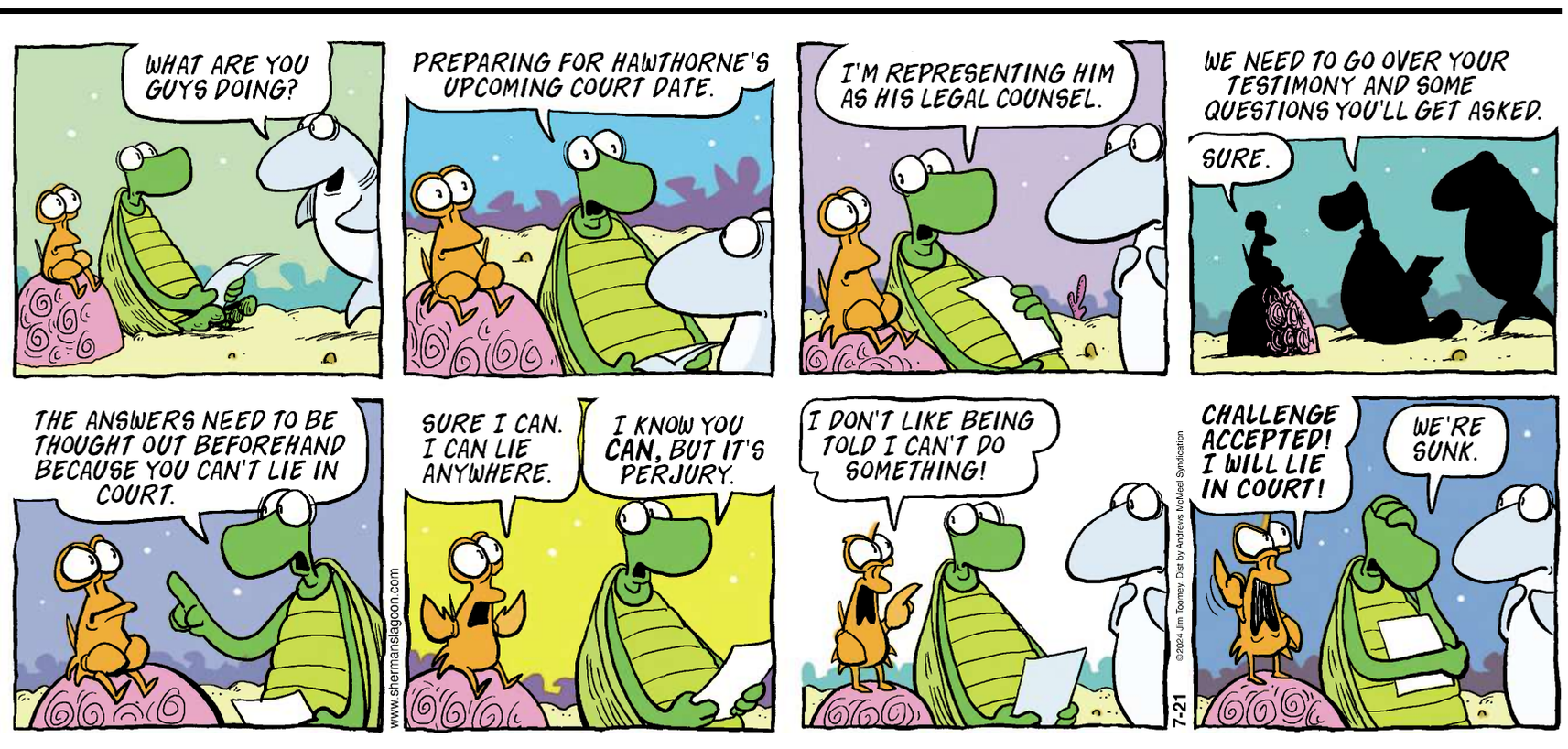
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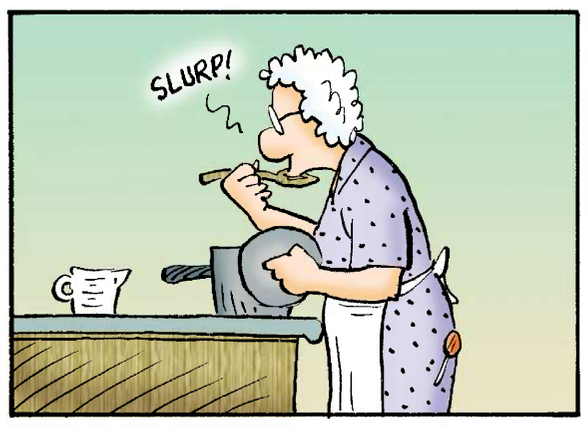
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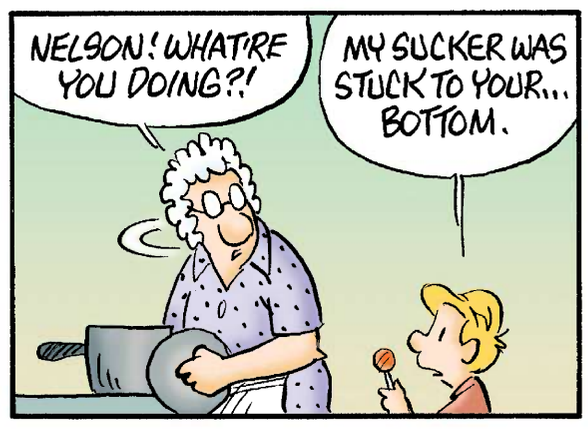


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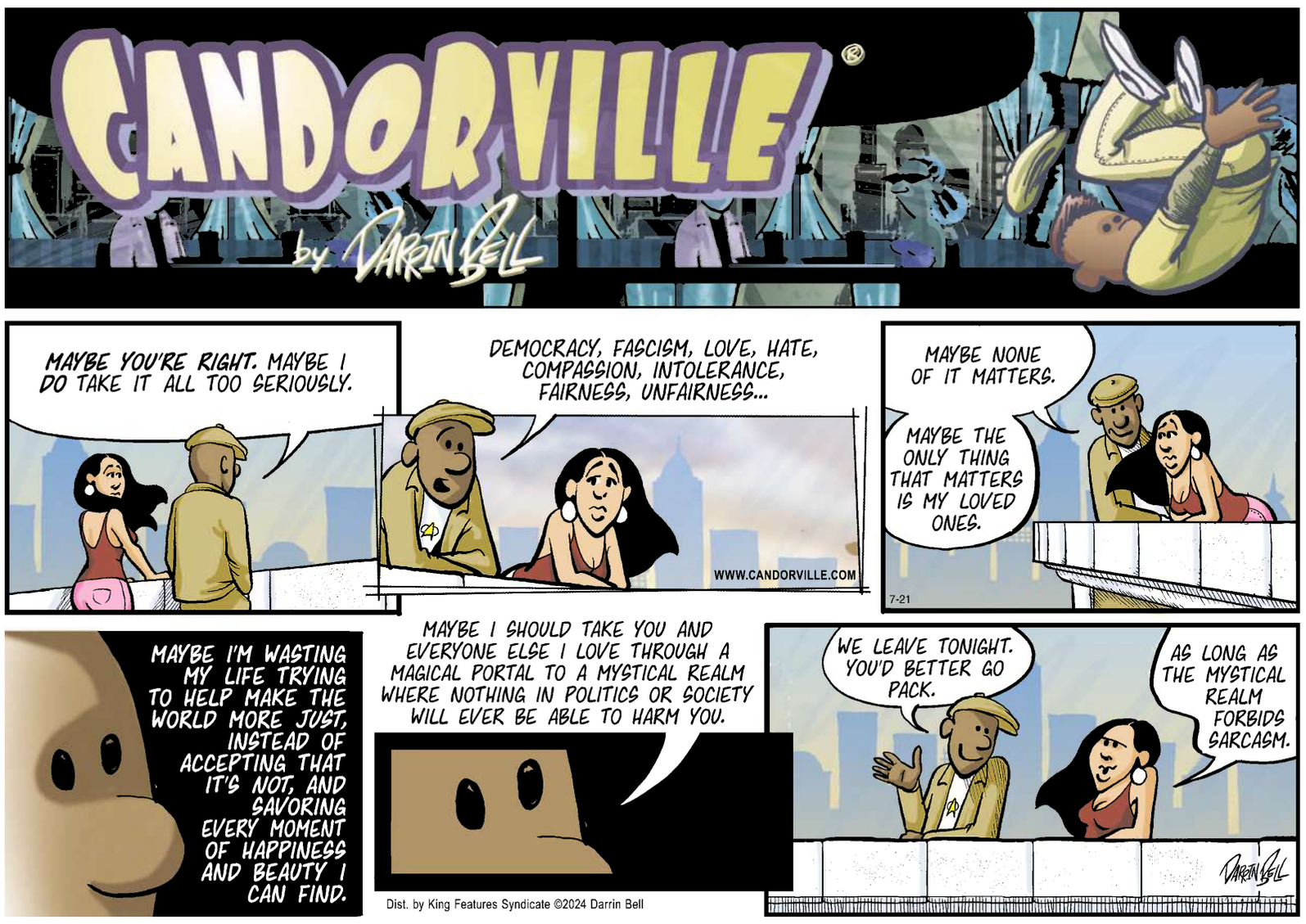






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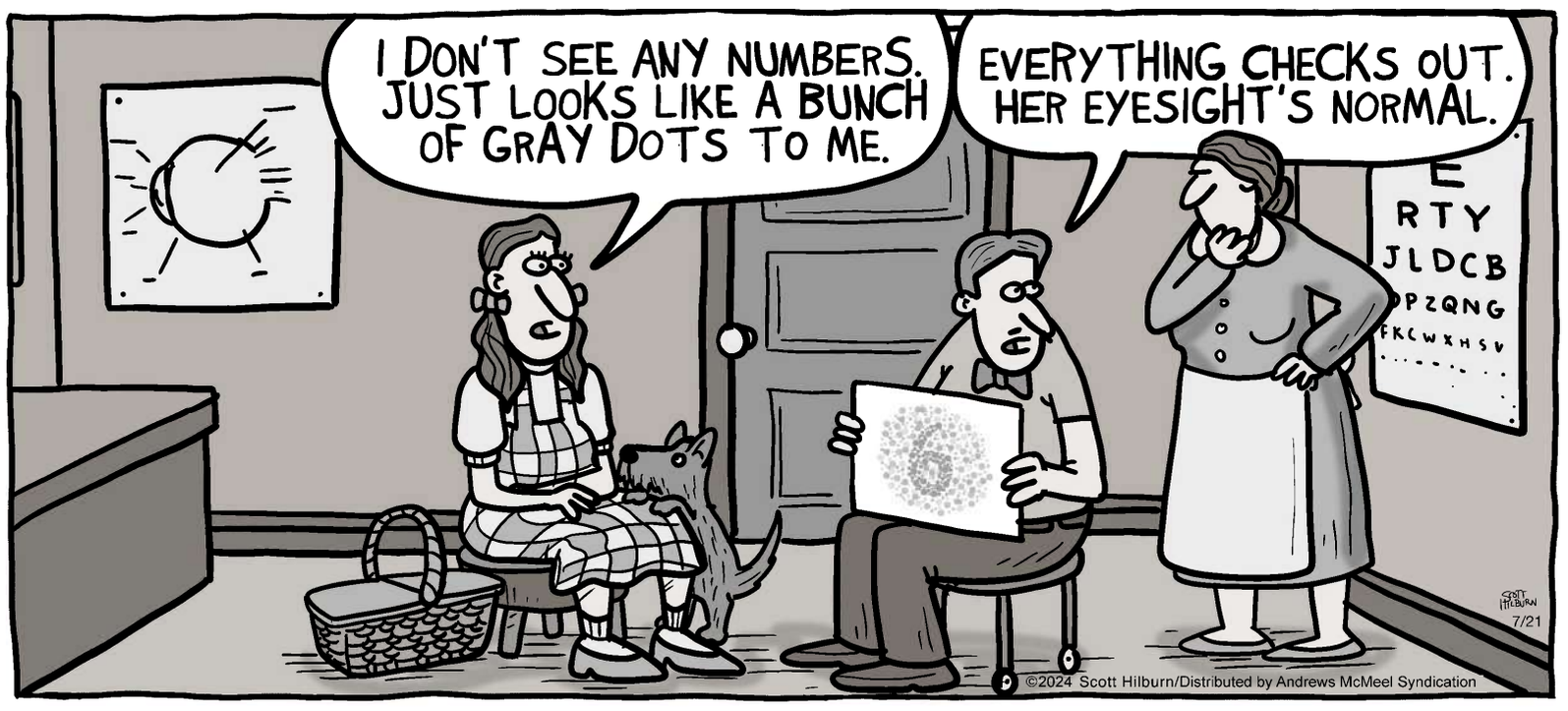
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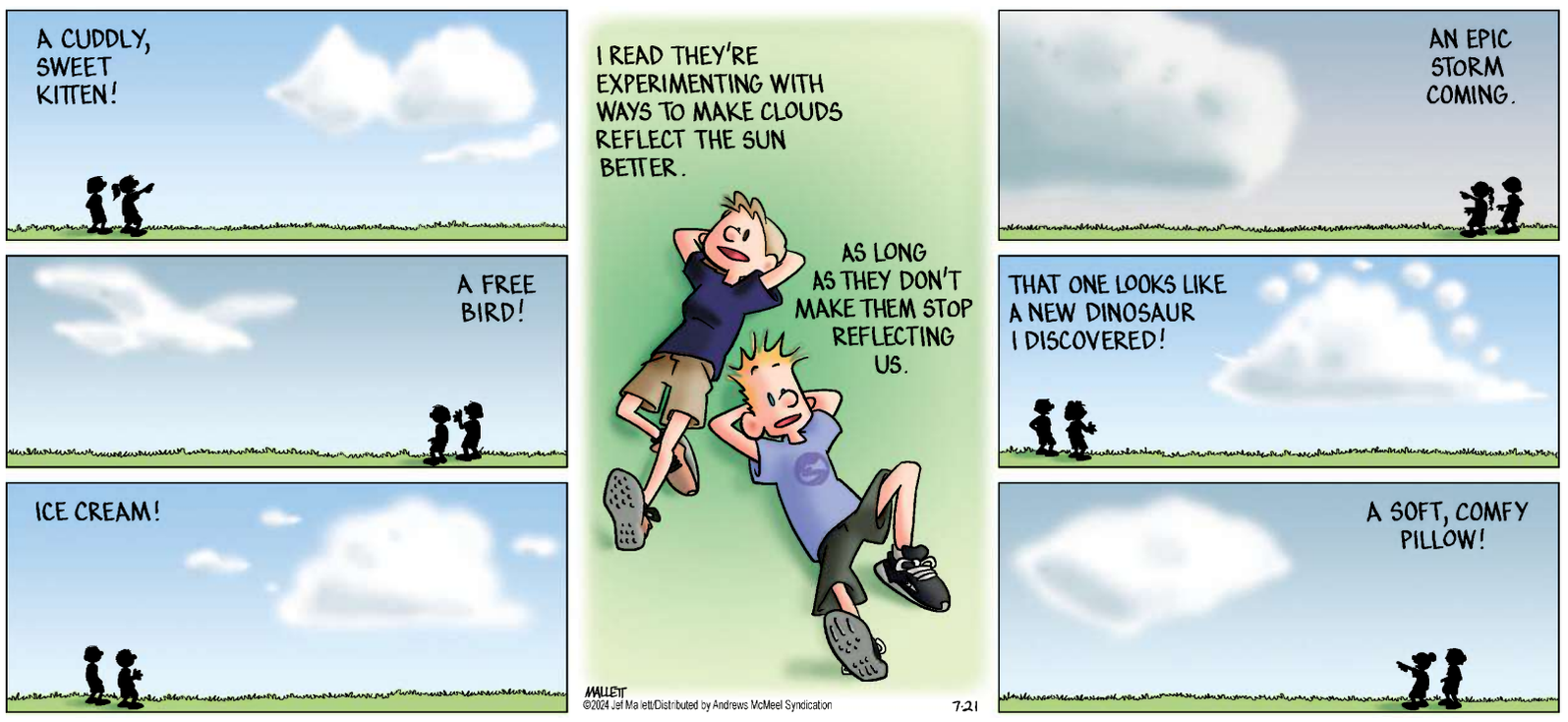
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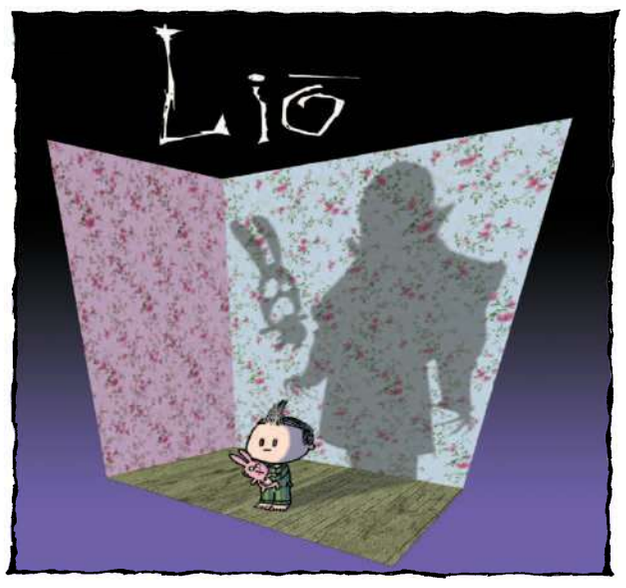
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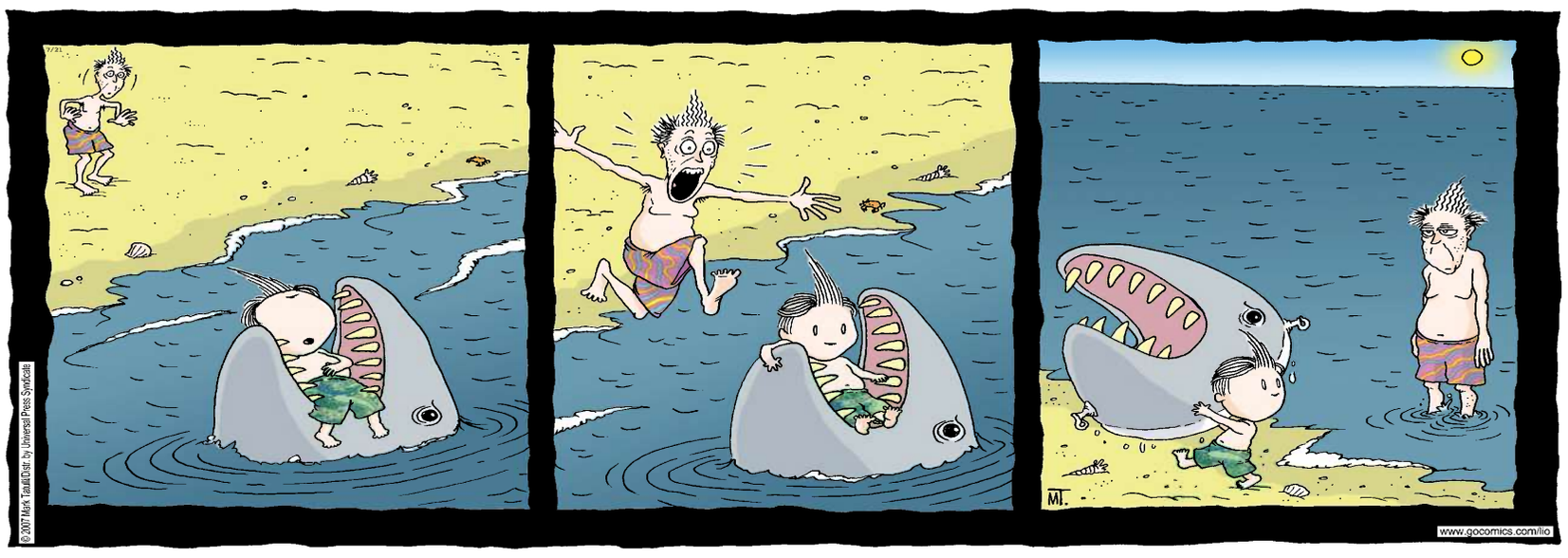
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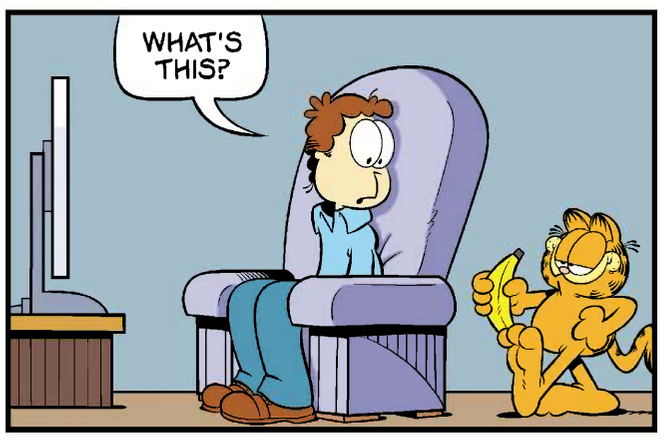
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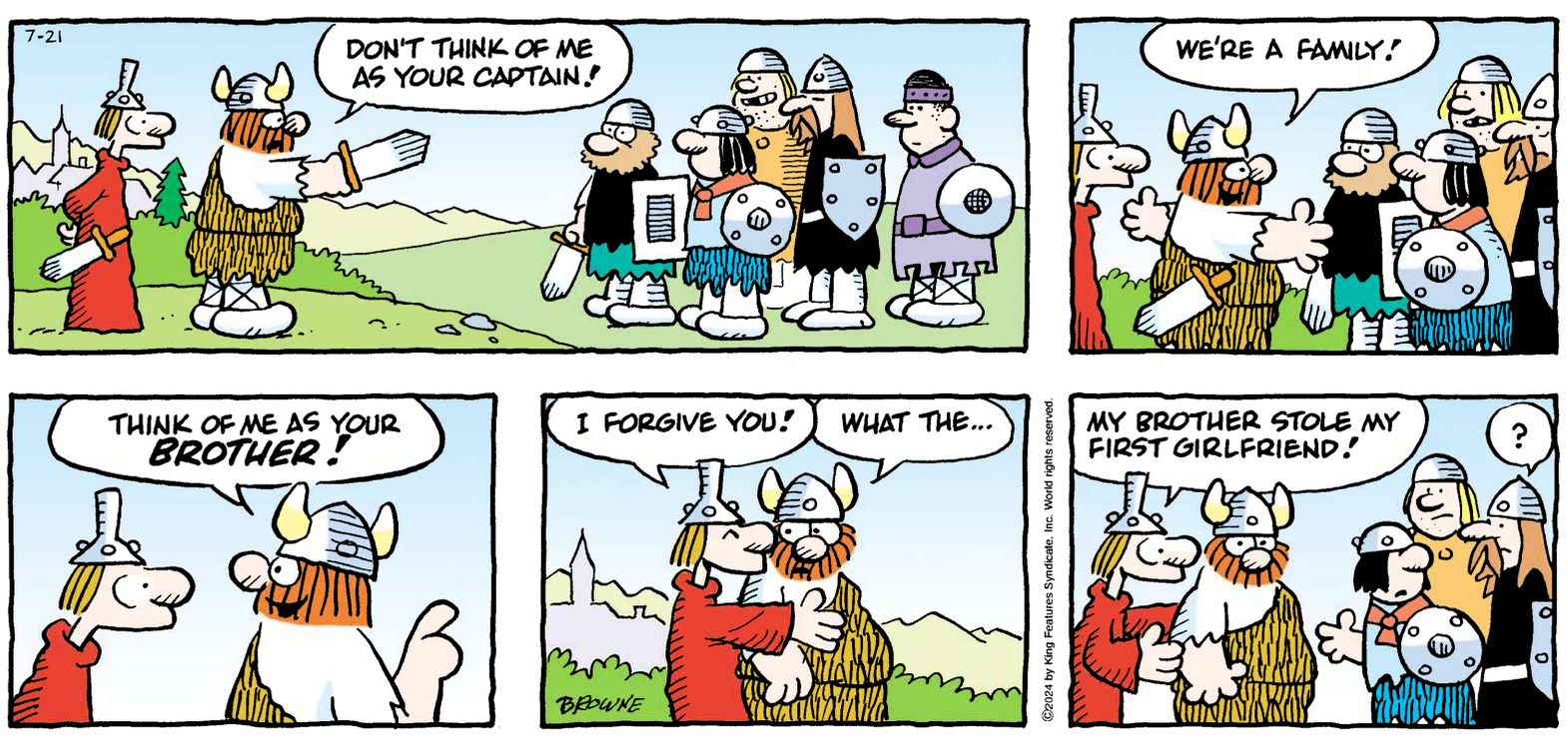
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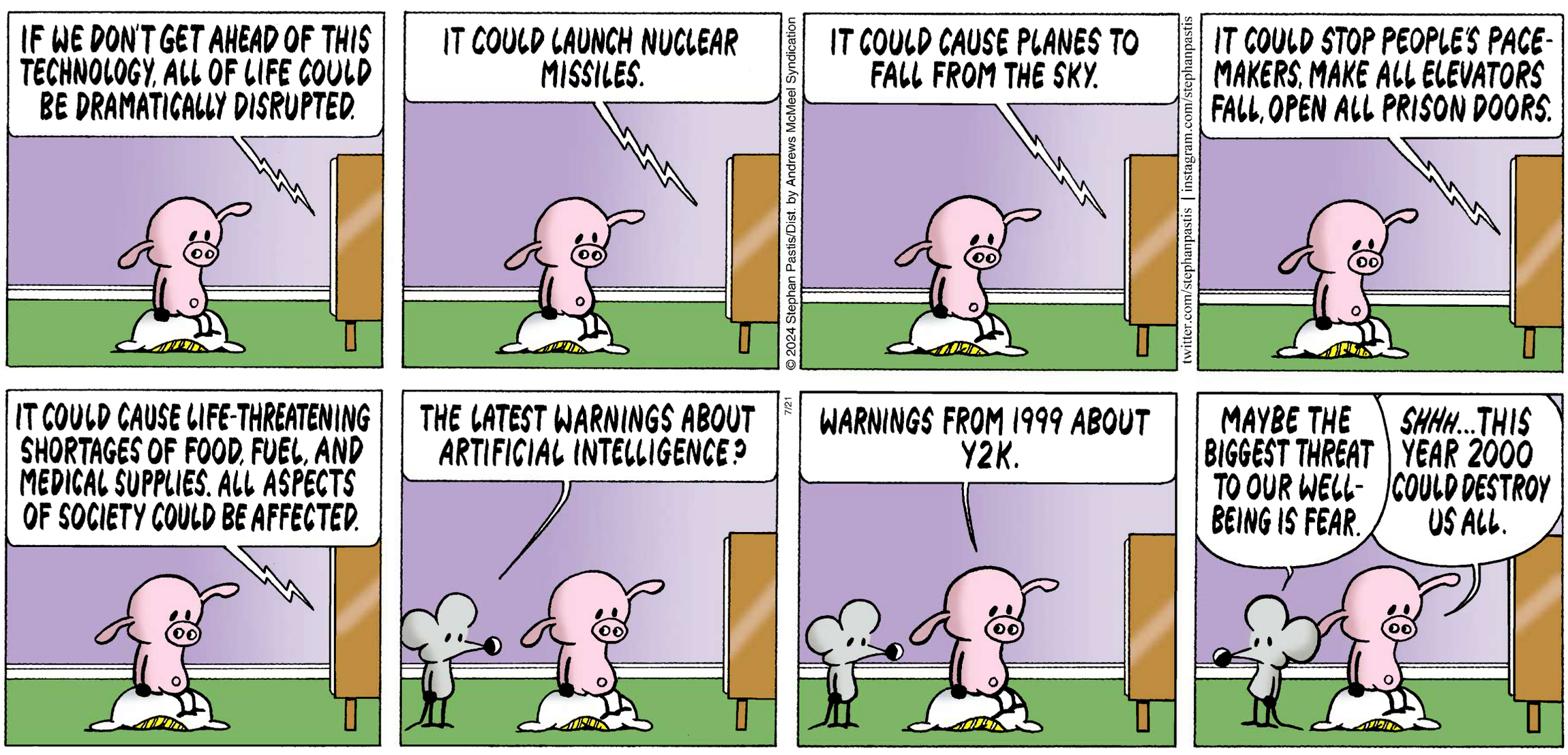
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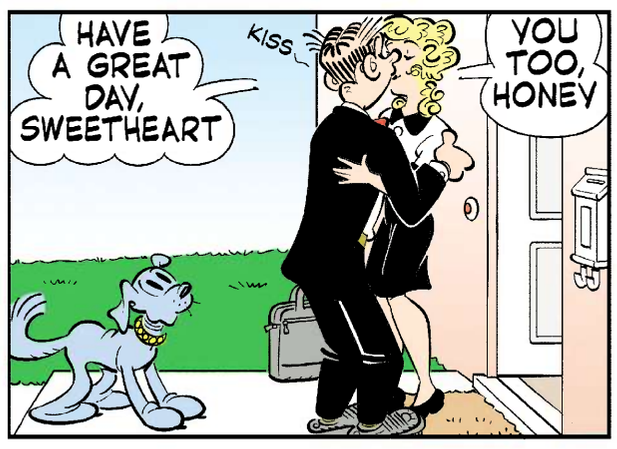
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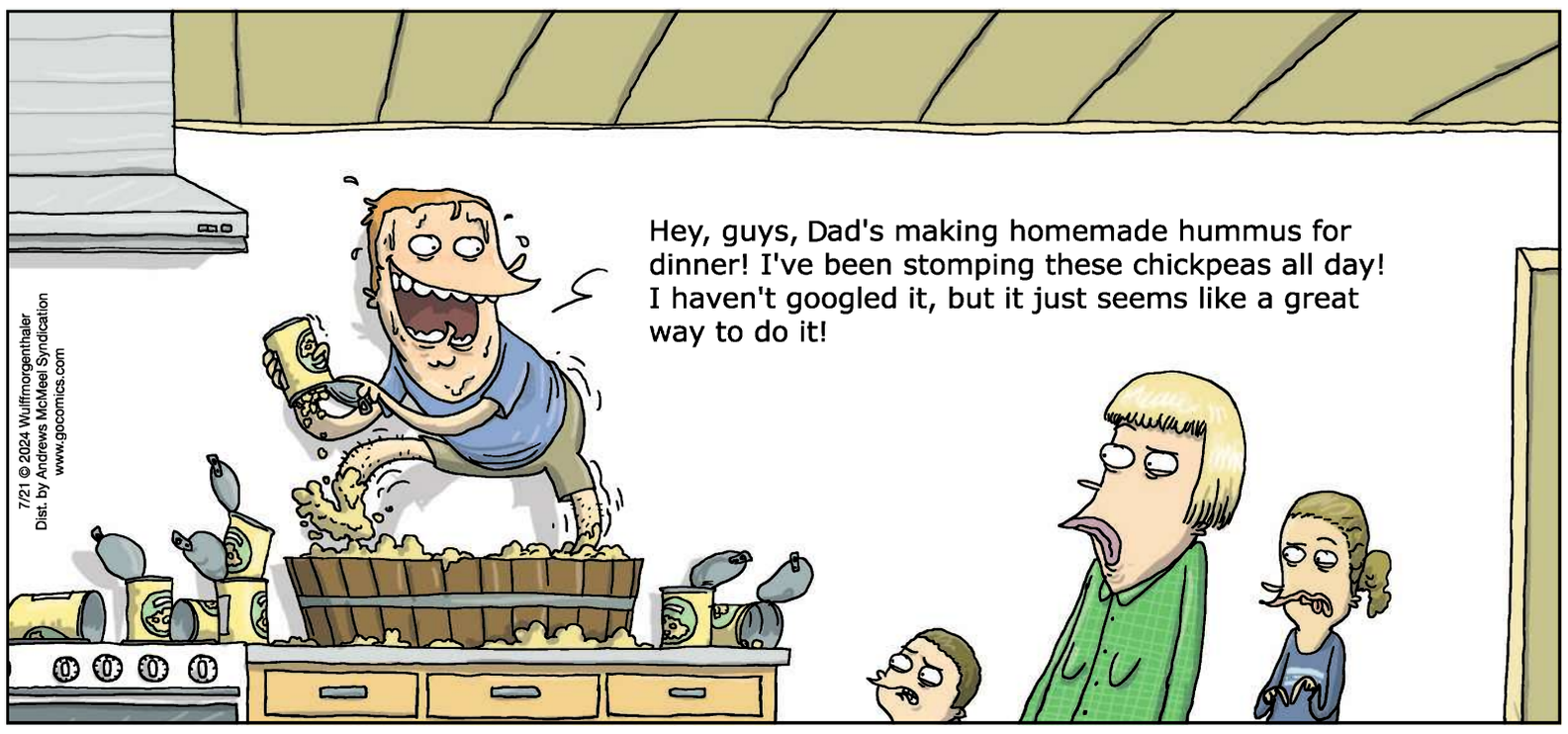
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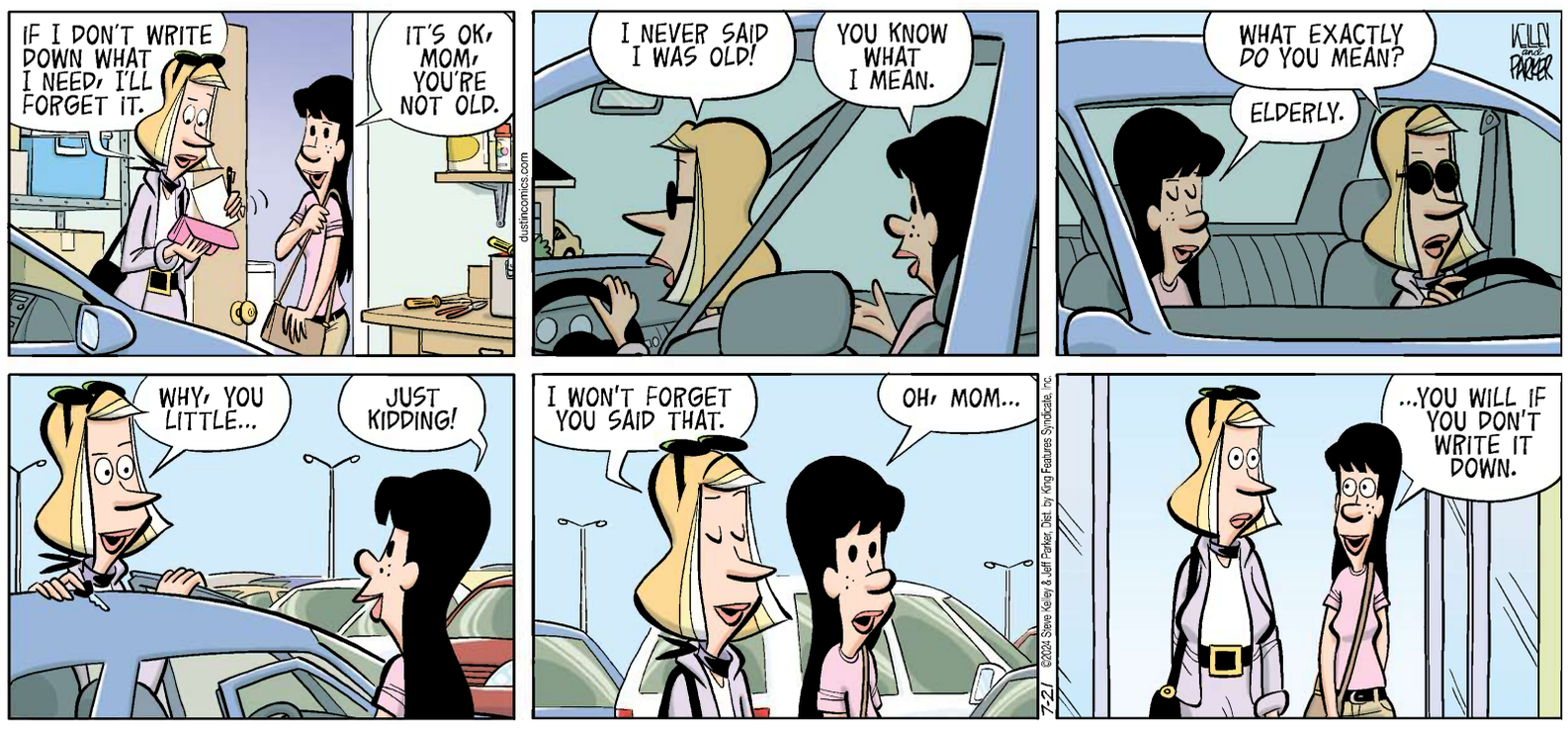
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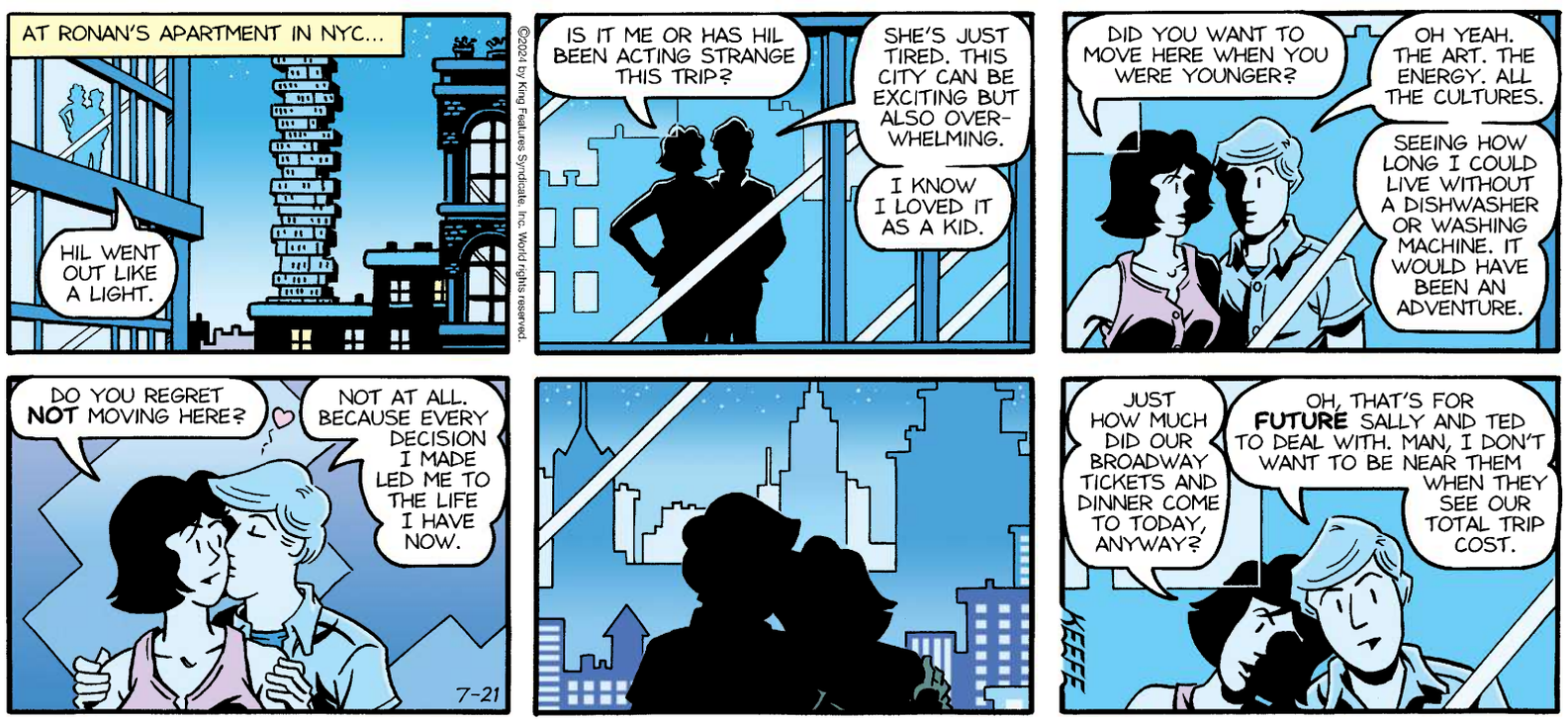
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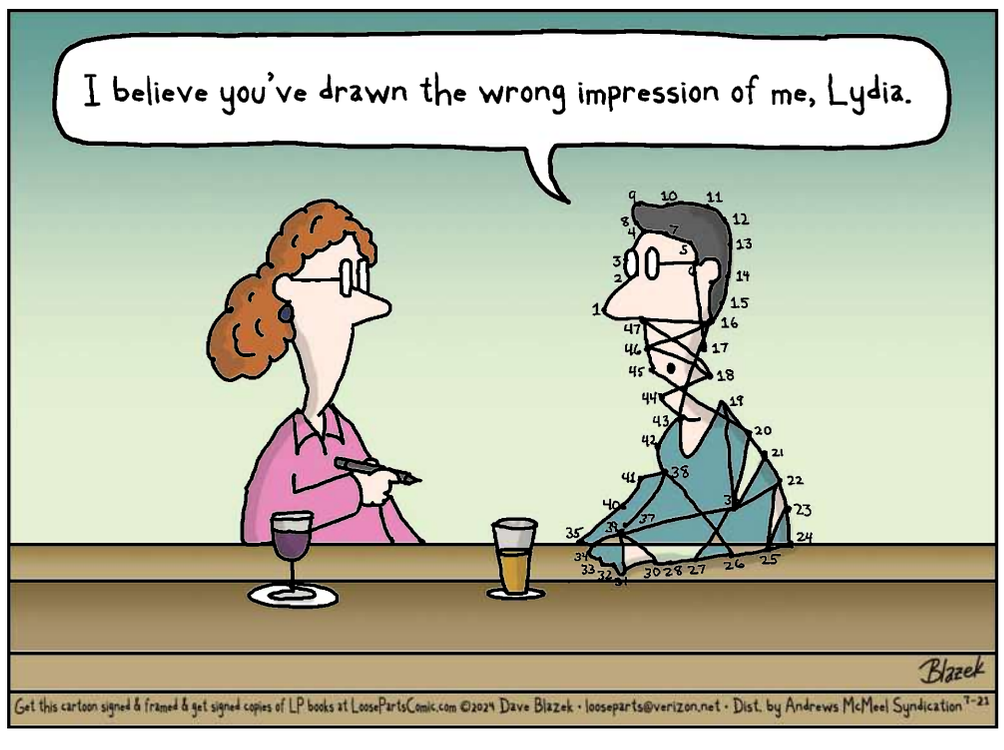
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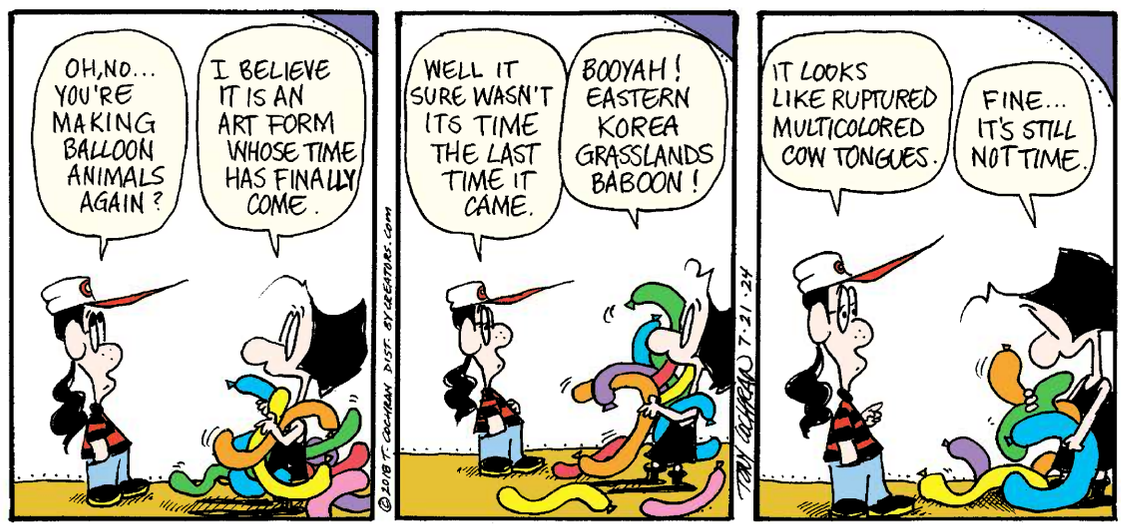
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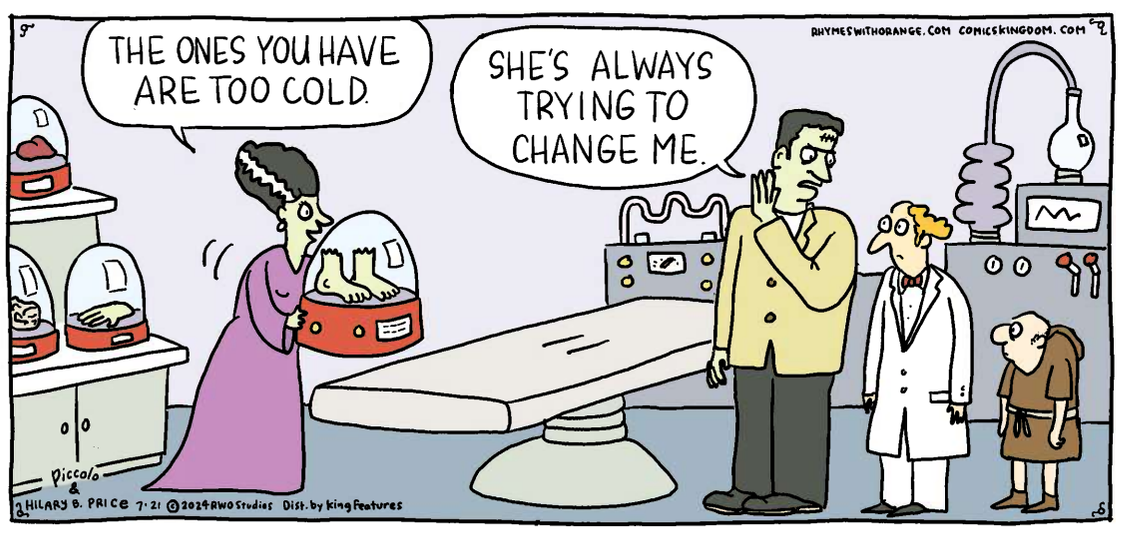
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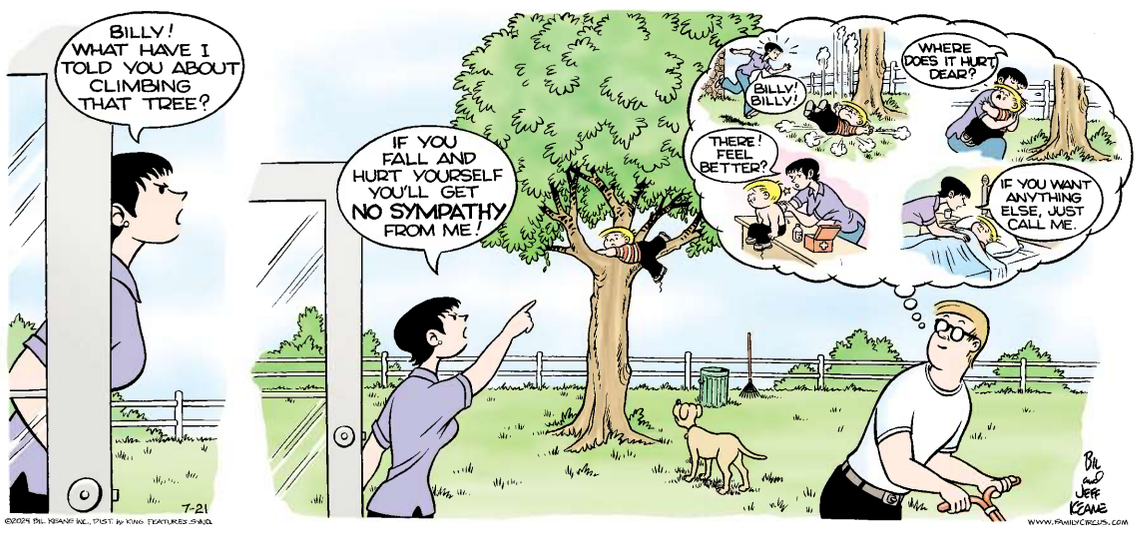
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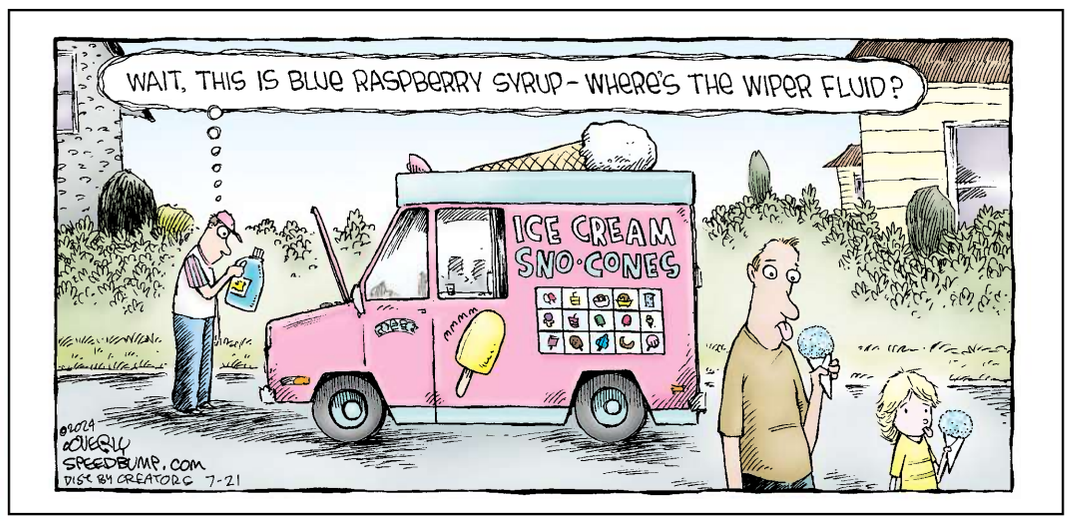
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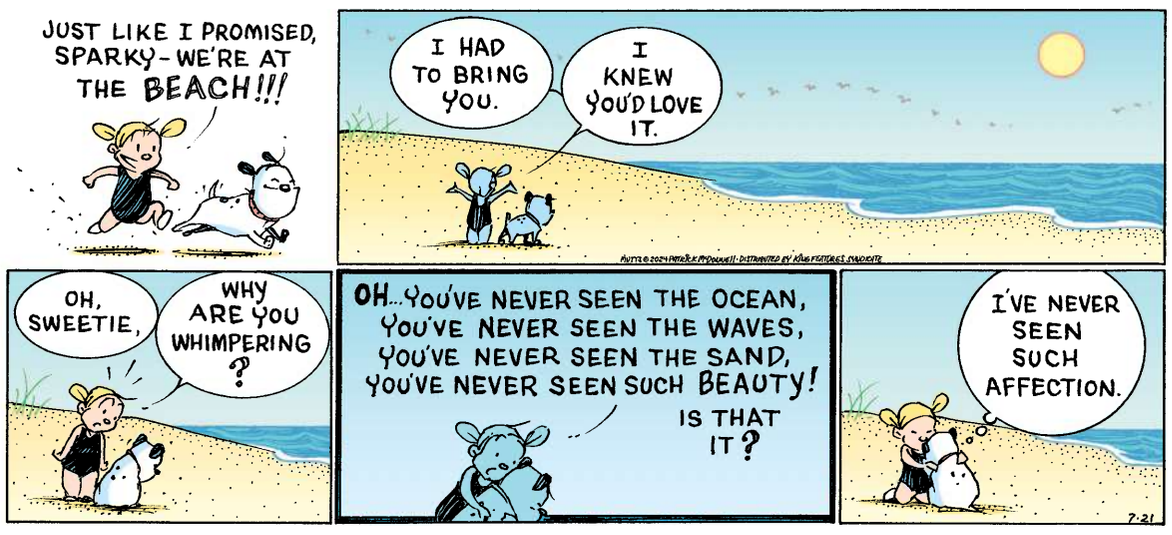
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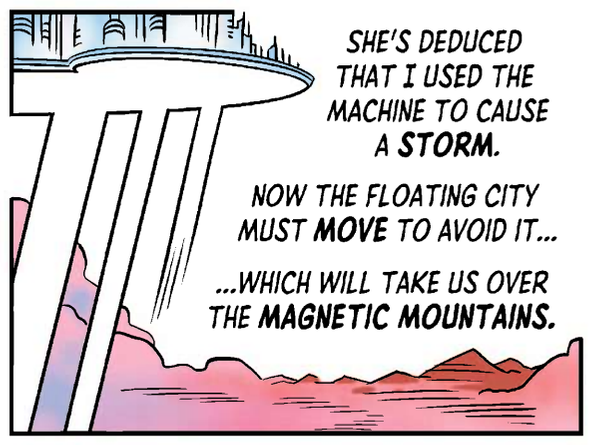


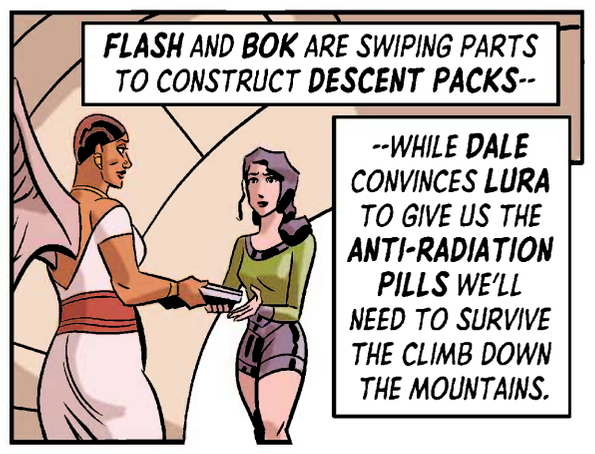
Flash Gordon

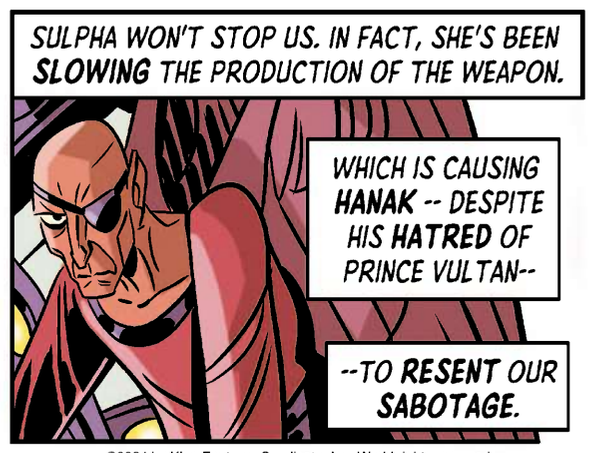
By Dan Schkade









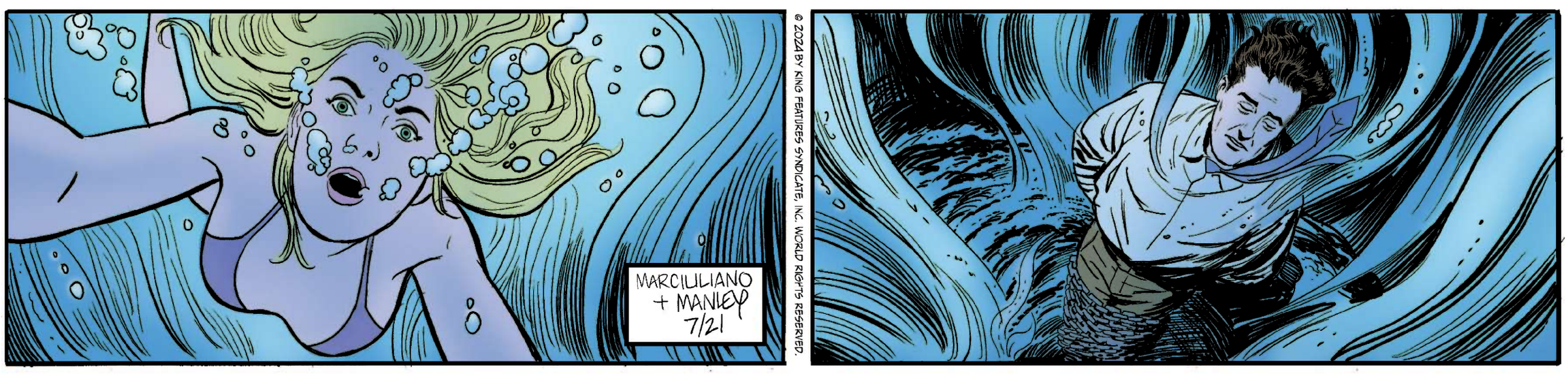


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Judge Parker

By Francesco Marciuliano & Mike Manley





Hal Foster's Prince Valiant®

BY SCHULTZ AND YEATES

VAL AND HIS COMPANY WITNESS AN UNFORESEEN DRAMA—WITGAR AND HIS MEN FLEE FROM THE ANCIENT TOMB IN A BLIND PANIC. BOTH PARTIES' HORSES HAVE ALSO FLED IN FEAR, SO THE CHASE IS ON FOOT...

...BUT, AS THE EVENING SKY GROWS DARK, VAL RECOGNIZES THE FOLLY OF RUSHING HEADLONG INTO THE GLOOMY WOODS, INTO WHICH HIS QUARRY DARTS. HE HOLDS...

...WHILE ARN, WHO HAS BEEN POSITIONED AHEAD TO INTERCEPT, SEES A CLEAR SHOT AT THE STUMBLING, DESPERATE ENEMY.

...AND ARN EXPERTLY POSITIONS HIS LANCE TO TRIP THE UNFORTUNATE MAN, WHO IS LEFT BEHIND, UNNOTICED, BY HIS TWO FELLOWS.

ALTHOUGH HIS MOUNT IS ALSO STRANGELY BALKY, IT STILL RESPONDS TO ARN'S COMMAND. THEY RIDE DOWN THE HINDMOST OF WITGAR'S COHORTS...

THE FALLEN MAN SURPRISES ARN WITH RAVINGS CONCERNED WITH SOMETHING OTHER THAN THE LANCE PLACED TO HIS CHEST. *"PLEASE!"* HE CRIES, *"LET ME BE AWAY FROM THIS ACCURSED PLACE! THE THINGS IN THE TOMB!"*

NEXT: **The Tale of Sí an Bhrú**

4563 YEATES 7/21/24

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KidTown

7/21

STEP ON NO PETS

When a word, phrase or number reads the same backward as it does forward, that's called a PALINDROME.

Words like CIVIC, KAYAK and REFER are examples, as are phrases such as "WE PANIC IN A PEW," "NO LEMON, NO MELON" and "STEP ON NO PETS."

Sometimes a word, phrase or sentence, when read in reverse, forms a completely different word or phrase. So DESSERTS becomes STRESSED, and DRAWER becomes REWARD. Such a word is called a SEMORDNILAP ...

which is PALINDROMES spelled backwards!

TRUE but STRANGE

Each word listed below is completed by adding the same letter to its beginning and its end. Can you add the missing letter in each case?

1: READCRUM
2: UCCES
3: LIMINAT
4: OMINATIO
5: EMINDE
6: RUMPE
7: HAOTI
8: LUF

Answers: 1) B 2) S 3) E 4) N 5) R 6) T 7) C 8) F

Use the News

Look through today's paper and see if you can find a word that starts and ends with the same letter.

Slylock Fox

Slylock Fox begins each detective class with a riddle. Today, Slylock posed the following brainteaser to his students: A small plane was having engine trouble. The pilot, who was not wearing a parachute, jumped out of the airplane. He landed on hard ground, yet he survived. How is this possible?

Solution: The plane was still on the runway.

HE HAD EIGHT LIVES LEFT?

fig. A:

WWCD?

WEBER/SOTTU

HOW TO DRAW a squirrel

7-21

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Today's terrific artist is Tanushka, age 12

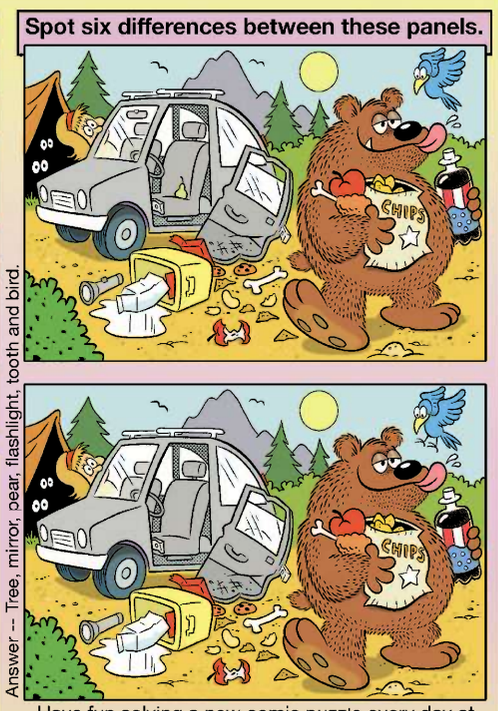
Submit your drawing to **www.slylockfox.com**

What is the longest nonstop commercial passenger flight in the world?

a) Dallas to Sydney
b) New York to Singapore
c) Perth to London
d) Tokyo to Toronto

Answer -- b) About 18 hours, 50 minutes (about 9,537 miles).

Spot six differences between these panels.



Answer -- Tree, mirror, pear, flashlight, tooth and bird.

Have fun solving a new comic puzzle every day at www.slylockfox.com

Hank Ketcham's Dennis the Menace fitbit

..PUSHUPS...

...A LITTLE WEIGHT-LIFTING...

...EVEN SHADOW BOXING!

Y'KNOW, I'VE REALLY GOT TO START GETTING IN SHAPE.

I'M TALKING SITUPS...

MY MONEY'S ON THE SHADOW.

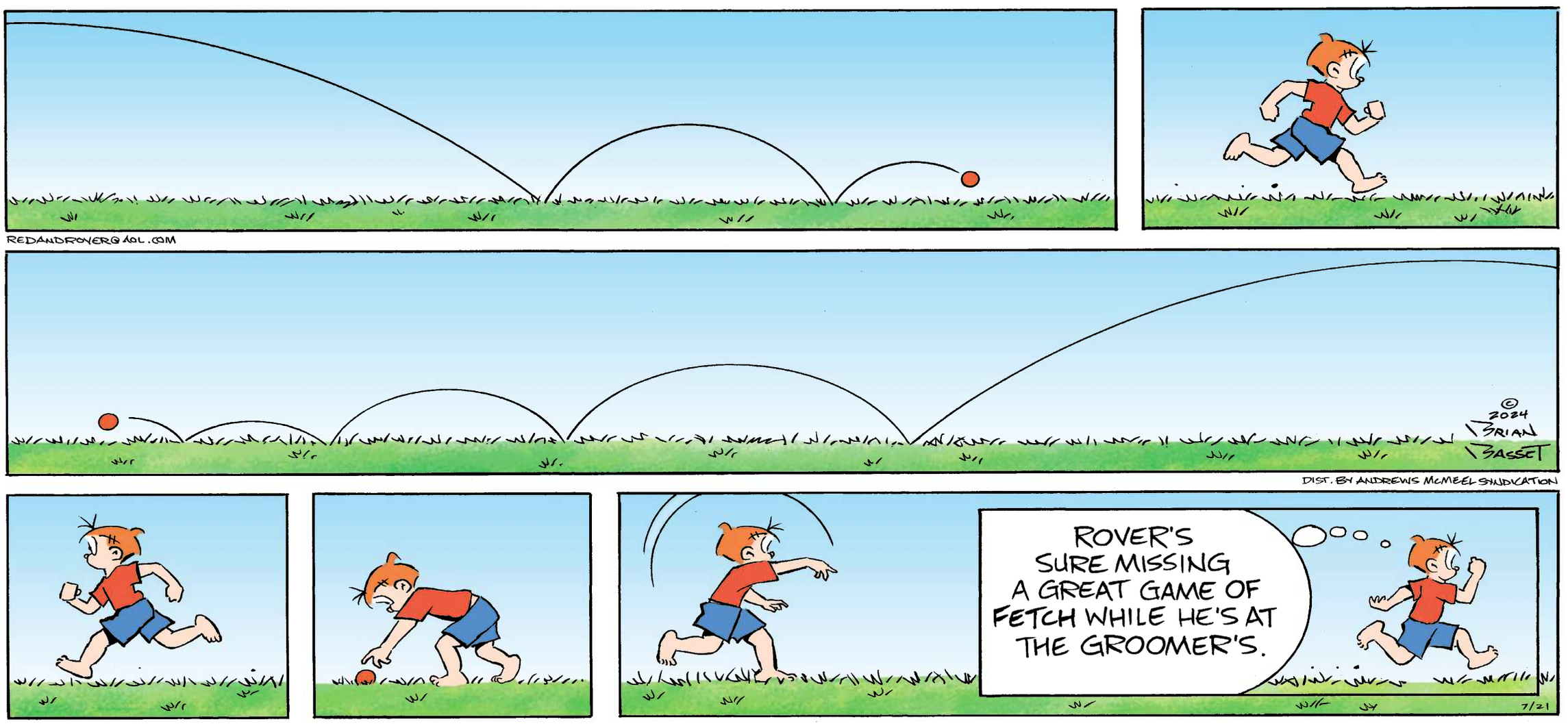
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P. Ferciviand/S. Ketcham 7-21

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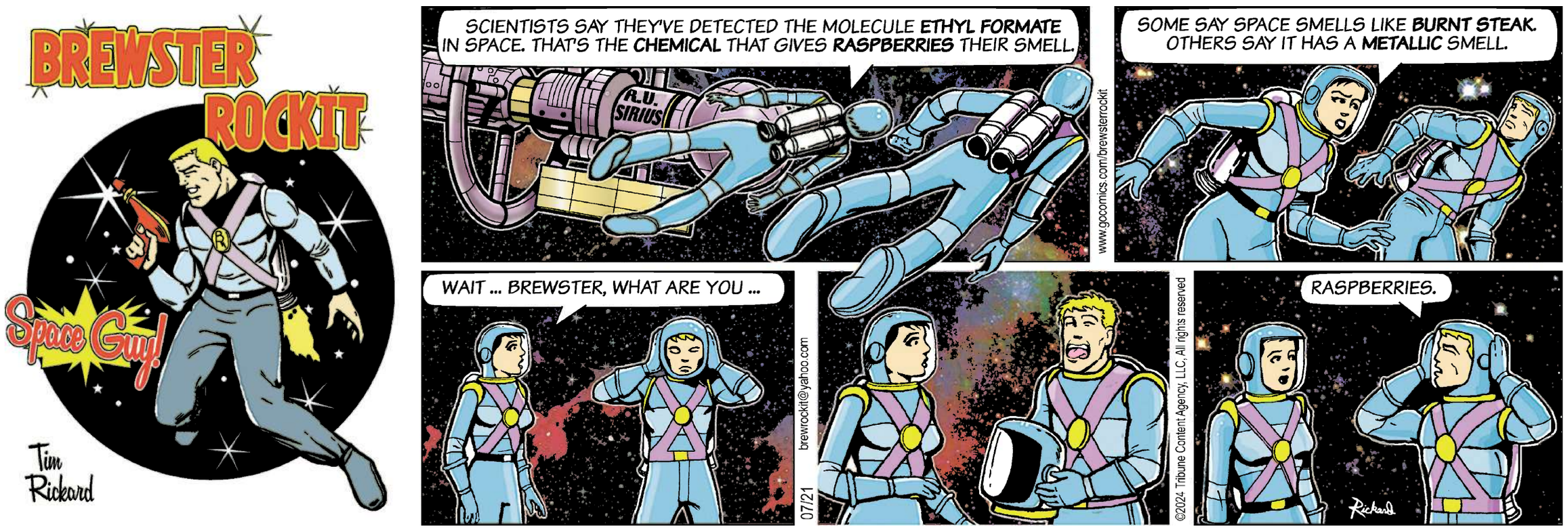
RED AND ROVER

By Brian Basset



BREWSTER ROCKIT

By Tim Rickard



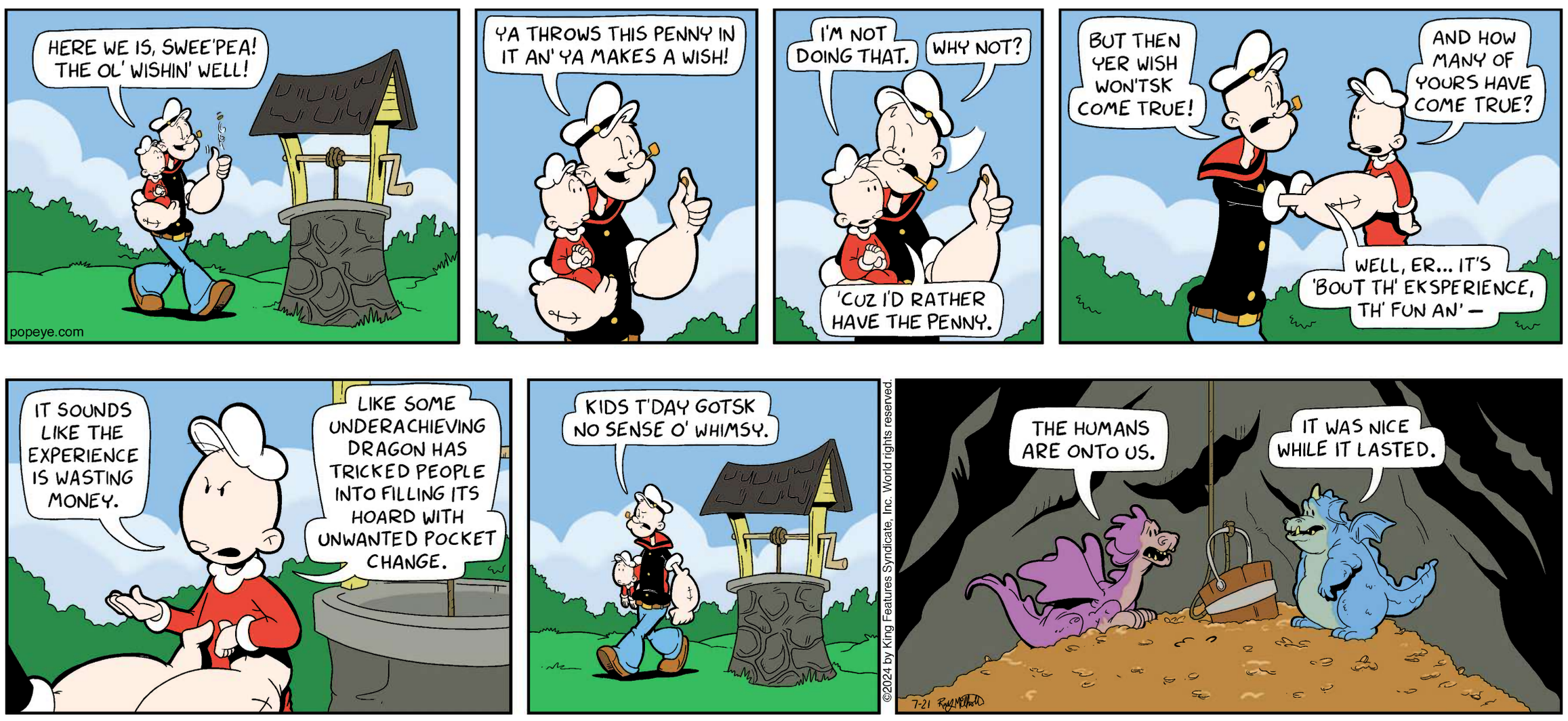
BEETLE BAILEY

By Mort Walker



POPEYE

By Randy Milholland



SAMURAI SUDOKU

(c) www.djape.net

5				8				2
			2		6			
3		1	4		7	8		6
	7		9		1		2	
		2				7		
	3		5		2		6	
9		6	8		3	5		
			6		5			
2				1				9

6				7				9
			6		9			
9		8	3		1	6		7
	6		7		8		3	
		2				5		
	9		2		6		7	
		9	1		3	7		6
			8		7			
2				6				1

			4		1		7	
				8				
			2		8		4	

	9		1		7		9	
				1				

6				8				2
			1		7			
1		7	4		6	8		
	5		8		1		2	
		8				3		
	3		7		4		6	
5		2	6		3	9		4
			9		5			
9				7				5

3		6				6		
		9				5		
		8				4		
	3		9		6		8	
		6				7		
	9		7		3		4	
6		2	8		5	3		1
			1		2			
				3				4

Level of Difficulty: 4 (on a scale of 0-5)

How to Play

The rules of Samurai Sudoku are the same as in the popular Sudoku puzzles that appear in the daily comics section.

As with standard Sudoku, the Samurai version requires no math, just logic, reasoning ... and an iron will. The goal is to fill in each column, row and 3X3 box with the digits 1 through 9 without repeating any. The twist in Samurai Sudoku is that the digits that appear in the overlapping boxes must work for both puzzles.

A piece of advice to get you started: Don't focus completely on one grid at a time. Keep the whole puzzle in mind as you go, because filling in a number in one grid could give you clues to another. What's important to understand is this: Each Samurai puzzle is ONE puzzle, not five separate Sudoku puzzles that just overlap each other. Occasionally people claim that, for example, the "bottom right" 9X9 puzzle had more than one solution. Well, yes it may, but the entire puzzle can be solved in only one way. Never resort to guessing! For more tips, go to http://www.djape.net/sudoku/wp/?p=144.

Last Sunday's Solution

7	2	3	8	9	4	6	5	1
1	4	8	6	2	5	3	7	9
5	6	9	7	3	1	4	8	2
4	1	5	3	8	9	7	2	6
9	8	7	2	4	6	1	3	5
6	3	2	5	1	7	9	4	8
3	9	4	1	5	2	8	6	7
2	7	1	4	6	8	5	9	3
8	5	6	9	7	3	2	1	4

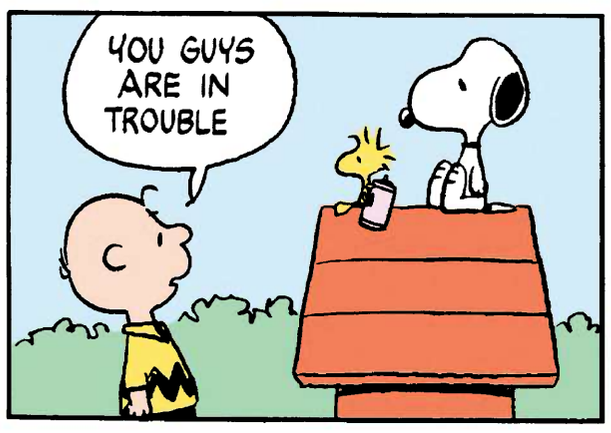
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7	5	1	4	2	3	6	8	9
9	2	8	1	7	6	4	3	5
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1	6	7	8	3	4	9	5	2
5	8	9	2	1	7	3	4	6
4	1	5	3	6	2	8	9	7
8	7	2	9	4	1	5	6	3
6	9	3	7	5	8	1	2	4

			6	5	8	2	7	4
			9	3	1	5	6	8
			4	7	2	3	9	1
6	7	4	1	2	9	3	8	5
8	2	9	7	3	5	1	4	6
1	3	5	4	6	8	7	2	9
3	5	7	8	9	2	4	6	1
2	1	8	3	4	6	5	9	7
4	9	6	5	7	1	2	3	8

6	9	5	1	7	2	3	4	8
4	2	8	3	5	6	7	9	1
7	1	3	4	9	8	5	2	6
8	6	4	5	1	3	9	7	2
9	7	1	8	2	4	6	3	5
5	3	2	9	6	7	8	1	4

CLASSIC PEANUTS

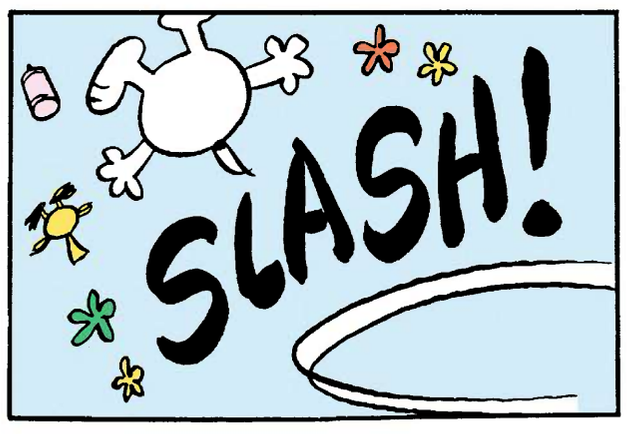
By Charles Schulz

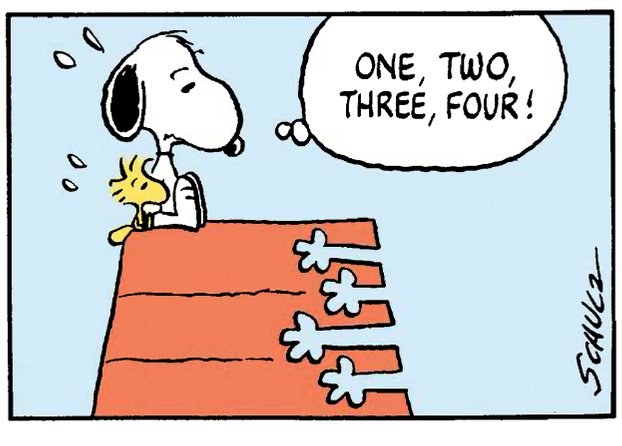






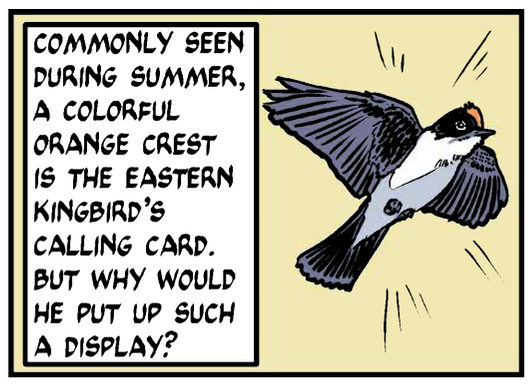


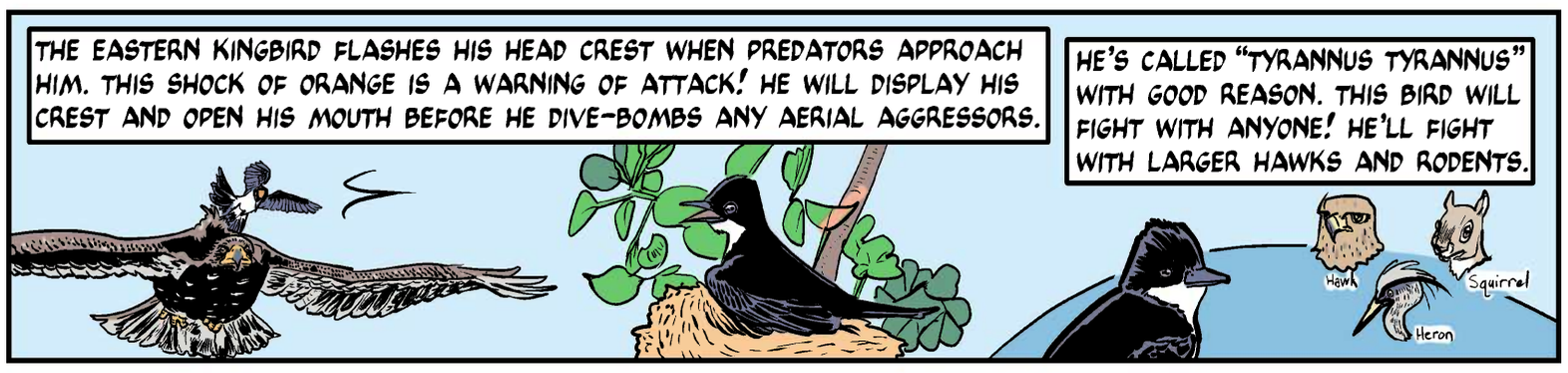


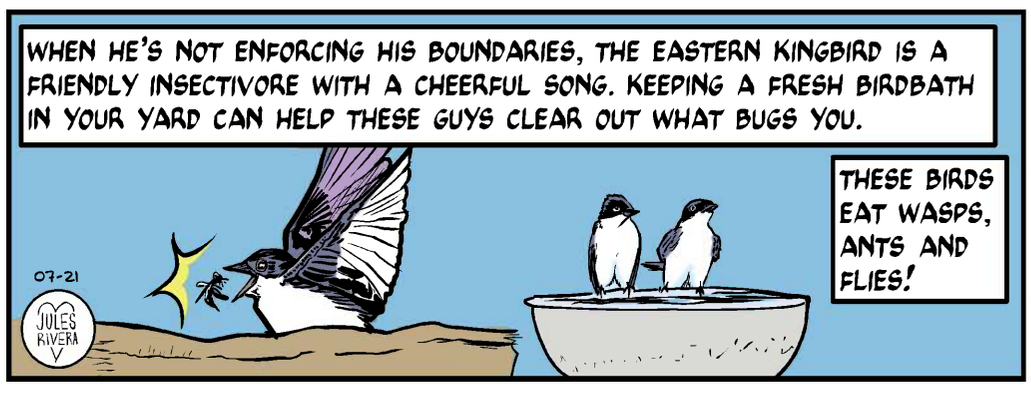




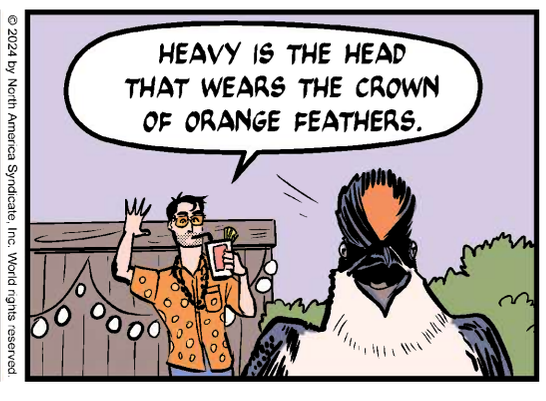






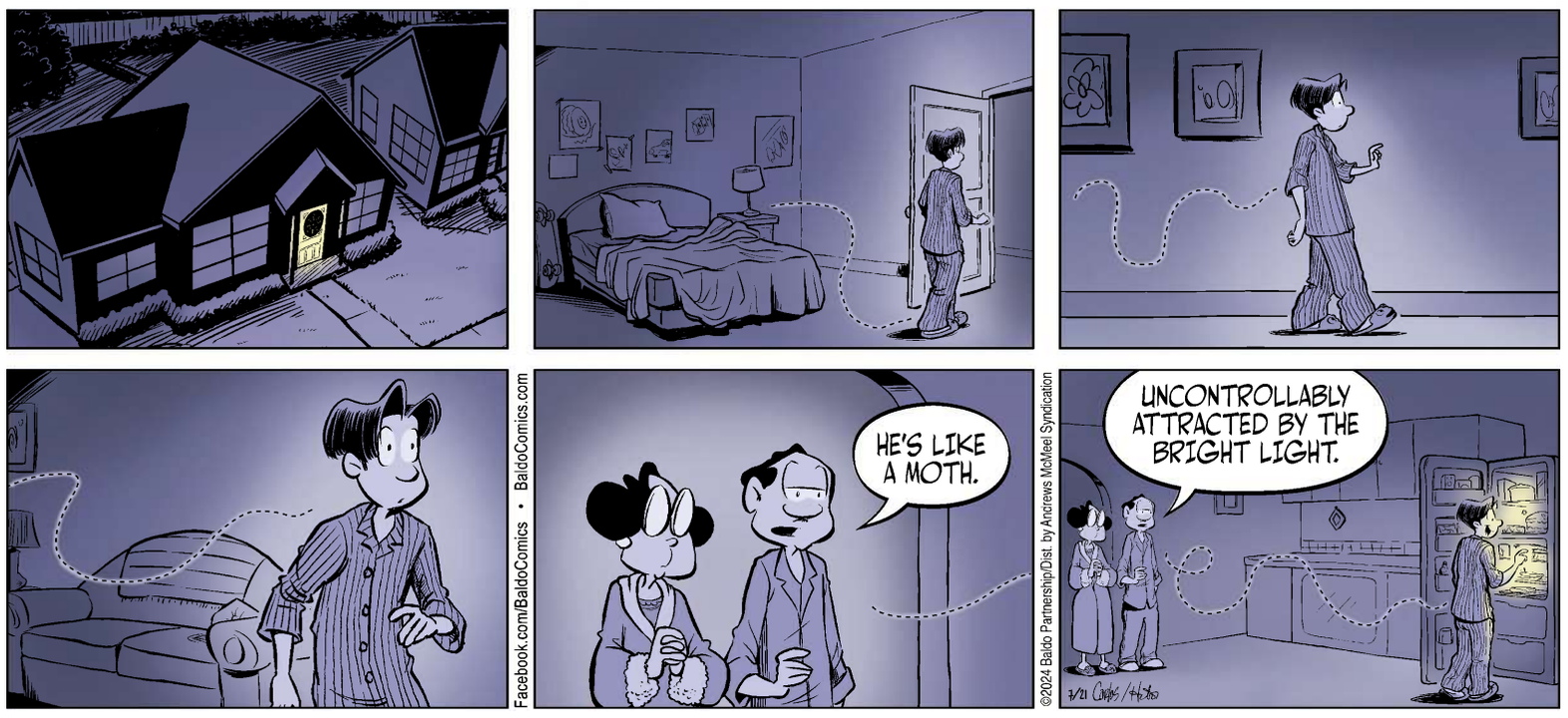


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BALDO

By Cantú & Castellanos



PRICKLY CITY

By Scott Stantis

