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Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, JULY 10, 2023 • \$3

NATO's display of solidarity is at risk

Two outliers' objections to admission of Sweden cloud upcoming summit

This article is by Missy Ryan, Kareem Fahim, Emily Rauhala, Loveday Morris and Abigail Hauslohner

When the leaders of NATO nations gather in Lithuania this week, President Biden and his closest allies will endeavor to send Russia a forceful message: that the West is united against Russian President Vladimir Putin's war in Ukraine.

But jeopardizing their show of cohesion will be some of the same leaders joining Biden for the Vilnius summit whose refusal to admit Sweden as the 31-nation bloc's newest member underscores the divisions that could erode NATO's deterrent power amid a dangerous standoff with Moscow.

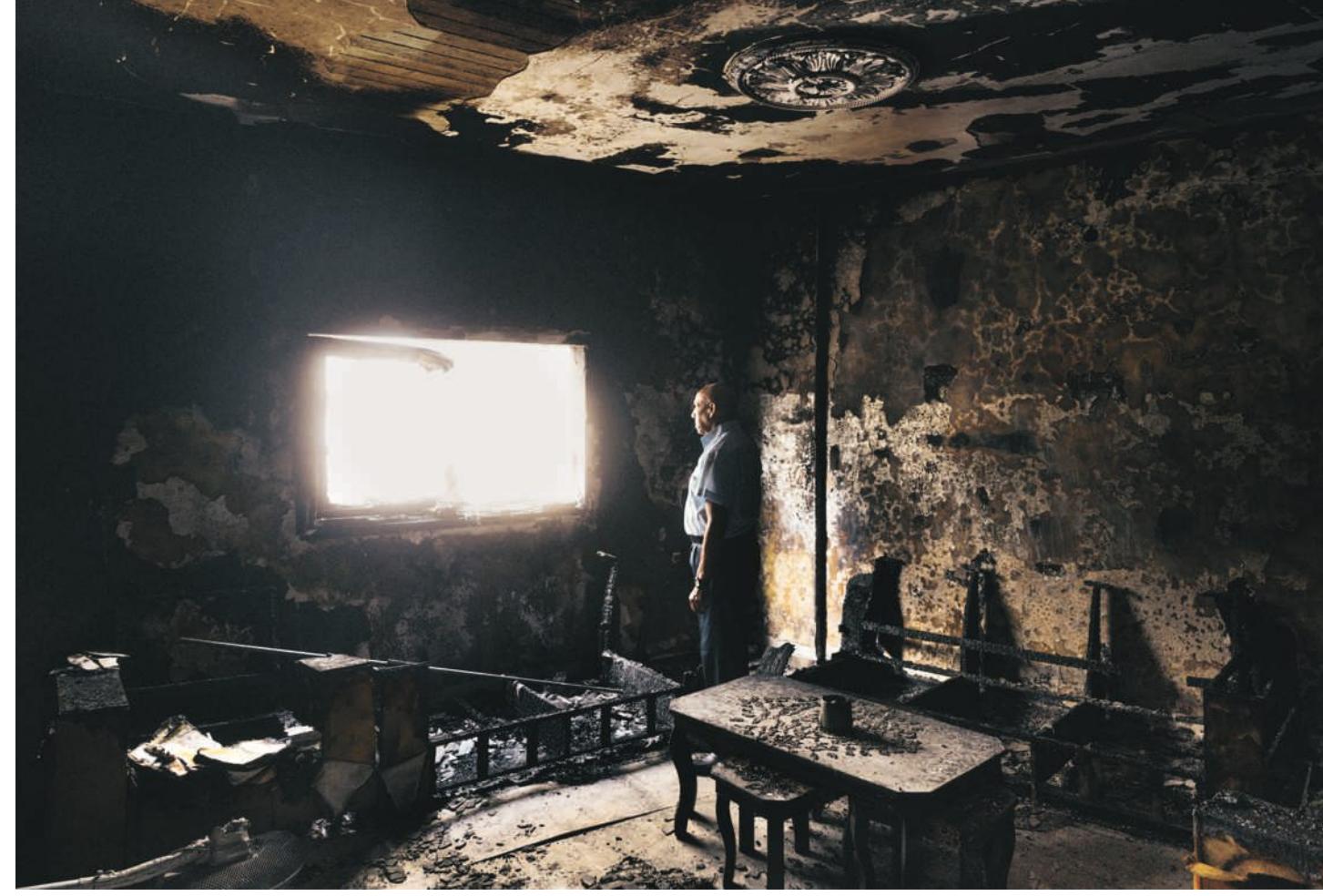
While Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban have cited differing objections to the entry of Sweden, whose advanced military will boost NATO's combat power, their shared status as holdouts highlights the ability of any member state to disrupt widely supported alliance priorities.

The strongmen are problematic, if important, NATO allies: Erdogan, fresh from an electoral victory cementing more than two decades in power, and Orban, who has maintained warm ties with Putin and rejected some European aid to Ukraine, have faced criticism for anti-democratic practices but also acknowledged their military and other contributions to the alliance.

The dispute over Sweden's accession, which requires the approval of Turkish and Hungarian

SEE NATO ON A7

Ukraine: U.S. leaders insist war must end before Kyiv joins NATO. A7



LORENZO TUGNOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

•Why did this happen to us?

Israel's raid on Jenin through the eyes of one family

BY STEVE HENDRIX AND SUFIAN TAHA | IN JENIN REFUGEE CAMP, WEST BANK

Hussein Shibly walked home after Friday prayers through a city struggling to return from devastation to mere poverty. A bulldozer lifted a crushed car; men patched bullet holes in a rooftop water tank; a fire engine washed soot from a crowded street.

Reaching his family's home, Shibly climbed the stairs to a living room, reduced to a charred cave by a shoulder-fired missile. "Is this fit to live in?" he asked, standing among the blackened skeletons of couches and chairs. "Why did this happen to us?"

Shibly and his neighbors are reeling from Israel's largest military operation in the occupied West Bank in decades, a two-day incursion that unleashed firefights and air attacks on these steep streets densely packed with houses.

Israel said the assault on the Jenin refugee camp, long

known as a bastion of armed Palestinian militancy, was a security imperative — to erode the strength of an expanding terrorist base. At least 50 attacks inside Israel this year originated here, officials said. The 12 Palestinians killed in the operation were all known militants, according to the Israel Defense Forces.

But for families trapped in the camp by fighting, it was 44 hours of terror. Thousands of residents managed to flee. Others hunkered down in bedrooms and bathrooms. Few suffered the range of horrors endured by the Shiblys.

Hussein, 69, was up late watching television Sunday, his usual routine after years spent working the night shift at an Israeli meat processing plant. He was born in this camp, where at least 14,000 people, possibly many more, are packed into an area measuring less than half a square

SEE JENIN ON A8

Hussein Shibly looks out from his home, which was damaged in the Israeli raid in the Jenin refugee camp in the West Bank this month.

Portugal grapples with drug decriminalization doubts

A spike in crime and overdoses is contributing to calls for rethinking the globally hailed policy

BY ANTHONY FAIOLA AND CATARINA FERNANDES MARTINS

PORTO, PORTUGAL — Addiction haunts the recesses of this ancient port city, as people with gaunt, clumsy hands lift crack pipes to lips, syringes to veins. Authorities are sealing off warren-like alleyways with iron bars and fencing in parks to halt the spread of encampments. A siege mentality is taking root in nearby enclaves of pricey condos and multimillion-euro homes.

Portugal decriminalized all drug use, including marijuana, cocaine and heroin, in an experiment that inspired similar efforts elsewhere, but now police are blaming a spike in the number of people who use drugs for a rise in crime. In one neighborhood, state-issued paraphernalia — powder-blue syringe caps, packets of citric acid for diluting heroin — litters sidewalks outside an elementary school.

SEE PORTUGAL ON A10



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Municipal workers remove one of many used syringes from a park in Porto, Portugal, on June 5.

IN THE NEWS



CALLA KESSLER/THE WASHINGTON POST

The story goes on When a Chincoteague pony ranch memorialized in a children's book went up for sale, a tiny museum stepped in. B1

THE NATION

A string of contentious Supreme Court rulings is activating a generation of young voters. A2

In a conservative corner of Georgia, Pastor Grant Myerholtz's message of inclusivity is drawing people who say they've long felt unwelcome in church. A3

THE WORLD

Ukrainian soldiers are fighting to reclaim the captured city of Bakhmut in the eastern

Donetsk region and reverse Russia's one significant territorial gain in the war this year. A6

THE REGION
With Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin's latest appointments to the state school board, the body will have just one member chosen by a Democrat. B1

SPORTS

Allisen Corpuz used a surge on the back nine to shoot a final-round 69 at Pebble Beach and

win the U.S. Women's Open, her first major title, by three shots. D1

THE WEEK AHEAD

MONDAY

President Biden meets with King Charles III and British Prime Minister Rishi Sunak in London.

TUESDAY

Biden attends the NATO summit in Vilnius, Lithuania, where he will hold a meeting with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg; participate in a North Atlantic Council meeting

and more.

WEDNESDAY

Biden attends the final day of the summit.

THURSDAY

Jobless claims for the week ended July 8 are released.

Biden participates in the U.S.-Nordic Leaders' Summit in Helsinki.

FRIDAY

The Labor Department issues import and export prices for June, which are expected to fall 0.2 percent and 0.4 percent, respectively.

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Big breaks

Chiropractors are going viral on social media thanks to videos that offer vicarious relief. C1

Behind the band

Takeaways from the first official biography of BTS, the K-pop sensations. C1

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POLITICS & THE NATION

A small-town Georgia preacher fills pews by leaving no one out

BY ALISON MILLER

HARTWELL, GA. — At night, the worn sign looks like a beacon in the darkness out front of the modest, red-brick Mt. Hebron Baptist Church.

The tired, it reads. The poor. And huddled masses. Welcome home.

In this small town in the rural northeast corner of Georgia, it's the kind of message that assures Teri Massey she is loved for being who she is — a message 180 degrees from the one she heard in the Baptist church where she spent her teens into her 40s, where her grandfather, father and brother all held leadership positions.

When Massey came out in 2004, shortly after meeting the woman she later would marry, the congregation in that other small Georgia town responded by campaigning to send her to conversion therapy and holding prayer vigils outside her home.

She found Mt. Hebron a few years ago through a friend. Pastor Grant Myerholtz, whose usual preaching attire is T-shirt and jeans, met her and her wife at the door. They listened carefully as he stood in the pulpit and proclaimed: All are welcome.

"It was like this load was off of me," Massey, 63, recalled last week.

At a time when many houses of worship are struggling to sustain themselves — with church membership and attendance both at all-time lows in this country — Myerholtz seems to be pulling off a miracle of sorts: Tiny Mt. Hebron is flourishing. Barely a dozen people showed up for his first sermons in fall 2020; these days, sometimes 100 faces are looking up at him.

Church members say his empathy and engagement are what draw them. His interpretation of scripture is not what is traditionally heard in a conservative community.

In April, for instance, Myerholtz gave the opening prayer at the Hartwell Pride festival — which already had weathered a backlash from area churches over a proposed spring drag show. "There's a community of people that guard their religion and say, 'It's not for you. You're a sinner. You can't love God like that,'" said the organization's president, Collin Graham, who is trans. "So I think it was important to have [Grant] out there to show people that you can be a Christian and have gay or trans."

And on two Saturdays this month, Myerholtz will host a lake-side baptism for anyone who has been denied that rite for any reason. "If it were up to me, a representative of every ministry in this town would be there with arms wide open," he says. "We have the easiest job on the planet as Christians if we want to accept it. That is simply to love everybody."

Hartwell is the seat of Hart County, where chicken farming is



PHOTOS BY WILL CROOKS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



FROM TOP: Pastor Grant Myerholtz leads Mt. Hebron Baptist Church in Hartwell, Ga. His T-shirts and tattoos make for an unusual pulpit presence. His message of inclusivity is drawing people who say they have longed for a fully welcoming place to worship. Myerholtz says "The Ragamuffin Gospel," by a former Franciscan priest, has helped guide him for more than a decade.



the major industry and massive broiler sheds house millions of birds. Downtown businesses include a store for ax throwing as well as an art gallery. American flags abound.

Church is, and has always been, the community's backbeat. Every week, the local newspaper devotes a page to the worship service times of the area's 100 houses of worship, nearly half of them Baptist. Hart, not surprisingly, does not allow the sale of liquor.

The 47-year-old Myerholtz is a native son, with a family history several generations deep. His path to the pulpit started in a different local Baptist church, where he briefly served as associate pastor before heading to Fruitland Baptist Bible College in North Carolina for studies in Christian ministries. Then came stops at small churches in South Carolina and Georgia, but he said he became weary of denominational doctrines, which he felt got in the way of Jesus's teachings. He stepped away.

By 2011, he was in the National Guard. A fall during a training exercise left him with brain and spine injuries, and while recovering, he picked up a book called "The Ragamuffin Gospel" by a former Franciscan priest named Brennan Manning. Myerholtz decided to build the rest of his life around its simple premise for the Gospel: unconditional grace.

He was back in Hartwell with his wife when a chance encounter with one of the deacons at Mt. Hebron led to an invitation to lead the church. Myerholtz arrived with new energy and double sleeves of tattoos. He says he was embraced immediately.

His inclusive approach is the reason Jake Duvall said he was in the front row last Sunday — as he is almost every Sunday. A combat veteran who twice deployed to Iraq and still grapples with PTSD, he wore jeans, a black T-shirt and heavy black boots. He carried a diaper-filled bag for his year-old son, Rowan.

He remembers what Myerholtz said when inviting him to Mt. Hebron: Come as you are, not as you should be. "I don't do well with crowds," explained Duvall, who is 38. "But I really feel that my symptoms are tolerable when I go to that church."

Well into its second century, Mt. Hebron remains linked to the Baptists, according to its name and the newspaper directory. But Myerholtz shies away from denominational categories and considers his an independent congregation.

He has not won over other Baptist leaders in the area. On the day that Myerholtz prayed at the pride festival, the Rev. Andy Buchanan of Liberty Baptist Church opened its doors and invited the community to pray for "those who are engaged in this evil."

A week ago, Buchanan started his Sunday morning sermon at Liberty Baptist with a plea for God's intervention against forces that threaten the country. "We find sexual perversion being promoted on a scale that we could not have imagined," he said, targeting issues including abortion and "the mutilation of children that is taking place in the name of progressive thinking."

"God help us," Buchanan said.

By contrast, Myerholtz showed a movie clip from Disney's "The Lion King" and then quoted 1 Peter 5:8. The verse warns that the devil prowls about like a "roaring lion" looking for someone to devour. The exhortation that follows is to stand firm in faith, knowing that others in the world are dealing with similar suffering.

Myerholtz often uses pop culture references and details from his own life — such as doctors' recent assessment that he is at increasing risk of paralysis from the injuries sustained during his National Guard training — to make the Bible more relatable.

"Anybody ever have a week that just sucks?" he began, sitting in a folding chair by the front pews. Hands flew into the air. He leaned in. "Ever been hit so hard that you're questioning God?" he asked, before offering reassurance. "That doesn't make you a bad person."

As the sun illuminated the church's simple stained glass windows, Myerholtz closed by asking everyone to reach across a pew or aisle and hold hands.

"In God's kingdom, it doesn't matter what color we are. It doesn't matter what party we are," he said. "What does matter in God's economy is how we treat one another. How we roar for one another."

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Some in GOP applaud money allocated in law they fought

INFRASTRUCTURE FROM A1

Carolina, the president ratcheted up the attack: He specifically called attention to Tuberville and other Republicans who are now “claiming credit” for the new jobs and other economic gains that their original votes might have denied.

“All those members of Congress who voted against it suddenly realize how great it is, and they’re bragging about it,” Biden said.

Steven Stafford, a spokesman for Tuberville, said in a statement that the senator “wasn’t praising the legislation” but rather hoped to advocate “for existing funding to go to Alabama.”

“Does the White House believe that only states with Democrat representation in Congress should receive federal tax dollars? I sure hope not,” he said.

The renewed political sniping underscores the intensifying work in Washington to implement Biden’s sprawling agenda, which spans four major laws and more than \$3 trillion in new spending, tax credits and other programs.

In spring 2021, Democrats secured a \$1.9 trillion coronavirus aid package, before pairing with Republicans that fail to finalize a \$1.2 trillion bipartisan infrastructure law.

The following year, lawmakers approved \$52 billion to boost the manufacturing of small yet powerful computer chips, part of a larger campaign to bolster U.S. science and technology against China.

Democratic votes alone clinched the final measure, called the Inflation Reduction Act, last summer. It provisioned about \$400 billion in new tax credits and other policies to reduce carbon emissions while empowering the government to help lower seniors’ health-care costs.

The past couple of weeks, in particular, have brought a flood of announcements teeing up billions in new federal aid — including grants to purchase clean buses, tax benefits to expand green energy projects and funding competitions for large companies that make semiconductors domestically. By the administration’s count, it has awarded \$225 billion under just the infrastructure law, translating into about 35,000 projects underway nationally.

At times, Republicans have faulted some of that spending as wasteful — and they have sought, aggressively and occasionally unsuccessfully, to repeal Biden’s signature legislative accomplishments. But a growing roster of



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Biden boards Marine One last week. During his visit to South Carolina, he called out the Republicans who are “claiming credit” for jobs and other economic gains that their original votes on infrastructure and climate legislation might have denied.

voices in the GOP also has been willing to abandon their fierce opposition whenever the federal money starts flowing in their direction.

A small but potent House Republican uprising this spring blocked the GOP from trying to repeal a set of tax credits for clean energy, which Democrats created and extended as part of the Inflation Reduction Act last year.

Rep. Ashley Hinson and other Republican lawmakers from Iowa — a state that benefits heavily from federal incentives for biofuels — mobilized to spare those programs from an early Republican measure that would have slashed federal spending and raised the debt ceiling.

The deal between Midwestern Republicans and House Speaker Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) enraged some far-right lawmakers, who felt the party had surrendered on a critical campaign promise. It also marked an about-face for lawmakers including Hinson, who last August blasted the Inflation Reduction Act for “wasting hundreds of billions of taxpayer dollars on Green New Deal priorities, and

raising taxes on middle class families.”

Sophie Seid, a spokeswoman for the congresswoman, said in a statement that Hinson “was proud to work with the Iowa delegation to ensure these key, long-standing biofuels tax credits were protected,” adding: “She will continue to be a fierce and effective advocate for Iowa’s priorities while fighting the Biden administration’s out-of-touch agenda.”

Some of the sharpest critics of the infrastructure law, meanwhile, rejoiced when the Transportation Department unveiled the recipients of roughly \$2.2 billion to help rehabilitate roads and bridges in late June. The beneficiaries included two highway improvement projects in Arkansas, which received about \$50 million, drawing public praise from Republican Sens. John Boozman and Tom Cotton.

“I’m pleased Sen. Boozman and I were able to secure the grants for these projects,” Cotton said in a joint statement last month.

Two years earlier, though, the duo had joined 28 other Senate Republicans in voting against

the infrastructure law — which allowed the government to spend up to \$1.2 trillion. Explaining his stance at the time, Cotton said Arkansans “do not want President Biden’s ‘social infrastructure’ and climate alarmism, especially under the threat of increased inflation and higher taxes.”

Boozman and Cotton did support legislation in December that actually supplied the money to carry out the infrastructure law, including its “RAISE” grants that came to benefit their state. The two senators’ offices declined to comment.

Another previous opponent of the law, Sen. Cindy Hyde-Smith (R-Miss.) similarly heralded the roughly \$28 million in “good news” sent to the cities of Laurel and Meridian for road improvements last month.

Rep. Robert B. Aderholt, a top appropriator, delighted in the receipt of \$1.6 million to replace a bridge in Courtland, Ala., noting in a release he is “always happy to support this type of funding in Congress” — even though he voted against the infrastructure law that expanded the RAISE program.

And Rep. Sam Graves (R-Mo.), the chairman of the House’s powerful Transportation Committee, said he was “proud” to share the news that the city of Maryville would receive \$1.3 million to repair its portion of a local highway, adding in a Facebook post: “Congratulations to all who helped secure this funding!”

Spokespeople for Hyde-Smith, Aderholt and Graves did not respond to requests for comment.

With the funding now starting to reach cities and states nationwide, Biden and his aides hit the road recently to promote their work.

For the White House, the tour reflected a lingering source of angst: Some polls conducted in recent months show Americans are unfamiliar with the legislation that the president shepherded through Congress. In the meantime, Biden’s own approval ratings have sagged.

In West Columbia, S.C., the president on Thursday swiped at Republicans who voted against the infrastructure law, while highlighting that the state has already received \$2.6 billion in new federal aid — money to

expand regional airports, prevent flooding and upgrade transit.

“Our plan is working,” Biden proclaimed.

Earlier in the week, Michael Regan, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, peered into a newly dug hole in the front yard of a Grand Rapids, Mich., home as he called attention to a roughly \$15 billion federal effort to replace lead water pipes.

A day later, Interior Secretary Deb Haaland visited Albany, N.Y., to showcase the administration’s work on wind energy.

And the president’s chief infrastructure coordinator, Mitch Landrieu, toured New Mexico on Friday to highlight the administration’s efforts to promote broadband connectivity, including its recent \$42 billion in new investments.

The money aims to deliver speedy internet by 2030 to about 8 million homes, businesses and other locations that still lack sufficient service, though Biden would no longer be in office, even if he wins reelection.

In late June, the administration divvied up the funding, setting in motion a roughly two-year process for states to decide how to spend the money with federal supervision.

Lawmakers from both parties quickly heralded the aid: In Texas, for example, Sen. John Cornyn (R) shared an update about how his state had received the largest federal grant, exceeding \$3.3 billion, only to later face heavy criticism for having voted against the bill authorizing the funding in the first place.

“You bet I did,” Cornyn later tweeted in a defense of his stance, citing the fact that he thought the legislation added to the debt and worsened inflation. “Broadband is important, but you don’t solve one problem by creating two more.”

In Alabama, meanwhile, Tuberville extolled broadband as “vital” for growing the local economy, even as he renewed his attacks on Biden for pursuing trillions of dollars in new spending that had caused “record high inflation.”

His spokesman, Stafford, later emphasized there is “no contradiction” between voting against the law and supporting its individual provisions once they take effect.

But the senator’s stance prompted Biden to fire back at Tuberville in his own tweet recently, as he ramped up his effort to champion new federal funding on the horizon.

“See you at the groundbreaking,” the president said.

Indigenous groups call on colleges built on tribal lands to make recompense

REPARATIONS FROM A1

Lake Superior Chippewa, said they have not settled on a specific amount, partly because of the difficulty of quantifying all the harm done. But the university has a duty to address this history, they said.

University officials have acknowledged many of the advocates’ findings and said they are considering ways to make recompense. “We welcome the opportunity to examine the university’s history. It is important that we work in collaboration with the tribal nations to chart our course from here,” Janie Mayeron, chair of the board of regents for the University of Minnesota, said at a board meeting in May.

The effort is part of a movement by Indigenous groups to reclaim their history, artifacts and land. But so far, Native advocates said, colleges have fallen short of providing real reparations. The restitution colleges have offered benefits “a small collection of people,” said Kyle Mays, an associate professor of African American studies and American Indian studies at UCLA. “I am not upset at any individual who gets the tuition paid for,” he said. “But that’s not real structural change at all.”

The United States attempted to provide reparations to Native Americans before. To show gratitude to Native Americans who served in World War II, in 1946 Congress created the Indian Claims Commission, to compensate federally recognized tribes for stolen land. The commission, which was active until 1978, paid out \$1.3 billion, according to the New York Times, which amounted to about \$1,000 for each tribal member.

In 1980, the Supreme Court ordered the United States to pay the Sioux nation over \$105 million for the illegal government seizure of its land. But many Native American leaders called



GLEN STUBBE/STAR TRIBUNE/AP

The University of Minnesota faces calls for reparations from 11 Native American tribes who sold land for a fraction of its worth. But those Indigenous groups note the difficulty of coming up with a figure.

for the return of the sacred land, not financial compensation. The money, which sits in a trust and has since grown to more than \$1 billion, remains unclaimed.

This is happening as dozens of states and cities are considering reparations for Black Americans. California is proposing to give more than \$1 million to some Black residents, and Providence, R.I., has set aside a \$10 million budget for its reparations program for Black and Native American residents.

This has lent a potential blueprint for tribes now seeking reparations, though there will be some key differences, advocates said. Reparations for Black and Indigenous people should be considered together, Mays said. “Without combining the conversations . . . of Black and Indigenous peoples, we are miss-

ing the point and the possibilities for our justice in a certain sense,” said Mays, who is Black and Indigenous.

But Rebecca Tsosie, a law professor at the University of Arizona who is of Yaqui descent, said reparations for Native tribes would be “very, very different” from proposals to provide recompense for Black Americans who are descendants of enslaved people.

Federally recognized tribes have a unique political relationship with the United States, with Indigenous nations governing themselves independently, Tsosie said. “There is no other group that has that form of a claim,” she said. “Indigenous peoples are still in their context of separate and distinct peoples. So as nations, other nations within the nation.”

Mays said: “I do not see how much compensation you can get for a mass amount of genocide without trying to restructure economies at large scale, restructure how we connect with land, and how we utilize land. Which I just do not see is possible under capitalism in a certain way.”

The reckoning with Native communities was sparked by a March 2020 article in High Country News about “land-grab universities” that described how 10.7 million acres of land was taken from 250 tribes after the signing of the Morrill Act by President Abraham Lincoln in 1862. The law turned land expropriated from tribal nations into seed money for higher education.

The law was named after Justin Smith Morrill, an entrepreneur and a member of Congress, whose name adorns buildings on

many college campuses across the country, including the University of Maryland at College Park, South Dakota State University and the University of Vermont, among others.

One of the largest benefactors of the law was Cornell University, which received more than 987,000 acres across 15 current states, according to High Country News researchers. It built Morrill Hall, a 40,000-square-foot building in 1866.

“Cornell acknowledges our central place in this history,” Joel Malina, vice president of university relations at Cornell, said in a statement. The college is working “to build and maintain relationships with North American Indigenous Nations and communities,” he said, including establishing educational programs and “partnerships specifically geared to meeting the needs of Indigenous students.”

But Kurt Anders Jordan, director of the American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program at Cornell, said the school should be doing more. He has assembled a team to dig more deeply into its past, including contacting Native communities that may have been affected by Cornell taking land from tribes.

The team found about 240 tribal nations — federally recognized, state-recognized or unrecognized — across the United States and Canada that have been affected by the landholdings of Cornell, Jordan said. “I think that is going to move us into a different stage of visibility and generating action,” he said of the soon-to-be-submitted research plan.

At the University of Minnesota, the Truth Project, led by a Native research group, went beyond land holdings, examining the history of kidney and skin biopsies that school researchers conducted on Native children in the 1960s.

At the time, children in the

area suffered from two epidemics of kidney disease, the first in 1953 and the second in 1966. The second epidemic coincided with a study underway by University of Minnesota researchers examining the impact of the kidney infections. To study the disease, researchers conducted kidney biopsies on Native children. At the time, that involved physicians jabbing patients with a long needle without the help of an ultrasound to guide their movements, researchers said.

“When you imagine what that procedure would have looked like in the 1960s compared to today, especially when considering the age of some of these children they conducted biopsies on, it just does not make you feel good,” said Audrianna Goodwin, a researcher who is a member of the Red Lake Nation tribe, one of the tribes whose land was taken to build the university. The school did not obtain proper written consent from the parents of patients before including them in the experiment, said Goodwin, who researched the experiment as part of the Truth Project.

Rather than give the children penicillin, which has been used to treat patients during the first epidemic, the researchers conducted the biopsies to further their research, she said. In a separate report, the University of Minnesota disputed that penicillin would have stymied the epidemic and found that “although a signed consent form was not available for review, it appears that parental consent was obtained for kidney biopsies.”

It is “inappropriate” to hold research conducted decades ago to modern medical standards, the report said. Goodwin said researchers should have done more. “If they had understood our communities, had respect for our communities, that this research wouldn’t have been conducted in this way.”

Piece of 1958 crash wreckage returned to pilot's children

Farmers found the aluminum memorial on their property in Nebraska and then spent 11 years trying to track down descendants of Maj. William R. Hodgson

BY JONATHAN EDWARDS

Bill Knobbe was dozing off one afternoon in late May when his phone roused him to attention. Despite not recognizing the number, he answered the call. A stranger asked if he was related to Maj. William R. Hodgson, an Air National Guard fighter pilot who'd died in a jet crash 65 years earlier at age 36.

Yes, said Knobbe, 71. I'm his son.

With that, the stranger on the other end of the line, Colette Jessen, solved an 11-year-old mystery that had vexed her ever since she and her husband purchased a roughly 160-acre property in Perkins County, Neb., in 2012. While clearing the land to plant crops, Jessen's husband stumbled upon a hole in which someone had buried a chunk of metal. Unearthing it, he found a four-foot-long piece of aluminum, a memorial engraved with its origin story: "Major William Hodgson crashed with F 80 jet Feb 26 1958."

Jessen, 59, decided to track down Hodgson's descendants so she could give it to them. What she didn't know was that in doing so, she was committing to an odyssey that would last more than a decade.

"Whoever his family was or next of kin, they needed that piece," Jessen said. "I was not ever going to throw it away. I just needed to find them."

On Feb. 26, 1958, Hodgson was flying a training mission for the Colorado Air National Guard. On his way from the Denver area to Rome, N.Y., his F-80 Shooting Star jet fighter exploded and crashed outside of Grant, Neb., about 15 miles east of the Colorado state line.

For 54 years, the aluminum memorial lay buried until Jessen and her husband, both farmers, purchased the property at an estate sale. Within a month, her husband was out on a tractor, clearing the land. That's when he came across the metal debris, which they would later learn was a piece of the wreckage that had been engraved as a tribute to



COLETTE JESSEN

Bill Knobbe, right, and his brother Dave pose for a photo on May 28 while holding a metal piece of their father's F-80 Shooting Star that crashed in 1958 and a photo of him wearing his flight helmet.

Hodgson after the crash.

Jessen first turned to the internet, looking for Hodgsongs in the area, in Denver and as far away as Wyoming. Many calls went unanswered and voice mail requests for return calls, unheeded. When a Hodgson did pick up, it was never the right one. Then, Jessen would forget about her pet project. A year or so later, she'd pick it up again with similar results. That cycle repeated itself for years.

Then the pandemic hit, and Jessen, like a lot of people, found herself trapped at home with time on her hands. She tried a new strategy: contacting the military installation in Aurora, Colo., where Hodgson's flight originated. Those efforts also failed.

In August 2021, she turned to Perkins County's veterans service representative, who said she

"Whoever his family was or next of kin, they needed that piece. I was not ever going to throw it away. I just needed to find them."

Colette Jessen,
on finding a four-foot-long piece of aluminum with an engraving:

"Major William Hodgson crashed with F 80 jet Feb 26 1958."

would help. That summer and again in March 2022, the representative posted a message in Investigation Connection, a Facebook group of more than 150,000 members dedicated in part to reuniting old photos and other mementos with their owners or family members.

About a year later, volunteer researcher Sherry Hancock, 66, saw the message when she joined the group. Hancock, who's been doing informal investigative work for about five years, has an affinity for reuniting military paraphernalia with owners or their relatives. The piece of wreckage from Hodgson's plane stood out.

"I knew right away I had to help find this family," she said.

Hancock enlisted the help of her friend Susan Sonju, who also gravitates toward military items. Using census records, old news-

paper articles, marriage certificates and divorce decrees, Sonju found the nugget that cracked the case. She discovered that Hodgson's widow had gotten remarried to a man named Clement Knobbe. Her new husband adopted the five Hodgson children, who took the name Knobbe, which meant that Jessen had been barking up the wrong tree for more than a decade.

The new info ultimately allowed Jessen to call Bill Knobbe at his Denver home about a week before Memorial Day.

That call came right as Knobbe was drifting off for his usual afternoon nap. After confirming that Knobbe was Hodgson's son, Jessen launched into the story about finding the plane debris and spending more than a decade trying to track him down.

"Immediately, I said, 'I'll come get it. Where is it?'" Knobbe said. "Because all of a sudden this brought back a lot of memories of that fatal day ... and everything that's happened over the last 65 years."

On May 28, Knobbe and his younger brother, Dave, drove 4½ hours from Denver to Grant, meeting Jessen and her husband at a cemetery. The Jessens were helping set up for a Memorial Day ceremony. They talked about everything — the crash, the brothers' memories of their father, the discovery of the debris and the search for the Knobbes.

Then Jessen asked if they wanted to see the site where her husband had found the wreckage. They drove 25 miles to see the place where their dad had died more than 65 years earlier.

The Knobbe brothers stayed for the city's Memorial Day service the next day. Veterans were there. "Taps" played. Some of the dignitaries who gave speeches about honor and sacrifice mentioned the Knobbes' father. When they drove back to Denver the next day, one mystery remained: Who had engraved details of their father's crash on a piece of the wreckage? They theorized that his aviator buddies had buried it as a way to honor their friend and fellow

pilot.

But as their story spread over the following days, other information emerged, including from Phyllis Peak, whose father in 1958 owned the land where Hodgson crashed, Jessen said. Peak, 84, said that she remembered her father had heard the crash, rushed out to the wreckage and called emergency services.

After emergency crews left and the situation calmed, her father camped at the crash site for a week to guard it against thieves out to snatch pieces of the wreckage. It was Peak's father who engraved details about Hodgson and the crash on the piece of aluminum and then buried it on his land.

"He planted it there as a memorial," Knobbe said.

Knobbe and his brother were already back home when they learned about Peak and her father. But he said they plan to return to Nebraska to meet her and learn more about her father, with whom they are now forever connected. By engraving a piece of the wreckage and burying it at the crash site, he honored Hodgson, Knobbe said. And by unearthing it and making sure it got to Hodgson's children, Jessen honored Peak's father, too.

For Knobbe, it's brought about a flood of emotions and memories of his father, such as those of the two of them fishing together when he was a boy. He said the Wings Over the Rockies Air & Space Museum in Colorado has expressed interest in creating an exhibit about his father with the engraved piece of wreckage as the centerpiece. Hodgson started flying in 1940 as a civilian pilot in Utica, N.Y., near his hometown.

He went on to serve as a Marine Corps pilot in World War II and Korea, before joining the Air National Guard, his son said.

It's resurrected the story of his father, his military service, and his sacrifice, Knobbe said.

"Sixty-five years later, it comes back into full view of everybody, and everybody loved to hear it," Knobbe said. "My father's still living in a way."

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THE WORLD

Ukraine pushes to reclaim fallen city of Bakhmut

The city's capture in May has, so far, been Moscow's only significant territorial gain

BY FREDRICK KUNKLE
AND SERHII KOROLCHUK

TORETSK, UKRAINE — Everything was set for a nighttime mortar attack by a Ukrainian special forces team close to the Russian front line.

A four-man squad assembled a fire base in the blasted remains of a kindergarten in a village near here, about 18 miles south of Bakhmut, while another reconnoitered nearby.

The moon was up. The night was still. The sky was clear — all excellent conditions to pinpoint a mortar strike or float a drone so close to Russian front lines that incoming Ukrainian artillery could be heard whistling on the ride down.

"We will find them with the drone, and we will hit them," said Lisnyk, the Ukrainian special forces team leader, who requested to be identified by his call sign in keeping with military protocol. "If we don't find them, we'll look elsewhere."

But the team's first drone to go up went missing, perhaps lost to Russian jammers, and they decided not to risk another — the second time within two days that bad weather or bad luck slowed their effort to reclaim the eastern city of Bakhmut in an inch-by-inch battle on its flanks.

So goes the grinding Ukrainian counteroffensive on a small but important sector of the 600-mile front. The fight in villages around Toretsk, where some battle lines have hardly budged since 2014, reflects the difficulty Ukraine faces in breaking a stalemate when the only real air power to speak of comes from drones.

The capture of Bakhmut in May, after the war's longest and bloodiest battle, was Moscow's only significant territorial gain so far in 2023. Wagner mercenaries, who led the months-long siege of the city, claimed victory in May and quickly withdrew, turning over responsibility for holding it to regular Russian units.

Now, with Ukraine mounting its long-awaited counteroffensive, the battle has shifted to the destroyed city's flanks. "We are trying to pin as many Muscovites as possible around Bakhmut," said Mykola Bielieskov, a research fellow with Ukraine's National Institute for Strategic Studies.

To the north, the Ukrainians have pushed toward Yagidne and Berhivka. To the south, they've been moving on Klishchiivka and Kurdyumivka amid a landscape dotted with abandoned coal mines and giant slag piles grown over with trees.

Ukrainian troops have also encountered Wagner Group's successors for the first time — a force known as Storm Z that is under the control of Russia's Defense Ministry and includes a mix of reservists, conscripts and convicted criminals.

By the end of June, Ukraine's 3rd Assault Brigade eliminated a Russian bridgehead on the western bank of the Siverskyi-Donets-Donbas canal, its commander reported on Telegram.

The canal is a key source of water for the Russian-occupied parts of Donetsk region. Securing the waterway also means controlling high ground southwest of the city, said Gerych, the leader of a mortar company in the 3rd Assault Brigade located two kilometers or less from the waterway.

To reach his position, Gerych, a 27-year-old sergeant, jumped on a quad-runner and blazed up a dusty road, bumping over ruts and swerving around mudholes.



SASHA MASLOV FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



ED RAM FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

He roared by an armored personnel carrier ferrying troops to the rear before climbing a grassy ridge overlooking Klishchiivka, a settlement about four kilometers from Bakhmut on the city's southern edge.

At the fire base — code named "Alabama" — a gun crew was preparing to lob a batch of 82mm mortar rounds into Russian positions less than two kilometers away.

Their pace of fire had picked up as Ukrainian infantry advanced: 60 rounds overnight, Gerych said, compared with the usual 40 or so. In fact, the front line had advanced so far, Gerych said, that his company was approaching the limit of its effective range. He said orders had already come to advance the following day.

That was progress enough for Gerych, who said his company didn't need any prodding.

The following day, Anton Gerashchenko, an adviser to Ukraine's Interior Ministry, reported on Telegram that Klishchiivka had been liberated — a claim acknowledged with regret by



THE WASHINGTON POST

Ivan Sladkov, a pro-Russian military blogger with more than 1 million followers.

Sladkov wrote on Telegram that he feared the fall of the Klishchiivka meant Bakhmut, too, could soon change hands — but then reversed himself hours later, claiming his sources had been mistaken about the town's capture.

Amid the up-and-down battle against perceptions and enemy positions, the Ukrainian special forces team thought things looked promising for their mission to shell Russian lines north of Druzhba.

While two soldiers dug a mortar pit in the weedy yard behind the kindergarten, another set up a tripod and helped zero in the 120mm weapon using a distant point on the horizon. Inside the ruined school, the squad leader brewed coffee on a propane stove.

Lisnyk said his special forces unit sent out drones and recon patrols on foot — sometimes within 500 meters, roughly a third of a mile, of enemy lines — to hunt possible targets, such as ammo dumps, troop concentra-

tions and armor.

Two days earlier, they had spotted signs of hidden Russian bunkers and a signal-jamming station, but wet weather prevented them from taking a closer look with a drone. And now this night — another drone lost, another too risky to fly.

The delays are typical, and frustrating.

Ukraine's military — from its highest ranking general to grunts in the field — hears the world tapping its foot and sifting daily battlefield reports for hints of progress. Many Ukrainian soldiers shrug off the expressions of impatience from the United States and European supporters. But some soldiers get a little salty.

"They just need to chill out — because they're idiots," said Sgt. Alen Dudnik, who is credited with shooting down a Russian fighter jet with a shoulder-mounted rocket in Bakhmut during the siege led by Yevgeniy Prigozhin's Wagner Group mercenaries.

Dudnik and other Ukrainians have suggested that the West's expectations for swift progress in the counteroffensive have sometimes outpaced the delivery of promised weapons. They ask: When was the last time a modern army was expected to mount a major offensive without fighter jets to control the skies?

Soldiers also complain — often privately, in a war where front line access is limited and public information officers try to shape the messaging — about ammunition shortages and insufficient training for combat. The terrain Ukraine is now struggling to reclaim also includes breakaway areas where the sympathies of local residents can be uncertain.

Dudnik, whose antiaircraft unit in the 93rd Brigade was rotated out of the city to rest about six weeks ago, said anyone with basic military knowledge should understand the daunting challenge of pushing back an invader with superior air power and a greater number of forces.

"This is not going to be as fast as they expect," Dudnik said, illustrating with toothpicks in a gas station cafe why an army's offensive operations typically require force ratios of around 4-to-1 to succeed against a defender.

After Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered the invasion in February 2022, Russian forces tried to seize all of Luhansk and Donetsk, eventually overrunning heavily engineered Ukrainian fortifications near Bakhmut and repurposing them against Ukraine.

Getting to Russian lines now means crossing a no man's land of mines, trenches and "dragon's teeth," an antitank defense harking back to World War II built of concrete or metal points protruding from the earth.

To advance, Ukraine's military has engaged in cat-and-mouse efforts to find openings and weak spots where smaller units can slip in, hit targets and roll out, while heavy artillery pops off from farther away.

No one is more eager for the counteroffensive to progress than the Ukrainian commanders and soldiers in the field.

"The soldiers themselves want it to end quickly and not drag on," Lisnyk said.

Gerych, the sergeant, said critics should put up or shut up. "It just gets boring," he said of the complaints that Ukraine's counteroffensive is too slow-going. "You can just come here and help if you feel that it's not going fast enough."

ATLANTIC OCEAN

3 boats, 300 migrants reported missing

At least 300 people who were traveling on three migrant boats from Senegal to Spain's Canary Islands have disappeared, migrant aid group Walking Borders said Sunday.

Two boats, one carrying about 65 people and the other with 50 to 60 on board, have been missing for 15 days since they left Senegal to try to reach Spain, Helena Maleno of Walking Borders told Reuters. A third boat left Senegal on June 27 with about 200 people aboard.

The passengers' families have not heard from them since they left, Maleno said. "The families are very worried. There are about 300 people from the same area of Senegal. They have left because of the instability in

Senegal," Maleno said.

All three boats left Kafountine in the south of Senegal, which is more than 1,000 miles from Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands, off the coast of West Africa.

The Atlantic migration route, one of the deadliest in the world, is typically used by migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. At least 559 people died in 2022 in attempts to reach the Canary Islands, according to data from the U.N.'s International Organization for Migration.

— Reuters

SUDAN

Conflict approaching 'full-scale civil war'

U.N. Secretary General António Guterres said Sudan is on the brink of a "full-scale civil war" as fierce clashes between

rival generals continued unabated Sunday in Khartoum, the capital.

Guterres warned late Saturday that the war between Sudan's military and a powerful paramilitary force is likely to destabilize the entire region, according to Farhan Haq, deputy spokesman for the U.N. chief.

The U.S. State Department announced Sunday that the assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Molly Phee, will travel to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on Monday and Tuesday to meet with African leaders and Sudanese civilians on how to end the conflict in Sudan. "We call on the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) to immediately end the fighting," the State Department said in a statement.

Egypt, meanwhile, said it will host a meeting Thursday for Sudan's neighboring countries.

The gathering aims to establish "effective mechanisms" to help find a peaceful settlement to the conflict, Ahmed Fahmy, spokesman for Egypt's presidency, said in a statement.

— Associated Press, Reuters

24 villagers killed in attack in Nigeria: Gunmen killed 24 villagers in a remote part of north-central Nigeria, authorities said Sunday, raising further concerns about the West African nation's ongoing security challenges. The gunmen arrived at the Akpuuna village in Benue state's Ukum district on Saturday, shooting dead the villagers before escaping, according to the spokesman for Benue state's governor. The governor said the attack was unprovoked. The gunmen operated for more than two hours without the intervention of security forces, said

Emmanuel Udende, who represents the village at the Nigerian Senate.

Colombia, FARC dissidents to begin peace talks

Colombia's government has reached an agreement to begin peace talks with a faction of dissident Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) rebels who rejected a 2016 peace agreement, according to a statement. A temporary cease fire between the government and the dissident faction of the now-demobilized FARC, which is made up of approximately 3,500 people and is known as the Estado Mayor Central (EMC), will be discussed. Leftist President Gustavo Petro has vowed to end Colombia's 60-year conflict — which has killed at least 450,000 people — by inking peace or surrender deals with remaining rebels and crime

gangs and fully implementing the peace accord with the FARC.

Pope announces 21 new cardinals

Pope Francis on Sunday announced that he has chosen 21 new cardinals, including prelates from Jerusalem and Hong Kong — places where Catholics are a small minority — as he continues to leave his mark on the body that will select his successor. The pope announced his picks during his customary weekly appearance to the public in St. Peter's Square. Francis has appointed the large majority of those eligible to elect the next pontiff — those under age 80. That means, increasingly, the men who will vote for whoever succeeds Francis are supportive of his values and priorities and share his vision for the future of the Catholic Church.

— From news services

DIGEST

U.S. leaders insist war must end before Kyiv joins NATO

BY MARIANA ALFARO

Ahead of this week's NATO summit in Lithuania, U.S. leaders are insisting that the war with Russia must end before Ukraine is invited to join the powerful military alliance.

President Biden said during an interview with CNN's Fareed Zakaria that aired Sunday that he doesn't believe there will be "unanimity" on the issue of Ukraine's membership while the nation remains "in the middle of a war."

"We're determined to [protect] every inch of territory that is NATO territory," Biden said, noting that if Ukraine were part of NATO, it would put the alliance at war with Russia.

Biden added that it was "premature" to call for a vote on Ukrainian membership because the country still has to meet some NATO qualifications. Biden said he and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky have spoken at length

about the issue of membership, and said the two have to lay out a "rational path... for Ukraine to be able to qualify."

Still, Biden said the United States remains committed to supplying the war-torn nation with the security assistance it needs to continue fending off Russia.

Like Biden, Rep. Michael McCaul (R-Tex.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said talk of Ukraine's membership is "too premature." McCaul told CNN's Jake Tapper on Sunday that Ukraine has to win the counter-offensive against Russia, secure a cease-fire and negotiate a peace settlement before joining NATO.

"We cannot admit Ukraine into NATO immediately; that would put us at war with Russia under Article 5 of the United Nations," McCaul said.

The comments on Ukraine's bid for NATO membership come days after Biden approved sending U.S. cluster munitions to Ukraine. The

weapons have been controversial because they explode in the air over a target, releasing dozens to hundreds of smaller submunitions across a wide area. More than 120 countries have joined a convention banning their use as inhumane and indiscriminate, in part because unexploded submunitions litter the landscape and endanger both troops and civilians.

National security adviser Jake Sullivan told reporters aboard Air Force One on Sunday that Ukraine has agreed to not use these powerful munitions on Russian territory. It will only use such weapons in its own territory, where, he said, Kyiv has "the highest incentive to limit the impact to civilians, because it is Ukrainian citizens who would be at risk." Ukraine also agreed not to use the munitions in populated areas, Sullivan said.

Zelensky, in an interview that aired Sunday on ABC, said inviting Ukraine into NATO is "all a matter of political will." In the meantime,

Zelensky said Ukraine "should get clear security guarantees" from NATO members in the effort against Russia.

"It would be an important message to say that NATO is not afraid of Russia," he said.

Zelensky said he will attend the summit in Vilnius, Lithuania, this week, to do whatever he can to "expedite that solution to have an agreement with our partners."

"I don't want to go to Vilnius for fun," he said.

John Kirby, the spokesman for the U.S. National Security Council, said on ABC's "This Week" that strong commitments will be made to Ukraine during the upcoming summit.

"You're going to see the allies really stay unified on supporting Ukraine in this fight against Russia on their soil," Kirby said. "You're also going to see from all the allies a concerted, unified approach to making it clear that NATO is eventually going to be in

Ukraine's future."

While Biden remained skeptical of Ukraine's ascension into the alliance in the immediate future, he told CNN he is optimistic that Sweden, which has also been fighting for membership, will become a NATO member soon.

Extending membership to a new nation requires the approval of all NATO allies, and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban have cited objections to adding Sweden.

"Sweden has the same value set that we have in NATO, [is] a small nation, but has a capacity to defend itself, as they know how to fight," Biden said, echoing other statements he has made in the lead-up to the summit. "I think they should be a member of NATO."

Turkey has criticized Sweden for refusing to extradite individuals it sees as terrorists, including members of the Kurdistan Work-

ers' Party (PKK) and a movement accused of trying to overthrow the Turkish government in 2016. Turkey also has complained about anti-Erdogan protests held in Sweden and demonstrations at which Qurans were burned.

Biden, in the interview with CNN, responded to Turkey's criticisms by arguing that it isn't "Swedes that are burning the Quran. They are immigrants who are burning the Quran."

The White House said Biden and Erdogan spoke Sunday about Sweden's membership bid and Biden "conveyed his desire to welcome Sweden into NATO as soon as possible." Erdogan told Biden that Sweden has taken the "correct steps" to appease Turkey's concerns by passing anti-terrorism policies — but that these policies were voided by PKK protests, per Turkey's state news agency.

Natasha Tiku contributed to this report.

Turkey, Hungary threaten NATO's unity on Russia

NATO FROM A1

lawmakers to be finalized, not only represents a threat to Biden's goal of brandishing his stewardship of a strong NATO but also serves as a reminder of other differences dogging the alliance, including fissures over military spending levels, Kyiv's path to membership and, most recently, a White House decision to provide cluster munitions to Ukraine.

Alexander Vershbow, a veteran U.S. diplomat who served as NATO deputy secretary general, said that navigating internal differences was "the cost of doing business" for a consensus-based body such as NATO, whose allies, crucially, must also commit to sending their troops to protect one another if needed.

"At the end of the day, NATO has never been paralyzed when something of absolutely vital importance is on the line," said Vershbow, who is now a fellow at the Atlantic Council. "That's the important thing."

The July 11-12 summit comes as Ukrainian leaders make urgent appeals for additional weaponry from the West, including fighter aircraft, they say is needed to prevail in a hard-fought operation to reclaim Russian-held territory. They are also pushing for a clearer path to join NATO.

Putin's 2022 invasion of Ukraine has injected NATO, created in 1949 as the battle lines of the Cold War were being drawn, with renewed urgency as allies harden defenses against what most see as a renewed threat from Russia. While NATO itself has not provided arms to Ukraine, it has served as a forum to coordinate the massive surge in Western support to Kyiv.

Like Finland, which finalized its entry process in April, Sweden abandoned decades of military nonalignment in response to Putin's invasion. Despite Erdogan's decision to drop his government's objections to Finnish member-

ship in March, he has declined to approve Sweden's entry, citing additional complaints.

Diplomats are now scrambling — after months of voicing confidence that the summit in Vilnius would provide a chance to celebrate Sweden's accession — to persuade Hungary and especially Turkey to send a signal that they will allow Stockholm's entry to move forward.

Turkey's reasons for opposing Sweden's membership include what Ankara says is a refusal to extradite individuals it sees as terrorists, including members of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and a movement accused of trying to overthrow the Turkish government in 2016. Turkey also has complained about anti-Erdogan protests held in Sweden and demonstrations at which Qurans were burned.

Those complaints have dovetailed with populist rhetoric Erdogan has used at home, including during the presidential election in May, when he portrayed his opponents as sympathetic to Kurdish militants and as enemies of traditional Muslim family values, themes that resonated with nationalist voters and Erdogan's base of supporters.

Erdogan reiterated those themes last week, calling a Quran burning in Stockholm during last month's Muslim Eid al-Adha holiday "a heinous act" that was not an "isolated incident."

While senior U.S. and NATO officials insist that Stockholm has met the terms outlined last year to allay Ankara's security concerns — including amending its constitution and approving tougher anti-terrorism laws — Erdogan has refused to send Sweden's accession protocol to Turkish lawmakers.

Sinan Ulgen, a senior fellow at Carnegie Europe in Brussels, said that while there was a "domestic angle" to Turkey's posture on Sweden, which Erdogan used to earn political support, his opposi-

tion was "never just an election tool." Rather, Ulgen said, it is a bargaining chip to extract a key concession from the United States.

A swift resolution seemed more unlikely after a call on Sunday in which Erdogan, according to a readout from the Turkish presidency, told Biden that while Sweden had taken some positive steps, the fact that protests in Sweden by supporters of groups Ankara labels Kurdish extremists had been permitted to continue "nullifies" those actions. A White House statement said Biden expressed his desire to see Sweden's entry "as soon as possible."

Officials and analysts say the cost of Turkey's acquiescence appears to be a \$20 billion deal for American F-16 fighter jets, an agreement that the Biden administration has backed on grounds it would strengthen NATO's eastern defenses but that has long faced opposition on Capitol Hill.

At this stage, Turkey's approval of Sweden's NATO candidacy "has more to do with what the U.S. will end up doing, and not doing, than what Sweden has done," Ulgen said.

While Sen. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has long objected to the F-16 sale over Turkey's rights record and its antagonistic stance toward fellow NATO member Greece, opponents to the deal have multiplied as the delay in Sweden's accession has drawn out. Lawmakers including Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) now say they won't support the fighter jet sale until Turkey relents.

Underlying Erdogan's dance on Sweden is his country's complex relationship with Russia, with which Turkey shares deep economic ties and a history of dealmaking and rivalry. While both Erdogan and Putin see themselves as counterweights to U.S. power, their countries have found themselves on the opposite

side of conflicts, including in Libya and Syria.

After Turkey shot down a Russian fighter jet in 2015, Russia suspended a lucrative flow of tourists to Turkey's Mediterranean coast and its import of Turkish farm products.

Turkey's ties with Russia have been a frequent point of contention with Washington. When Ankara acquired an advanced Russian air defense system, Washington responded with sanctions and removed Turkey from its F-35 fighter jet program, giving Putin a double win: The incident created a wedge within NATO and precluded the deployment of advanced aircraft close to Russian troops in Syria.

Other times those links have benefited the West, for instance when Turkey helped broker a deal between Moscow and Kyiv to resume Ukrainian grain exports via the Black Sea or helped arrange an exchange of high-profile prisoners of war.

"It's a complicated, nuanced relationship," David Satterfield, who served as U.S. ambassador to Turkey and is now director of Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, said of Turkey's ties with Russia. "But ultimately it is one which we as a NATO member find of value to the alliance."

Diplomats point out that Ankara, which commands NATO's second-largest ground force and has sent troops to partake in alliance missions including Afghanistan, remains a valuable contributor. Turkey has also been a reliable supporter of Ukraine, selling armed drones to Kyiv even before Putin's 2022 invasion.

Officials in Hungary have meanwhile cited a variety of reasons for their country's refusal to ratify Sweden's accession, from what a government spokesman said was Stockholm's eagerness to "bash Hungary" to the Nordic country's "crumbling throne of moral superiority."

But Hungary's obstruction is



CHRIS MCGRATH/GETTY IMAGES



PETR DAVID JOSEK/AP

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, left, and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban object to Sweden's bid to join NATO.

less about Sweden than Orban's strong affinity with Erdogan, said Peter Kreko, director of Budapest-based think tank Political Capital. "Turkey is a role model, on the one hand," he said. "Secondly, it's an ideological source of inspiration. Third, [Turkey is] a very important partner in trade, not just on a national level, but also business circles close to the Erdogan family and the Orban family."

Hungary is a NATO outlier because of Orban's warm ties with Erdogan, the country's skepticism about Ukraine's wartime goals and its refusal to allow arms to be shipped to Ukraine across its territory.

Orban faces criticism over his governing practices, clashing repeatedly with the European Union over his approach to migration and the rule of law. And like Turkey, Hungary has looked to Russia to help keep its economy afloat.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Szijjarto said that Budapest would not obstruct Sweden's bid alone. If there is a shift in Turkey's stance, "then of course we will keep the promise that Hungary will not hold up any country in terms of membership," he told reporters last week.

Sen. James E. Risch (Idaho), the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's top Republican, said Turkey's efforts to secure concessions unrelated to Sweden's

NATO entry had led him to question whether countries that pose obstacles to the alliance's larger mission should still be members at all.

"Look, when you have an alliance like this with ... 31 countries, it's important that every country resolve issues in the best interest of the alliance, as opposed to something that's in their own best interest, particularly if it's irrelevant to the foundation or purpose of the alliance," he told reporters.

Such internal challenges were visible in the lead-up to the Vilnius summit as regional and factional divisions over who would best replace Jens Stoltenberg as NATO's next secretary general ahead of his expected departure this summer led to his extension for another year.

But diplomats say that NATO has navigated serious internal challenges over decades, noting that France, one of the alliance's most influential members, withdrew from NATO's military command in protest during the 1960s. Paris returned to the military command only in 2009.

"NATO has weathered this in the past," Satterfield said. "And it will weather this one."

Ryan and Hauslochner reported from Washington, Rauhala reported from Brussels, Fahim reported from Istanbul, and Morris reported from Berlin.

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Jenin raid through the eyes of one family

JENIN FROM A1

kilometer. Poverty and unemployment are rampant. Raids by Israeli commandos are common.

That night, rumors of a big operation were swirling. But no one knew what was coming.

Around 1 a.m. Monday, Hussein saw a report on Israeli news: IDF soldiers had entered the camp. Then he heard drones, many of them. "They are going to bomb," he thought. Then came an explosion.

The Shibly family lives in nine apartments in three connected houses owned by Hussein and his two brothers. They are accustomed to Israeli raids. Within minutes, dozens of members of the extended family had rushed to the basement.

Almost 50 people were crowded in the low, dark spaces that Hussein's nephew Fadi uses to breed parakeets. Scores of birds fluttered and screeched as gun battles raged outside. All through the night and all day Monday, the family listened and waited, lighting candles after the power went out a few hours into the fight.

"The children were terrified," Hussein said.

But Fadi, 34, worried about his pregnant wife and 3-year-old son in the crowded basement, stayed in his second-floor apartment. With his family huddled low in a living room, Fadi kept watch through a small bathroom window.

The Shibly compound, high on a steep street, commands a wide view of the camp. He could see Israeli troops moving below. Neighbors called neighbors with updates.

"Now they are going into Jaffar's," Fadi recalled. "Now they are raiding your cousin's house."

Around 11 p.m. Monday, he got this call: "Fadi, they are coming to you."

He heard a racket downstairs, and, suddenly, the two doors of his apartment crashed in simultaneously, shattering the frames. About 12 soldiers poured in, all clad in body armor and wearing headlamps.

Fadi, with his son crying in his arms and his wife clutching his side, stood before them and pleaded in Hebrew: "Easy! Easy! A little one here!" he remembers saying.

"Your ID," the leader commanded in Arabic. "Where are the terrorists?"

The soldiers blew out the candles, cuffed Fadi with plastic ties and ordered the three into the living room. Through the open door, they watched the troops search through cupboards. One set up at the wide kitchen window. Soon, he began firing in long bursts with his automatic rifle. Bullet casings fell by the hundreds onto the tile floor.



PHOTOS BY LORENZO TUGNOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: The paved surface of Jenin camp's main road was bulldozed during the Israeli military raid as a measure against hidden explosive devices. Members of the Shibly family in the courtyard of their compound. The damaged basement of a mosque in the camp. Fadi Shibly stayed in his apartment at the family compound with his pregnant wife and 3-year-old son when the raid began. Israeli soldiers took over the house and used it as a firing point before letting them and their extended family in the basement leave. The first Friday prayers after last week's raid.

"Please!" Fadi shouted. "The boy is terrified."

Below, the other family members were in despair. Fadi had stopped responding.

"We thought he was dead," Hussein said. "The women were screaming and crying."

The firing continued. Fadi's wife asked to get a toy for the child, and a commander led Fadi to a bedroom filled with plastic trucks and scooters. When the soldier saw a toy machine gun by the door, he swore, Fadi said, hit him on the shoulder with his rifle butt and pushed him back to the living room.

They asked to join their family in the basement. The commander said no, Fadi recounted. They all would be leaving soon, he told them.

About midnight, calls came from a loudspeaker: "Get out! Get out! You will be safe."

The people in the basement scrambled to gather documents and diapers and rushed to the courtyard, where they found a firetruck, a Red Crescent team and Fadi's family. They surrounded them, hugging and crying, as a medic cut Fadi's cuffs off.

"Walk out together," a firefighter advised them. "Men should stay in a group with the women and children so they will not get shot."

They picked their way down the lanes, over rubble and downed cables. One long street was plowed like a farm furrow where Israeli bulldozers had intentionally detonated explosives embedded in the pavement.

Once outside the camp, the family spread out to the homes of relatives. Hussein was glued to the television.

Late Tuesday, he saw reports that a shoulder-fired missile had struck near the Abdullah Azzam mosque in his neighborhood.

"I saw that it wasn't the mosque that was harmed; it was our house," he said. "I watched on TV, fire eating up my son's house."

It was still smoldering when he returned Wednesday morning, a few hours after Israeli forces pulled out of the Jenin camp. Fadi's apartment was littered with bullet casings.

Hussein said that there had been no reason to target their compound — that no one in the family was involved with militant groups, and that none were wanted by the Israelis.

"We all have permits to work in Israel. They know us well," said Hussein, recalling his years working side by side with Israeli Jews on a kosher-compliance team, led by a rabbi, that monitored animal health conditions.

The Israeli military did not respond to a request for comment on why the Shibly house might have been targeted.

On Friday, as a surveillance drone hovered overhead, life was returning to the compound. Women cooked in Hussein's ground-floor apartment. Fadi tended to his birds. About 20 of them had died of lack of food during the incursion, he said.

The United Nations has called for donors to help rebuild Jenin. The United Arab Emirates pledged \$15 million on Thursday. But Hussein is skeptical.

"We hear about money on the news, but we never see any of it," he said. He has little faith that things will change. Jenin will remain poor, and Israeli forces will return.

"They will be back," Hussein said. "They said they wanted to eliminate resistance in Jenin. But they will not."

In the U.S.-China AI race, regulation could prove decisive

BY MEAGHAN TOBIN

The heated technological competition between the United States and China has expanded into a new sphere this year, as popular artificial intelligence tools such as ChatGPT have made AI a part of everyday life.

From chatbots to autonomous driving, the world's two biggest economies are now racing to develop the most cutting-edge AI technologies.

China's AI development lags far behind its Western counterparts in many sectors, analysts say. But there is one area where Beijing has gotten ahead of Washington, and that's putting regulations on the AI industry.

Chinese authorities have been so proactive about regulating some uses of AI, especially those that allow the general public to create their own content, that compliance has become a major hurdle for the country's companies.

Some Chinese companies have gone as far as making their own rules. Douyin, the Chinese version of TikTok, requires AI-generated content to be labeled and anyone posting on the platform to register their real identity.

As the use of AI explodes, regulators in Washington and around the world are trying to figure out how to manage potential threats to privacy, employment, intellectual property and even human existence.

Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) last month urged Congress to adopt "comprehensive" regulations on the AI industry.

But there are also concerns that putting any guardrails on the technology in the United States would surrender leadership in the sector to Chinese companies.

Here's a rundown of China's AI priorities and how it's regulating this new technology.

First of all, where is China's AI industry at?

Chinese companies have been investing in AI for years — from lining city streets with surveillance cameras to using facial recognition to monitor paper use in public toilets — and have long been at the cutting edge of surveillance technology.

But when it comes to some other types of AI, Chinese firms lag years behind their international peers.

That's partly because the Chinese Communist Party-run government strictly controls information



Deepfake technology depicts former president Donald Trump at the Security China 2023 expo in Beijing on June 7. Experts say that U.S. lawmakers have the chance to pull off what Beijing hasn't: putting guardrails on the technology without constraining development.

and communication.

Rather than focusing on AI technology that lets the public create unique content like the chatbots and image generators, Chinese companies have instead focused on technologies with clear commercial uses, like surveillance tech.

As a result, in other areas of AI, such as the large language models that underpin chatbots, Chinese companies have largely had to build on models developed outside of China.

"A lot of Chinese companies have less funding and less leeway to invest in foundational AI development, so oftentimes, they have to follow whatever trajectory has been opened up by U.S. companies," said Jeff Ding, assistant professor of political science at George Washington University, who focuses on AI competition between the United States and China.

If Washington regulates AI, won't that help Chinese companies get ahead?

In a recent study, Ding found that most of the large language models developed in China were nearly two years behind those developed in the United States, a gap

that would be challenging to close — even if American firms had to adjust to regulation.

This gap also makes it difficult for Chinese firms to attract the world's top engineering talent. Many would prefer to work at firms that have the flexibility to experiment on frontier research areas.

Restrictions on access to the most advanced chips, which are needed to run AI models, have added to these difficulties.

Experts say that while lawmakers in Washington debate how to regulate AI in a way that limits potential harms, they have the chance to pull off what Beijing hasn't: finding a way to put guardrails on the technology without constraining its future development.

How has China's development been affected by U.S. restrictions on access to cutting-edge chips?

Late last year, the Biden administration restricted the sale to China of certain chips made anywhere in the world with U.S. equipment. Washington said the move was necessary to prevent U.S. tech from being used in Chinese military ap-

plications or from making its way to Russia.

This has made it harder for Chinese tech companies to access the most advanced chips that run complex AI frameworks. Beijing has called the measures abuses intended to reinforce U.S. "technological hegemony."

Recent research identified 17 large language models in China that relied on Nvidia chips, and just three models that used Chinese-made chips.

While Beijing pushes to make comparable chips at home, Chinese AI companies have to source their chips any way they can — including from a black market that has sprung up in Shenzhen, where, according to Reuters, the most advanced Nvidia chips sell for nearly \$20,000, more than twice what they go for elsewhere.

What are China's priorities and biggest advancements?

Despite the obstacles, Chinese AI companies have made major advances in some types of AI technologies, including facial recognition, gait recognition, and artificial and virtual reality.

These technologies have also fu-

eled the development of China's vast surveillance industry, giving Chinese tech giants an edge that they market around the world, such as Huawei's contracts for smart city surveillance from Belgrade, Serbia, to Nairobi.

Tech companies in the United States and other democratic countries have been less invested in developing this side of AI, Helen Toner, director of strategy at Georgetown University's Center for Security and Emerging Technology, said.

"Whereas in China, the government threw open the door and told companies 'Please have access to our giant facial recognition data sets, let's push ahead as fast as we can,'" she said.

While Chinese tech firms doubled down on developing this kind of AI, American companies were developing tech such as chatbots designed to entertain and put creative tools in the hands of the public.

How is China approaching regulation of its industry?

Beijing's approach to regulating AI has constrained Chinese firms' ability to innovate, analysts and

industry insiders say.

Companies developing AI in China need to comply with specific laws on intellectual property rights, personal information protection, recommendation algorithms and synthetic content, also called deepfakes. In April, regulators also released a draft set of rules on generative AI, the technology behind image generator Stable Diffusion and chatbots such as OpenAI's ChatGPT and Google's Bard.

They also need to ensure AI-generated content complies with Beijing's strict censorship regime. Chinese tech companies such as Baidu have become adept at filtering content that contravenes these rules. But it has hampered their ability to test the limits of what AI can do.

"You can say many things about Chinese AI developers — but that one thing you can't say is that they can build whatever they want," Toner said.

No Chinese tech company has yet been able to release a large language model on the scale of OpenAI's ChatGPT to the general public, in which the company has asked the public to play with and test a generative AI model, Ding, the professor at George Washington University, said.

"That level of freedom has not been allowed in China, in part because the Chinese government is very worried about people creating politically sensitive content," Ding said.

Can Washington learn anything from how Beijing has approached regulation?

Although Beijing's regulations have created burdens for Chinese AI companies, analysts say that they contain several key principles Washington can learn from — such as protecting personal information, labeling AI-generated content and alerting the government if an AI develops dangerous capabilities.

AI regulation in the United States could easily fall short of Beijing's heavy-handed approach while still preventing discrimination, protecting people's rights and adhering to existing laws, Johanna Costigan, a research associate at the Asia Society Policy Institute, said.

"There can be alignment between regulation and innovation," Costigan said. "But it's a question of rising to the occasion of what this moment represents — do we care enough to protect people who are using this technology? Because people are using it whether the government regulates it or not."

Yellen hails a 'step forward' in China

Treatment of U.S. firms, use of state power were covered in talks, she says

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

BEIJING — Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen, concluding a high-stakes diplomatic mission to China on Sunday, said her talks with Chinese leaders had marked a "step forward" in efforts to stabilize relations between the world's two largest economies.

Yellen acknowledged "significant disagreements" that still divide the two nations. She said she pressed the Chinese government over its treatment of American companies operating in China and its use of state power to gain what she called an "unfair" edge in global markets, while Chinese officials complained about U.S. tariffs and curbs on high-technology trade.

Yellen, an economist and former Federal Reserve chair, repeated her call for China to "shift to a market-oriented system" — advice that is unlikely to move Chinese leader Xi Jinping, who has lavished resources on state-owned firms.

The treasury secretary used some of her strongest language to date to reject claims that the United States's plans to reduce its dependence on Chinese suppliers reflected a broader campaign to split the world into rival blocs. The Biden administration's restrictions on the sale of advanced computer chips to China — and pending curbs on U.S. investment in Chinese technology development — were "clearly articulated and narrowly targeted" measures designed to protect national security, and not to gain an economic advantage, she said.

"We know that a decoupling of the world's two largest economies would be disastrous for both countries and destabilizing for the world. And it would be virtually impossible to undertake," Yellen said in a roughly 30-minute news conference before starting her journey home. "We want a dynamic and healthy

global economy that is open, free and fair — not one that is fragmented or forces countries to take sides."

Yellen billed her visit as proof that the Biden administration's effort to develop a working relationship with China, after years of growing acrimony and drift, were paying off. But the treasury chief said no new diplomatic negotiations or dialogues were agreed upon.

"President Biden and I do not see the relationship between the U.S. and China through the frame of great-power conflict. We believe that the world is big enough for both of our countries to thrive," Yellen said. "Our discussions are part of a broader concerted effort to stabilize the relationship, reduce the risk of misunderstanding and discuss areas of cooperation."

Yellen's talks with members of Xi's new economic team — spanning about 10 hours over two days — were "direct, substantive and productive," she said.

After arriving in the Chinese capital on Thursday, Yellen plunged into talks with Chinese Premier Li Qiang and other top officials, including Vice Premier He Lifeng, who is responsible for the economy and foreign trade.

She also spent time with a group of female Chinese economists, climate activists and representatives of the American business community.

Her visit came as both governments try to stabilize a major commercial relationship that has been plagued by pervasive lack of trust. Yellen sought to reassure Beijing that even as the United States moves to reduce its reliance on Chinese suppliers for vital goods, such as critical materials, electric-vehicle batteries and semiconductors, it does not want an economic rupture.

China is openly skeptical of Yellen's argument for "de-risking," which it sees as a polite term for a comprehensive economic decoupling it fears would compound its domestic economic woes.

After growing rapidly in the first few months of the year following the relaxation of coronavirus controls, the Chinese

economy has faltered in recent weeks. Consumers are not spending as freely as they were expected to in the post-pandemic period, and export orders have disappointed.

While Yellen began to develop a relationship with He during roughly six hours of talks, additional disputes loom. The Biden administration is expected as soon as this month to unveil new restrictions on U.S. investment in advanced Chinese technology sectors that Washington says could harm national security.

Chinese officials have complained that such restrictions — which would affect technologies such as artificial intelligence and quantum computing — would slow their economic advance.

"I want to allay their fears that we would do something that would have broad-based impacts on the Chinese economy. That's not the case. That's not the intention," Yellen said.

Yellen said her visit succeeded in reviving direct economic dialogue between the two economies. Additional Biden Cabinet officers — including the special presidential envoy for climate, John F. Kerry — are also expected to visit Beijing soon.

Still, official interactions fall short of levels reached in earlier years. During the George W. Bush administration, the two nations engaged in a Strategic Economic Dialogue that involved dozens of senior officials meeting twice a year.

The Obama administration later rebranded that effort, but routine high-level talks continued apace.

On Sunday, Yellen said only that her staff and those of her Chinese counterparts are expected to be in more regular contact.

"No one visit will solve our challenges overnight. But I expect that this trip will help build a resilient and productive channel of communication with China's new economic team," Yellen said. "My hope is that we can move to a phase in our relationship where senior-level diplomacy is simply taken as a natural element of managing one of the world's most consequential bilateral relationships."



Police block gay rights foes as they gather to disrupt a Pride event over the weekend in Tbilisi, Georgia.

Mob upends Tbilisi's Pride festival

BY LYRIC LI

A far-right mob stormed a Pride festival in Tbilisi, Georgia, clashing with police and forcing organizers to cancel the event. The incident comes two years after a Pride march in the capital city was canceled following an attack on organizer headquarters.

As many as 5,000 LGBTQ opponents protested Saturday's event, and some of them waved Georgian flags, the Associated Press reported.

"They barged into the festival grounds, breaking equipment, burning flags and placards, spilled our champagne, and taking stuff from the venue," Mariam Kvaratskhelia, an LGBTQ activist and event organizer, said in a phone interview Sunday.

Police evacuated several dozen attendees, and no one was injured, Kvaratskhelia said. About 3,000 people registered to attend the Pride event, but the mob showed up before it opened, she said. In a statement, organizers criticized law enforcement for failing to use proportional force and measures against the attack-

ers," adding that police "compelled" attendees to leave the area on prearranged buses instead of dispersing the mob.

Animosity toward sexual minorities remains widespread in the southeastern European nation, which has a strong Orthodox Christian influence. Critics have long accused the ruling Georgian Dream party — which opponents and some Western diplomats have said is leading the country away from the West — of tacitly supporting homophobic and nationalist groups.

Deputy Interior Minister Alexander Darakvelidze told reporters that law enforcement had difficulty policing an open space, and some protesters managed to circumvent cordons to enter the festival area, state-affiliated media said. Several counterprotesters were arrested, according to reports.

Saturday's festival was held on a private, registration-only basis. It was the second consecutive year that organizers decided against a public march in hopes of reducing the risk of violent counterprotests.

President Salome Zourabichvili

li, an independent who is critical of the governing Georgian Dream party, suggested that radical groups would be emboldened to disrupt events if police "act like they did today."

She accused Dream lawmakers of stirring up tensions against LGBTQ activists ahead of Pride and warned that by "inciting these counter-rallies and not condemning these actions or hate speech, the ruling party, the majority of the Parliament, supports violence and takes responsibility for all the consequences."

The European Union's delegation in Tbilisi said in a statement that it was "disappointing to see that security and freedom of assembly could not be ensured" and that lawbreakers should be held accountable. The U.S. Embassy in Tbilisi and other Western diplomatic missions also denounced the violent attack.

Georgia has applied to join the European Union, but Brussels did not grant Tbilisi official candidate status last year, stating that it wanted to see additional changes made. Ukraine and Moldova were given candidate status at that time.

In Portugal, doubts over its drug-use experiment

PORUGAL FROM A1

Porto's police have increased patrols to drug-plagued neighborhoods. But given existing laws, there's only so much they can do. On a recent afternoon, an emaciated man in striped pants sleeping in front of a state-funded drug-use center awoke to a patrol of four officers. He sat up, then defiantly began assembling his crack pipe. Officers walked on, shaking their heads.

Portugal became a model for progressive jurisdictions around the world embracing drug decriminalization, such as the state of Oregon, but now there is talk of fatigue. Police are less motivated to register people who misuse drugs and there are year-long waits for state-funded rehabilitation treatment even as the number of people seeking help has fallen dramatically. The return in force of visible urban drug use, meanwhile, is leading the mayor and others here to ask an explosive question: Is it time to reconsider this country's globally hailed drug model?

"These days in Portugal, it is forbidden to smoke tobacco outside a school or a hospital. It is forbidden to advertise ice cream and sugar candies. And yet, it is allowed for [people] to be there, injecting drugs," said Rui Moreira, Porto's mayor. "We've normalized it."

Reexamining drug policies

Cocaine production is at global highs. Seizures of amphetamine and methamphetamine have exploded. The multiyear pandemic deepened personal burdens and fomented an increase in use. In the United States alone, overdose deaths, fueled by opioids and deadly synthetic fentanyl, topped 100,000 in both 2021 and 2022 — or double what it was in 2015. According to the National Institutes of Health, 85 percent of the U.S. prison population has an active substance use disorder or was jailed for a crime involving drugs or drug use.

Across the Atlantic in Europe, tiny Portugal appeared to harbor an answer. In 2001, it threw out years of punishment-driven policies in favor of harm reduction by decriminalizing consumption of all drugs for personal use, including the purchase and possession of 10-day supplies. Consumption remains technically against the law, but instead of jail, people who misuse drugs are registered by police and referred to "dissuasion commissions." For the most troubled people, authorities can impose sanctions including fines and recommend treatment. The decision to attend is voluntary.

Other countries have moved to channel drug offenses out of the penal system too. But none in Europe institutionalized that route more than Portugal. Within a few years, HIV transmission rates via syringes — one of the biggest arguments for decriminalization — had plummeted. From 2000 to 2008, prison populations fell by 16.5 percent. Overdose rates dropped as public funds flowed from jails to rehabilitation. There was no evidence of a feared surge in use.

"None of the parade of horrors that decriminalization opponents in Portugal predicted, and that decriminalization opponents around the world typically invoke, has come to pass," a landmark Cato Institute report stated in 2009.

But in the first substantial way since decriminalization passed, some Portuguese voices are now calling for a rethink of a policy that was long a proud point of national consensus. Urban visibility of the drug problem, police say, is at its worst point in decades and the state-funded nongovernmental organizations that have largely taken over responding to the people with addiction seem less concerned with treatment than affirming that lifetime drug use should be seen as a human right.

"At the end of the day, the police have their hands tied," said António Leitão da Silva, chief of Municipal Police of Porto, adding the situation now is comparable to the years before decriminalization was implemented.

A newly released national survey suggests the percent of adults who have used illicit drugs increased to 12.8 percent in 2022, up from 7.8 in 2001, though still below European averages. Portugal's prevalence of high-risk opioid use is higher than Germany's, but lower than that of France and Italy. But even proponents of decriminalization here admit that something is going wrong.

Overdose rates have hit 12-year



PHOTOS BY DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Police inspect an underpass known for drug activity in Porto, Portugal. Municipal workers and police officers routinely remove used syringes from areas of drug use. Users smoke crack under a walking path in Lisbon. Tourists walk past Porto's Mouzinho da Silveira fountain as people use drugs there.

highs and almost doubled in Lisbon from 2019 to 2023. Sewage samples in Lisbon show cocaine and ketamine detection is now among the highest in Europe, with elevated weekend rates suggesting party-heavy usage. In Porto, the collection of drug-related debris from city streets surged 24 percent between 2021 and 2022, with this year on track to far outpace the last. Crime — including robbery in public spaces — spiked 14 percent from 2021 to 2022, a rise police blame partly on increased drug use.

What happens when the police leave?

On the south side of Porto, the hillside city's sweet wine bars and medieval churches give way to rough-edged public housing complexes. Only one block from police headquarters stands a squat building. It's a new state-funded drug use center, opened in the hopes of giving the growing ranks of street people with addictions to heroin and cocaine a place to use outside of public view.

Inside, a 47-year-old man struggled to mix ashly heroin with fragments of crystal crack, crushing both into a souped-up speedball. Observed by a nurse, he took the needle and jabbed it into a vein in his neck. "The veins on his hands have all dried up," the nurse said matter-of-factly.

"I can't use at home," said another person at the center. "It

causes too much trouble. So I make the drive an hour and a half here."

In the tourist quarter in the shadow of Porto's fortresslike cathedral, a social worker with a government-funded nonprofit, SAOM, handed out clean syringe packages to people who use heroin. When crack pipes are available, the social workers give them out. There's no judgment, few questions, and no pressure to embrace change.

Summing up the philosophy, Luísa Neves, SAOM's president, said: "You have to respect the user. If they want to use, it is their right."

Elsewhere in the world, places implementing decriminalization are confronting challenges of their own.

In Oregon — where the policy took effect in early 2021 openly citing Portugal as a model — attempts to funnel people with addiction from jail to rehabilitation have had a rough start. Police have shown little interest in handing out toothless citations for drug use, grants for treatment have lagged, and extremely few people are seeking voluntary rehabilitation. Meanwhile, overdoses this year in Portland, the state's largest city, have surged 46 percent.

Some places that were early adopters of liberal drug policies have moved to curb permissive laws or backed away from more radical change. Amsterdam — a city long famous for its pot cafes — last month instituted a new ban on

private security guards — something exceedingly rare in Europe.

Police deployed in force to the area three months ago to crack down on dealers, who can be and are being arrested. Patrol cars are now stationed in the neighborhood 24 hours a day, scattering people using drugs.

"But for how long?" said Rui Carrapa, one of the founders of the residents' association Jardim Fluvial Free of Drugs. "We have to do something with the law. We know they can't stay here forever. What happens when the police leave?"

Porto's mayor and other critics,

including neighborhood activist groups, are not calling for a wholesale repeal of decriminalization — but rather, a limited re-criminalization in urban areas and near schools and hospitals to address rising numbers of people misusing drugs.

In a country where the drug policy is seen as sacred, even that has generated pushback — with nearly 200 experts signing an opposition letter after Porto's city commission in January passed a

resolution seeking national-level changes.

Tenuous gains

Experts argue that drug policy focused on jail time is still more harmful to society than decriminalization. While the slipping results here suggest the fragility of decriminalization's benefits, they point to how funding and encouragement into rehabilitation programs have ebbed. The number of users being funneled into drug treatment in Portugal, for instance, has sharply fallen, going from a peak of 1,150 in 2015 to 352 in 2021, the most recent year available.

João Goulão — head of Portugal's national institute on drug use and the architect of decriminalization — admitted to the local press in December that "what we have today no longer serves as an example to anyone." Rather than fault the policy, however, he blames a lack of funding.

An eight-minute walk uphill from Porto's safe drug-use center, in a neighborhood of elegant two-story homes with hedgerows of roses and hibiscus, neighbors talk of an "invasion" of people using drugs since the pandemic. Some gravitated here earlier, from a notorious public housing complex condemned and demolished nearly a decade ago. Others arrived more recently.

Over the last 18 months, a drug encampment sprung up below a school. More homes have been burglaried. One neighbor said she found a person, naked from the waist down, shooting up outside her house gate. Another had her laundry stolen three times. Residents have launched U.S.-style neighborhood watches and hired private security guards — something exceedingly rare in Europe.

Police deployed in force to the area three months ago to crack down on dealers, who can be and are being arrested. Patrol cars are now stationed in the neighborhood 24 hours a day, scattering people using drugs.

"Twenty years ago, 'we were quite successful in dealing with the big problem, the epidemic of heroin use and all the related effects,'" Goulão said in an interview with The Washington Post. "But we have had a kind of disinvestment, a freezing in our response ... and we lost some efficacy."

Of two dozen street people who use drugs and were asked by The Post, not one said they'd ever appeared before one of Portugal's Dissuasion Commissions, envisioned as conduits to funnel people with addiction into rehab. Police were observed passing people using drugs, not bothering to cite them — a step that is supposed to lead to registration for appearances before those commissions.

"Why?" replied one officer when asked why people were not being cited and referred to commissions. The officer spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak with the press. "Because we know most of them. We've registered them before. Nothing changes if we take them in."



Boys play soccer near the Porto São Bento train station, in an area often littered with used syringes.

Reparations suit for Tulsa race massacre dismissed

BY TAMIA FOWLKE

An Oklahoma judge threw out a lawsuit Friday that sought reparations for victims and descendants of the 1921 Tulsa race massacre, thwarting efforts by local advocates to seek justice for the attack's last three living survivors and Black Tulsa residents at large.

Tulsa County District Court Judge Caroline Wall dismissed the case in a written order after reviewing complaints from the city, the regional Chamber of Commerce and other local agencies. They argued the plaintiffs' request to compensate residents for the destruction of the prominent Black neighborhood would impose a significant burden on the government's financial stability.

Originally filed in 2020 under an Oklahoma public nuisance law, the lawsuit argued that large swaths of Tulsa's Black community still suffer from the damage brought on by the massacre nearly a century afterward.

The lawsuit demanded a detailed accounting of the property and wealth lost or stolen in the attack, the construction of a hospital in north Tulsa and the creation of a Tulsa Massacre Victims Compensation Fund.

Sara Sofanelli, one of the attorneys representing the survivors, told The Washington Post that her legal team intends to appeal Wall's decision.

"Black Americans, especially Black Tulsans, carry the weight of intergenerational racial trauma day in and day out—a weight they cannot relinquish or cavalierly dismiss," Sofanelli said in a statement. "The dismissal of this case is just one more example of how America's, including Tulsa's, legacy is disproportionately and unjustly borne by the Black community."

In their motion to dismiss, lawyers for the state argued that the government "cannot be held liable for civil disobedience, riot, insurrection or rebellion or the failure to provide, providing police, law enforcement or fire protection."

Tulsa's decades-long history with racial division is bound to the 1921 massacre in which an angry

white mob descended on the 35-block Greenwood district, home to most of Tulsa's 10,000 Black residents. Over one night, attackers burned and looted homes in the area, killing hundreds of Black residents, destroying local businesses and taking valuable goods, according to a 2001 state commission report. Multiple personal property cases after the massacre were also dismissed in 1937.

The lawsuit's plaintiffs, Lessie Benningfield, Viola Fletcher and Hughes Van Ellis, are the last known survivors of the 1921 events. Their attorneys argued that the massacre contributed to generations of economic instability for the city's Black community. Though many Black families fled Tulsa after the attack, those who remained were never compensated for their losses.

Last year, when attempting to have the suit dismissed, Chamber of Commerce attorney John Tucker said the massacre was horrible, but the public nuisance is not ongoing, the Associated Press reported at the time. "What happened in 1921 was a really bad deal, and those people did not get a fair shake ... but that was 100 years ago," Tucker told the AP.

Sofanelli argued that Wall's dismissal order Friday "backpedaled" on her previous decision in 2022 that allowed the case to proceed.

"Inexplicably, nearly one year after defendants filed another round of duplicative motions to

dismiss the lawsuit and more than 2.5 years after the case was filed, Judge Wall threw the entire case out," Sofanelli said in her statement.

Tulsa Mayor G.T. Bynum (R) told The Post that he has not received the opinion and full order in the case but was aware of the decision.

"The City remains committed to finding the graves of 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre victims, fostering economic investment in the Greenwood District, educating future generations about the worst event in our community's history, and building a city where every person has an equal opportunity for a great life," Bynum said in a statement.

In 2021, Bynum issued a statement on the 100-year anniversary of the massacre apologizing on behalf of the city. Bynum said at the time he was in favor of moves to address the wrongs but opposed reparation payments directly from municipal coffers, according to Public Radio Tulsa.

"There's one thing that I've been clear I'm opposed to, which is a lawsuit settlement where we levy a property tax on everybody in Tulsa and pay reparations from that," Bynum told the radio station. "I mean, you would literally be levying taxes on the descendants of victims to pay that, and you'd be financially punishing people in Tulsa that didn't do anything wrong, and so I don't support that."



People outside Tulsa's Greenwood District in 2021. The county's district court said reparations would burden government finances.



GINEVRA SAMMARTINO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST
A man was recently recorded carving the name of his girlfriend into the almost 2,000-year-old Colosseum in Rome, pictured in 2022.

RETROPOLIS

The Colosseum's long history of vandalism

BY ANDREA SALCEDO

Long before modern-day tourists carved their initials and love notes on the walls of the Colosseum, spectators of what was once the largest amphitheater of the Roman Empire also etched their names on the monument's surfaces.

The graffiti of 1st-century Roman visitors has been found during restorations of the Colosseum, but they were hardly the last defacers of this ancient marvel. Among the later vandals was French romanticist painter Hubert Robert, who sometime in 1767 carved his name into the walls of the amphitheater's ruins while completing a residence at the French Academy in Rome.

Robert's signature did not draw the ire of Italians like the man recently captured on video carving the name of his girlfriend on the almost 2,000-year-old structure. In a letter addressed to city officials, Ivan Danailov Dimitrov, 27, apologized for vandalizing the UNESCO World Heritage site and acting with "frivolousness, flippancy and incivility, to the detriment of other visitors."

"I have no excuses," he wrote in Italian in the letter, which was translated by The Washington Post.

The Colosseum, which was financed by three emperors from the Flavian dynasty, opened its

doors in A.D. 80. It could seat about 50,000 spectators gathered to watch gladiators fighting for glory, humans hunting exotic animals such as panthers, and plays reenacting historical battles. The massive arena had three tiers of elevated seats, granting everyone a clear view of the spectacles.

"This was like Broadway," said Jorge Otero-Pailos, a professor and director of historic preservation at Columbia University.

The Roman emperor was the main organizer of the spectacles, which were designed to entertain the crowds, but perhaps most importantly, keep them placated, so they would not rebel against the ruler.

The Colosseum also served to buttress the emperor's political machinations. The names of senior senators were carved into stones marking their reserved seats on the first level. The second and third levels were designated for knights and Roman citizens, respectively. Noncitizens sat at the top, reflecting the strict social hierarchy of the empire. At the center of the arena was the emperor, seated prominently so everyone could see him and cheer upon his entrance.

Once the Roman Empire collapsed, the stadium that once hosted lavish spectacles fell into a decrepit state, and scavengers took materials such as marble, stones and iron clamps for new construction projects elsewhere. Later, dur-

ing the Middle Ages, the aristocratic Frangipani family turned the Colosseum into their private palace and fortress.

"The family in a way helped to preserve the place," Otero-Pailos said.

With the Renaissance, Pope Martin V moved the papal seat back to Rome in an attempt to make the city the capital of Christendom. In the 15th century, the papal court issued preservation ordinances to remove the noble family from the Colosseum and divided it into two areas: the Compagnia del Salvatore, a religious fraternity, and the Civic Magistrates of Rome, which controlled two-thirds of the Colosseum.

These ordinances were essentially excavation licenses for the Colosseum, moves that left the monument further stripped of its material.

"It is really because of those excavation licenses that we lost most of what is missing today," Otero-Pailos said. "There was really no enforcement. People would go in there and steal materials all the time."

At one point, a famous civil magistrate by the name of Lorenzo Caffarelli took it upon himself to protect the Colosseum, patrolling the site with his sword and attacking people who attempted to steal building materials, Otero-Pailos said.

By the 18th century, the Enlightenment period was drawing artists into the structure. The French offered the "Rome Prize" to artists who traveled to the city to learn about the ancient past and draw its buildings. Most of them, including Robert, the French painter, focused on the Colosseum.

Robert became fascinated with the Colosseum, spending 11 years in Rome using the monument to draw a vast catalogue of fantasy and real architecture. One of his most famous paintings of the monument is an oil canvas titled "Washerwomen in the Ruins of the Colosseum."

Robert's signature in the Colosseum wall has endured, proudly framed and displayed along with his story for the some 6 million visitors who enter the structure each year. Otero-Pailos himself photographed Robert's markings in 2022 when he studied the Colosseum's restoration.

"He graffitied the Colosseum essentially," Otero-Pailos said. "[But] if everybody etched their name on the Colosseum, soon enough we wouldn't have a Colosseum left to look at."

The Washington Post | LIVE

Future of Work

The Impact of AI

Tuesday, July 11 at 2:00 p.m.

Nelson, Khan and Howells discuss the impact of artificial intelligence on jobs and the role of education in helping prepare future generations for possible changes ahead.



Alondra Nelson
Professor, School of Social Science, Institute for Advanced Study and Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress



Sal Khan
Founder & CEO, Khan Academy



Michael Howells
President, Workforce Skills, Pearson



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Wall Street's heavy hitters are moving to engulf crypto

Alternative currency has been weathering steep decline, SEC scrutiny

BY TORY NEWMAYER

Wall Street heavyweights are changing their tune on crypto.

Take BlackRock chief executive Larry Fink, who in 2017 dismissed bitcoin as "an index of money laundering." Last week, the chief of the world's largest asset manager gave a starkly different appraisal of the most popular cryptocurrency, saying it is "digitizing gold" and could "revolutionize finance."

Then there's fellow billionaire financier Ken Griffin, who blasted the sector as a "jihadist call" against the dollar two years ago. Now, his electronic trading firm, Citadel Securities, is backing a recently launched platform that allows institutional investors to trade the digital assets.

Fidelity Investments, the nation's largest 401(k) administrator, is another example. The 77-year-old financial stalwart is nobody's idea of an anti-establishment renegade. Yet it, too, is moving on several fronts to get into crypto. It started allowing workers to invest a portion of their retirement savings in bitcoin last year. Its subsidiary Fidelity Digital Assets joined Citadel Securities — and Charles Schwab — in investing in the new crypto exchange, called EDX. And like BlackRock, it is seeking approval from the Securities and Exchange Commission to introduce a publicly listed fund that will track the real-time price of bitcoin.

The cryptocurrency industry built a cultlike fan base in the United States by promising to break Wall Street and Washington's joint grip on the financial system. But as the sector weathers a steep decline and faces tough new scrutiny from the SEC, some of Wall Street's biggest names are trying to enfold it.

The developments place the industry at a crossroads in the United States. Popular interest in crypto has cratered after a year of spectacular meltdowns left a trail of bankrupt crypto companies, criminally charged entrepre-



CHARLES KRUPA/AP

Fidelity Investments, the nation's largest 401(k) administrator, has made several moves to get into cryptocurrency, including allowing workers to invest a portion of their retirement savings in bitcoin.

neurs, shamed celebrity endorsers and ravaged investors. With the hype deflated, financial giants sense an opportunity for profit by offering their customers a pared-back menu of crypto products and services unlikely to raise hackles from regulators.

Whether crypto's founding ambition to democratize finance survives remains an open question.

"Assets often move from weak hands to strong hands during bear markets," said Matthew Sigel, the head of digital assets research at fund manager VanEck. "We think that's what is happening in crypto. A lot of losses last year were taken by retail or immature players, and now here come the 'big boys' of traditional Markets."

"While many crypto firms built their businesses around not complying with the law, traditional finance firms have already mastered making money trading an asset or operating an exchange

while also complying with securities laws," he explained. "The SEC might appreciate that, and certainly serious institutional and individual investors would."

Fidelity declined to comment. But Jamil Nazarali — chief executive of EDX, the crypto trading platform for institutional investors that the firm is backing — said that "more firms are coming" even while some in the financial establishment wait for more regulatory clarity before jumping in.

After the reckoning

For some financiers, the development marks an inevitable reckoning for a sector that at its late 2021 peak had grown into a \$3 trillion juggernaut seemingly overnight while flouting decades of investor protection laws.

"More and more people are coming to the realization that, like it or not, cryptocurrencies are here to stay, and the current environment and market structure for cryptos lacks a lot of the protections that we have come to take for granted in traditional finance," said Nazarali, who left Citadel last year to launch EDX.

Those protections were at best

an afterthought for venture capitalists, entrepreneurs and everyday traders who jumped into crypto as it started a rocket-like ascent two years ago. Americans stuck at home during the coronavirus pandemic and suddenly flush with stimulus checks opened up a vast new pool of money for an industry that had long been the preserve of a hardcore fringe.

Social media tales of instant riches minted seemingly out of thin air on new crypto tokens helped fuel a viral craze, as millions of Americans flocked to platforms like Coinbase that made it easy to open an account and start trading from a smartphone. At its peak in November 2021, the value of the overall crypto market had quadrupled since the start of that year. The industry became a pop-culture phenomenon, with trading platforms Crypto.com and FTX shelling out tens of millions of dollars to affix their names to major sports arenas and crypto ads dominating the Super Bowl broadcast in early 2022.

Then, even faster than the crypto bubble inflated, it popped. The implosion in May 2022 of a digital coin called TerraUSD set off a

chain reaction that toppled three other major crypto companies in the ensuing weeks, pummeling investor confidence and cutting the value of the overall market roughly in half. The already devastated sector was dealt another punishing blow in November, when FTX — one of the world's largest crypto exchanges that had billed itself as a responsible operator — collapsed and led to allegations that its executives fraudulently misappropriated customer funds on risky investments and personal expenses.

Bitcoin has staged a major comeback this year, nearly doubling in price. It rallied strongly in March as midsize bank failures shook confidence in the banking system, and it has been surging again in recent weeks on news of the institutional appetite for the asset.

One-two punch

The SEC — whose chairman, Gary Gensler, has long accused crypto companies of operating illegally — effectively rang a closing bell on crypto's Wild West era last month. The agency took its most aggressive steps yet toward cracking down on the sector when it sued Binance and Coinbase, two of the largest crypto trading platforms, on successive days. It charged both with violating securities laws meant to shield against conflicts of interest and provide basic disclosures to investors.

The SEC's one-two punch against companies with starkly divergent approaches to regulatory compliance signaled its aggressive new push to police the industry. Binance, which operates offshore, still faces criminal probes from U.S. authorities; the U.S.-based Coinbase, by contrast, is publicly traded and has styled itself as a safe option for everyday investors.

"We knew something was coming, but we didn't expect it to be so expansive," Blockchain Association CEO Kristen Smith said. She pointed to the SEC's decision in the Coinbase suit to argue that 13 crypto tokens listed on the platform qualify as securities, a designation subjecting them to the agency's oversight.

As Washington and Wall Street move in on crypto, tech-focused investors in San Francisco are

moving on. In bars and restaurants, conversations about artificial intelligence have replaced the breathless talk about crypto. Venture capitalists who fashioned themselves as crypto devotees have now pivoted to AI. Tech influencers on social media who implored people to buy cryptocurrency are now posting about the wonders of ChatGPT and other AI tools.

Young people are moving to San Francisco to join "hacker houses" and go to parties focused on AI, sweeping aside the gold rush into crypto that had brought previous waves of people to the city looking for investors and co-founders.

Meanwhile, the massive amounts of money that poured into crypto start-ups from venture capital firms have slowed to a trickle. In 2021, there were 794 venture capital investments made into crypto companies, totaling \$18.1 billion in investment, according to research firm PitchBook. In 2022, the industry kept growing, seeing 831 deals worth \$22.8 billion. But this year, the pace of investment has fallen off a cliff. Halfway through the year, there have been only 105 venture investments, and \$2 billion invested.

Crypto traders have also scaled back their activity. In May, the five largest U.S. platforms hosted a total of \$56 billion worth of crypto trades, the lowest such volume since October 2020, according to Riyad Carey, a research analyst at crypto data firm Kaiko.

Idling interest has taken a toll on Coinbase, for one, which in May reported that it lost \$79 million in the first three months of the year, its fifth consecutive quarterly loss. Nonetheless, the company's stock has rallied in recent weeks, in part on the news that BlackRock named it as a partner for its bitcoin fund.

Dan Dolev, a Mizuho Securities analyst, said Coinbase still has little to celebrate in the face of the SEC's lawsuit. "I wouldn't bet against the regulators," he said. As he sees it, the company should embrace the inevitable and adopt a narrower — and less profitable — business model.

Gerrit De Vynck contributed to this report.

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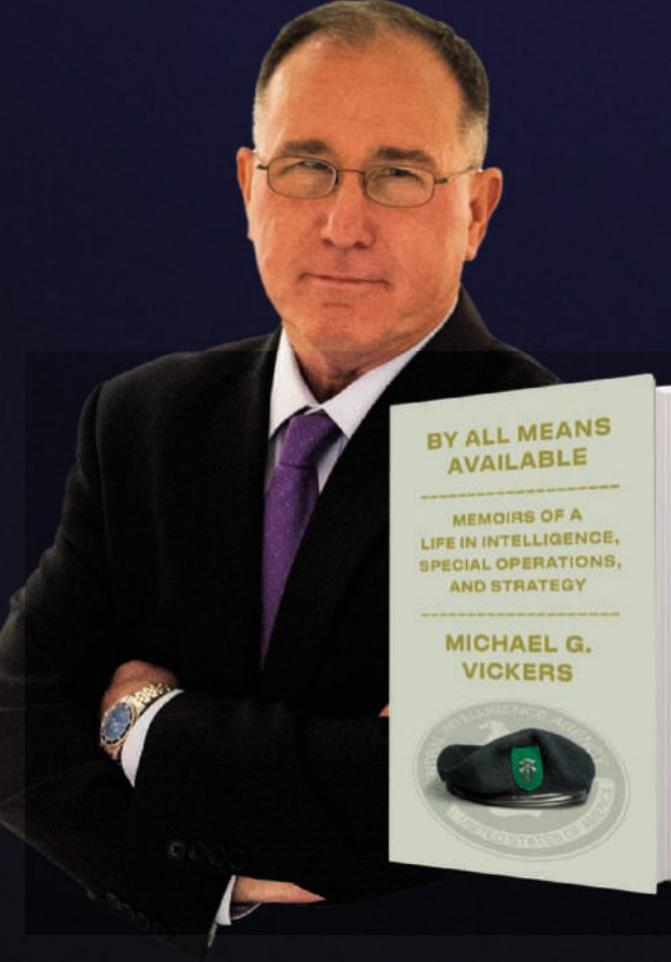
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CAPITAL BUSINESS

TECH FRIEND

Five social media platforms matter. Can Threads get there?

BY SHIRA OVIDE

If you were alive and on the internet last week, you probably heard about Threads, Mark Zuckerberg's attempt to copy Twitter but with less Elon Musk-iness.

Zuckerberg said (on Threads) that 70 million people have signed up for Threads so far.

For those of you who are confused or curious for more, let's recap what Threads is all about, why so many people are talking about it, and whether Threads has a shot at becoming your next internet love.

What is Threads, again?

It's Twitter wearing a sparkly Instagram bodysuit.

Meta described the app as Instagram for "text and dialogue" among anyone who wants to gossip about "Vanderpump Rules" or Texas politics. That's basically Twitter.

When you try Threads for the first time, it immediately feels like Twitter, with a feed of posts sorted by a computer algorithm.

You need to have an Instagram account to use Threads. You use your Instagram username on Threads, too. (One surprise: If you want to delete your Threads account, you must delete your Instagram.)

You can download Threads for iPhones and Android phones. Threads is on the web, although it doesn't seem to be working.

When you open the app for the first time, it's stuffed with Threads posts from people you might not follow. You might find this welcome or terrible.

I found it nice to start a new account on a social network and not stare immediately at a blank screen of nothingness.

On the other hand, many of the posts I saw were from corporate accounts such as Netflix or celebrities who don't matter to me. And so far, many people on Threads seem to be discussing Threads itself.

My Washington Post colleague Geoffrey A. Fowler said multiple readers asked how to find the accounts they follow on Twitter over on Threads. As far as I know,



ILLUSTRATION BY ELENA LACEY/THE WASHINGTON POST; MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST; JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES; ISTOCK

that's not an option right now.

Is Threads the Big One?

Threads has a shot at winning people over because it's owned by Meta. That's also its biggest weakness.

The difference between Threads and the other Twitter-like alternatives is that Meta has 3 billion people using the company's apps every day.

That's a built-in audience that Meta can persuade to try — and hopefully stick with — Threads. Maybe you've already seen nudges on Instagram to download Threads.

Meta's superpower is making online spaces where billions of people like to hang out or simply cannot avoid. The company did that with its original social network, then Instagram and WhatsApp.

And unlike Musk's Twitter, Meta has plenty of money to keep Threads running. The app has been relatively free of glitches.

Does that mean Threads will be the next app with 1 billion users — the threshold for social media superstardom? No clue. There are

no guarantees of internet popularity. And Meta fails a lot.

Did you use Facebook's dating feature? Yeah, probably not. Do you remember IGTV, Instagram's attempt to create television for smartphones? Did you tune into Facebook Watch, a different attempt to create television for smartphones?

Even I forgot that Instagram already created an app offshoot called Threads, in 2019. It's dead now.

The only social networks that matter have not changed

Will Oremus, one of my Post technology colleagues, said that he clocked mood of almost giddy curiosity from people treating Threads like an underdog app from a hotshot college kid.

But Zuckerberg is pushing 40 and Threads is like all the apps he controls: It shows you posts based on algorithms no one can see, it harvests your personal information for Meta's advertising machine, and it consolidates power in his company's hands.

You can root for Threads, but we shouldn't pretend that its suc-

cess would be a win for upstarts.

For all the changes to Twitter since Musk took over last year and the ongoing battle of Twitter clones, the landscape for Twitter and social media has not fundamentally changed.

Twitter, for most of its 17-year life, has been an underperforming social network that die-hards believed was one trick away from breaking into the mainstream.

Twitter remains an underperfor-

mer, except now Musk is the one trying to make Twitter finally break through.

In fact, it may be harder than ever for social networks to survive and thrive.

Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, TikTok and (sort of) Snapchat remain the only social networks that matter in most of the world. I hate saying this, but it's the reality.

Sure, there is a flourishing of options for people to share their ideas, jokes and community with friends or strangers. You might love Mastodon, the audio chat-room app Discord, LinkedIn,

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

EDITORIAL



A ceremony for Finland's admission at NATO headquarters in Brussels in April.

NATO's enduring mission: Deter Russia

The alliance's annual summit could define a decade of Western security.

FROM ITS founding in 1949 by the United States, Canada and a handful of European allies, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's purpose was to deter Soviet aggression, a goal that came to seem obsolete after the Soviet Union's collapse — at least to some. "What we are currently experiencing," French President Emmanuel Macron said in 2019, "is the brain death of NATO."

Now, as President Biden and the alliance's 30 other leaders prepare to gather for their annual summit, few doubt the bloc's crucial role as a bulwark against Russia's neo-imperialist aggression. When it convenes starting Tuesday, in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, the goal will be nothing short of "the biggest overhaul of our collective deterrence and defense since the Cold War," as NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg put it.

If anything, Mr. Stoltenberg is understating the case. For what happens in Vilnius could set Europe on a path toward a decade or more of durable security arrangements — or, if the alliance fails to show serious intent and strength, invite new wars by demonstrating to the Kremlin that NATO is a paper tiger.

The timing is not great for such a high-stakes meeting. As Europe reels from its biggest war in eight decades, and as NATO's own front-line members face the increasingly plausible scenario of future Russian attacks, most of the West's biggest economies are struggling with the threat or reality of recession. Even if the 31-nation bloc strikes the right notes and charts solid plans for shoring up its weak links, members will be hard-pressed to pay for the commitments they make. As things stand now, only 11 of 31 members meet its target of spending 2 percent of annual gross economic output on defense.

Yet they have little choice but to step up their game, because Mr. Putin has proved that it is folly to play down the threat Moscow poses.

That danger is likely to persist following the illegal war in Ukraine, whenever it finally ends, and addressing it will be high on the Vilnius agenda. NATO's collective security guarantee, under which all members pledge to respond to an attack on one, means it cannot grant Kyiv's wish for accession without drawing the alliance into the war against Russia. But the leaders can and should craft concrete, long-term plans to give Ukraine top-shelf arms, training and intelligence.

Done right, with follow-up legal and political guarantees from the United States and other key allies, such a blueprint would amount to a multilateral version of the steady flow of military aid that the United States has long provided Israel. It would turn the tables on Mr. Putin, showing that he cannot outlast the West's determination to help Ukraine defend itself.

The Biden administration and key NATO allies, to their credit, have already started preparing for a multiyear commitment. That was the significance in the president's decision, this spring, to allow Ukrainian pilots to begin training on U.S.-made F-16 fighter jets, which might be provided starting early next year. Washington and its European allies have also embarked on a concerted effort to ramp up production of howitzer shells, supplies of which have run low as Ukraine and Russia have traded

intense volleys of them for more than a year.

In the interim, Mr. Biden made a tough but correct call this past week in agreeing to plug the ammunition gap by sending Kyiv thousands of cluster munitions, which are expected to help Ukrainian forces break through heavily entrenched Russian lines. Their use is banned by some major NATO allies, because dud bombs left behind on the battlefield pose a threat to civilians. But Russia has used them intensively in Ukraine, and the Biden administration is legally required to export only shells that have a very low dud rate.

The assurances that Ukraine needs from NATO are urgent, but not the only pressing item on the Vilnius agenda. It's critical that the alliance also approve plans not just to slow but repel possible future Russian attacks on its own front-line members — the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, along with Poland, are most acutely at risk. That would represent a major strategic pivot, critical to NATO's own credibility.

Those blueprints, overseen by U.S. Gen. Christopher Cavoli, the supreme allied commander in Europe, are designed to beef up the bloc's troop presence and weaponry on its eastern flank, bordering Russia. In addition, individual NATO member states would be assigned specific roles in quickly deploying additional forces and firepower to the front line in the event of a Russian attack.

The idea is to scrap the previous doctrine under which the alliance's forces would act mainly as tripwires in the small, vulnerable Baltic states — capable of slowing but not stopping Russian troops, who, the theory went, would be driven out eventually by NATO reinforcements. A lesson from the war in Ukraine is that in the intervening weeks or months, Moscow's forces would commit war crimes on a chilling scale — and also be difficult to dislodge.

That cannot be countenanced; NATO needs to stop a Russian invasion in its tracks, at the border. But deterring an attack will mean pumping up NATO multinational battalions of roughly 1,000 to 1,500 soldiers in front-line states to brigades of 3,000 to 5,000 troops — and pre-positioning more artillery, air defense systems and other weapons.

That project is costly and will take time — to build new barracks, training grounds and even schools (for soldiers who deploy with families). The work is underway. Germany recently announced it will lead a 4,000-strong battalion in Lithuania, and Canada, which already commands a battalion in Latvia manned with soldiers from 10 nations, is planning to expand that force to a brigade of about 3,500 troops within three or four years.

Those are promising steps; other alliance members should follow suit. The unpleasant fact is that the West is facing a readiness race. Russia's navy, air force and submarines remain formidable threats — and its army, though badly depleted by the war in Ukraine, might be able to rebuild itself in as little as three years, according to NATO defense officials. As it happens, that's also the minimum time the alliance will need to reinforce units in the front-line states with the brawn, numbers and infrastructure that would convince the Kremlin that future aggression would fail. The time to start is now.

LOCAL OPINIONS

Project labor agreements are not right for Prince George's new schools

A debate has arisen over the use of project labor agreements (PLAs) on the construction of six new schools in Prince George's County. But PLAs, which require union construction crews, are not the solution for Prince George's County.

PLAs are government mandates that exist exclusively as a method for public officials to steer tax dollars to organized labor.

Most local businesses, particularly those owned by racial minorities, cannot work on projects covered by PLAs. These businesses risk financial ruin in the form of exorbitant pension withdrawal liabilities by agreeing to the terms of PLAs. Consider the case of a trucking company in New Jersey that unwittingly agreed to work on a PLA project and, years later, was hit with a demand from the union's pension fund for \$700,000 — more than twice what the company earned on the project.

The National Black Chamber of Commerce has long opposed PLAs because they "greatly reduce the number of minorities, women and minority businesses working on a project." In Prince George's County, more than 40 Black-owned businesses recently objected to the proposal to mandate a PLA on all six school construction projects.

PLAs discriminate against local workers. About 90 percent of Maryland workers are not in a labor union, which is an option that is readily available to them at a local union hall. If these workers were to work on a PLA project, they would be required to transfer about 19 percent of their take-home pay to insolvent union pension funds for which they stand no chance of vesting in. Not surprisingly, unions keep these funds rather than returning them to workers after their work on the PLA project is complete. Imagine being asked to part with nearly a fifth of your paycheck under the contrived benefits of "alleviating coordination challenges" or "raising quality standards."

Finally, PLAs severely limit competition to a few unionized contractors in the awarding of public contracts. This lack of free and open competition significantly drives up costs. A study by the nonpartisan Rand Corp. found that the Los Angeles City Council's decision to require a PLA on the development of 10,000 units of affordable housing resulted in 800 fewer housing units and increased the costs of the project by 14.5 percent. Think about that. Eight hundred fewer families in Los Angeles will receive affordable housing because of the City Council's decision to steer contracts to unionized contractors.

Prince George's County can do better than PLAs.

Marcus Jackson, Beltsville
The writer is director of government affairs for Associated Builders and Contractors of Metro Washington.

ELLIS ROSEN

"It's so fresh! So original! All it needs is to be shoehorned into an existing franchise."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

letters@washpost.com

Judge Gregory's tenure

On Saturday, Roger Gregory concluded his tenure as chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit. Judge Gregory has ensured the court expeditiously, inexpensively and fairly decided several thousand appeals annually.

President Bill Clinton nominated Judge Gregory in June 2000, but GOP senators ignored the nomination, so Clinton granted him a recess appointment that December. President George W. Bush nominated Judge Gregory in May 2001, and he won confirmation. Judge Gregory was the court's initial Black jurist, becoming its first Black chief judge in July 2016.

Gregory ensured efficacious implementation of administrative tasks, notably investitures for new active, and retirements for senior, jurists on the 15-member appeals court, plus the nine districts' many trial court, magistrate and bankruptcy judges. He facilitated professional development of 150 judges and 1,600 court staff.

Judge Gregory also discharged complex, delicate responsibilities, namely investigating and resolving ethics complaints and claims of discrimination, which involved jurists and court personnel. Other complicated, sensitive duties were maintaining the court's effective disposition of substantial appeals and collegiality as it transitioned from the most conservative to a more progressive appellate court. A crisis arising in Judge Gregory's tenure was the coronavirus pandemic. He expeditiously organized the 4th Circuit response, skillfully navigating public health dangers and politicization of remedies for those risks.

Judge Gregory exhibited diligence, wisdom and appreciation, showing respect for history, customs and norms, as well as the 1,750 dedicated public servants who assiduously help the court efficaciously resolve large cases. Individuals across the 4th Circuit are indebted to Judge Gregory for his exceptional administration.

Carl Tobias, Richmond
The writer is the Williams chair in law at the University of Richmond School of Law.

Lessons for living

Maya Shankar's compelling June 29 Opinion essay, "What a musician turned cognitive scientist wants you to know about life," offered three inspiring life lessons that transcend generations. Adapted from a Juilliard School commencement address, the messages were distilled from the author's journey from a 6-year-old longing to play the violin, to a 9-year-old violin prodigy, to a cognitive scientist because of a hand injury and then a White House policy adviser. Her reflections speak to youths, parents, career professionals and those seeking to "refire" their life rather than retire.

Ms. Shankar's mother was a role model for the first life lesson, "imaginative courage," asking the empowering question "What's the worst that can happen?" Her bold initiative carved a path that led to Ms. Shankar's admittance to Juilliard and later her inspiration to create an innovative public policy position in the Obama administration.

Second, why we do something is more important than what we do. Anchoring our identities can help us stay grounded and become more resilient in the face of change.

Ms. Shankar encouraged us to cultivate awe in our lives. She recognized how awe-inspiring experiences, whether of music, nature or a scientific discovery, can connect us to better versions of ourselves and enhance our sense of connection to the world beyond our individual existence.

Ms. Shankar's lessons are invaluable. They teach us to live courageously, to be

driven by our passions rather than our roles and to maintain a sense of wonder about the world, helping us to lead more fulfilling and resilient lives.

Diana Berardocco, Alexandria

Smarter taxes

The July 2 editorial calling for needed additional federal revenue, largely from the rich, "Smart taxes have to be part of the debt puzzle," nearly hit the spot. But recommending elimination of the carried-interest tax break that allows hedge fund moguls to tax income at preferential capital gains rates is aiming a howitzer at a gnat while ignoring the elephant in the room. Simply eliminating the lower rate for capital gains is a bigger, better solution that picks up more than \$200 billion in new revenue annually.

Jim Jaffe, Washington

The July 2 editorial "Smart taxes have to be part of the debt puzzle" noted that "a carbon tax would be economically efficient and fair, asking those responsible for emissions to bear some of the social costs of pollution." As committed as I am to implementing upgrades to my home with the climate provisions of the Inflation Reduction Act, the bureaucracy is burdensome — and that's before states get their (delayed) programs enacted.

Having had a home energy assessment, I have gamed out scenarios for upgrades based on whether I will qualify for rebates, but how much, when and for how long are unknown. How much more efficient and, yes, fair, to send a climate dividend monthly to all households (and have the polluters pay).

Meredith Haines, Vienna

The wrong way on Medicaid

Regarding the July 3 front-page article "Push to tie Medicaid to work is resurging": Few periods in Medicaid's nearly 60-year history can match the past decade.

Forty states expanded their programs under the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Thirty states extended Medicaid coverage to a full year postpartum. "Continuous coverage" during the pandemic benefited tens of millions of participants.

The results: better health and economic outcomes for Medicaid participants overall, including a decline in disease-related deaths in expansion states and lower rates of maternal mortality.

Rather than following this successful road map, however, Georgia's Pathways to Coverage program goes in the opposite direction.

The program makes Medicaid coverage for many participants contingent on adhering to onerous — and, for some individuals, downright impossible — work requirements. This is deeply flawed: Extensive evidence shows that such an approach makes it harder for people to secure employment and stay healthy.

A new report finds Georgia's program won't reach most people who would be covered if it simply expanded Medicaid under the ACA. Adding insult to injury, the state will forgo more than \$1 billion in federal assistance.

We've seen this approach fail before. Of the 18,000 Arkansas residents who lost Medicaid coverage when the state implemented work requirements a few years ago, at least half had serious problems with medical debt or delayed medical care. Nearly two-thirds were forced to delay medication because of the cost.

Medicaid is built on principles of quality, access and affordability. Programs such as Georgia's that rest on conditions, strings and punishments should have no place in our health-care system.

Avenel Joseph, Washington
The writer is vice president for policy at the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.



REUTERS

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky in April.

MAX BOOT

Ukraine in NATO? My heart says yes. But my head says no.

The NATO summit in Vilnius, Lithuania, on Tuesday and Wednesday will focus on the difficult question of whether Ukraine should be given an invitation to join the transatlantic alliance. My heart says yes, but my head says no.

There is undoubtedly a powerful case for admitting Ukraine capably laid out in a recent op-ed in the Hill by my friends Randy Scheunemann, who was John McCain's chief foreign policy adviser, and Evelyn Farkas, who is executive director of the McCain Institute. There is little doubt that Ukraine has earned the moral right to be part of the Western alliance. Its heavy sacrifices, after all, are indirectly protecting NATO members from being menaced in the future by the Russian war machine. (The head of the British armed forces just said that Russia had lost half of its combat effectiveness in Ukraine, including as many as 2,500 tanks.)

There is also little doubt that NATO expansion has been a powerful force for peace and stability in Europe. The very reason Russian dictator Vladimir Putin is invading Ukraine — rather than Poland or the Baltic states, which were also once part of the Russian Empire — is that those other countries are in NATO and Ukraine is not. For all of Putin's bravado, he does not want to risk a conflict that would trigger NATO's Article 5 collective security guarantee, including the ultimate deterrent provided by the United States' nuclear forces. It's bunk to say, as Kremlin apologists do, that NATO expansion to Eastern Europe has caused Russian aggression. The illiberal nature of Putin's regime accounts for its aggression — and the Kremlin would be a far greater threat if Putin knew he could attack more of Russia's neighbors with impunity.

Yet there is deep and understandable reluctance among Western European states and the United States to admit Ukraine to NATO, because it is at war with Russia and will be for the foreseeable future. This isn't a stable stalemate like the division of East and West Germany or North and South Korea. This is a dynamic, ongoing conflict that, if NATO were to take in Ukraine, could draw other members into a shooting war with a nuclear-armed Russia.

It's true, as Scheunemann and Farkas argue, that Article 5 — which holds "that an attack against one

ally is considered as an attack against all allies" — "does not mandate a specific response by member states." NATO members could say they are complying with Article 5 by doing what they are already doing: supplying Ukraine with weapons, training and intelligence and imposing sanctions on Russia. But there has always been an implicit assumption that an armed attack on a NATO member would result in military action by other NATO members. If that's not the case, it would risk watering down Article 5 and reducing the overall effectiveness of the NATO alliance. Do we really want to send a message to Putin that he could invade, say, Lithuania and the West won't fight to defend that embattled democracy?

NATO could try to skirt that difficulty by announcing that Ukraine will not be admitted now but in the future, once its war with Russia is over. But that would create a perverse incentive for Russia to keep fighting so as to prevent Ukraine's entry into the transatlantic alliance. NATO should not make the same mistake it made at its Bucharest summit in 2008 when it declared that it "welcomed" the "aspirations" of Ukraine and Georgia to "become members of NATO" but did not agree on a Membership Action Plan to turn aspirations into reality. That only increased Putin's incentive to attack those countries before they were granted admission to NATO — as he did with Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014.

The good news is that, even without admitting Ukraine, it is possible for NATO members to bolster long-term security ties with Kyiv and make clear to Russia that it will never be able to destroy Ukraine's freedom. As Eric Ciaramella of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace argued in a recent policy paper, Washington's relationships with Israel and Taiwan point the way. Neither is a treaty ally, but in both cases, the United States is bound by law and diplomatic agreements to arm them so that they can resist aggression.

Since the 1973 Yom Kippur War, which Israel nearly lost, successive U.S. administrations have pledged to help the Jewish state maintain a "qualitative military edge" over its Arab neighbors. This concept was eventually codified by Congress into law. The United States and Israel have also negotiated a series of "memorandums of under-

standing" that commit Washington to provide fixed levels of aid. (The most recent memorandum, signed in 2016, pledges the United States to provide \$38 billion in military aid between 2019 and 2028.) These U.S. commitments have allowed the Israel Defense Forces to remain the most powerful military force in the Middle East.

The United States ended its formal military alliance with Taiwan in 1979 when it established diplomatic relations with Beijing. But at the same time Congress passed the Taiwan Relations Act, which states that Washington will sell weapons to Taiwan so that it can "maintain a sufficient self-defense capability" and that the United States will "resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security . . . of the people of Taiwan." The United States has not provided Taiwan with nearly as much military aid as Israel, but U.S. support has allowed Taiwan to remain de facto independent of the Communist regime on the mainland.

These are the models that the United States should follow with Ukraine. The Biden administration should pledge that the United States will provide sufficient weapons, training and intelligence support to allow Ukraine to maintain its sovereignty (preferably within the 1991 international borders), and Congress should write that pledge into law. If a Republican-controlled House agrees, that would provide a powerful signal of bipartisan support for Ukraine. Other NATO members should make similar pledges.

It is also imperative for the West to provide a continuing stream of monetary aid to ensure Ukraine's economic viability despite the war, which has devastated its industrial and agricultural base. The European Union should take the lead in offering Ukraine a road map to membership — which would force Ukraine to take tough action against corruption in return for eventual access to E.U. subsidies. Western countries should also pledge to turn over to Ukraine roughly \$300 billion in Russian funds frozen in Europe and the United States to finance the reconstruction of war damage.

Even without offering the guarantees of Article 5, NATO states can greatly strengthen Ukraine's capacity to resist Russian aggression over the long term and make clear to Putin that this is a war he cannot win.

DAVID IGNATIUS

Amid promising signs in Ukraine, uncertainties abound

President Biden on Monday heads to a NATO summit in Vilnius, Lithuania, in what seems an enviable position: The alliance is stronger than ever before; its ally Ukraine is slowly advancing on the battlefield and receiving more weapons every week; and Russia is in disarray at home.

Yet if the Ukraine war is going so well for Biden and the West, why does it still feel so fraught with danger — and why is its eventual outcome still so uncertain? That's the paradox that should haunt the allies as they gather in the Lithuanian capital: Can they move from a strategy of sustaining Kyiv to one for victory?

Jake Sullivan, Biden's national security adviser, discussed these issues with a small group of journalists Friday as he prepared for the Vilnius trip. What struck me, listening to Sullivan, was that even with America's unmatched and often astonishing intelligence supremacy, there's so much that the United States still doesn't know about the dynamics that shape this war.

Let's start with the fundamental question that Biden and his advisers have weighed since the invasion was launched in February 2022: How can the United States and its NATO partners help Ukraine repel Russia's invasion without triggering a direct NATO-Russia conflict that might lead to use of nuclear weapons?

Sullivan said Biden tries to steer U.S. policy between what he called "two caricatures" about the Russian nuclear threat. The first is "that the Biden administration is paralyzed by the nuclear threat and therefore won't support Ukraine sufficiently," Sullivan said. "I think that is nonsense." He cited the "extraordinary quantity and quality" of U.S. weapons deliveries — the latest being Biden's decision, announced Friday, to ship U.S. cluster munitions to sustain Kyiv's counteroffensive and extend its timetable for success.

Sullivan sharply rejected the idea, voiced increasingly by some Washington strategists, that Biden is overplaying the Russian nuclear threat and deterring

NATO from all-in support for Kyiv. The hawks, he said, argue: "This nuclear threat is complete nonsense. Don't worry about it at all. It's to be completely discounted."

Sullivan rebuffed the no-worry approach: "It is a threat. It is a real threat. It's one we need to take seriously. And it's one that does evolve with changing conditions on the ground." As the philosophers say, this issue of nuclear risk is "contingent." It's neither inevitable nor impossible.

The national security adviser said that in weighing nuclear risks, the administration has done "a tremendous amount of consultation . . . about all of the possible contingencies in this conflict," which presumably would center on a Russian tactical nuclear attack if Ukraine breaks through and Russian conventional forces are collapsing. He noted that China and India "see it similarly" and are "trying to indicate to Russia that it would be a terrible move for Russia . . . to actually deploy tactical nuclear weapons in Ukraine."

The disarray in Russia complicates nuclear assessments, and here, again, what was fascinating was how much Sullivan said the intelligence community doesn't know about the June 24 revolt by Wagner militia leader Yevgeniy Prigozhin. "We don't know exactly where Prigozhin is. We know he's moving around. So, he's not holed up somewhere. He's at liberty so far as we know. Why, under what conditions, based on what assurances — that's all a mystery to us," he said.

The bottom line of the Prigozhin affair, Sullivan said, is that Russian President Vladimir Putin "is clearly not coming out of this thing stronger." The fact that Putin quelled what he called an "armed mutiny" with a negotiated compromise indicates weakness in his command and control. Sullivan listed some puzzles for Putin: "How far beyond Prigozhin did this go? How much of the underlying drivers of Prigozhin's conduct

remain embedded in other parts of the Russian security apparatus?"

The Prigozhin affair hasn't yet had a "substantial impact" on Russian forces inside Ukraine, Sullivan said. But he noted that it does seem to have rattled China, Putin's most important supporter.

Beijing "has been repeatedly surprised by events," Sullivan said. "They misjudged the scope of Russia's initial invasion, they didn't expect the relatively poor quality and capacity of the Russian forces" and then "they were surprised by the events relative to Prigozhin." Beijing keeps encountering unexpected events on the "downside."

Putin's shaky handling of the Prigozhin affair "probably . . . strengthened the hands of those [in Beijing] who say, 'Let's end this war sooner' or, 'Help get this war over sooner,'" Sullivan explained.

Sullivan conceded that Ukraine's counteroffensive has been "hard going" and that "Russian defense in depth has been considerable" in terms of men, mines and munitions. But he cautioned that the Ukrainians haven't yet deployed the bulk of their forces. They're "probing the chess game" of this battlefield and testing points of Russian weakness that might allow a rapid advance by the maneuver forces NATO allies have supplied over the past year. Thanks to U.S. shipment of cluster bombs, Ukraine will have enough ammunition for this waiting game and a "wider window" for success, he said.

Sullivan, preternaturally young for a national security adviser, spoke in what's known as the "Secretary of War Suite" in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building, decorated with portraits of venerable strategists who once occupied this space, such as Henry Stimson in World War II. Many of them faced the same question that weighs on Sullivan now: How to achieve victory in war when the parameters are uncertain and some of the risks cannot be known.

KATHLEEN PARKER

Will the real Lindsey Graham please stand up?

Pickens, S.C., a picturesque town of about 3,400 people that hugs the Appalachian foothills, seemed an unlikely spot for a Trump campaign rally over the holiday weekend. Odder still was the repeated booing aimed at former president Donald Trump's frontman, Sen. Lindsey O. Graham, a once-favorite son.

In video clips of the scene, a white-haired yet still youthful Graham smiles and keeps thanking the folks (a crowd of about 50,000) for coming. "Thank you, thank you," he repeats, as people hurl boos and cries of "traitor!" at his feet. Who were these jackals heckling the senator from Seneca, a town about 30 miles down the road, the bootstrap boy who practically raised his little sister when their parents died?

Surely not the good people of Pickens. Maybe they were Democratic plants or travelers, those political wanderers who shadow Trump as though they were groupies.

Maybe. But Lindsey, as everybody calls him back home, also has a history of troublemaking that might have boomeranged. During the past few years, he has shape-shifted into at least four distinct personas, from Trump-bashing presidential candidate to Trump whisperer, to done with Trump, to head cheerleader for Trump 2024. It's been downright dizzying.

"What in the world has happened to Lindsey Graham?" people have been asking nearly every other day for the past seven years. My weary response has been a shrug, but two pivotal events seem to have changed Graham in ways that probably wouldn't strain a psychologist's analytical skills. One was the loss of his pal and war hero, Sen. John McCain of Arizona, whose death five years ago left his wingman without a lead military force in the Middle East.

The other event came two years earlier: the gobsmacking twist of history that put Trump in the White House. Overnight, it seemed, the charmingly honest and witty senior senator from South Carolina became Trump's Rasputin, walking alongside him, riding in the presidential golf cart, speaking to and for him.

The president seemed to like Graham, which was surely flattering. But there's more to see in this picture. The 6-foot-3 Trump towers over the 5-foot-7 Graham, unavoidably suggesting a power differential. One thing about taller people that can't be ignored or dismissed: When they're standing, others are forced to look up to them — and the taller person doesn't mind it.

To his dubious credit, Graham had Trump's ear as no one else did. Insiders have told me that Graham could speak bluntly to Trump, steering him away from some of his riskier impulses. As a South Carolinian, I found some comfort in this assessment. I liked to think our senator was keeping a close watch on Trump and having a little fun on the side. There's no crime in mixing business with pleasure.

But mixing up voters by exhibiting ever-shifting loyalties can be detrimental to one's political health. Graham seems to be as confused as anyone. He doesn't just put a finger to the wind. Given his catalogue of inconsistencies, he might well be consulting a Magic 8 Ball.

"Should I condemn Trump for the Jan. 6 attacks?"

It is decidedly so.

"Should I endorse Trump for president?"

It is certain.

Inadvertently, Graham has managed to unite pro- and anti-Trump factions by making himself their common enemy. It wasn't always thus. During the 2016 presidential race — in which Graham also was a candidate, albeit exiled to the kids' table — anti-Trumpepers couldn't get enough of him. He said out loud what they were thinking, calling Trump a "race-baiting, xenophobic, religious bigot."

In 2020, Trump supporters in South Carolina liked Graham well enough to help reelect him, if barely. But any contrarian word from him about their leader curdles their blood. They've never forgiven Graham for declaring his break with Trump after Jan. 6. "Count me out," he said on the Senate floor. "Enough is enough."

His words created a glimmer of hope that, at long last, he was reentering his body as the old Lindsey.

At his core, Graham is more loyal to his country than to Trump, and Jan. 6 was, at the time, a breach too far. But now he seems to have put the Capitol riot away and is again all in. The New York indictments against Trump, he said, amount to a "politically motivated prosecution" that will "enormously help Trump in South Carolina" in 2024.

The last part is doubtless true, but the question remains: What does Graham really think? He says he supports Trump's policies, minus the vow to defund the FBI and the Justice Department. What's more important, though, is that Graham's constituents love Trump. Republican politicians in the Palmetto State all but sweep the path before him when he visits. And Graham obviously believes Trump has the nomination sewn up.

If Pickens was any indication of Trump's loyalty to him, however, Graham should watch out.

Taking the mic from Graham last Saturday, Trump tried to hush the crowd, and tossed his fair-weather pal a deflated life preserver. With sneering bravado disguised as compassion, he declared, "We're going to love Lindsey Graham." (Boooooo.) "I know, I know, he's half and half, but when I need him, he's there." (Boooooo.)

"He's good, and we know the good ones, don't we?"

Crickets.

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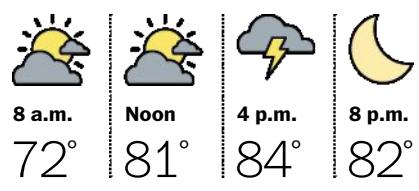
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The Washington Post

METRO

MONDAY, JULY 10, 2023

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approx. 5 p.m.
86°
Precip: 40%
Wind: WNW
734 mph

JOHN KELLY'S WASHINGTON
This canine summer visitor makes a lot of demands, but he's pretty irresistible. **B3**



VIRGINIA
National Guard troops deploy to the Texas border on Gov. Glenn Youngkin's orders. **B4**



OBITUARIES
David Calleo, 88, a scholar and author, often took a dissenting view on U.S. foreign policy. **B4**

Youngkin's picks fill Board of Education

With new appointments, only one member named by a Democrat remains

BY KARINA ELWOOD

Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) announced the appointment of three new members to the Virginia Board of Education on Friday evening, as part of a number of appointments for several state boards.

The school board picks include Masha Ashton, founder and CEO of Digital Pioneers Academy Public Charter School in D.C.; Debbie Kilgore, retired family and consumer science teacher at Gate City High School; and Amber Northern, senior vice president for research at the conservative-leaning Thomas B. Fordham Institute. The appointments replace three members whose terms expired recently.

"With their unique insights and notable career experiences, I look forward to working together to make Virginia the best state in the Nation to live, work and raise a family," Youngkin said in a statement announcing the trio.

With the three appointments, the nine-person board will now have eight Youngkin appointees. Anne Holton, who was first appointed by Gov. Terry McAuliffe in 2017, will be the only member appointed by a Democrat.

The new board members will begin serving immediately, but the appointments will need to be confirmed by the General Assembly.

Last summer, Youngkin appointed five members to the board. Before Youngkin's appointments, the board had been entirely composed of members appointed by McAuliffe and former governor Ralph Northam (D). Youngkin's five appointees last year were possible after Virginia House Republicans voted not to confirm three Northam picks. The Republicans' vote, which went against precedent and was widely seen as retribution for Senate Democrats' rejection of Youngkin's pick for state secretary of natural and historic resources, opened three seats last year, in addition to two open seats.

Earlier this year, one of Youngkin's five 2022 appointments, Suparna Dutta, was rejected by the Democratic-controlled Senate. It opposed her involvement in educational culture wars. Dutta is a

SEE BOARD ON B4



ROBB HILL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

From 'celebrity' to 'fall guy'

After his acquittal, the Loudoun schools spokesman is writing his next chapter on his own terms

BY KARINA ELWOOD

Everyone wants to know what's next for Wayde Byard.

Would the longtime spokesman for Loudoun County Public Schools really return to his job after being indicted on a perjury charge and placed on administrative leave? With Byard's acquittal secured late last month, would the embattled school district in this Northern Virginia county welcome him back?

Byard became a central figure in one of Loudoun County's most high-profile controversies after the state attorney general empaneled a special grand jury to investigate the school district's handling of two sexual assaults that were committed in 2021. In December, the grand jury indicted Byard, alleging he had lied about when he first found out about the assaults. A circuit court jury found him not guilty.

In many ways, Loudoun County Public Schools is emblematic of the hostility and distrust shown toward public schools stemming from deep political and social divisions that widened with the start of the pandemic. The district's contentious school board meetings and disputes with parents over covid protocols and race and gender issues were regularly picked up by national media outlets and conservative advocates and politicians fueling the education culture wars.

Loudoun schools have experienced a period marked by tension, including death threats to school board members and the arrest of parents. Inside the classroom, the district faces challenges comparable to many others: rising violence, student men-



TOP: Wayde Byard, the longtime spokesman for Loudoun County Public Schools, was acquitted last month of perjury charges in connection with an investigation into the school district's handling of two sexual assaults in 2021. ABOVE: A demonstration outside the school board's first meeting after news of the sexual assaults became public.

tal health problems, staffing shortages, learning loss.

The climate is tense, but officials say the school district in this wealthy, diversifying county of just under 500,000 is working to rebuild the trust with parents, students and employees that was lost to the constant turmoil. Does Byard fit into that rebuilding plan?

He says Loudoun is not about the controversies, but the school system he had grown to love — and the community that had grown to love him — over the past 23 years. He showed up to graduations and senior nights with a camera around his

neck to document the victories and read books at elementary schools.

Before he was indicted, Byard was already a celebrity in Loudoun, made famous by his prerecorded phone messages sent out when school was canceled on snow days. He won the affection of parents and children who hoped to hear his deep, monotone voice on the other end of the line in the winter months. Parents started Facebook fan pages, and students made Instagram meme accounts. Community organizations auctioned off lunch with Byard. Music teachers performed parodies.

SEE BYARD ON B2

MEASURE COULD KILL DATA CENTER PROJECT

Lame-duck moratorium proposed in Prince William

BY ANTONIO OLIVO

Prince William County's supervisors are scheduled to vote Tuesday on a measure to temporarily defer some land-use decisions until a new board is in place, an effort to effectively kill a controversial data center project in the Gainesville area by taking advantage of board chair Ann Wheeler's primary election defeat.

The measure by Supervisor Jeannie Lawson (R-Brentsville), who won her party's nomination for board chair last month, would place a moratorium on land-use decisions that face community opposition and aren't included on an expedited agenda.

Echoing other "lame duck session" moratoriums in effect in nearby Fairfax and Stafford counties, it would start when the Nov. 7 election is held and last until January, when a new board will be installed.

The measure's chief target is a proposal for a 2,100-acre "Digital Gateway" complex of data centers on mostly rural land in the Gainesville area that Wheeler (D-At Large) has supported amid aggressive opposition in that part of the county.

Either Lawson or Democrat Deshundra Jefferson — who beat Wheeler last month in a primary election largely fueled by the backlash over data center development in Prince William — will become the board's next chair. Both have said they will not support a pending rezoning application for the Digital Gateway project.

Lawson, who announced the proposed measure during the board's June 27 meeting, declined to comment on it last week.

Wheeler also declined to comment on the measure. But several of the board's other Democrats, who hold a 5-3 majority, said they would oppose it.

"I don't believe any government should stop working until they have been officially relieved of duty," Supervisor Victor S. Angry (D-Neabsco), who has supported the idea of building more data centers in the county and who won his primary race last month,

SEE PRINCE WILLIAM ON B4

A tiny museum races to save the day when developers try to buy pony farm



CINDY FAITH

The Museum of Chincoteague Island purchased the remaining 10-acre piece of the Beebe family ranch, which served as the setting and inspiration for the 1947 children's novel "Misty of Chincoteague."

BY TEO ARMUS

Little is left of the Beebe family ranch — at least as most people know it.

The once-sprawling property was memorialized in the beloved 1947 children's book "Misty of Chincoteague," which tells the story of wild ponies that roamed the sandy terrain. Since then, much of the site has been replaced by vacation homes and a trailer park, and just a few horses are left in a crumbling stable.

The end seemed inevitable this year when its owners started receiving six-figure offers to sell the last piece of the fabled ranch on an island off Virginia's Eastern Shore. They simply could no longer afford to take care of the remaining 10 acres, they said.

But then, a tiny local museum on Chincoteague Island came up with an improbable plan: It would match the first purchasing bid itself, raising \$625,000 in five months to save the property from being paved over.

"We really decided we can't afford not to buy it," said the

Classic children's novel "Misty of Chincoteague" memorialized the ranch

museum's director, Cindy Faith.

"We just have to put this out there to the world and hope that people will follow through on what they say — they really love this story and that [author] Marguerite Henry and 'Misty' really mean something."

Late last month, her wild plan for this island of wild ponies became reality. The Museum of Chincoteague Island closed its deal with two elderly Beebe siblings on June 30, promising to restore what is left of the ranch to the property that inspired Henry during her visit.

"People who want to think about Chincoteague from bygone times, and that nostalgic feeling of ponies from first coming here 50 or 60 years ago, will be able to remember that," Faith said. "For this little museum to raise that

kind of money in that short a time is miraculous."

The story of 'Misty'

There is little question that the Beebe family ranch, as it is known by locals, has seen better days.

When Henry, the author, visited Chincoteague Island in 1946, the property took up 100 acres that stretched across the southern end of the island, tended to by the multigenerational family that she wrote into her book. Misty herself was a real pony on the ranch, as was her foal, Stormy.

The novel's "Grandpa and Grandma" — better known in real life as Clarence and Ida Beebe — made room for 150 wild ponies to roam and graze on the pasture. Although Clarence Beebe officially owned them and branded them with his initials, they were just as wild as parts of the herd that roamed other areas along the shore.

"You couldn't go up and pet them. They would bite you and

SEE CHINCOTEAGUE ON B3

EDUCATION

Admissions furor overlooks gains in getting kids ready for college



Jay Mathews
The U.S. Supreme Court's decision to outlaw using race in college admissions is part of a very old battle over whether ethnic balance is good for colleges. Some say yes. Some say no.

And some, like me, say it is an unhelpful argument. It ignores what American families really want to know: How can they find the best educations for their children? The vast majority of families don't care about getting into the Ivy League.

The current battle is in part based on the false assumption that the most selective schools provide the best results. Mellon Foundation researcher Stacy Berg Dale and Princeton economist Alan B. Krueger studied 14,239 students who entered college in 1976 and found little long-term benefit, as measured by income 20 years after graduation, from attending colleges that rejected the vast majority of their applicants.

The debate over college admissions tells us almost nothing about which schools are best at teaching their students and making them ready for whatever they want to do with

their lives.

Many positive trends are ignored in the current arguments. Little is said about high schools and colleges that have deepened the educations of low-income students. In high schools, access to elite-level classes is broadening. In colleges, students have a wider choice as state universities and community colleges improve offerings to match 21st-century career paths.

The biggest change in the depth of education I have seen in the past 25 years is that public high schools in our most affluent neighborhoods no longer have the highest percentage of children taking college-level courses and exams. Replacing them at the top of my Challenge Index list, where I rank schools by level of Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate participation, are ambitious public charter schools that often serve mostly low-income families.

In many parts of the country, parents are paying more attention to what local educators and states are doing to make high school instruction more challenging. The No. 1 high school on my 2023 Challenge Index list is the

Signature charter in Evansville, Ind. Its founding teachers had a terrible fight with their school district in 2003 when they tried to establish a charter that emphasized difficult academic work. The district superintendent sent in technicians to retrieve equipment and cut phone and internet lines in their building, an old movie theater. But Signature won the right to exist, in large part because it got so much support from parents.

The Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology in Virginia has received much attention because of a U.S. Supreme Court challenge by parents who want to overturn the school's efforts to admit more Black, Hispanic and low-income students. The school may lose that fight, given what the high court has just said about college admissions systems. But in much of the country, restricting magnet high schools to students with the highest grades and test scores is going out of fashion.

Suncoast High School, a magnet in Riviera Beach, Fla., has one of the highest AP and IB participation rates in the nation, and 40 percent of its students come from low-income families. Forty-six percent of its admitted

students are Black or Hispanic.

Another major change in American high schools has been the decline of rules limiting the number of students allowed to take AP and IB courses. When our family lived in Scarsdale, N.Y., in the early 1990s, the nationally famous local high school kept many ambitious students out of AP courses if

My wife and I, when we had school-age children, were among those parents with ill-considered biases.

they lacked teacher approval or did not have top grades. Such rules began to disappear in other American schools in the late 1990s. Fairfax County, with some high schools as affluent as Scarsdale's, opened AP and IB courses to anyone who wanted to take them. Its school board thought all students deserved a challenge if they wanted it.

The College Board's annual

survey of high schools indicates about 59 percent now have open enrollment in AP. Scarsdale has switched from AP to its own system of advanced courses but has resisted the national trend by continuing to bar students thought unready for a challenge. That seems shortsighted to me,

based on my reporting in schools that fill their AP and IB classes with low-income kids. Many students in such schools have told me the hard work helped prepare them for college, even if they didn't always pass the three- to five-hour exams.

We parents need to re-examine our thinking about which schools are best. Those with few impoverished students often look better to us than those with many such students. Yet charter systems full of low-income kids, such as Texas-based IDEA, Uncommon in the Northeast and KIPP, in 21 states and D.C., have become so well-known for their demanding teaching that ambitious parents push to enroll their kids — and love the results.

My wife and I, when we had school-age children, were among those parents with ill-considered biases. We had a son in second grade in a Pasadena, Calif., public school. He got a homework assignment with two

words misspelled by the teacher.

My well-educated wife, a public school student herself until she went to college, was outraged. She said it was time to put him in a private school. Although I, too, had attended public school until college, and had a mother who taught in public schools, I didn't object. Our son never returned to public education.

That would have been the end of the story, except that boy grew up to be a gregarious journalist. He kept in touch with his old second-grade teacher, who he thought had been doing a good job when he was in her class. Eventually he informed us that whatever her spelling difficulties, that teacher had over the years established such a strong reputation for excellence that she had been named principal of that same school.

My wife and I may have made the wrong decision. Moments like that can have great consequences. It might have been better if we had tried harder to find out what was actually happening in local schools.

Looking for places that challenge everyone may be one way to go. If you want to know the names of some high schools like that, read about them at [jaymathewschallengeindex.com](#).

Jay Mathews can be reached at mathewsjay67@gmail.com.

The rise, fall and return of Loudoun schools' spokesman

BYARD FROM B1

The fame was all a bit embarrassing to Byard, the 65-year-old whose face is framed by a thick mustache. The adulation felt suspiciously undeserved, he said. He worried it came with a price.

At Byard's three-day jury trial last month, his lawyer said he paid that price. She argued that the prosecutor had no evidence that Byard had lied to the grand jury, but that he was still charged because, as the face of the school division, he was an easy "fall guy."

Byard is not interested in speculating on the motivation behind his charge, but if he's going to be called the "fall guy," he prefers a term like "surrogate" or "stand-in," he said in an interview, sitting in his Winchester, Va., home, where he's spent a majority of the past six months awaiting trial. Those terms make it easier to see all of this — the indictment, the trial, the months away from the office — as part of his job. It was always his responsibility to represent the district.

He planned to retire at the end of this year but now knows the folly of planning things too far in the future.

A local celebrity

Byard was raised in New Jersey, moving to New York as a teenager before attending college in Missouri, first at Westminster College, then at the University of Missouri School of Journalism. He spent more than 19 years at the Winchester Star, working as a crime reporter and sports editor. In 2000, he took the job as public information officer for Loudoun schools. It was a natural fit. His wife, mother, father and sister had all been educators.

About a decade into the job, as the internet and social media were gaining popularity, Byard's inadvertent, cultlike following began to grow.

It started in 2011, a year after Snowmageddon, a historic storm in the Washington region that dumped more than two feet of snow and led to two weeks off school. Liz Campbell, a mother of two, thought to herself, who is this man with the deep voice who keeps calling to cancel school? She started the Friends of Wayde Byard Facebook page. More than a decade later, the page has more than 17,000 followers.

"Nobody knows who he is. Nobody had ever seen a picture of him," Campbell said. "We just kept getting calls, and it was like every day for two weeks."

The page was always intended as friendly entertainment. She monitored comments and kept it free of political banter.

"It was all done in good taste and good fun, and it really snow-



Some of the cards received by Wayde Byard during the trial. Byard's lawyer argued that there was no evidence that he had lied to the grand jury and that he was charged because he was an easy "fall guy."

balled, no pun intended," Campbell said.

Schools recognized his notoriety among students and asked for his help — anything that involved his voice. He called bingo and announced recognitions at senior nights. A local nonprofit asked him to pose for photos and sign autographs at Costco.

On Dec. 11, the day before the news of Byard's indictment, the Facebook page went dark.

Campbell thought it would be distasteful to post jokes while he was awaiting trial. Much like how Byard was preparing for retirement, Campbell had planned to shut down the page this year as her youngest graduate.

"It was my last year with the page, so I hadn't really officially been able to sign off on it, and I wanted to do that, and I didn't really know how to do that," she said. "So I just let it sit."

With Byard's acquittal, Campbell's not sure what she's going to do with the page. Maybe she'll delete it, send one final post or let it stay inactive forever.

"There was a work ethic put into you from a very early age that unless you were dead, you'd better be working."

Wayde Byard,
longtime spokesman for Loudoun County Public Schools

ty used the sexual assault to call the policy dangerous, even though it was not enacted in the district until months after the first assault. There is also no evidence the perpetrator is transgender.

It was also an early frontier in the push for parental rights as the father of the first victim was arrested at a school board meeting in June 2021, when audience outbursts disrupted discussions over transgender student policies and critical race theory, an academic framework that examines how policies and laws perpetuate systemic racism.

The case escalated in October 2021 and became a flash point in Republicans Glenn Youngkin's and Jason Miyares's campaigns as they blasted Loudoun schools and officials on their way to being elected governor and attorney general, respectively. As one of his first actions in office, Youngkin authorized an investigation, and Miyares empaneled the special grand jury that indicted Byard.

Prosecutors contended during the trial that Byard lied to the grand jury when he said he learned of the first sexual assault, at Stone Bridge, only after the second assault had occurred at Broad Run. The Stone Bridge principal testified during Byard's trial that hours after the sexual assault occurred at his school, he phoned Byard to tell him "everything."

The case also became embroiled in the national and political debate over transgender student rights because the 14-year-old was wearing a skirt at the time of the first assault. Opponents of allowing transgender students to use the bathroom corresponding with their identi-

prosecutors acknowledged they had no documentary evi-

dence showing that any school official had informed Byard of the first sexual assault investigation.

The grand jury also indicted Scott Ziegler, then the county schools superintendent, alleging that he lied about the first sexual assault at a June 2021 school board meeting. He's scheduled to stand trial this summer and denies the allegations.

Before issuing the indictments, the special grand jury released a highly critical 91-page report concluding that while there was no coordinated coverup of the assaults, Loudoun schools and public safety officials deeply mismanaged the situation. The school board fired Ziegler after the report. No other school officials were charged in connection with the case.

A new life

Byard has recently come to terms with the fact that he's probably a workaholic. He attributes the mind-set partly to his upbringing. He remembers cutting pipes in his grandfather's shop as young as 12 and recalls watching other families in town who worked at the Ford assembly plant live paycheck to paycheck.

Missing a day of work meant losing a day's pay. He said he's never taken a sick day in 43 years and accrued so much vacation time, it would be impossible to use it all before retirement.

"I don't know why I did that," Byard said. "There was a work ethic put into you from a very early age that unless you were dead, you'd better be working."

So, when the school district's lawyer rushed into Byard's office and instructed him to shut everything down immediately, his life was upended. A colleague escorted Byard out of the building. She cried as he handed over his parking pass, badge and phone.

Twenty-two years working for Loudoun County Public Schools had come to an abrupt end. And suddenly, for the first time since the 1970s, Byard had free time on his hands.

He said his lifeline through it all was his witty and brash 4-year-old grandson, who came over three to four times a week. His grandson, with the pretend maintenance man moniker "Mike," would show up to "do big work" around the house. Byard created imaginary plumbing issues for Mike and his plastic toolbox.

It was his grandson's observation of an outburst when Byard was screaming "bad words" at a stranger who had parked in front of the family's house that made him start therapy.

"I've never been to therapy before, but if a 4-year-old can see

that I'm losing my mind. It's time to get some help," Byard said.

And every day — usually around dusk or dawn — Byard would walk just under a mile from his house to a centuries-old church, he said. He walked past his neighbors' homes, where he knew all the horses, donkeys and dogs by name.

Then he would sit at a picnic table and meditate. Sometimes he looks for Tater Tot the rabbit or Terry the turtle, or any of the other creatures his grandson had named on trips up to the church. Then he gets up and walks back home.

An acquittal and a return

The jury took about two hours to deliver a verdict. Byard sat in the courtroom waiting to hear his wife's reaction. He knew Brenda Byard would cry regardless of the outcome.

His acquittal cued her tears.

After the verdict, Victoria LaCivita, a spokeswoman for Miyares, issued a statement noting that the judge allowed the case to go to a jury despite motions seeking its dismissal.

"While we are disappointed with the jury's decision, we're proud of our team for uncovering the truth and providing answers to concerned Virginia parents," she said.

One of the first people to call Byard, he said, was Edgar Hartwick, Loudoun's longtime superintendent who retired in 2014 after more than 45 years with the school system.

Hartwick hired Byard in 2000 and saw him bring his journalism background to the role. He said he didn't hire him to be a PR person, but to document what kids, teachers and everybody else in the school system were doing. The news of his indictment came as a shock.

"I thought it was politically motivated from the get-go," Hartwick said. "This whole event was completely different than anything I had experienced in 50 years ... just never seen anything like this."

On Thursday morning, Byard got into his car and headed out for the hour commute through the rolling hills. He said he approached a meeting with his boss with an open mind.

After 23 years, Byard didn't want things to end on a bad note. He wanted to go out on his own terms. He was ready to get back to the job he loved. His role might look a little different this time around. The school division has changed, but so has Byard.

By midafternoon, he was back at his desk, catching up on emails.

Justin Jouvenal contributed to this report.

Eat this up: The Washington Post Recipe Finder

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For a little dog, Merlin sure has a big personality



Drive onto any high-security government facility, and you will be stopped at the gate by guards who use a mirror at the end of a pole to look under your vehicle. I need one of those to look under my chair.

I don't expect anyone to plant a bomb there, but there's a good chance that's where **Merlin** the dog has planted himself.

Merlin is our daughter's Yorkiepoo/Chihuahua mix, nine pounds of black fur spending the summer Chez Kelly, where he is muscling in on the territory of our resident dog, **Archie**, an 85-pound yellow Lab.

You know where you are with Archie, or rather, you know where Archie is with you. He's

hard to miss. Archie likes to be near his humans. When I'm working at home, he curls up behind my rolling chair. Merlin craves proximity, too, but he likes to be *under* me. That's especially worrisome when I'm sitting in the rocking chair on our porch, where the mere act of shifting my weight could bisect the little guy.

That's why I want a mirror on a pole, so I can run it around the perimeter of any chair I'm sitting in before getting up.

I was hoping the two dogs would become best buddies, that I could train Merlin to stand on Archie's shoulders or walk underneath him as if Archie were a canine Arc de Triomphe. (Archie de Triomphe?)

That hasn't happened, but at least they don't fight. Merlin is literally the size of one of Archie's

plush chew toys. They've settled into a sort of wary doggy détente. Merlin has many winning qualities, and I'll get to those in a bit. First, though, let's touch on his losing ones. He barks a lot, though less since we got a little collar that vibrates every time he barks, chiding him just enough to give him second thoughts.

He takes a lot of pills and potions, each of which must be prepared and adulterated in a different way. Feeding Archie is a matter of dumping a cup of kibble in his bowl and getting your fingers out of the way. Merlin's breakfast involves tablets that must be crushed and liquids that must be measured.

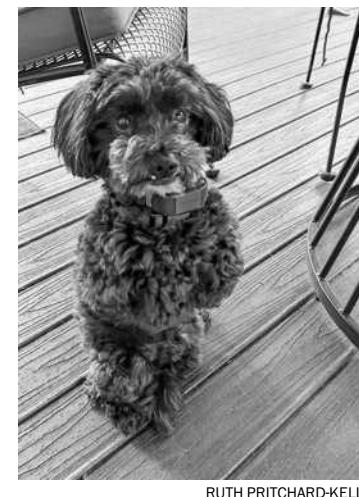
We used to just stick one of Merlin's tiny pills — an antihistamine to prevent him from licking his itchy feet — inside a section of Babybel cheese. Then he caught on and

started spitting the pill out as if it was an offending peach pit. Now we have to crush the pill with the back of a spoon, cut open the cheese, rub the powder on the sliced surface, reassemble the cheese and offer it to him with an innocent look.

We hide other drugs — liquids, pills that dissolve — in Merlin's kibble. Because he's lost half his teeth, we have to soften the kibble with warm water. And because Merlin is a finicky prima donna, we have to mix in some pâté.

That's right. Pâté. I mean, it's ground-up pollock that's sold just for dogs, but it's pâté. I guess when he tires of that, we'll have to add foie gras and truffle oil.

Even with all this effort, Merlin doesn't eat right away. Just as you're supposed to let a bottle of red wine breathe for an hour or two before drinking it, so



RUTH PRITCHARD-KELLY

Merlin is the nine-pound dog spending the summer with columnist John Kelly.

Merlin ignores his food for a while. He grazes over the course of a few hours.

Occasionally Archie swoops in and hoovers it up. But Merlin has his way of getting back at Archie. The other day we were exercising

in the basement. The dogs had followed us down, so we put a little pillow down for Merlin and a big dog bed down for Archie. The minute Archie got up, Merlin trotted over and took his place, luxuriating in the center of the dog bed like a pasha.

Merlin is a cute little guy, even with his crusty eyes (they have to be swabbed every day) and his snaggle teeth (his lower incisors stick out like werewolf chompers). He stands on his back legs, begging to be picked up, and even though I know that for both our sakes I shouldn't — *Don't debase yourself like some circus clown, Merlin!* — I can't resist.

I scoop him up, sit back down and let him curl up in my lap. When he's comfortable, he'll flip over on his back, exposing his belly for a rub.

I guess that means he's comfortable here. For that I'm grateful. But, Merlin, if you're reading this, you're not supposed to poop in the kitchen.

Ranch saved from redevelopment

CHINCOTEAGUE FROM B1

kick you and they were very shy," said Billy Beebe, one of the couple's grandchildren. "It was very interesting to see all those wild ponies come up when I was little."

The island's pony culture became the heart of Henry's classic novel, which tells of two children, Paul and Maureen Beebe — named after Billy's cousins — who captured a wild pony and her foal, Misty, on a neighboring island.

The novel boomed in popularity, sparking a series of follow-up books and even a movie. But as a real estate boom turned the quiet fishing village into a busy seaside getaway, the real-life sequel to "Misty" became "a sad story of progress, commercialization and decay," as one 1989 Washington Post article called it.

When Ida Beebe died in the 1960s, her will divided up the property among nearly a dozen children, many of whom sold off their pieces after moving away.

Big chunks became a mobile home park. Billy Beebe's widowed mother, unable to pay mounting property taxes with her Social Security benefits and salary as a 70-year-old high school cook, sold off another 13 acres, The Post reported in 1989. The whole thing shrank into a

makeshift tourist attraction that offered biweekly tours. After Misty died, she was taxidermied and stuffed, and four years ago, the barn that she once lived in went down in flames.

Saving the ranch

In January, Billy Beebe and his sister decided enough was enough. They were getting too old to take care of what was left of the increasingly expensive property, and — with plenty of grandchildren of their own — it was time for the family ranch to take care of them.

As word spread around Chincoteague, they got an enticing offer from a developer to buy their combined land for \$625,000. (Billy Beebe declined to identify the prospective buyer, though his wife said that person was likely to erect houses or perhaps a motel on much of the land.)

Faith, the museum director, decided she had to act. It seemed all too likely, she said, that this historic piece of the island could end up being paved over entirely.

"There's no promise they would save the house. Land is very coveted here in Chincoteague," said Faith, who moved to the island at age 7 and has lived here on and off ever since. "There's very limited plac-



Ponies wade to the shore of Chincoteague Island during the 92nd annual Pony Swim on July 26, 2017. The island's pony culture became the heart of Marguerite Henry's novel "Misty of Chincoteague."

CALIA KESSLER/THE WASHINGTON POST

*"For this little
museum to raise that
kind of money in that
short a time is
miraculous."*

Cindy Faith, museum director

es you can build, and people are snapping up houses everywhere."

(Home sale prices on the island, which is about 40 square miles, shot up from an average of about \$195,000 in 2018 to \$318,000 this year.)

And so together with the Beebes, she looked for money everywhere she could — with seemingly the whole island rallying behind her.

"If we can raise the funds in what can only be called a colossal, grassroots effort," she wrote

on a GoFundMe page, "we can preserve the ranch for future generations, keep a treasured part of Chincoteague intact and support the mission of the museum to protect our history."

The effort was indeed colossal: The museum, which counts only two full-time staff members and another two dozen volunteers, pushed to race toward the finish line in a matter of months. Its annual earnings from ticket sales often equal just as much as the home price they were chasing,

according to tax records.

A few local girls painted shells and sold them in Chincoteague's tiny downtown, donating their proceeds to the cause. One wealthy island resident offered a \$100,000 matching challenge. Letters poured in from near and far to the museum, sometimes with only a few dollars tucked in the envelope.

"I grew up as a horse-obsessed little girl who read every horse book I could get my hands on," one handwritten letter said. "I am honored to be able to give to support your efforts to preserve and share the property with all."

Perhaps most notable was a fundraiser that involved some of the wild ponies themselves.

Every year, the Chincoteague Volunteer Fire Company organizes a "pony swim" in which the horses go from Assateague to Chincoteague islands along the Maryland and Virginia shore and some are auctioned off. One foal sold as a fundraiser for the museum went for \$40,500, breaking records.

Now the property will be run by the museum — and the next generation, Faith noted, will be able to see firsthand the place described in a book read around the world.

Billy Beebe, who is moving to a duplex up the street, said he took solace in knowing he will be able to show off the restored site to his grandchildren.

"It's going to be fantastic," said Beebe, a 69-year-old retired shipyard worker. "This is going to be preserved for them in the future, and they can come see where I grew up when I was little."

THE DISTRICT

Man, 30, fatally shot in Northeast, police say

A man was shot and killed early Sunday morning in Northeast Washington, D.C., police said.

The shooting occurred inside

After hearing gunshots at about 12:24 a.m., officers found Charles Sullivan, 30, of Southeast Washington dead in the 700 block of Kenilworth Avenue NE, police said. He had multiple gunshot wounds to his body, according to a police report.

After hearing the gunshots, an officer saw a person fleeing with what appeared to be a rifle, the report said. No information was available about a possible suspect or motive.

— Jack Stripling

MARYLAND

Man is fatally stabbed in Prince George's

A man died after a stabbing in Seat Pleasant in Prince George's

County on Saturday afternoon, police said.

Seat Pleasant police responded to reports of a stabbing at the 5900 block of Martin Luther King Jr. Highway about 4:15 p.m. Saturday, police spokesman Nicholas Griffith said.

Officers found a man with an upper-body wound.

The man, who has not been identified, died after being taken to a hospital, Griffith said.

Prince George's County homicide detectives are investigating the incident.

— Mary Claire Molloy

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Opponents seek to kill data center plan

PRINCE WILLIAM FROM B1

said in a statement.

Should the Digital Gateway rezoning application come up for a board vote before January, he said, "I will certainly do my part in making a decision one way or another."

Supervisor Andrea O. Bailey (D-Potomac), who also won her primary race last month, added that she's concerned that passing such a measure would affect lower-profile land-use cases in her district, including affordable housing and retail projects that may face some community opposition despite being widely supported.

"We are not focused only on that project," she said about the Digital Gateway. "We don't have

time to politicize our governing."

Regardless of whether it succeeds, the measure will probably contribute to the rancor that has at times dominated county board meetings in recent years, particularly around the data center issue.

Those for and against the Digital Gateway proposal said they plan to voice their concerns at Tuesday's board meeting.

Nearly 400 opponents of the Digital Gateway plan have emailed county supervisors to urge them to support the measure, said Elena Schlossberg, director of the Coalition to Protect Prince William County.

Schlossberg, who helped turn out votes for Jefferson, warned that supporters of the measure would try to oust any incumbent who doesn't want to give the next



VALERIE PLESCH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The "Digital Gateway" data center plan has encountered aggressive opposition in the Gainesville area, where it would be built.

board an opportunity to weigh in on something as big and contentious as the Digital Gateway plan.

"If I were a supervisor who had a general election and understood that this push for change was being amplified by citizens not feeling listened to on data center development ... I would want to have

as little media attention as possible on my votes," Schlossberg said.

Those opposed to Lawson's measure scoffed at a statement she made during her June 27 announcement that such moratoriums are "customary" in Prince William County. They noted that such a policy hasn't been in effect

since 2011.

They also highlighted multiple land-use votes cast by Lawson during lame-duck periods, including in support of another data center project in Gainesville that was approved in 2019 despite local opposition.

Lawson's office said she has supported moratoriums in the past, then voted on land-use cases along with her board colleagues after those efforts failed.

Fairfax County's moratorium on all land-use cases during lame-duck periods has been in effect since the mid-1990s, reaffirmed every January. Stafford County adopted its policy in 2022, while Loudoun and Arlington counties have no such policies.

Travis Turner, whose company, LSI Communications, represents homeowners who stand to benefit from the Digital Gateway project, called Lawson's motion "an election year campaign stunt."

Several of his other clients also have pending land-use applications making their way through the approval process, which would be further delayed if Law-

son's motion were to pass.

"When our clients or any business within Prince William County are trying to invest in the county and trying to build business and jobs, there has to be some level of stability in how the local government operates," he said. "The process is already very slow for land-use matters in the county to begin with and this makes it more of a circus."

The two data center companies behind the Digital Gateway plan — Compass Datacenters and QTS Data Centers — refrained from commenting on Lawson's measure.

"Compass Datacenters reaffirmed its commitment to the project and its pending zoning application," the company said in a statement.

"If approved, the Digital Gateway is expected to raise over \$500 million dollars in annual data center tax revenue, providing support for the school system, county parks, police, fire departments, and more — without creating any additional demand for those services," QTS said in its statement.

Youngkin appoints 3 more to Va. Board of Education

BOARD FROM B1

co-founder of Coalition for TJ, the group fighting admissions reform at Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology in Fairfax County.

Ashton, one of Youngkin's newest appointees, founded Digital Pioneers, a charter school that opened five years ago as a place for children to learn coding and game design in D.C. Most of the students enrolled in the charter school are "at risk" and live in

D.C.'s poorest neighborhoods. Last year, the school was recognized for outperforming other schools with similar demographics on standardized math and reading exams, but it has faced a rise in violence. It has experienced four deadly student shootings this year, the most recent a 15-year-old killed June 27.

According to her biography page, Ashton has also served as the CEO of the Newark Charter School Fund, overseeing an initiative to support the growth of

charter schools.

In a statement to The Washington Post, Ashton said she was honored to be named to the board. "I look forward to working with fellow board members to advance equitable and innovative learning for all of Virginia's students."

Ashton said she will continue as CEO of Digital Pioneers and remains "committed as ever" to her leadership role.

Along with being a retired teacher, Kilgore had served as an

adviser with Family, Career and Community Leaders of America, a career and technical student organization. She is married to House Majority Leader Terry G. Kilgore (R-Scott).

According to her biography page, Northern supervises the Fordham Institute's research on academic standards, career and technical education, and charter schools.

"I'm honored to support Governor Youngkin, his team and the department of education, and to

join this rockstar board — each of whom care deeply about strengthening education for every student in Virginia," Northern said in a statement.

The new members will be joining the board after former superintendent for public instruction Jillian Balow abruptly resigned in early March.

Youngkin appointed Lisa Coons as the new superintendent.

On Friday, he appointed Emily Anne Gullickson as the new deputy secretary of education. Gullickson is CEO and founder of A for Arizona, an education advocacy nonprofit organization.

THE REGION

Day after day it rains, but the drought is not erased

BY MARTIN WEIL

For the year, Washington may still be running a rainfall deficit, but Sunday helped reveal July as sopping wet so far, with days of sprinkle and shower, downpour and deluge.

So many hours on so many days have been so ominously gray that each day's rain, when it finally fell, may have seemed mere anticlimax.

As of 5 p.m., Washington's official rainfall figure for Sunday came to a relatively modest 0.14 inches. But that helped boost the month's total to 2.84 inches, more than twice the average at this time in July.

Summer storms seem notoriously selective in where they appear and how much rain they drop. At Dulles International Airport, at least 0.71 inches fell Sunday, but July's total there was an inch less than Washington's.

In Washington, measurable rain has fallen on six of July's first nine days, with traces on the rest. It rained Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Some might have wondered if it would ever end.

OBITUARIES

DAVID CALLEO, 88

Scholar traced U.S. foreign policy flaws

BY BRIAN MURPHY

David Calleo, an international affairs scholar and author who often took a dissenting view on U.S. foreign policy, arguing that Washington's drive for unchallenged global dominance ultimately left the country weaker and less secure, died June 15 at his home in Washington. He was 88.

His wife, former U.S. ambassador Avis Bohlen, confirmed the death but did not provide a cause.

Postwar Europe and the development of the European Union were centerpiece of research and writing for Dr. Calleo, a professor of European studies at Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies, or SAIS, and a State Department adviser during the Johnson administration.

Dr. Calleo also offered broader analyses of what he called the United States' "unipolar fantasy" of power after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and in Washington's "with us or against us" ultimatums amid the sweeping military response to the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

"The United States, which professes to lead the world, has grown deeply out of tune with it," Dr. Calleo wrote in "Follies of Power: America's Unipolar Fantasy" (2009), one of more than 15 books he wrote or co-authored on international affairs, including the increasing encroachment of the military into U.S. diplomacy.

Dr. Calleo was not alone. Other academics and commentators, such as linguist Noam Chomsky and Princeton University professor Robert Gilpin, echoed Dr. Calleo's unease over U.S. reliance on military and economic strength rather than seeking more collaborative international partnerships.

Dr. Calleo, who melded history and contemporary affairs in his books, crafted political road maps

for how past events and decisions shaped views on both sides of the Atlantic.

"American statesmanship," Dr. Calleo said, "seems to have been a good deal more enlightened at the beginning of the Cold War than after its end."

In contrast, Dr. Calleo saw the European Union, and its decision-making by consensus, as one of the most farsighted political initiatives in generations. Dr. Calleo described a strong and cohesive European Union as an important counterweight to U.S. attempts at "global hegemony." But he also noted the E.U. fault lines.

Dr. Calleo unpacked centuries of British history to explain the country's right-wing misgivings over the E.U., foreshadowing Brexit more than a decade before the 2016 referendum sealed Britain's divorce.

In his 2001 book "Rethinking Europe's Future," Dr. Calleo also foresaw how greater E.U. integration could trigger nativist political backlash, later led by E.U. antagonists such as right-wing leader Marine Le Pen of France and Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary.

"I know it's fashionable to run down the Europeans and their problems," Dr. Calleo said, "but what has been built is extraordinary." The United States, meanwhile, was on a path of steady "declinism," he asserted, unless policies were reoriented to acknowledge a world with Europe and Asia exerting more or less the same influence as the United States. "The American Century," a term made popular in a *Life* magazine editorial by founder Henry Luce in 1941, really lasted only about 26 years, Dr. Calleo wrote.

Dr. Calleo's perspective was praised by academic journals and colleagues for its clarity and urgency. It also made Dr. Calleo a target for the neoconservative

hawks, realpolitik advocates and others he called out.

Dr. Calleo was cast as naive, in the eyes of some detractors, for failing to recognize that a U.S. military pullback would unnerves key allies such as South Korea and Saudi Arabia and offer more room for China to expand its clout. After Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea and the 2022 invasion of Ukraine, some of Dr. Calleo's previous work seemed outdated for his cautious outlook on NATO expansion.

At the State Department in the 1960s, Dr. Calleo was a polarizing figure over his admiration of French President Charles de Gaulle, who was highly suspicious of NATO and blocked Britain's entry into the Common Market, a precursor to the European Union.

Dr. Calleo said his "Gaulist sympathies infuriated most of the various NATO and [Common Market] cliques in the State Department, but met with considerable interest elsewhere in the Johnson administration, particularly in the Pentagon where I was a frequent visitor."

He described his work as kind of tough love with the United States. Few other places, he said, would have allowed him the freedom to pick apart diplomatic and military policies.

"I have sometimes been a severe critic of my country and its government," he wrote in an autobiographical essay. "But I realize what good fortune it has been to grow up an American in the past century."

House on Elba

David Patrick Calleo was born in Binghamton, N.Y., on July 19, 1934, and grew up in the nearby town of Endicott. His father was a fire captain, and his mother was a librarian.

He graduated from Yale Uni-

versity in 1955 with a degree from an interdepartmental program in the humanities, history, the arts and letters, known as HAL. He stayed at Yale for his master's degree in 1957 and a doctorate in political science in 1959.

His first book, "Coleridge and the Idea of the Modern State" (1966), was based on his doctoral thesis that included studies of the work of English poet and philosopher Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Dr. Calleo liked to tell a story about how a gust of wind nearly blew his manuscript into a Greek harbor while he was traveling, but onlookers managed to gather the pages.

Dr. Calleo taught at Brown University from 1959 to 1961 and then returned to Yale as an instructor in political science. In 1967, Dr. Calleo accepted an offer to join the State Department as a consultant for Eugene Rostow, a former dean of Yale Law School who had joined the Johnson administration as undersecretary of state for political affairs.

After leaving government service in 1968, Dr. Calleo joined the Johns Hopkins SAIS program and became founding director of its European studies department, which includes the Johns Hopkins Bologna Center in Italy.

In the early 1970s, Dr. Calleo began work on his personal European base, a property on the Italian island of Elba. (The French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte was exiled on Elba in 1814-15). The villa became a study retreat for graduate students and others.

Dr. Calleo also used Elba to write many of his books, including "The Imperious Economy" (1982) and "The Bankrupting of America" (1992), which explored connections between growing U.S. deficit spending and foreign policy, including the ever-expanding military budget.

Upon reviewing "The Bankrupting of America" in The Washington Post, financial journalist James Grant wrote that Dr. Calleo's gloomy predic-

tions ignored the vibrancy of U.S. financial markets. "If he had been investing as bearishly as he has been writing," Grant wrote, "he would now very likely be preparing to file a personal bankruptcy petition."

In 1977, Dr. Calleo married Avis Bohlen, whose father, Charles, had been an influential adviser on Soviet affairs. Dr. Calleo accompanied her on diplomatic postings, including as ambassador to Bulgaria from 1996 to 1999. In addition to his wife, survivors include a brother.

In Mr. Calleo's view, declining U.S. influence has a natural corollary: other big powers rapidly catching up.

"The slow transition from American hegemony to a more plural world is not, in itself, a defeat for American policy," he wrote in "The Imperious Economy."

"On the contrary, it is precisely the outcome that might have been expected to follow from the policy itself."



David Calleo in May 2018 in D.C. Dr. Calleo's perspective was praised by academic journals and colleagues for clarity and urgency. It made him a target for the neoconservative hawks he called out.

FAMILY PHOTO

**More tech?**

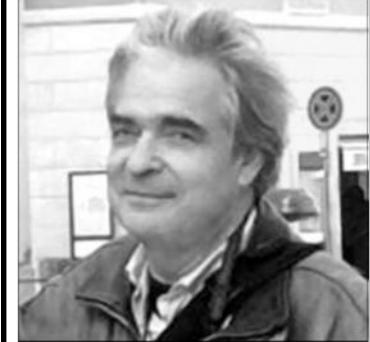
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DEATH NOTICE**DEATH NOTICE****GAVULA****MICHAEL E. GAVULA**

Michael Ernest Gavula, 70, of Cheverly, Maryland, died June 13, 2023 at Virginia Center, from heart failure.

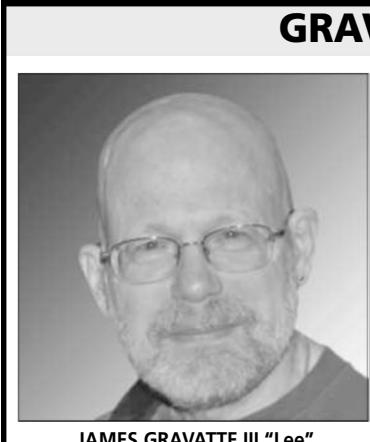
Born March 4, 1953 in Heidelberg, Germany, to Michael (Milko) Gavula and Hildegard Butler Gavula, his early years as an Army child were spent in Taiwan, El Paso, and Fort Niagara. He grew up in McLean, Virginia, and graduated from the University of Virginia (Religious studies, 1977). He received a master's in architecture from Virginia Tech (1986), and practiced at in Washington, DC, at architrave, p.c. architects, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Gallery of Art. He was an active member of the DC chapter of the American Institute of Archi-

tects and the National Building Museum. Michael was a keen observer and a discriminating enthusiast—curious, open-minded and discerning. He loved the architecture of Louis Kahn and Tadao Ando, and traveled to see the work of Geoffrey Bawa in Sri Lanka. A gifted musician, he knew classical music, the Beatles, Bob Dylan, the poetry of Maya Robins cowboy songs, and the finer points of classical guitar performance. A devotee of cats, a constant writer and wide-ranging reader, a lover of Shakespeare and Zen poets. He loved good food, and restaurants gourmet or hole-in-the-wall. His favorite trips were driving a convertible at any speed in the great open spaces of the West.

Michael was faithful in friendships and valued by colleagues. Generous and funny, calm and steady in any setting, he put others at ease. He was a much-loved son, brother, son-in-law, uncle, husband, and friend.

He is survived by sister Linda and brother-in-law Bruce Sherman of Shippensburg, Pennsylvania; Alex Sherman (Ossining, New York) and Michael Drake Sherman (Seattle); and former wife Leslie K. Reinhardt (Hyattsville, Maryland).

Gifts in his memory may be made to the MGI Regis Ferruzza Guitars for Veterans Program (<https://mgi-regis.com/>) or guitars4vets.org, 451 N. Hungerford Dr., Suite 119-482, Rockville, MD 20850, or to the charity of one's choice. A celebration of Michael's life will be held at a later date.

**JAMES GRAVATTE III "Lee"**

James "Lee" Gravatte III, 67, passed away at his home in Washington, DC on June 29, 2023, with his wife at his side. A man of a remarkable and somewhat reclusive nature, Lee read "I tried being normal once. Worst 5 minutes of my life", he would have loved that his life made medical history.

Lee was born in Alexandria, VA. In an imitation of his future, he fell from the top of a waterfall at age 16, landing in the picnic lunch of complete strangers at the bottom, and lived to tell the story. He graduated from Fort Hunt High School in 1973 and went to Virginia Tech where he graduated with a B.A. in journalism in 1977. Lee began a career at Hewlett-Packard in the order processing department, progressing through various positions into sales. He sold HP computers to agencies including the Air Force. In 1989 he was named a member of Hewlett-Packard's President's Club, a honor recognizing HP's top 100 salespeople worldwide.

A mere 10 days after graduation changed the course of his life. A melanoma in his leg metastasized to multiple sites in his body,

including the brain, in 1988. His condition was assessed as terminal and he was given massive radiation to the brain, and chemotherapy, in a desperate attempt to give him a few more months of life.

Amazingly, through some combination of cold dogged determination, positive attitude, stubborn obstinacy and simple obliviousness, he survived another 35 years.

At midlife he changed careers, leaving Hewlett-Packard for a masters degree program in Social Work at Catholic University. Following his graduation in 2002, he worked as a hospice social worker for Capital Hospice (now Capital Caring). In 2007 he took a position as a residential social worker at Georgetown University Hospital where he covered the emergency room and two other floors.

However, he began to develop increasingly severe cognitive and motor difficulties, diagnosed as long term side effects from the brain radiation 20 years earlier. He had to retire from working in late 2012, but found meaning through volunteering at Joseph's House and the Senior Center at the gym.

He was an avid hiker, skier and water skier. Ever the comic, he loved making people laugh. A devoted music fan, he had encyclopedic knowledge of rock history.

His marriages to Betty Brewer and Elizabeth Thomas ended in divorce. Besides his wife Carol Cavanaugh, he leaves behind two brothers, Douglas Gravatte and Craig Gravatte of Westminster, CO, four nieces and a nephew. His parents Jim and Anna Gravatte preceded him in death. His wife expresses deep appreciation to his caregivers Josefa Ducusin, Abdul Kalon and Usif Bangura, who valiantly coped with his adamantly independent streak. A memorial service will take place at a future date. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to Joseph's House, josephshouse.org. View full obituary and sign the tribute book at bianchifuneralservices.com.

LANGEL**BOB LANGEL**

Bob Langel, a resident of Frederick, MD, since 1975, passed away on Monday, July 3, 2023, at the age of 85. Bob was beloved by his wife, Bea (Beatrice), cherished by his children, Felicia, Heather and her husband Mike, Sharon, and Jenna and her husband Craig, and adored by his eight grandchildren. He was also dearly loved by his twin sister Geraldine. Bob grew

up in Miami Beach, FL and graduated from Miami Beach High School. He then graduated from The Citadel, in Charleston, SC (Class of 1959). Bob attended the University of Miami School of Law and joined the U.S. Army from which he was promoted to Captain. Bob worked for many years in the financial services industry having held many executive positions both regionally and nationally for firms such as Shearson American Express and Bankers Trust. Bob was very active in the Garden State Yacht Club where he served as Commodore. Upon moving to MD, Bob was a founding member of the Senior Golf League in Frederick. One of the highlights of his career was when he and his Shih Tzu, Maya, better known as "Team Dolphin" were active in Wags For Hope, a local non-profit organization benefiting others. In addition to his family, who will miss him dearly, Bob will be remembered by his many dogs as the perfect "dog dad". In lieu of flowers, please make donations to [WagsForHope.org](https://wagsforhope.org).

In Bob's obituary service, will be held at 10:00 AM on Saturday, July 15, 2023 at 11 a.m. Family will be receiving friends following the funeral and observing Shiva at their residence from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m. Arrangements entrusted to Sagel Bloomfield Danzansky Goldberg Funeral Care. www.sagelbloomfield.com

MCFARLING**DR. LESLIE HAROLD MCFARLING (Age 74)**

On Wednesday, July 5, 2023, Dr. Leslie Harold McFarling passed away in the company of his wife and children. He was continuing his fight with cancer at the time of his passing. Les was the eldest son of Harold Ellsworth and Moni Avonell (Christensen) McFarling, born on November 13, 1948, in Hot Springs, South Dakota. The family moved to a ranch there until 1960, then to Rapid City, and a young boy, Les enjoyed life on the plains of South Dakota with beautiful pale blue skies, plentiful sunshine, and the forces of nature; he gained humility as a rancher that shaped the man he became.

He attended grades 1-8 in Gann Valley, SD, followed by high school in Wessington Springs. He enrolled at the University of South Dakota from 1967 until 1974, where he earned his Bachelor's, Master's, and Ph.D. degrees. He had deep appreciation for the sacrifices his parents made to provide him with an education, as well as for the invaluable academic opportunities presented to him by his professors and mentors in graduate school, Dr. Norm Heimstra and Dr. Vern Ellingsstad.

Les met Kathryn (Kitt) Trudeau at USD in 1968, and they were married in 1969. They were blessed with two sons, Mark (1970)

and Ryan (1974). Their marriage ended in divorce in 1981, but their respect for each other as individuals endured.

While at USD, he was a member of ROTC

and was a Distinguished Military Graduate,

receiving his commission in August 1971,

entering active duty in June 1974 and serving at the Academy of Health Sciences at Fort Sam Houston, Texas until his honorable discharge in 1978 at the rank of Captain.

After leaving the Army, the family moved to Virginia, where Les worked as a contractor and self-employed consultant until 1992 when he became an Army civilian.

Les's professional milestones include serving

as Director of the Army Substance Abuse Program, managing a contract research firm, contributing to GPS implementation in US Army helicopters, designing control

implementation of US Army howitzers, man-

aging overseas construction projects, and authoring and editing books and many

articles and papers in the field of Psychology.

His impactful career spanned across

various regions of the US, Central America,

Asia, and Europe.

Les met his current wife Alisa Harvey in

2000 and they were united in their marriage

in 2001. This marriage was blessed with a stepdaughter, Virginia and a son, Skylar (2002). Les and Alisa have recently made their home in Manassas, Virginia.

Les was predeceased by his parents, both

sets of grandparents and numerous aunts

and uncles. Les is survived by his wife Alisa Harvey; sons, Mark McFarling, Ryan (Julia) McFarling, and Skylar McFarling; stepdaughter, Virginia Hill; his brother, James (Faith) McFarling; niece, Samantha (Ben) Nelson; and nephew, Lee McFarling; numerous cousins whom he had a closeness with, and nieces and nephews.

Services will be held on Friday, July 14, un-

der the direction of Pifer Funeral Home,

9609 Center Street, Manassas, VA 20110, (703) 257-6028. Viewing at 2 p.m. followed by the service at 4 p.m. Interment will be held Monday, July 17, 10 a.m. at Quantico National Cemetery, 18424 Joplin Rd., Triangle, VA 22172. Contributions in Les's memory may be made to the American Lung Association at lung.org.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.

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DEATH NOTICE**BEEMAN****JEAN BEEMAN**

On Friday, July 7, 2023, JEAN BEEMAN of Bethesda, MD. Beloved wife of the late Dr. Edward Beeman, loving mother of Barbara (Joseph Domagalski) Beeman, Judith (Leon) Malnik, Dr. Cynthia (Dr. Dennis Lynn) Beeman and Robert (Jane) Beeman, dear grandmother of Michael, Aronie, Ethan, Max and Rachel Domagalski and great-grandmother of Naomi, Zahava, Aviva and Hadassah. Graveside funeral services were held at Judean Memorial Gardens, Olney, MD. Shiva will be announced. Memorial contributions may be made to Temple Shalom or to JSSA Hospice. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-541-1001

DEATH NOTICE
BOGUSLAW**MARY BOGUSLAW**

October 5, 1951 – Died May 9, 2023. Mary Boguslaw was born at Tokyo Army Hospital, the daughter of Gerald and Virginia Keating. She spent her early childhood moving frequently as is common for the children of active-duty military parents. She spent most of her later childhood at Fort Gordon, GA, where she was the wife one of five sisters. Through tremendous perseverance and determination she achieved a Bachelor's degree of Music Administration and a Masters degree in Communications from the University of Kentucky in Lexington. Since 1991 she was a resident of West Friendship, MD. She was a wonderful wife and companion, a loving mother and grandmother, a great aunt, a dedicated schoolteacher, an efficient and hard-working administrator. This world is a lesser place without her. She is survived by her husband, three daughters, and granddaughter. There will be a Memorial Service and Remembrance of her at Glenelg United Methodist Church in Glenelg, MD at 12 Noon on Saturday, July 29, 2023.

THORNTON**GLORIA REGINA THORNTON**

It is with deepest sorrow that we inform you of the passing of Gloria Regina Thornton. She passed away Monday, June 26, 2023, in the arms of her beloved husband Richard Franklin Brown, Jr. She was a beloved wife, mother, grandmother, and friend to many. Visitation will be held on Wednesday July 12, 2023, at J.B. Jenkins Funeral Home at 7474 Landover, MD from 9:30 to 10:30 a.m. and funeral services will immediately follow. Interment will be held at Maryland National Cemetery at 13300 Baltimore Avenue Laurel, MD immediately following the services. Loved and always remembered.

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DEATH NOTICE**COVE****ANN BRODY COVE**

Adored wife, mother, grandmother, sister, and friend, ANN BRODY COVE, died on July 6, 2023, after a decade of living with MDS, a form of blood cancer.

Ann was born in Brooklyn, New York in 1942 to Alfred and Hortense Zeltner Paster. She had a life-long passion for cooking and food that was nurtured by both her mother and grandmother. She

The Washington Post

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BOOK WORLD

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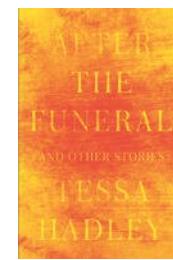
BY HAMILTON CAIN

The English short-story virtuoso Tessa Hadley has occasionally been compared to Alice Munro, writers, in the words of novelist Anne Enright, "who would rather be wise than nice." Both etch sentences as precise as an Olympic skater's figure eights; both wield their scalpels for insight beneath the baggy skin of domesticity. No one in their work is pure in thought and deed; no one escapes the consequences of moral hazard. But perhaps there the comparisons should end: Munro sets her gaze on panoramas of history and place, while Hadley lingers closer to hearth and home, her dramas tighter and on a smaller scale.

Her elegant new collection, "After the Funeral," showcases the gifts readers will recognize from her earlier books. (Seven of the 12 stories originally appeared in the New Yorker.) The quest for an authentic self is doomed; families are distant, often duplicitous; and exhausted marriages must contend with the "infinite complication of children." These themes have always formed the core of Hadley's fiction. But she sounds a new note here, a dirge for an era buffeted by pandemics and other threats. Is empathy possible? Are we beyond redemption?

Her characters dance around their desires. A divorcée bumps into her ex-husband on the London tube and

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AFTER THE FUNERAL
And Other Stories
By Tessa Hadley
Knopf, 240 pp.
\$28

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Her characters dance around their desires. A divorcée bumps into her ex-husband on the London tube and

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Chiropractors find the right spot online

Alluring adjustments are going viral on social media.
(The satisfying sounds don't hurt, either.)

BY ASHLEY FETTERS MALOY IN NEW YORK

There's a recurring theme in the comments of Instagram video posts starring Justin Lewis, a blond Manhattan chiropractor with broad shoulders and a boyish smile: Sprinkled in alongside comments marveling at the crispness and volume of his patients' joints clicking into alignment are expressions of unconcealed longing.

"I need it," one of Lewis's approximately 165,000 followers writes about a post where Lewis adjusts a lower back, the crunching and cracking noises amplified by a clip-on microphone.

"I need some of that," a woman comments on a video of Lewis adjusting a female patient's neck with a loud series of pops.

"Ugh I NEED this, right in this exact spot," one user writes below a video of Lewis scraping the shoulders of a young woman in a workout top with a metal Graston tool before he sinks his fingers deep into the crevice between spine and shoulder blade. This is the "scapular release," a specialty of Lewis's that aims to relieve shoulder pain and increase range of motion.

After watching enough videos of Lewis cracking backs and loosening scapulae, one learns (read: I learned) that just observing his patients' gasps and groans at the sensations can quickly draw attention to the stiffness in one's own lumbar, and that hearing their mic'd-up pops and cracks incites both a yearning for all-at-once bodily release that borders on the indecent and a secondhand sense of relief.

SEE CHIROPRACTORS ON C3

'Beyond the Story' of BTS: 6 notes from the biography

BY ANNE BRANIGAN

It seems almost redundant for BTS to release an official biography 10 years into its existence. The K-pop superband is a household name across the globe, where it has topped the charts in dozens of countries. Grandmas in Seoul and teens in Spokane, Wash., can dispense all manner of trivia on the group's members.

There's RM, the bookish leader; Jin, self-dubbed "Worldwide Handsome," both the eldest and the goofiest; Suga, who once wished to be reincarnated as a rock; J-Hope, BTS's sunny and energetic den mom; Jimin, known for his charm and magnetic stage presence; V, enigmatic, mischievous and the one most likely to be wearing a vest; and finally, Jungkook, the golden child (or "Golden Maknae") of the group.

But "Beyond the Story," by Myeong-seok Kang, is a book that knows its audience. Released on July 9 (the same day that, 10 years ago, the BTS fandom adopted the nickname ARMY), it pulls together a cohesive narrative — hitherto told in hundreds of blogs, YouTube videos, magazine articles and live video chats — about BTS's music-making jour-

SEE BTS ON C8

CAROLYN HAX

Family's personalities start to clash after a parent gets diagnosed with cancer. C2

MUSIC REVIEW

At the Anthem, T-Pain delivers with a deeper artistry and some transformative live mixes. C4

White House reporter has made himself the story

BY PAUL FARHI

Simon Ateba was at it again the other week. As White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre addressed journalists during her daily briefing, Ateba spoke up, out of turn. He was a victim, he insisted, of "discrimination" because Jean-Pierre hadn't called on him to ask a question.

Jean-Pierre frowned wearily. "If this continues, we're going to end the press briefing," she said, as Ateba's fellow reporters began to argue with him. "You're being incredibly rude."

The brief outburst wasn't unusual. On several occasions over the past year, Ateba has interrupted Jean-Pierre and her predecessor, Jen Psaki, to demand that he be called on. In March, he

interrupted a briefing room photo op with the cast of "Ted Lasso" to insist that Jean-Pierre take his question. His complaint was met with shouts of "Let it go!" and "Decorum, please!" from his fellow journalists.

Ateba's repeated demands for recognition — unusual even in a press room with a long history of memorable characters — have frustrated both press officials and the organization that represents reporters, the White House Correspondents' Association.

At the same time, Ateba's behavior has made him a rising star on Twitter and YouTube and a darling of right-wing media outlets. Fox News, the Daily Caller,

Breitbart, among others, have portrayed him as a victim of censorship by the Biden White House and the "liberal" mainstream media. In an interview before being fired by Fox earlier this year, Tucker Carlson described Ateba as "the one guy in the room who asked real questions."

Except it's not really clear what questions Ateba has been seeking to ask. His serial interruptions typically begin and end with a protest about how the press secretary hasn't allowed him to ask his question.

In an exchange of emails, Ateba declined to say what information the White House has denied him. He also declined

to meet for an interview or to speak over the phone about himself or his publication, Today News Africa, for which he appears to be the sole writer-reporter. He said he would respond to questions via email but then ignored most of those sent to him. He didn't respond to follow-up questions.

In his brief comments to The Washington Post, he wrote that his efforts to report on the White House "have been met with racism and discrimination from the Left, as well as misleading articles that fail to address the underlying story of discrimination against me."

This echoed his previous public com-

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Long distances, strong personalities complicate response to cancer diagnosis



NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



Adapted from an online discussion.

Carolyn Hax

Dear Carolyn: So sorry, I am about to dump on you. My mother was diagnosed with a fairly rare cancer five months ago.

We (brother, father and I) managed to get her a good hospital and an apparently competent oncologist and started a long journey that hopefully will get her a few good months. She wants to try, so we are supporting that desire.

I live the farthest away and spent almost seven of the past 10 weeks sleeping on an air mattress in my parents' den trying to remote work and spend as much time with her as I could, and to make sure my 80-something father didn't have to do 10-hour days at the hospital all on his own.

I am back in my apartment, trying to work and not doing that well at it. My boss is understanding but needs me to get stuff done.

My dad is miserable but trying to keep up. His group texts read like PR reports, which drives my brother crazy, because he is a social scientist and wants everything to be evidenced-based. He wants realism, not hope. And I am trying desperately, from 250 miles away, to do the little stuff that neither of them thinks of, such

as letting her new care team know which foods she will actually eat.

I feel like hanging up on my brother, because he lectures me about how my dad isn't being realistic. I can't believe neither of them seems capable of talking to nurses about the food situation. And I am still here, terrified my mother is going to die alone, her worst nightmare, and I won't be there to hold her hand — which I did a lot of over the past four months, but I'm not sure it counts if I am not there at the end. Which we don't know is coming soon, but it could. Help.

— *Terrified*

Terrified: Oh my, I'm sorry.

It all "counts." Any time you are there, anything you give. You are doing what you can, when you can, and that is everything.

The rest, you can't control. So every time anxiety bubbles up about what you can't do or whom you can't change, remind yourself that it's out of your hands. Release each of these strings instead of thrashing around in them till they knot you in place.

One exception: Remind your darling social scientist that the evidence says your father won't stop the PR — so bro's persistent effort to change him is not reality-based living. Ahem.

Then drop the subject regardless, whether he concedes the point or fights it. And don't

sit still for lectures.

Generally, too, recognize that you're all spinning right now and that this explains the behaviors. Your dad is all, "IT'S ALL GOOD!" And your bro is all, "IT'S ALL SCIENCE!" And you're all, "IT'S ALL ABOUT THE SMALL THINGS I'M TOO FAR AWAY TO DO!" When really, it's all: "This will happen with or without you. All you get are the margins."

So breathe. Release everything you can't control. Ease your mom's suffering as you can, then know that's enough. Simplify your immediate life: job, self-care, sleep. Streamline, breathe, repeat.

To Terrified: When my mom was dying of cancer, the best thing we did was ask for hospice services. Hospice isn't meant to admit defeat. Sometimes people live for years on hospice services. Hospice is meant to celebrate the person and help bring joy and comfort to them in their last weeks, months, years. And often, this can be done at home.

— *Anonymous*

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.

My adult daughter responds to friends' texts but not mine. What should I do?

Ask Amy

AMY DICKINSON

Dear Amy: My adult daughter (married with no children) lives a few hundred miles from where

I live. We visit several times a year, usually when I head down her way. It is always enjoyable. That said, text messages are an important lifeline and communal experience. Frankly, I'm fed up with her inability to somehow confirm with me that she has received my texts, even with a "thumbs up" icon.

I have made an effort over the years to chalk it up to her personal style and to be forgiving of the distractions of life. She does not have a 9-to-5 job and has stretches of time between work projects. I don't text her daily, so it is not like I'm inundating her with irritating updates.

I would expect at least a simple response when I text a couple of times a month, and it is disturbing to me that she never answers. This behavior also extends to any phone messages. When I visit her, she responds quickly to texts or phone calls with friends, so I would wager it is not a systemic attitude.

We are on good terms, and, to be fair, her father gets the same treatment, and they are also close. It leaves us both wondering/worrying about her well-being. Do you have any suggestions for how I could nonjudgmentally approach her about this?

— *Stumped*

Stumped: You don't say whether you ask a question (by text or in a phone message) your daughter answers. If you text or leave a phone message, "Would you give me a quick call?" I hope she would do so.

about me. The group's enthusiastic consensus was to get together again within the year. How do I gracefully decline?

— *Left Out*

Left Out: You are generous in terms of asking questions, but conversations are not interviews. A good conversation involves a real exchange, where participants actually relate to one another, instead of just trading stories and information. A really good conversation feels intimate and revelatory. (That is why they are so rare.)

These other women did not make any effort to draw you out, and you seem to have missed whatever chances you might have had to pivot from interviewer to participant. To decline an invitation, you need only say, "I can't plan on taking another cruise, but I hope you all do it and have a great time!"

Dear Amy: Thank you for running the question from "Intolerant Caregiver" about the challenges of providing care for an infirm parent. I think this person should say to Mom: "If you can't be nicer to me, I'm going to have to leave. I'll see you tomorrow."

— *Also Intolerant*

Also: Physically leaving might not always be possible, due to safety concerns. But stepping into the other room for a few moments might be a good idea.

Amy's column appears seven days a week at washingtonpost.com/advice. Write to askamy@amydickinson.com or Amy Dickinson, P.O. Box 194, Freeville, N.Y. 13068. You can also follow her @askingamy.

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SO108-3x75

With a crack and a crunch, vicarious relief from social media's chiro dudes

CHIROPRACTORS FROM C1

Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, Lewis is just one of a number of friendly, photogenic male chiropractors turned influencers who have risen to prominence in the past few years, largely through algorithms that simply keep offering more and more chiropractors to people who have ever watched one chiropractor. On TikTok, where Lewis has nearly 3 million followers, Alex VanDerschelden (the "OC Chiropractor," based in Southern California) has amassed around 4.5 million, and a practitioner known only as "Dr. Cracks" has upward of 6 million. On YouTube, pages such as CrackAddictz serve people compilations of the most satisfying chiropractic adjustments, to be mainlined in much the same way as pimple-popping videos: obsessively, parasocially, one after another.

Humans have long sought help restoring our bodies to some vague idea of their natural, divine working order — an overall sense of well-being that targeted, specialized medical care often doesn't offer. And for better or worse, practitioners have always stood at the ready, prepared to intervene when our chakras seemed blocked; when our humors seemed unbalanced; when our meridians surely became constricted; when our orgone levels were all out of whack. The search for relief, in other words — for a quick, efficient factory reset, an erasure

of the daily toil we put our bodies through — is as universal as the solutions on offer are endless. In 2023, perhaps it shouldn't be surprising that a world full of laptop workers, connected globally by the internet, is finding such relief vicariously through videos online.

Lewis, 35, started posting videos to Instagram in spring 2020, with the help of a social media-savvy friend, after the lively stream of visitors to his just-opened chiropractic office suddenly ground to a halt. Three years later, he now posts three to five clips per week among his assorted pages on YouTube, Instagram, TikTok, Facebook and Pinterest, which include adjustment videos, usually made in partnerships with influencers or athletes, plus occasional songs or memes tailored to chiropractic care. Lewis's fan base has blossomed accordingly.

"We get messages from people as far away as Africa, as Europe. We've had patients flying in from Italy," Lewis tells me. Often, visitors "are like, 'Oh, we've seen hundreds of your videos.' Like, that's nuts," he adds with a laugh.

Michael Rowe, a chiropractor in St. Joseph, Mich., with almost 2.8 million subscribers on YouTube, has seen his popularity online inadvertently threaten the stability of his real-life office. "I'm just a small-town chiropractor, but we have to deal with people calling from all over the world now, just wanting to talk to me, to come to see us. We

have to explain that what I do in the office is no different than what you would get at your local chiropractor," Rowe tells me. "I feel for my receptionist."

Like most other internet fixations, chiropractic videos have a natural escalation built into them; that is, at a certain point, one starts looking for more intense stuff. Which may explain the popularity of the Y-Strap — a tool that fastens under a supine patient's chin and is then yanked away from the body to "release pressure from the vertebrae

does, and I wish I could experience that." Smith particularly likes to watch VanDerschelden's popular Y-Strap Adjustments videos.

VanDerschelden, quite possibly the most marquee idol of all the internet's dreamy chiro, is also famous for his "magic hug" videos, in which he stands on the table, leans in close to his patients, and cradles their heads and necks in his arms until he finds the right stiff spot — at which point he suddenly pulls inward. A microphone picks up

"I'm just a small-town chiropractor, but we have to deal with people calling from all over the world now, just wanting to talk to me, to come to see us."

Michael Rowe, a chiropractor with almost 2.8 million subscribers on YouTube

along the spine from top to bottom," according to the manufacturer's website.

Caroline Smith, a 27-year-old waitress in Columbus, Ohio, who frequently shares chiropractic videos via direct message with her sister, jokes that she'll block the accounts of any chiropractors whose videos don't feature the Y-Strap — for wasting her time. Smith, who has lived with back pain since a basketball injury in her adolescence, tends to fantasize about what life would be like without it. "I just want my spine to be decompressed," she tells me. "That's what the Y-Strap

sounds crunchier than a brick being dropped into a bowl of potato chips. (The cracks and crunches, for what it's worth, are created by pockets of gas escaping from between joints — not bones colliding.)

It is the Y-Strap, though, that perhaps most intensely transfixes real aficionados of the genre — and most alarms expert observers. VanDerschelden did not respond to my request for an interview, but Joseph Cipriano, a chiropractor with offices in Tampa, Atlanta and Greenville, S.C., and a YouTube channel with more than 2 million subscribers

that touts him as the "Y Strap Doc," told me that he swears by it. Patients feel "lighter, taller and looser" after use, he says. Many even swear that they "breathe, smell, hear and even see better."

That said, other chiropractors — Lewis included — have their reservations. "When I adjust somebody's neck, I'm feeling their neck. I put my hand on that spot and I can adjust that one area," he told me. A Y-Strap, by contrast, uses a much blunter force. "So you'll definitely feel cracks on your back, but it's not specific. In my opinion, to be as safe as you can be in this industry, specificity counts."

(William Zeleny, a spine surgeon at New York's acclaimed Hospital for Special Surgery, watched a few Y-Strap videos for this story. Disconcerted, he remarked when we spoke on the phone: "There's very little difference between what you're seeing with these straps and, like, a noose.")

Cipriano estimates, though, that some "99.9 percent" of his patients come because they've seen his clips online, and "everyone says that the Y-Strap is the main reason they're coming."

For many in this line of work, the videos are a form of marketing — and have rapidly become part of the job. Lewis films for at least a few hours every day that he's in the office, and he estimates that 80 percent of his clientele book with him after encountering his videos. Cipriano aims to post new content every other day on

YouTube, and he offers a discount to patients who let him film their adjustments for his social channels.

One has to wonder, of course, whether being adjusted by one of the viral chiro offers the same satisfaction as watching it happen to someone else. So when I visited Lewis in his office on a warm Friday, on the eighth floor of a nondescript gray building near Penn Station, I asked for a full-body adjustment, complete with the scapular release; the latter, I said, looked lovely in all the videos. Lewis warned me: It didn't exactly feel lovely while it was happening.

Indeed, the Graston tool scraping across my skin, rubbing it red, felt like getting a rug burn, not a massage; soon, I was forcing my breath out through pursed lips while Lewis steadily, painfully contorted my elbow back behind my torso. "Just a couple more seconds," he assured me each time. My brows knitting in like an accordion, I could only nod in response.

Even the back-cracking, the fabled back-cracking, felt surprisingly akin to my brother body-slammaing me into the couch when we were kids. The crunch was audible. The relief was muted.

The next day, though, when I stretched my arms out into angel wings doing a Saturday-morning yoga-class sun salutation, I felt them extend longer and farther back than they had in years. And that was transcendent.

Ateba's frequent interruptions alienate and agitate. But what is his question?

ATEBA FROM C1

ments about his pressroom dustups. After his most recent run-in with Jean-Pierre, he tweeted repeatedly about it. "It's a pity what's going on," read one. "How can @PressSec preach about the freedom of the press when she is violating the First Amendment many died to protect?"

After the White House edited out his exchange with Jean-Pierre from the official video of the briefing, Ateba went into high gear. "The fraud level is unbelievable," he tweeted in all caps after officials blamed a technical "glitch" for the edit, which was later restored.

Ateba, who was born in Cameroon, has told colorful stories about his exploits as a journalist. As one of his tweets from January summarized it: "Attacked by pirates on the Gulf of Guinea with an AK47 to my head, kidnapped in Nigeria, dumped in the woods & left for dead, arrested in Cameroon during investigation & kept in dark cell only to be sidelined at the White House..."

News accounts corroborate some of this. According to multiple reports, Ateba, then based in Nigeria, was arrested in Cameroon in 2015 by military authorities while investigating living conditions for Nigerian refugees in northern Cameroon. He was

accused of spying for the Boko Haram insurgency group and held for four days before he was released.

There was no independent verification of the other parts of Ateba's tweet in a search of news sources in the Nexis database.

White House press officials declined to respond on the record about Ateba. But the administration's attitude was signaled in May when it proposed rules about "professional" conduct by journalists with the credentials to enter the White House complex on a routine basis, including a proviso about "not impeding events or briefings on campus."

It said those in violation of the proposed standard would be warned at first, followed by revocation for repeat offenses.

While the proposal doesn't mention Ateba by name, it might give the administration a tool to discipline him while avoiding the legal jeopardy that the Trump administration faced when it banished CNN reporter Jim Acosta and journalist Brian Karem from the White House complex in 2018 and 2019, respectively. Courts quickly restored their access, ruling that the White House lacked any formal standards or process for barring credentialed journalists.

As it happens, one of the reporters who challenged Ateba during an outburst earlier this



Simon Ateba disrupts a White House press briefing with press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre in March. Ateba has interrupted Jean-Pierre and her predecessor on several occasions over the past year.

year was Karem, a columnist for Salon.

"He seemed more interested in calling attention to himself than asking a question," Karem said in an interview on Wednesday. "I told him, 'You're wasting all of our time. Just ask your damn question and stop making it all

about yourself!'

Karem points out that many reporters don't get called on during briefings. They can still seek responses from White House staff before or after the formal briefing, either in person, by phone or email.

He notes, however, that many

ambitious reporters may prefer the public platform of the televised briefings.

In fact, Ateba has asked questions and received responses from Biden officials in other settings, such as untelevised briefings involving National Security Council adviser Jake Sullivan and

before first lady Jill Biden's trip to Africa in May. Before chiding him for interrupting her during her final press briefing in May 2022, Psaki called on him several times in that setting over the previous year.

The White House Correspondents' Association admonished Ateba last year when he was a member of the organization. "There is no right of any reporter to be called on by any official," then-president Steven Portnoy of CBS News Radio wrote in an email to Ateba obtained by Mediate. "Preventing your colleagues from asking their questions is no way to seek relief."

The association took no action at the time but declined to renew his membership in January, citing a lack of evidence that he's employed by a news outlet that reports on the White House, according to a letter Ateba shared on Twitter. (Ateba has said that he does not receive a salary from Today News Africa.) The letter also cited "repeated instances where your behavior violated the expectations for membership."

Ateba went public with his dispute with the correspondents' association, at one point tweeting the phone number of Portnoy's successor, Tamara Keith of NPR, along with photos of her. He soon deleted those tweets. Keith declined to comment.

'After the Funeral' serves as another showcase for Tessa Hadley's virtuosity

BOOK WORLD FROM C1

invites him back to her flat, hoping to rekindle their passion, but he's happily settled. A teenager on holiday with her helicopter parents in Florence rebels against their conformity, "not a sexual awakening, or not exactly — rather an intellectual or imaginative one." Forty-something Heloise enrolls her child in a Suzuki violin class, only to discover that the mysterious instructor holds the key to her own past.

The stories in "After the Funeral" are particularly perceptive about sibling frictions. In "The Bunty Club," a trio of stressed sisters hunker down in a coastal town as their elderly mother ebbs in a fatal illness. The women swap off bedside duties and nurse grudges. When they spar over the presence of a handsome gardener, the youngest, Serena, snaps and storms out. She's emblematic of Hadley's indomitable women: "She sat solitary at an outdoor table at a cafe on the main street with a black coffee,

long legs crossed, absorbed in lighting her cigarette and smoking it." She "had an aura that was just as significant as if she were some celebrity, washed up improbably at the seaside, having shaken off her entourage of admirers or detractors, thirsting to be left alone with her luxuriant inward life."

Hadley denies her men that inward life; they're mostly vain and incompetent. In "My Mother's Wedding," a bumbling groom unwittingly seduces his bride's adolescent daughters. In "Old Friends," an engineer carries on a torrid affair with a school chum's spouse, deluding himself into thinking he has a chance. The affecting "Funny Little Snake" portrays a stepmother tending to a child neglected by her parents.

The title story is a marvel of economy, as two girls grapple with the sudden death of their aloof father. Hadley's descriptions are exquisite; she depicts the sisters bunking together, one sprawled on her back with her pyjama top twisted under her



Author Tessa Hadley is skilled at embracing the vexations of an ordinary afternoon, the disappointments of the here and now.

armpits and her dark curly hair, breathing noisily, the fine red veins of her lip drawn up, showing the little baby teeth like seed pearls." Hadley often lops off her tales in mid-stride: The final sentence lands with an abrupt thud, pushing readers into the negative space of unwritten scenes. She's coaxing us to imagine what happens next, to collaborate. This technique isn't always successful. In "Mia," for instance, it makes the story feel

merely stunted, a workshop exercise.

No matter: Hadley saves the best for last. "Coda" is her covid lockdown piece, told in first person by Diane, the middle-aged daughter of nonagenarian Margot, who is physically feeble but mentally sharp. The women spend their isolation with tea and television, bits of books and banter. Their routines come unglued when Diane observes Teresa, a Maltese home-care aide next door, sparking a quasi-romantic obsession. Diane is a conniving, unreliable narrator, scheming up ways to meet Teresa.

"Coda" brims with Hadley's wry wit and clear-eyed skepticism. Amid this time, there's a hint of hope, though, a glimpse of a world reviving itself. From her window, Diane looks onto a cherry tree in bloom: "In the spring, when lockdown was new and the weather, in consolation or mockery, was so uncannily beautiful week after week, this tree had blazed with its great burden of blossom, the white

flowers' crimson hearts leaking pink stain into the frail material of the petals, an incongruous poem in a prosaic street."

An incongruous poem in a prosaic street: There's no more succinct summary of Hadley's fiction. She embraces the vexations of an ordinary afternoon, the disappointments of the here and now. Whether we're entitled to those disappointments is a separate issue: Hadley withholds judgment, but does not dismiss morality as just another human invention, a blip in millions of years of evolution, one that could vanish in the blink of an eye. Morality — which is to say, our obligations to one another and our communities — may be imperfect, even futile, but we make do. "After the Funeral" is a revelation for aficionados of the form, as vibrant and knowing as the best of Hadley's celebrated career.

Hamilton Cain is a book critic and the author of "This Boy's Faith: Notes From a Southern Baptist Upbringing." He lives in Brooklyn.

Retropolis

Stories of the past, rediscovered.
washingtonpost.com/retropolis

The Washington Post



TELEVISION

TV HIGHLIGHTS


Miracle Workers (TBS at 10) In Season 4, Sid (Daniel Radcliffe, left) and warlord Freya find it difficult to adjust to their new suburban home after living in an apocalyptic wasteland. Also pictured: Steve Buscemi.

Below Deck Sailing Yacht (Bravo at 8) Captain Glenn threatens to kick one of the charter guests off the boat after a drunken fight between guests; Mads gets a wake-up call that leaves her dismissing Gary's apology attempt.

Stars on Mars (Fox at 8) Four new crew members arrive at the Mars simulation, but their supply craft crashes; the remaining seven people must act quickly to rescue them.

The Rising (CW at 8) Neve discovers that there is another woman like her; she and her new ally face their trauma in an attempt to remember what happened to them.

The Great American Recipe (PBS; check local listings) The cooks prepare quick meals to eat on the road, such as breakfast burritos and musubi; in the second round, the cooks prepare home-baked treats for the first "Great American Recipe" bake sale.

The Bachelor (ABC at 9) Charity Lawson and her guys hit the road; there are two one-on-one dates and a group date inspired by the "Barbie" film.

Cruel Summer (Freeform at 10) In

the winter of 1999, tensions are high as the new year approaches; during a party, a not-so-secret conversation changes the trio's lives forever; in the summer of 2000, new evidence from the summer of 1999 causes suspicion to fall on Ned.

POV: Liquor Store Dreams (PBS; check local listings) Two Korean American children of liquor store owners make peace with their dreams and those of their immigrant parents as they deal with the racial landscape of Los Angeles.

PREMIERE

Secrets of Miss America (A&E at 10:01) This series dives into the secrets of America's oldest beauty pageant and explores the shocking scandals that have rocked the pageant.

RETURNING

90 Day Fiancé: The Other Way (TLC at 7) Season 5.

BBQ Brawl (Food at 9) Season 4.

Secrets of Playboy (A&E at 9) Season 2.

BBQ USA (Food at 10:30) Season 2.

— Olivia McCormack

BROADCAST CHANNELS											
7/10/23	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	
4.1 WRC (NBC)	NBC News	Hollywood	Ninja Warrior Qualifiers 6	The Wall	Weakest Link	News	(35) J. Fallon				
4.2 WRC (IND)	Bones	Frasier	Frasier	Roseanne	Roseanne	The Nanny					
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	Fox 5	TMZ	Stars on Mars	Crime Scene Kitchen	Fox 5 News at 10	Fox 5 News	The Final 5				
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	Wheel	Jeopardy!	Claim to Fame	The Bachelorette			News	J. Kimmel			
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	News	ET	The Price Is Right	Neighbor	Bob Heart	NCIS	9 News	(35) Colbert			
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	La rosa de Guadalupe	Eternamente (P)	El amor invencible	Mujer			Noticias	Noticiero			
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	FamFeud	Family Feud	Fox 5 News on the Plus	FamFeud	Big Bang	Big Bang	Law & Order: SVU				
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	Connection	Collectibles	Antiques Roadshow	POV			Great American	Amanpour and Company			
26.1 WETA (PBS)	PBS NewsHour		Antiques Roadshow	Lived Here	Wild Hope	Great American	Amanpour and Company				
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	DW News	Odessa	A Capitol Fourth 2023	ARTICO	Reel South	BBC News	Seat-Table				
50.1 WDCW (CW)	Neighbor	Neighbor	The Rising	Nancy Drew	DC News Now	Seinfeld	Seinfeld				
66.1 WPXW (ION)	FBI		FBI	FBI	FBI	FBI	FBI				
CABLE CHANNELS											
A&E	Secrets of Playboy	Secrets of Playboy	Secrets of Playboy (SP)	Miss America (P)	(:05) Secrets of Playboy						
AMC	(6:00) Movie: Jurassic Park III	Movie: Police Academy ★★ (1984)		(:15) Movie: Police Academy 2: Their First Assignment							
Animal Planet	Naked and Afraid	Naked and Afraid	Naked and Afraid	Naked and Afraid	Naked and Afraid	Naked and Afraid					
BET	Celebrity Family Feud	Celebrity Family Feud	Celebrity Family Feud	Movie: Tyler Perry's A Madea Christmas ★ (2013)							
Bravo	Below Deck Sailing Yacht	Below Deck Sailing Yacht	Below Deck Sailing Yacht	Watch What	Below Deck Sailing Yacht	Below Deck Sailing Yacht					
Cartoon Network	King/Hill	King/Hill	King/Hill	Burgers	Burgers	American	American	Rick			
CNN	E. B. OutFront (Live)	Cooper 360 (Live)	CNN Primetime (Live)	CNN Tonight (Live)	CNN Tonight (Live)	CNN Tonight (Live)					
Comedy Central	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	South Park		
Discovery	Street Outlaws: Mega	Street Outlaws: Mega Cash Days	Street Outlaws: Mega Cash Days	Street Outlaws	Street Outlaws	Street Outlaws					
Disney	Kiff	Kiff	Movie: Diary of a Wimpy Kid: Rodrick Rules	Kiff / Kiff	(:15) Hailey	(:40) Hailey	(:05) Villains	The Villains			
E!	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	Sex City	E! News		
ESPN	Baseball Tonight	2023 Home Run Derby (Live)	2023 Home Run Derby - Alternate Telecast (Live)	The Ultimate Fighter	The Ultimate Fighter	The Ultimate Fighter					
ESPN2	Baseball Tonight	2023 Home Run Derby - Alternate Telecast (Live)	The Ultimate Fighter								
Food Network	Beat Bobby	Beat Bobby	Beat Bobby	BBQ Brawl (SP)	BBQ USA (SP)	BBQ USA (SP)					
Fox News	Jesse Watters (Live)	Fox News Tonight (Live)	Hannity (Live)	The Ingraham Angle (Live)	Gutfeld!	Gutfeld!					
Freeform	The Bachelorette		Cruel Summer	Cruel Summer	The 700 Club	The 700 Club					
FX	Movie: Hidden Figures ★★★ (2016)		Dogs	Dogs	Movie: Bohemian Rhapsody	Movie: Bohemian Rhapsody					
Hallmark	(6:00) Movie: Pride, Prejudice... Movie: The Nine Lives of Christmas (2014)		Gold Girls	Gold Girls	Gold Girls	Gold Girls					
Hallmark M&M	Garage Sale Mysteries		Aurora Teagarden Mysteries		Murder, She Wrote	Murder, She Wrote					
HBO	(6:10) B. Carlie (:45) Painting	(:10) Movie: Unbreakable ★★ (2000)	Gemstones	(:35) Last Call: Killer	Movie	Movie					
HGTV	Married to Real Estate	Lil Jon Wants to Do What?	Lil Jon Wants to Do What?	Flip the Strip	Lil Jon Wants to Do What?	Lil Jon Wants to Do What?					
History	History's-Mysteries	History's-Mysteries	History's-Mysteries	(:05) Dark Marvels (P)	(:05) History's-Mysteries	(:05) History's-Mysteries					
Lifetime	Rizzoli & Isles	Rizzoli & Isles	Rizzoli & Isles	(:05) Rizzoli & Isles	(:05) Rizzoli & Isles	(:05) Rizzoli & Isles					
MASN	Orioles Classics 2021: Baltimore Orioles vs. Seattle Mariners		Wall to Wall Baseball	Wall to Wall Baseball	2023	2023					
MSNBC	The ReidOut (Live)	All In With (Live)	R. Maddow (Live)	The Last Word With (Live)	11th Hour (Live)	11th Hour (Live)					
MTV	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous					
Nat'l Geographic	Shark Side of the Moon	When Sharks Attack 360	When Sharks Attack	Sharks vs. Dolphins	When Sharks Attack 360	When Sharks Attack 360					
NBC SportsNet WA	(6:00) NBA Basketball	NBA Sum. Boston Celtics vs. Washington Wizards	Fairways of Life	Fairways of Life	Fairways of Life	Fairways of Life					
Nickelodeon	Movie: Despicable Me 2 ★★★ (2013)	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends					
NWSN	On Balance	Cuomo	Dan Abrams Live (Live)	Banfield	Cuomo	Cuomo					
PARMT	Two Men	Two Men	Movie: Step Brothers ★★ (2008)		Movie: Talladega Nights: Ballad of Ricky Bo...	Movie: Talladega Nights: Ballad of Ricky Bo...					
Syfy	(:55) Movie: The Hitman's Wife's Bodyguard ★ (2021)	Movie: Furious 7 ★★★ (2015)									
TBS	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang	Big Bang					
TCM	(6:00) Movie: Broadway Ser...	TBA	Movie: Odds Against Tomorrow ★★★	Movie: Harvey ★★★ (1950)							
TLC	90 Day: Other	90 Day Fiancé: The Other Way (SP)	90 Day: Other	90 Day: Other	Match Me Abroad	Match Me Abroad					
TNT	Movie: Guardians of the Galaxy Vol. 2 ★★★ (2017)		Rich & Shameless	Movie: Knives Out ★★★	The National Desk (Live)	The National Desk (Live)					
Travel	(6:00) Mysteries- Unk.	Mysteries of the Unknown		Mysteries of the Unknown							
TruTV	Jokers	Jokers	Jokers	Jokers	Movie: Sausage Party ★★★ (2016)	Movie					
TV Land	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	(:05) King	(:40) King					
TV One	Cosby Show	Cosby Show	Fatal Attraction	Fatal Attraction	PAYBACK	Fatal Attraction					
USA Network	Chicago Fire	WWE Monday Night RAW (Live)			Temptation Island	Temptation Island					
VH1	Love & Hip Hop Miami	Black Ink Crew	Black Ink Crew: LA	American Gangster	Movie: 2 Guns ★★ (2013)	Movie: 2 Guns ★★ (2013)					
WNC8	Relief from Inflammation	7News at 6	Paid Prog.	SportsTalk	World News	WJLA News	Cleaning!	The National Desk (Live)			
LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs ♦ High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★ Excellent ★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated											

MUSIC REVIEW

T-Pain, onetime Auto-Tune master, flexes his vocal talents at the Anthem

BY TETA ALIM

During the triumphant hook of the chest-pounding "All I Do Is Win" at T-Pain's concert Saturday at the Anthem, photos flashed on the display screen of the rapper turned singer performing at award shows and cradling his Grammys. The 38-year-old Tallahassee native was rightfully staking his claim as a pop music innovator after years of ridicule and outright rejection. T-Pain's vocal talents, along with his exuberant stage presence, fluid dance moves and transformative live mixes (with longtime collaborator DJ Montay), beamed brightly during the D.C. stop of his Escape from Wisconsin Tour.

T-Pain first brought his experimental use of Auto-Tune to the fore with his 2005 debut album, "Rappa Ternt Sanga," and the carefree, lovestruck singles "I'm Sprung" and "I'm N Luv (Wit a Stripper)" put him on the charts. Into the 2010s, the words "featuring T-Pain" accompanied numerous hits.

But the tide shifted as the use of the pitch-correcting effect seemed to oversaturate the market. With Jay-Z's "D.O.A. (Death of Auto-Tune)" in 2009 and direct disdain from industry peers, including an in-flight callout from Usher in 2013, the artist who had evolved the tool into a signature vessel for expanding vocal expression had become a target. T-Pain's stripped-down NPR Tiny Desk performance in



T-Pain performs Saturday at the Anthem. His new album, "On Top of the Covers," features renditions of popular songs from several genres.

2014 signaled a reevaluation. The songwriter and producer showed off his warm, yielding voice, a rich instrument that had always provided a verdant field for his musical explorations.

MOVIE DIRECTORY**DISTRICT**

AMC Georgetown 14
3111 K Street N.W.
Transformers: Rise Of The Beasts (PG-13) CC: 205-10:35
The Flash (PG-13) CC: 4:00-10:20
Spider-Man: Across The Spider-Verser (PG) CC: 12:25-3:35-6:45
No Hard Feelings (R) CC: 12:15-2:45-5:50-8:50
The Little Mermaid (PG) CC: 11:05-12:35-7:15-10:05
Elemental (PG) CC: 11:10-1:45-4:00-6:55-9:35
Insidious: The Red Door (PG-13) CC: 12:15-2:50-5:25-10:40
Asteroid City (PG-13) CC: 11:30-2:05-5:00-8:00-10:05
Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny (PG-13) CC: 12:00-3:30-10:30
Past Lives (PG-13) CC: 11:45-2:20-4:55-7:40-10:15
Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13) CC: 11:00-2:30-5:00-9:30
The Blackening (R) CC: 11:50-2:15-3:05
Cast in the Sky - Studio Ghibli Fest 2023 (PG) 7:00
Ruby Gillman, Teenage Kraken (PG) CC: 11:20AM
Joy Ride (R) CC: 12:55-3:20-5:45-8:10-10:45
Sound of Freedom (PG-13) CC: 11:00-2:00-7:05-10:10
The League (PG) 7:30
Ziggy Stardust & the Spiders From Mars: The Motion Picture 50th Anniversary 7:45
Mission: Impossible - Dead Reckoning Early Access (PG-13) CC: 7:00
Spider-Man: Across the Spider-Verser (PG) CC: 10:15
The Little Mermaid (PG) CC: 4:00
Insidious: The Red Door (PG-13) CC: 7:55
The Blackening (R) CC: 4:40
Ruby Gillman, Teenage Kraken (PG) CC: 1:40
Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny (PG-13) CC: 4:35
Sound of Freedom (PG-13) CC: 5:00

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - DC Bryant Street

An American Werewolf in London (R) 7:00
Elemental (PG) 10:15
Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny (PG-13) 5:30-9:00-9:45
War of the Worlds (PG-13) 8:00
Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny (PG-13) 10:45
Joy Ride (R) CC: 9:20-12:30-7:30-10:00
Trolls World Tour (PG) 11:30AM
The Little Mermaid (PG) 12:15
Past Lives (PG-13) 5:45
The Blackening (R) 11:45-4:15-7:15-10:00
Elemental (PG) 11:45AM
Asteroid City (PG-13) 11:15-2:15-6:00-9:30
Biosphere 3:15
Spider-Man: Across the Spider-Verser (PG) 11:35-2:30-4:00-5:15
Elemental (PG) 2:45-6:30
Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny (PG-13) 12:00-3:00-7:00-8:00
Joy Ride (R) CC: 12:00-3:00-4:30-5:30-6:30-7:30-8:30
Pop Up at Union Market
550 Penn Street NE - Unit E

Angelaika

Asteroid City (PG-13) 12:15-4:15
Ziggy Stardust & the Spiders From Mars: The Motion Picture 50th Anniversary 7:00
Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny (PG-13) 1:00-2:45-3:30
Joy Ride (R) CC: 12:30-2:45-3:45

Avalon Theatre

Landmark Atlantic Plumbing Cinema
807 Street Northwest

Spider-Man: Across the Spider-Verser (PG) 7:10
No Hard Feelings (R) 7:20
Indiana Jones and the Dial of Destiny (PG-13) 4:00-5:00-7:00-8:00
Joy Ride (R) CC: 5:30-4:50-6:00-7:50
Spider-Man: Across the Spider-Verser (PG) 4:45

Regal Galaxy Place

Landmark E Street Cinema
555 1st Street Northwest

Spider-Man: Across the Spider-Verser (PG) 5:10-8:00
No Hard Feelings (R) 4:40
Landmark E Street Northwest

Regal

Regal Galaxy Place
701 Seventh Street Northwest
Surprise Film (NR) 7:00
The Flash (PG-13) 11:40-3:15-6:40-10:20
Spider-Man: Across the Spider-Verser (PG) 11:45-7:10-10:45
No Hard Feelings (R) 11:45-7:10-10:45
Landmark Atlantic Plumbing Cinema

Regal

Regal Galaxy Place
9811 Washington Center

Transformers: Rise Of The Beasts (PG-13) CC: 10:00-1:00-4:15-7:15-10:30
No Hard Feelings (R) CC: 10:00-1:00-4:15-7:15-10:30
The Little Mermaid (PG) CC: 11:30-12:30-3:00-5:00-9:15

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The Little Mermaid (PG) CC: 11:30-12:30-3:00-5:00-9:15

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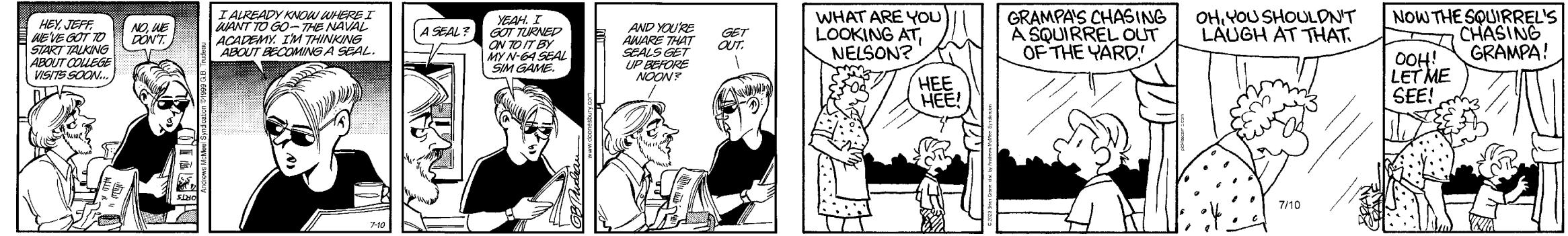
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The Little Mermaid (PG) CC: 11:30-12:30-3:00-5:00-9:15

Regal</

CLASSIC DOONESBURY



GARRY TRUEAU

PICKLES

BRIAN CRANE

BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE

NORTH
♦ Q8
♥ J87
♦ 643
♣ A7652

WEST
♦ AK93
♥ 52
♦ J105
♣ K1098

EAST
♦ 107542
♥ 4
♦ KQ98
♣ QJ3

The bidding:
SOUTH WEST NORTH EAST
1 ♠ Pass 2 ♥ Pass
4 ♦ All Pass
Opening lead — ♠ K

"My husband's an attractive man," a club player told me, "but I didn't marry him for his looks — especially the ones he's been giving me at the bridge table."

She had been today's West.

"My husband was East. Against four hearts I cashed the K-A of spades. My hubby played the deuce and then the 10. His 10 looked like a suit-preference signal, showing diamond strength, so I led the jack of diamonds next."

"South took the ace, led a club to the ace and ruffed a club high. He got to dummy with the seven and eight of trumps to ruff two more clubs high and went to the jack of trumps to pitch a diamond on the good fifth club. Making four. My husband gave me a look that could have put out a fire."

West missed her best play. The defense will always get any diamond tricks they have coming — unless South sets up dummy's long club for a discard. At Trick Three, West must lead a trump, removing a vital entry to dummy before South starts the clubs. South will fail.

DAILY QUESTION

You hold:
♦ 10 7 5 4 2 ♥ 4
♦ K Q 9 8 ♣ Q J 3

Your partner opens one heart, you respond one spade and he next bids two diamonds. The opponents pass. What do you say?

ANSWER: This case is close. A raise to three diamonds would suggest a hand worth about 10 points with at least four-card support. I would choose that action with 8 7 5 4 2, 4, K Q 9 8, A 3 2. As it is, the club honors may not be too useful to partner. Pass and blame your system if you miss game.

— Frank Stewart

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RED AND ROVER

WHO ARE YOU SUPPOSED TO BE?
ISN'T IT OBVIOUS? DAVY CROCKETT, OF COURSE!

UM, IS SOMETHING WRONG?
IF DAVY CROCKETT WORE THE PELT OF A DOG ALONG WITH ITS TAIL, WOULD YOU?

I FOUND OUT THE TROUBLE, SIR... WE'RE INSIDE A BOTTLE.

BRIAN BASSET

AGNES

I GAVE UP KITE FLYING. IT JUST SAT THERE LIKE LUMPY OVERSIZED ORIGAMI.

THAT'S HOW YOU RESPOND TO SAD FAILURE? "OH WELL"?

I'D CRY, BUT IT WOULD BE FAKE.
GO FOR IT. PITY LIFTS ME UP.
HA! I SHOULD HAVE PITIED THAT KITE THEN.

TONY COCHRAN

FRANK AND ERNEST

SOUTH (D)
♦ J6
♥ AK Q 10 9 6 3
♦ A72
♣ 4

NORTH
♦ Q8
♥ J87
♦ 643
♣ A7652

EAST
♦ 10 7 5 4 2
♥ 4
♦ KQ98
♣ QJ3

TOM THAVES

WUMO

Don't mind me. I'm just taking notes on how to implement your methods in my own practice ... I really like your style!

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MIKEL WULFF & ANDERS MØRGENTHALER

CLASSIC PEANUTS

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HERE, TRY ONE OF THESE, SWEETIE...

WAIT!! COME BACK! HAVE SOME DOUGHNUTS AND POTATO CHIPS WITH YOUR CUP CAKE!!

CHARLES SCHULZ

MIKE DU JOUR

Fired by Limerick

I FIRED AN ADDICT NAMED SETH, WITH POLKA HOE WAS OBSESSED.

ALL DAY AND ALL NIGHT HE WOULDN'T BE QUIET

I FELT LIKE I'D BEEN POLKA'D TO DEATH.

IS IT ILLEGAL TO SHOOT POLKA-HOLICS?

RHYMES WITH ORANGE

THE ORDER
I SAID NO ANCHOVIES!

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HILARY PRICE

MARK TRAIL

MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM

MIKE PETERS

AFTER A DAY OF WRANGLING WRECKED BEEHIVES, CHERRY DECOMPRESSES AT HOME WAITING FOR WORD FROM MARK.

AND THEN CHERRY MAKES THE MISTAKE OF DOOMSCROLLING.

THERE'S A TRAIN THAT EXPLODED WHERE MARK IS??

DEALING WITH THE BEES' COLONY-COLLAPSE ISSUES WAS HARD. I NEED TO RELAX WITH SOME TEA.

CHERRY'S GOING TO NEED MORE TEA.

LIO

PARK
NO DOGS UNLEASHED
NO MUSCLE UNLEASHED

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MarkTatulli.com

MARK TATULLI

BALDO

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE

SALLY FORTH

JULES RIVERA

MIKE PETERS

Hector Cantu & Carlos Castellanos

SHERMAN'S LAGOON

JIM TOMEY

CURTIS

RAY BILLINGSLEY

HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

IT'S MY COMPANION ANIMAL!

© 2023 Chris Browne
HagarTheHorrible.com

CHRIS BROWNE

BALDO

THIS IS NOT GOOD! A REALLY BAD SIGN!

SOMETHING THAT GOES AGAINST EVERY BONE IN MY BODY!

I AM TOTALLY NOT MISSING SCHOOL!

SALLY FORTH

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE

JULES RIVERA

MIKE PETERS

Hector Cantu & Carlos Castellanos

SHERMAN'S LAGOON

JIM TOMEY

CURTIS

RAY BILLINGSLEY

BLONDIE

BOSS, WHY IS THERE A \$25 LATE FEE ON MY PAYCHECK?
THAT'S A FINE FOR ALL THE DAYS YOU SHOWED UP LATE FOR WORK, BUMSTEAD!

IN THAT CASE, WHAT'S MY BONUS IF I START SHOWING UP EARLY EVERY DAY?
YOU GET TO KEEP YOUR JOB!

BOY, WHAT A TYRANT!
THAT'S GOING TO COST YOU ANOTHER FIVE BUCKS!

BALDO

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE

JULES RIVERA

MIKE PETERS

Hector Cantu & Carlos Castellanos

SHERMAN'S LAGOON

JIM TOMEY

CURTIS

RAY BILLINGSLEY

DEAN YOUNG & JOHN MARSHALL

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Hector Cantu & Carlos Castellanos

SHERMAN'S LAGOON

JIM TOMEY

CURTIS

RAY BILLINGSLEY

SUDOKU

SCRABBLE GRAMS

JUMBLE CROSSWORD

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★ ★ ★ ★

SHERMAN'S LAGOON

JIM TOMEY

CURTIS

RAY BILLINGSLEY

BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!

TIM RICKARD

JUMBLE CROSSWORD

BY DAVID L. HOYT

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★ ★ ★ ★

SUDOKU

SCRABBLE GRAMS

JUMBLE CROSSWORD

BY DAVID L. HOYT

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★ ★ ★ ★

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SUDOKU

SCRABBLE GRAMS

JUMBLE CROSSWORD

BY DAVID L. HOYT

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★ ★ ★ ★

SUDOKU

SCRABBLE GRAMS

Knitting together a piecemeal narrative

BTS FROM C1

ney, with new reflections and interviews from the members themselves.

It also attempts to answer the question that still hangs over the group: What was it about BTS that transfixed the world? Here are some of the big takeaways.

The stakes were high

Like other K-pop artists, the seven members of BTS started as "trainees" within the Korean music industry's highly organized talent-development system. Labels would provide room and board for promising young talent, put them through rigorous dancing and singing training, and hope they developed into new artists, known as "idols."

BTS came together under Big Hit Entertainment (now known as Hybe), a relatively small company that had nowhere near the resources of Korea's top three labels. In 2012, the label launched a girl group called Glam, which was already struggling when BTS was still being cobbled together.

"I thought the company was going to go under," Suga, a rapper and producer for BTS, says in the book.

With the pressure ratcheted up, Big Hit's hopes landed on the shoulders of seven young men in their teens and early 20s: RM, Jin, Suga, J-Hope, Jimin, V and Jungkook.

Masters of the vlog

For larger labels, unveiling a new K-pop idol group was like "a major Hollywood production," the author notes. The K-pop scene is so competitive that it's essential for a group to have fans before it even debuts.

Unable to compete with bigger labels' marketing money and industry connections, Big Hit went a different route with BTS. The boys connected to fans through candid video diaries and blog posts chronicling their everyday experiences, anxieties and hopes, as well as teasing unreleased music.

BTS members managed their own Twitter account, and later, Jin, one of the group's vocalists, started a YouTube series called "Eat Jin," in which he ate things.

"At the time, there really wasn't any way to communicate with the



"Beyond the Story" will be published in 23 languages.

bun "Wings," which drew inspiration from Hermann Hesse's Jungian novel "Demian" to probe themes of temptation, shame and reinvention.

Pushed to the brink by success

Although BTS started gaining a foothold in the United States around 2015, it wasn't until 2017 and 2018 that the group truly broke into the world's largest music market.

Americans hadn't been totally unfamiliar with K-pop before then; Psy's "Gangnam Style" briefly surged on global charts in 2012. But BTS's sustained popularity was unprecedented. Songs such as "DNA" and "Mic Drop" began cracking the Billboard Hot 100, and the group started taking its energetic performances to major awards shows, as well as "The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon" and "GMA."

Then the band would go back to South Korea and do it all over again.

"We really had no days off," Jin says of that time. "I wondered whether it was right for a person to live a life as exhausted as this."

Navigating the English-speaking press also posed a major challenge for the group. RM, the only fluent English speaker, frequently worried about making the kind of gaffes that would ripple across the Pacific.

Recalling interactions with the press at the Billboard Music Awards in 2018, RM says, "It felt like I was having a mental breakdown."

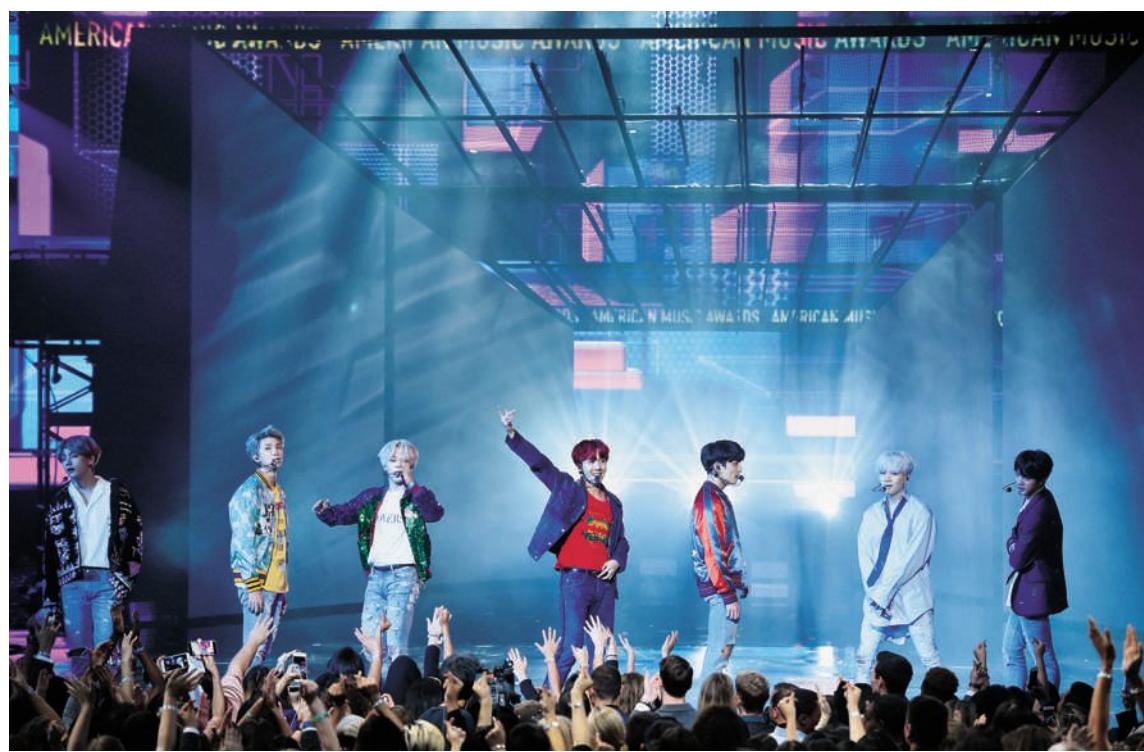
The make-or-break point

Just as group members were burning out during this period, their contract renewals came up, leading to discussions about whether BTS would break up.

Because of how tight the seven members were, Jin explains, if even one person left, the group probably would not continue to exist.

The book highlights their individual struggles with burnout and fame: Youngest member Jungkook took to drinking alone, and Jimin, a vocalist and dancer, withdrew by locking himself in a 6-by-6-foot room.

"We all wanted to say, 'Let's quit,' but none of us could bring ourselves to do it," Suga says.



KEVIN WINTER/GETTY IMAGES



LEE YOUNG-HO/SIPA USA/AP

A new biography about BTS, seen at top in 2017 and above in 2019, details the group's rise to fame. "We all wanted to say, 'Let's quit,' but none of us could bring ourselves to do it," says rapper Suga.

ourselves to do it," Suga says.

But they were also performing at their best. Hit shows such as their 2018 Billboard Music Awards performance buoyed them and led them to talk honestly about their struggles, the group's members say. They ended up renewing their contracts for another seven years.

Doubts about 'Dynamite'

Even though BTS had made history several times by the time "Dynamite," its first English-language song, was released in Au-

gust 2020, not all of the band members initially thought it was a good idea. RM, for one, worried that "someone from outside" had written it.

Proposed by Bang Si-hyuk, founder of Big Hit and a producer for the group, "Dynamite" was meant to win over fans who were just discovering BTS before the pandemic disrupted its promotional schedules. The disco-pop tune contrasted with the rest of the tracks on the album, "Be," which struck a more somber and

melancholic tone. And the group's members had also been proud that their global hits so far had been Korean-language songs that they had written and produced.

The global response to the feel-good bop put their doubts to rest: "Dynamite" became their first song to top the Billboard Hot 100.

"We were all overjoyed together," V says. "Someone was laughing and someone was crying, and it was all, ... 'Ah, we weren't going down a dead end this whole time!'"

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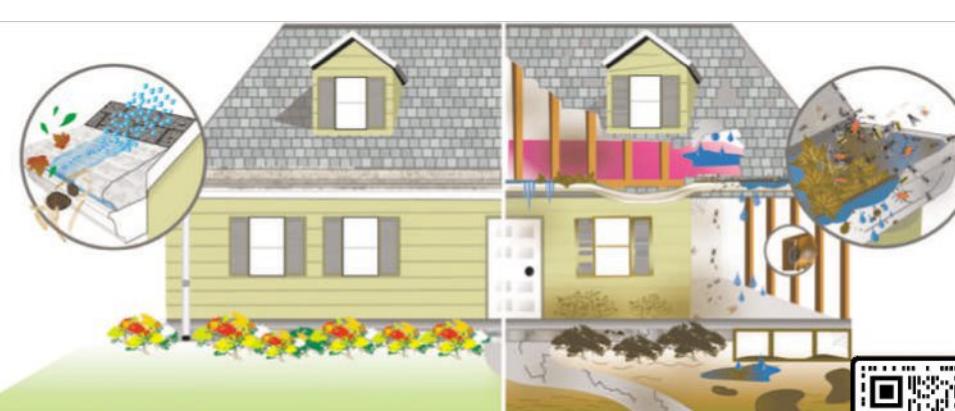
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LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Karen Lurie

ACROSS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Deep fissure	13					14			15		16	
6 "Permission to Dance" K-pop band	17					18			19		20	
9 Tiny bit of matter			20	21					22			
13 Baffling question	23	24	25	26					27			
14 Tear to bits	28		29			30	31			32		
16 Gift wrapper's adhesive	33					34			35			
17 Physical therapy, informally	36				37	38			39	40	41	42
18 Opera solo	43	44						45				
19 Hits the slopes												
20 *Vegetable tops used in soups and stews												
23 Promos	46	47	48	49				50	51			
26 Skin care brand with a Retinol Correxion line	52		53				54			55		
27 Chin beard	56				57	58			59			
28 *Comedian who hosted "Full Frontal"	60			61				62	63	64	65	
32 Strange	66		67					68				
33 Door openers	69			70				71				
34 Pop, as a bubble												
36 Stuffing herb												
37 Outstanding bills												
39 "Pronto!" letters												
43 Motif												
45 Dried chili in mole sauces												
46 Lively Irish dance												
49 *Quite the slump there, huh?"												
52 Infuriate												
54 Inn divs.												
55 Got together												
56 Happy cry on a fishing trip, and what can be said about the end of the answer to each starred clue?												
60 News story intro, in journalism jargon												
61 Hailed vehicle												
62 "Swell!"												
66 ___ of expertise												
67 Skidded												
68 Typical film festival entry												
69 Disinfectant target												
70 Uber driver's guess, for short												
71 Folklore brutes												

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7/10/23

DOWN	29	Aid and __	44	Monopolizes
1 Lifeguard's lifesaving skill: Abbr.	30	Monastic headquarters	45	Hall of "Coming 2 America"
31 "However ..."	35		46	Fatigue after a long flight
32 Takes down	37		47	Vague reply to "Where are you?"
33 Marshmallow roast residue	38	"Unbelievable" rock band	48	Teacher, during exam week
34 Pop, as a bubble	40		49	Ada Limón, e.g.
35 Fiddled (with)	41		50	Tater Tots maker
36 Sharp knives	42		51	MLB official
37 Decompose	43		52	Starting squad
38 Some reddish deer	44		53	Cabbagelike vegetable
39 Requests	45		54	Offramp
40 Uber driver's guess, for short	46		55	Circle
41 "SNL" alum Carvey	47		56	POTUS on a dime
42 Air quality concern	48		57	Attach (to)
43 Requests	49		58	"Count me in!"
44 "SNL" alum Carvey	50		59	

The Washington Post

SPORTS

MONDAY, JULY 10, 2023

M2

D



PAUL KURODA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

"To be sent off like this was such an amazing feeling," said Trinity Rodman, who scored twice and now has four goals in 18 appearances for the U.S. national team.

A lovely send-off

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

SAN JOSE — It's perilous to get all *verklempt* over a goal in a friendly, but let's do so anyway: In the 76th minute Sunday, there came a symphonic moment that hinted at an exhilarating future as the U.S. women head off for the World Cup in New Zealand (to start) and then Australia (if the start goes well).

The play happened in the California sunshine, well into the toil of a goalless tussle with Wales, and it featured three World Cup debutantes-to-be, two of them younger than young. Lynn Williams, at midfield amid three defenders who were like moons to a planet, fed a dreamy little through ball leftward to 22-year-old Sophia Smith, who raced and got it and then crossed without flaw to 21-year-old Trinity

UNITED STATES 2,
WALES 0

Rodman's goals lift Americans
in final World Cup tuneup

ty Rodman, who knocked it in.

Combine that with Rodman's calm, pretty curler into the top right in the 87th minute, and the Americans' 2-0 win against an organized Wales team that packed the box to the gills had a little message, if we're allowed to derive those from exhibitions:

What's ahead might be uncertain with 14 new players, but it also might be lovely.

"Every game's a test," said Rodman, who came on at halftime and reached four goals in 18 national team appearances, "and we're building that chemistry."

With that, the Americans made off for the airport, although not the one just across the street from the San Jose Earthquakes' home of PayPal Park, almost close enough to the San Jose airport to witness any passenger brawls through the windows. They did so after a send-off ceremony protracted enough that you might have worried they would miss their plane or at least have to play offense and defense rushing through the airport. They did so after Coach Vlatko Andonovski, himself about to debut in a World Cup, sent most of the roster out to the pitch save for some venerable veterans:

SEE U.S. WOMEN ON D2

World Cup, Group E: United States vs. Vietnam July 21, 9 p.m., Fox | Inside: In the Gold Cup, the U.S. men survive on penalties. D2

PGA Tour board member steps down over LIV deal

Former AT&T executive Stephenson has concerns over Saudi partnership

BY RICK MAESE

Former AT&T executive Randall Stephenson resigned his position on the PGA Tour's influential policy board in a letter dated Saturday, writing that he had "serious concerns" about the tour's controversial partnership with the Saudi Arabian Public Investment Fund.

Stephenson's resignation suggests the partnership faces significant hurdles if it is to move forward. The first step to the deal getting finalized is securing the approval of the 10-member policy board. Stephenson had been a member of the policy board since 2012, and in his resignation letter he said the framework of the deal "is not one that I can objectively evaluate or in good conscience support, particularly in light of the U.S. intelligence report concerning Jamal Khashoggi in 2018."

Stephenson sent his letter to fellow policy board members and said his resignation is effec-

Corpuz's first win ends U.S. drought

BY GENE WANG

PEBBLE BEACH, CALIF. — Allisen Corpuz's austere manner rarely wavered during the final round of the U.S. Women's Open on Sunday, even as she sank one meaningful putt after another on the back nine at history-rich Pebble Beach Golf Links.

Finally, after a towering drive into the center of the No. 16 fairway and a playful exchange with her caddie, came a broad grin. It lasted only briefly. Still, the moment revealed Corpuz was beginning to process what by then had become a virtual certainty: The American was well on her way to her first major title.

When she reached the 18th green and sank her final putt for a closing 3-under-par 69, the coronation was complete. Corpuz's 9-under 279 was three clear of runners-up Charley Hull — who soared up the leader board with a 6-under 66 to match the week's low round — and Jiyai Shin.

Corpuz, 25, became the first American to win the U.S. Women's Open since 2016, when Brittany Lang did so at CordeValle in nearby San Martin, Calif. She also joined childhood idol Michelle Wie West as the only Hawaiian-born players to win America's national championship.

"My mind is racing," Corpuz said after her first win on the



EZRA SHAW/GETTY IMAGES
Allisen Corpuz shot 3 under in Sunday's last round at Pebble Beach Golf Links to claim the U.S. Women's Open for her first major title.

U.S. Women's Open

At Pebble Beach, final leaders

POS.	TO PAR
1	Allisen Corpuz -9
T2	Charley Hull -6
T2	Jiyai Shin -6
T4	Bailey Tardy -3
T4	Nasa Hataoka -3
T6	Ayaka Furue -2
T6	Hyo Joo Kim -2
8	Hae Ran Ryu E
T9	Maja Stark +1
T9	Rose Zhang +1

Moments later, Hataoka missed a par putt from inside

SEE U.S. WOMEN'S OPEN ON D5

With No. 2 selection, the Nats go for Crews

Pirates take Skenes first, so LSU's star outfielder falls to Washington

BY ANDREW GOLDEN

Landing arguably the best player in the class but not the one many expected, the Washington Nationals selected LSU outfielder Dylan Crews with the second pick of the MLB draft Sunday night in Seattle.

Crews claimed the Golden Spikes Award, given to the nation's best amateur player, as he helped LSU to the College World Series title. He quickly came off the board after right-hander Paul Skenes, his LSU teammate, went to the Pittsburgh Pirates with the first selection. Skenes won this year's Dick Howser Trophy, awarded to college baseball's top player.

The previous time the Nationals picked at or near the top of the draft, they selected Bryce Harper with the No. 1 pick in 2010. The year before, they took Stephen Strasburg first overall. Point being: When you get a high pick and nail it, it pushes the entire franchise in the right direction. The Nationals will hope Crews can do something similar.

"I like to say pressure is a privilege," Crews said. "It's how you take it. . . . The transition seemed pretty easy as I got to LSU, and I feel like the transition is going to be pretty easy as I go and play for

SEE NATIONALS ON D3

Inside: LSU makes history; local standouts are selected early. D3

Tiafoe is sent home early, but Pegula moves on

BY AVA WALLACE

WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND — It's a cruelty of some sports that the course of a 10- or 11-month season can be rife with success everywhere except for four pesky tournaments or so and still considered a disappointment. Frances Tiafoe has collected two ATP titles this season, including one on grass that came last month, and for the first time this year he entered the top 10.

Yet Sunday, in the wake of a surprisingly one-sided 6-2, 6-3, 6-2 loss to 32-year-old Grigor Dimitrov, the 25-year-old from Maryland was bereft after his third consecutive third-round loss at a Grand Slam.

"I'm top 10 in the world, and I played like I didn't have an ATP point. I played god awful," Tiafoe said. "It just hurts, man. I really don't know what to say. I don't know how I'm going to digest it. I was planning to go home and celebrate top 10. . . . It's going to be tough to go home, and everyone's going to be excited to see me, [and I'm] not going to want to do anything. I've never really felt like this after a loss. I'm shocked. Usually I rise to occasions, and I'm shocked how I performed today. It's just crazy to me, honestly."

While Tiafoe was lost amid his hurt and confusion, his compatriot Jessica Pegula offered perspective.

"It's a long year. I mean, he made semis of U.S. Open last year? Yeah. So he's okay," she said with a smile.

SEE WIMBLEDON ON D6

Wimbledon, round of 16 Today, 6 a.m., ESPN2; 8 a.m., ESPN

BASEBALL

The Nationals wrap up the first half with a series win over the Rangers. D3

PRO BASKETBALL

Elena Delle Donne hurts her ankle again as the Mystics fall to the Sun. D12

TOUR DE FRANCE

Pogacar closes gap a little on Vingegaard

ASSOCIATED PRESS

PUY DE DOME, FRANCE — On the same mountain where five-time Tour de France champion Jacques Anquetil and Raymond Poulidor wrote themselves into race history 59 years earlier, all eyes Sunday were on Jonas Vingegaard and Tadej Pogacar's continued rivalry in cycling's biggest race.

Neither Vingegaard nor Pogacar finished first at the summit of the Puy de Dome after Canadian Michael Woods delivered an impressive solo effort to claim the biggest success of his career.

But the fierce rivals, riding well behind the day's breakaway who allowed to form, were again in the spotlight.

The two have been in a fierce duel since the start of this year's pulsating Tour in Bilbao, Spain, and certainly will enjoy Monday's first rest day.

Vingegaard, the defending champion from Denmark after he dethroned Pogacar last year, had the upper hand in the first round of their battle in altitude. His Slovenian rival responded in style to regain time in the next two mountain stages.

With two weeks of racing remaining, only 17 seconds separate the two in the general classification, with Vingegaard wearing the yellow jersey.

Jai Hindley is in third place, 2 minutes 40 seconds off the pace. Vingegaard and Pogacar's confrontation Sunday on the steepest part of the climb up to the Puy de Dome was not as dramatic as the duel between Anquetil and Poulidor back in 1964, when the two French rivals engaged in a " mano a mano" for the ages.

But amid silence reigning in the thin air — the road leading up to the top of the mountain is so narrow that fans had not been allowed access — the two teamed up for another epic moment, again in a class of their own, with Pogacar in the role of the attacker.

After another great collective effort from Vingegaard's Jumbo-Vismara teammates in the final ramp that destroyed the field, Pogacar launched his attack with 1.5 kilometers left and accelerated again on the steepest gradients. Vingegaard lost ground but did not panic and managed to limit the deficit to eight seconds to retain the yellow jersey.

"It's not a victory, but it's a small victory, so I'm super happy today," said Pogacar, a two-time Tour champion.

Pogacar was the strongest rider up the 13.3-kilometer ascent, with a speed of 23.7 kph (14.7 mph), considerably faster than Woods' winning average of 19.8 kph (12.3 mph).

Vingegaard admitted Pogacar's superiority on the day but insisted the profile of the Alpine stages still to come better suit his style.

"It would have been nicer to gain than lose time on Tadej Pogacar, but as I said before, I came to the Tour knowing that the first week suited me less than what's to come, so to be in the yellow jersey at the end of the first week satisfies me," he said.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Northwestern to revisit coach's hazing penalty

Northwestern University will reconsider penalties for Coach Pat Fitzgerald after the school's student newspaper reported new details of possible hazing in the football program.

University president Michael Schill wrote in a letter to the school's community late Saturday that he "may have erred in weighing the appropriate sanction" for Fitzgerald, to whom Schill levied a two-week, unpaid suspension that began Friday. The suspension was one of the steps the school announced after a six-month investigation it commissioned into allegations of hazing reported by an anonymous football player.

Schill added in his letter that he had spoken with the former player's family and apologized. He also wrote that he attempted to contact the former player, whose allegations were detailed in a report earlier Saturday by the Daily Northwestern.

The former player, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to the student publication, said sexualized hazing activities took

American men advance to Gold Cup semifinals

UNITED STATES 2, CANADA 2 (3-2 PKS)

BY THOMAS FLOYD

CINCINNATI — More than six decades have passed since the U.S. men's national soccer team fell to Canada on American soil. When it comes to the Concacaf Gold Cup, the region's biennial championship, the U.S. squad is unbeaten all time against its northern neighbor.

It took 120 minutes, an extra-time equalizer and goalkeeper Matt Turner's shootout heroics, but the Americans kept both streaks alive in the Gold Cup quarterfinals Sunday night at TQL Stadium.

The United States triumphed, 3-2, on penalties after playing to an electric 2-2 draw that saw the teams trade goals late in regulation and again in extra time. The Americans scored on substitute Brandon Vazquez's late strike and an extra-time own goal, while the Canadians got on the board via Steven Vitória's stoppage-time penalty kick and Jacob Shaffelburg's blistering solo effort in extra time.

Turner then stepped up in the shootout, denying Vitória and Liam Fraser before Charles-Andreas Brym rang the crossbar with the decisive miss.

Cade Cowell, Gianluca Busio and Jesus Ferreira converted for the United States. With the win, the Americans narrowly avoided what would have been their earliest Gold Cup exit since 2000.

Chants of "We want Vazquez!" had echoed around TQL Stadium as fans clamored for an appearance by FC Cincinnati's prolific striker, who entered — along with fellow Cincinnati standout Matt Miazga — in the 73rd minute. In the 88th, Vazquez delivered. DeJuan Jones collected the



The U.S. men survived 120 minutes and scored an extra-time equalizer before winning on penalty kicks.

ball on the left flank and, with plenty of time and space, clipped a service into the box that Vazquez emphatically headed home, sending the crowd into pandemonium.

The lead was short-lived. For the second time, Mexican referee Marco Ortiz conducted a video review, this time to determine whether U.S. defender Miles Robinson had committed a handball in the box. After deciding against awarding a Canadian penalty in first-half stoppage time, he didn't repeat that leniency and pointed to the spot. When Vitória powered his spot kick past Turner, it was just the third goal the U.S. goalkeeper had allowed in nine career Gold Cup matches.

The fourth came in the 109th minute. Shaffelburg slalomed down the left flank, faced up to Miazga and rifled a low shot that

nestled inside the far post. But the United States drew level five minutes later, when Scott Kennedy scored an own goal as Dayne St. Clair's save of a Busio bid caromed in off the Canadian defender.

The United States advanced to face Panama on Wednesday in San Diego. Jamaica will meet Mexico at Allegiant Stadium in Las Vegas in the other semifinal that night after the Reggae Boyz topped Guatemala, 1-0, in the first half of Sunday's doubleheader here.

Sunday's contest was the second meeting between the United States and Canada in three weeks after the Americans cruised to a 2-0 win in the Concacaf Nations League final in Las Vegas.

But both teams turned to more experimental rosters for the Gold Cup; Turner and Canada's Kamal

Miller, Richie Laryea and Jonathan Osorio were the only players who started both the Nations League final and Sunday's quarterfinal.

Within the Gold Cup itself, however, both teams stressed continuity. U.S. interim coach B.J. Callaghan made just one change from the lineup that rolled to a 6-0 win over Trinidad and Tobago in the group stage finale: Julian Gressel replaced Cristian Roldan. Canada Coach John Herdman — who said his team wanted another crack at the United States and called the match "David and Goliath in Cincinnati" — also made a single change, adding Vitória as an additional center back.

The match got off to an inauspicious start: Assistant referee Christian Espinosa suffered a bloody nose in the second minute. Miller, Richie Laryea and Jonathan Osorio were the only players who started both the Nations League final and Sunday's quarterfinal.

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BASEBALL

Behind a strong start by Corbin, Nationals head into break with a series win**NATIONALS 7,
RANGERS 2**

BY MICHAEL CHARLES

From the first pitch Sunday afternoon at Nationals Park, Patrick Corbin had his best stuff working.

With his sweeping slider and sharp sinker, he struck out the first four batters he faced and retired 10 consecutive Texas Rangers to open the game. Corbin worked through a few jams later but allowed just one run and five hits over seven innings of the Washington Nationals' 7-2 victory.

By posting back-to-back wins following a five-game skid, Washington (36-54) hits the all-star break having won four of its past five series. But this was the Nationals' first series win at home since they took two of three from the Detroit Tigers in mid-May.

"These guys are all learning and getting better," Manager Dave Martinez said.

Corbin had just one win in his previous seven outings, posting a 5.54 ERA in that span. But two starts ago in Seattle, he had his best performance of the season, striking out nine over seven scoreless innings. He found success that day by establishing his sinker inside, leaving hitters susceptible to the slider down and away. Corbin replicated that formula against Texas (52-39), striking out six and walking just one, to enter the break with a little more confidence (and a 4.89 ERA).

The Rangers' lineup featured four players who will be starting Tuesday's All-Star Game in Seattle: Marcus Semien, Corey Seager, Josh Jung and Adolis García. Corbin started the game by fanning all four — two on sinkers and



TASOS KATOPODIS/GETTY IMAGES

"I've been feeling good. . . I like where I'm at now," Patrick Corbin said after he limited the Rangers to one run on five hits in seven innings.

two on sliders. On the day, 37 of his 91 pitches were sliders (inducing eight swinging strikes), which played well off a lively sinker/four-seamer combination. Corbin also worked efficiently, logging two innings of 10 pitches.

Throwing those strikes inside with the fastball helps with those hitters expanding on the slider. Getting ahead early, whether they swing or they take it, just [throwing] quality pitches, trying to get some weak contact if they do put

it in play," Corbin said. "I've been feeling good, so I'm trying to just continue to try to repeat this as best as I can. I like where I'm at now."

Bucking a season-long trend of struggles at the plate, Washington ended the first half with a relative bang. After four scoreless innings from Texas starter Dane Dunning, Dominic Smith lifted a sinker into the center field bleachers for his fifth homer, putting the Nationals ahead 1-0.

"[Dunning] was pitching well up until that point and wasn't making too many mistakes, so I just wanted to be ready for any mistake — something that our offense talks about a lot," Smith said. "I was ready for it, put a good swing on it, and it went out today. Got the rally started, and we were able to finish it off."

Soon after, singles by Luis García and CJ Abrams set the table for Lane Thomas, who lined a single of his own to center,

bringing in Washington's second run.

The lone run Corbin allowed came in the sixth, when Adolis García blooped a single in front of a sliding Corey Dickerson in left field, bringing home Semien. After loading the bases with two outs in the bottom half, the Nationals found the kind of clutch hits that have escaped them most of the season. Consecutive singles by Alex Call and Abrams off Rangers reliever Josh Sborz extended

NATIONALS ON DECK**at St. Louis Cardinals**

Friday	8:15	MASN
Saturday	7:15	MASN
Sunday	2:15	MASN

at Chicago Cubs

July 17	8:05	MASN2
July 18	8:05	MASN2
July 19	8:05	MASN

vs. San Francisco Giants

July 21	7:05	MASN2
July 22	7:05	MASN2
July 23	1:35	MASN2

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM)

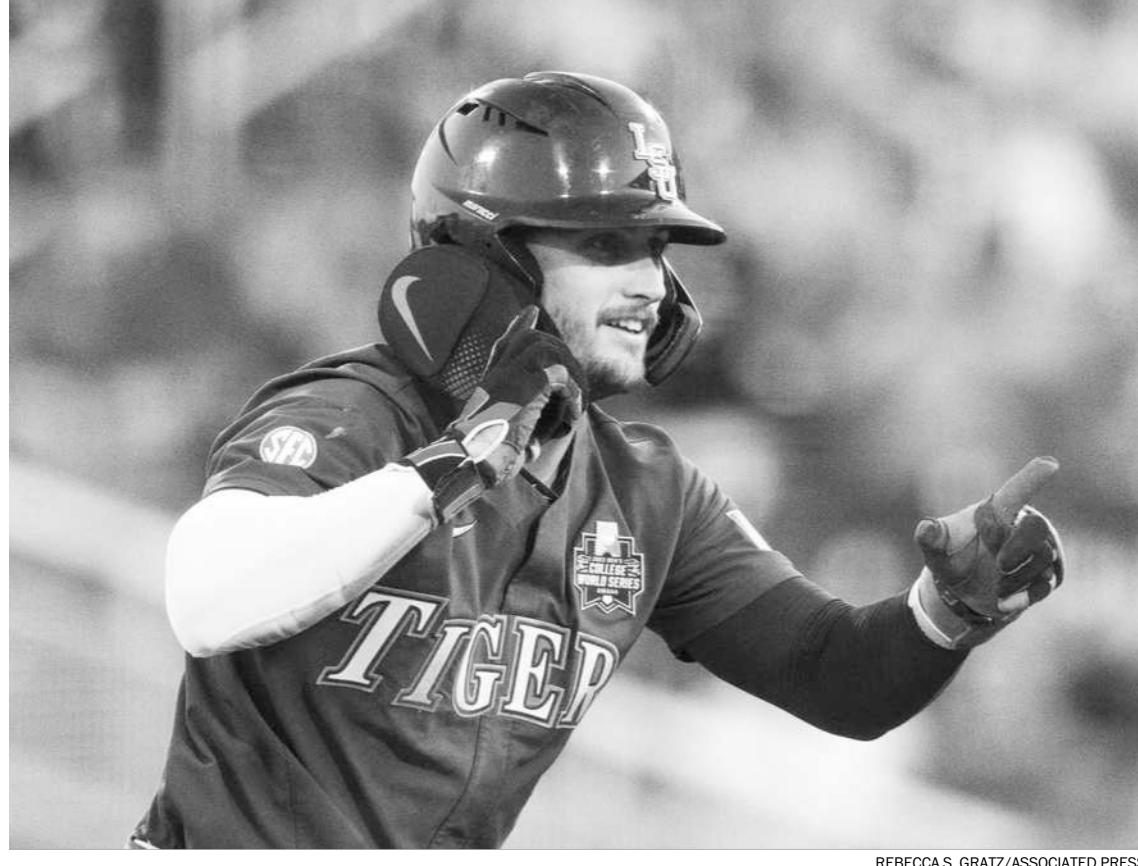
Washington's lead to 5-1.

"He's a heavy slider guy, so I was just trying to get something over the plate. Ended up getting some middle-in and was able to sneak it up the middle," said Call, whose single brought home two.

Joey Meneses and Stone Garrett cracked solo homers against Sborz in the seventh to make it 7-1. Meneses's homer was his fourth in three games.

The Nationals' roster is the second youngest in baseball. Many of their players are getting their first extended time in the major leagues, so a series win against a division leader could pay off down the line.

"It's a grind. . . When they make mistakes, we try to get them to understand what happened and what went wrong. This is what we see; this is what you need to do," Martinez said. "They don't like losing. They want to win, and they play hard for 27 outs. That's something that is really hard to teach."



REBECCA S. GRATZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dylan Crews batted .426 with 18 home runs this year for LSU, which won the College World Series.

Nats go for Crews with the No. 2 pick

NATIONALS FROM D1

the Nationals."

Crews, 21, spent three years at LSU after being a highly touted prospect out of a Florida high school. He hit at least 18 home runs in each of his three seasons. This year, he turned in a .426 batting average, a .567 on-base percentage and a .713 slugging percentage to go with 18 home runs, 71 walks and just 46 strikeouts in 71 games.

"He's got power, hit, defense, run and throw," said Nationals General Manager Mike Rizzo, who called Crews an on-base machine. "Beyond that, he's got the demeanor and characteristics of a winner and a champion. He was very alluring to every team out there, and we were fortunate enough to grab him."

Crews — 6 feet, 205 pounds — has elite bat speed that allows him to drive the ball to all fields; he also is selective enough to take his walks and not expand the strike zone. He played center field the past two seasons and seems capable of remaining there by the time he reaches the majors, but he could end up in a corner outfield spot. He joins a farm system in which outfield depth is a strength: James Wood, 2022 first-round pick Elijah Green and Robert Hassell III are among the Nationals' top five prospects per MLB Pipeline.

The belief over the past few months was that the LSU team-mates were the top players in the draft class and the Pirates essen-

tially would make the decision for the Nationals. So when Skenes went first, that left the Nationals with Crews. Rizzo said he was "ticked pink."

He added that he loved how Crews handled himself in high-pressure situations and said that factored into his decision-making. Crews said he and Skenes talked before the draft — but not about who would go first.

Skenes, 21, started his college career as a two-way player at Air Force for two seasons before transferring to LSU, where he pitched full time. During his only season in Baton Rouge, all he did was go 13-2 with a 1.69 ERA over 122⅔ innings as he broke the SEC's single-season strikeout record with 209.

Skenes — 6-6 and 235 pounds — throws a fastball that averages 98 mph and features a plus slider and a change-up that complement his four-seamer.

What made Skenes' season at LSU so impressive was that he showed command of all of his pitches; he walked just 20 batters. He is considered perhaps the top pitching prospect in the draft since Strasburg in 2009, but Pittsburgh wouldn't let him fall to Strasburg's squad.

The Nationals added another college bat with the first pick of the second round. With the 40th selection, they grabbed Yohandy Morales, a third baseman from Miami. Morales hit 49 homers in three seasons with the Hurricanes.

This year, he hit .408 with 20 home runs and a .475 on-base percentage. His strength is power, but he can be susceptible to swings

and misses.

"One of the loudest bats I heard this year," Kris Kline, the Nationals' assistant general manager and vice president of scouting operations, said of Morales. "We were pretty happy with that one, getting him at 40."

Washington's draft bonus pool is \$14,502,400, and the slot value for the second pick is \$8,998,500. For the 40th selection, the slot value is \$2.14 million.

A few hours before selecting Crews, the Nationals entered the all-star break with a 36-54 record following a 7-2 home win over the Texas Rangers. They're still early in their rebuild, with each new addition providing optimism in the long term. In Crews, they have another significant piece of their future.

Crews said he admired Harper growing up, and on the field he hopes to impact the game the way the former Nationals star outfielder did. Off the field, he hopes to be a vocal leader who can push himself and his team to be their best.

"Obviously the atmosphere and everything's going to change, so for me, I just got to play my game. Everything will kind of take care of itself," Crews said. "I've grown tremendously. Starting off my first couple of years, I was kind of a guy that led by example. My third year, I led more verbally. . . I think it really, truly impacted us, helped us win a national championship. So I'm really going to keep bringing what I've been bringing to the table, and hopefully we'll bring a World Series to this organization."

After title run, LSU dominates draft

BY CHELSEA JAMES

SEATTLE — For the first time in the history of the MLB draft, the top two picks came from the same school. That school, LSU, just won the College World Series. Less than a month later, the Pittsburgh Pirates drafted its ace, Paul Skenes, No. 1 overall. A few minutes later, the Washington Nationals took outfielder Dylan Crews at No. 2.

"Paul was the first player on our board — I can say that. I can also say the top of the board was hard to separate," noted Pirates General Manager Ben Cherington, who said he avoided watching LSU or any other team in person because he doesn't trust himself but that "up to 15" other Pirates officials saw Skenes at some point.

What they saw was a 98-mph fastball, a devastating slider and unteachable competitiveness that left most evaluators thinking he could start in the big leagues in 2024, if not sooner. Skenes was named the most outstanding player at the College World Series, joining elite prospects Adley Rutschman and Dansby Swanson in winning that honor and then going No. 1 overall. Crews won the Golden Spikes Award, which goes to the best amateur player in the country.

"No, honestly, we really didn't," Crews said when asked whether he and Skenes had talked about who would go first.

"That kid is one of the hardest workers I've ever seen in my life," Crews added. "So, yeah, there was no really butting heads about who could go 1 or 2, but I'm just happy I'm in a great organization like Washington."

Even in the hours before selecting Crews, the Nationals entered the all-star break with a 36-54 record following a 7-2 home win over the Texas Rangers. They're still early in their rebuild, with each new addition providing optimism in the long term. In Crews, they have another significant piece of their future.

Crews said he admired Harper growing up, and on the field he hopes to impact the game the way the former Nationals star outfielder did. Off the field, he hopes to be a vocal leader who can push himself and his team to be their best.

"Obviously the atmosphere and everything's going to change, so for me, I just got to play my game. Everything will kind of take care of itself," Crews said. "I've grown tremendously. Starting off my first couple of years, I was kind of a guy that led by example. My third year, I led more verbally. . . I think it really, truly impacted us, helped us win a national championship. So I'm really going to keep bringing what I've been bringing to the table, and hopefully we'll bring a World Series to this organization."

had to make quick decisions.

"We would've certainly liked to have our choice of all the players," said Nationals General Manager Mike Rizzo, whose team finished last in MLB last year but lost out in the first draft lottery. ". . . But we're tickled pink to have Dylan Crews."

Evaluators considered this one of the strongest draft classes in more than a decade, in part because any of the projected top five picks seemed to have a credible case to be No. 1.

Skenes drew comparisons with Stephen Strasburg as the best college pitcher to enter the draft in years. The Nationals chose Strasburg first in 2009. That year, the Nationals selected Strasburg just before the Mariners selected the best college hitter available, Dustin Ackley, second. This year, the Pirates' choice of Skenes forced the Nationals to pivot to Skenes's college teammate.

"It was a very difficult choice," Cherington said. "I certainly believe that there's a bunch of guys that were selected at the top of this draft that are going to go on and be very good players in the major leagues."

As part of MLB's continuing efforts to lift the profile of its draft, it staged this year's event at Lumen Field, home of the NFL's Seattle Seahawks. While the NFL and NBA events draw likely top picks in person, MLB's draft does not yet qualify as a can't-miss for those projected as early selections. Not until Grand Canyon shortstop Jacob Wilson walked onstage when the Oakland Athletics chose him at No. 6 did a player appear on the podium.

But the top five picks went largely as predicted, with Indiana high school outfielder Max Clark going third to the Detroit Tigers and SEC powerhouse Wyatt Langford, an outfielder from the Florida team that lost to LSU in the College World Series final, going to the Texas Rangers at No. 4. North Carolina high school outfielder Walker Jenkins went to the Minnesota Twins at No. 5.

"We didn't really know what was happening in front of us," said Kip Fagg, the Rangers' senior director of amateur scouting. "Surprised? No. But . . . I think it was a really good group up top, and I think clubs had different opinions of that group."

Maryland shortstop Matt Shaw went 13th to the Chicago Cubs to become the highest-ever Terrapins draftee. He was the 2022 Cape Cod League summer player of the year and hit .341 with 24 homers for the Terps in 2023.

Vienna native Bryce Eldridge, a Madison High standout who grew up watching Bryce Harper as his favorite player and has been touted as the next Shohei Ohtani because of his skills on the mound and at the plate, went 16th to the San Francisco Giants. Eldridge, who throws 97 mph, had been projected to land anywhere from the middle of the first round to late in the second. (Another Northern Virginia high school standout, Westfield outfielder Jonny Farmilo, went to the host Mariners at No. 29.)

The Giants drafted another two-way star, Reggie Crawford, 30th in 2022. He has made seven starts and taken 35 at-bats since he was drafted. He is with San Francisco's low Class A affiliate, suggesting that the Giants — unlike many organizations before seeing Ohtani's success — are open to letting two-skill stars pursue both paths.

Skenes was a two-way star as recently as last year, too. The catcher-pitcher hit .314 with a 2.73 ERA during the 2022 season, which he spent at Air Force. Cherington didn't rule out a two-way career for Skenes, whom he said he has learned not to bet against. But he said the Pirates' focus, like LSU's, will be on making Skenes the best starter he can be.

"LSU Coach Jay Johnson is doing a good job bringing the right people into the building. I don't think it's done anytime soon," Skenes said. "I think it's going to be a pattern of success for LSU baseball. I'm really excited to see where that program goes."

Baltimore closes the first half on a roll**ORIOLES 15,
TWINS 2**

BY NATHAN RUIZ

MINNEAPOLIS — After a Fourth of July loss that was the Baltimore Orioles' sixth defeat in seven games, Manager Brandon Hyde was asked whether the approaching all-star break was coming at a good time for his scuffling team.

"We have five games to play to the all-star break," Hyde said in the tunnel of Yankee Stadium. "We're going to need to play these five games well."

Baltimore won all five, ending its first half Sunday with a 15-2 win over the Minnesota Twins. At 54-35, the Orioles posted the franchise's best first half by winning percentage since 1997, and they held the majors' third-best record.

Over the five-game winning streak — which has come since the

club promoted outfielder Colton Cowser, its No. 2 prospect — the Orioles have scored 44 runs, surpassing their total of 40 from the preceding 12 games. In each contest, Baltimore's starting pitcher posted a quality start.

Starter Kyle Gibson's outing began with a four-pitch walk and an RBI double by Edouard Julien, but by the time he allowed Julien's sixth-inning homer, the Orioles had produced 14 runs.

— Baltimore Sun

BASEBALL

National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR	CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR	WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Atlanta	60	29	.674	—	8-2	L-1	Cincinnati	50	41	.549	—	7-3	L-1	Los Angeles	51	38	.573	—	7-3	W-4
Miami	53	39	.576	8½	5-5	W-2	Milwaukee	49	42	.538	1	6-4	W-1	Arizona	52	39	.571	—	4-6	L-1
Philadelphia	48	41	.539	12	6-4	L-2	Chicago	42	47	.472	7	5-5	W-1	San Francisco	49	41	.544	2½	4-6	W-2
New York	42	48	.467	18½	6-4	L-2	Pittsburgh	41	49	.456	8½	3-7	W-1	San Diego	43	47	.478	8½	6-4	W-2
Washington	36	54	.400	24½	4-6	W-2	St. Louis	38	52	.422	11½	5-5	W-2	Colorado	34	57	.374	18	3-7	L-2
TOTALS	34	28	2	3	6	—														

Nationals 7, Rangers 2

Rangers AB R H BIBBSSO AVG

Semien	2b...	4	1	0	1	1.271	ORIOLLES AB R H BIBBSSO AVG													
Seager ss...	4	1	2	0	0	1.353	Henderson ss-3b... 5 1 2 1 1 1.246													
Jung jf...	4	1	2	0	0	1.261	Rutschman c... 4 2 2 2 1 2.273													
Ackley dh...	4	0	1	2	0	1.261	McCann c... 4 0 1 0 0 1.264													
Lowe 1b...	3	0	0	1	0	1.270	Santander rf-fb-ff... 4 3 2 0 1 1.272													
Garver c...	4	0	1	0	0	1.256	O'Hearn 1b... 2 0 0 0 0 1.302													
Grossman ff...	4	0	0	1	0	1.223	Mountcastle ph... 1 0 1 1 0 0.230													
Duran lf...	4	0	1	0	0	1.303	Cowser pr-f-f... 3 2 1 0 0 2.188													
Taveras cf...	4	0	1	0	0	1.299	Hays lf... 5 2 2 2 0 1.314													
TOTALS	34	2	8	2	3	6														

NATIONALS AB R H BIBBSSO AVG

Abrams ss...	5	0	3	1	0	1.245	THIRTY 4 AB R H BIBBSSO AVG													
Thirteenth f...	5	0	1	0	0	1.262	Correa ss... 1 0 0 0 1 1.225													
Candelarie cb...	4	0	1	0	0	1.261	Farmer ph-ss... 0 0 0 0 1 1.237													
Meneses dh...	3	1	1	1	0	1.284	Julien 2b... 4 1 2 2 0 0.271													
Dickerson If...	3	0	0	1	0	1.248	Buxton dh... 4 0 0 0 0 1 2.08													
Garcetti If...	3	0	1	0	0	1.260	Kinsler 1b... 3 0 0 0 0 1 2.073													
D. Smith 1b...	3	2	1	0	0	1.261	Solano 3b... 3 0 0 0 0 1 2.011													
D. Garcia 2b...	3	1	1	0	0	1.271	Miranda 3b... 1 0 1 0 0 0.211													
Call cf...	3	1	1	2	1	0.220	Kepler f... 4 0 0 0 0 2.207													
TOTALS	35	2	8	2	3	6														

TEXAS .000 001 010 — 2 1 3 0

WASHINGTON .000 023 20X — 7 13 0

E: Dunnings (2), LOB: Texas 8, Washington 7, Semien (27), Rutherford (11), HR: D. Smith (5), off Dunnings, Meneses (6), off Sborz, Garrett (6), off Sborz, RBI: A. García (275), D. Smith (20), Thomas (69), Call 2 (25), Abrams (35), Meneses (44), Garrett (24), SB: Call (8), Abrams (10).

RANGERS IP H R ERBB SO PERA

Dunning	5½	7	4	2	4	88.24
Sborz	5½	3	3	0	3	264.54
Leclerc	1½	10	0	0	1	170.08
TOTALS	35	7	13	2	6	—

HOW THEY SCORED

NATIONALS FIFTH

Dominic Smith homers, Luis García singles, Alex Call scores, Jeter Cantor scores, C.J. Abrams singles, Kyle Call to second, Luis García scores, Lane Thomas scores at second.

Nationals 2, Rangers 0

RANGERS SIXTH

Marcus Semien doubles, Corey Seager flies out, Marcus Semien scores at third, Josh Jung walks, Alex Call to second, Luis García scores, Kyle Call to third, Luis García scores, Lane Thomas strikes out at a foul tip.

Nationals 5, Rangers 1

Nationals 6TH

José Meneses called out on strikes.

Keiber Ruiz doubles, Corei Dickerson lines out, Dominic Smith hit by pitch.

Luis García singles, Dominic Smith to second, Keiber Ruiz to third, Alex Call to third, Luis García to second, Luis García to second, Kyle Call to second, C.J. Abrams singles, Alex Call to third, Luis García scores, Lane Thomas strikes out on a foul tip.

Nationals 5, Rangers 1

NATIONALS SEVENTH

Jesus Sánchez and rookie

Jesus Sánchez and rookie

Dane Myers also went deep for the Marlins, who reached the all-star break with the best record in franchise history at 53-39.

Marlins starter Jesus Lizardo struck out nine and allowed four hits over 6½ innings.

Marlins 7, Phillies 3

PHILLIES AB R H BIBBSSO AVG

Schwarber dh...	4	0	0	0	0	1.284	REDS AB R H BIBBSSO AVG												
Turner ss...	4	0	0	0	1	1.247	Newman dh... 3 0 1 0 0 1.260												
Castellanos rf...	3	1	0	1	0	1.301	Player ph-dh...	4	0	0	0	1	1.250						
Howell 1b...	3	0	1	0	0	1.249	McLain ss... 4 0 1 0 0 2.300												
Robinson c...	3	0	0	1	0	1.249	India 2b... 4 0 1 0 0 1.250												
Stob 2b...	3	1	2	1	0	0.301	Alizadeh 3b... 4 0 1 0 0 1.250												
Sosa 3b...	3	1	2	1	0	0.244	Olson 1b... 4 0 1 0 0 1.250												
Marsh If...	3	0	1	0	0	1.275	Steer If... 4 0 0 0 0 1.257												
Pache cf...	3	0	1	0	0	1.275	Votto 3b... 3 0 0 0 1 2.246												
TOTALS	33	4	10	4	9	—													

GUARDIANS AB R H BIBBSSO AVG

Kwan if...	4	0	0	0	0	0.263	RED SOX AB R H BIBBSSO AVG
Rosario ss...	4	0	1	0	0	1.268	Player ss... 4 0 0 0 0 1.283
Soler ss...	4	0	1	0	0	1.264	McGlashan c... 4 0 1 0 0 1.284
De La Cruz If...	4	2	4	0	0	1.279	Guerrero Jr. 1b... 3 0 0 0 0 1.285
J. Sánchez rr...	3	1	1	0	0	1.301	Chapman 3b... 4 0 1 0 0 1.286
Correa 1b...	3	0	1	0	0	1.276	Jones 3b... 4 1 1 2 0 1.287
Fernán 1b...	3	0	1	0	0	1.276	Kirk 3b... 4 0 0 0 1 0.288
Robinson rf...	3	0	1	0	0	1.249	Espinol 2b... 4 0 0 0 0 1.289
Rehm 1b...							

New York Times sports staff demands answers amid turmoil with Athletic

BY BEN SCHAFFER

The New York Times sports department sent a pointed letter to the newspaper's leadership Sunday asking for answers about the future of the section amid concern that it could be shut down in an ongoing effort to further integrate the Athletic into the Times. The letter, signed by 28 writers and editors in the sports department, was addressed to executive editor Joseph Kahn and A.G. Sulzberger, chairman of the New York Times Company.

"For 18 months, The New York Times has left its sports staff twisting in the wind," stated the letter, which was obtained by The Washington Post. "We have watched the company buy a competitor with hundreds of sports-writers and weigh decisions about the future of sports coverage at The Times without, in many instances, so much as a

courtesy call, let alone any solicitation of our expertise."

"The company's efforts appear to be coming to a head, with The Times pursuing a full-scale technological migration of The Athletic to The Times's platforms and the threat that the company will effectively shut down our section."

In a statement, a New York Times spokesperson said: "We've had conversations since we bought The Athletic about what it means for the future of our sports coverage. We've rolled out some changes, such as including Athletic stories on the nytimes.com home screen. As with any coverage area, we have been closely evaluating how to deliver the best possible sports journalism for our growing audience. We'll update when we have more to share."

The Times acquired the Athletic, a subscription sports outlet, last year for \$550 million and has since sought to integrate it into

its bundle of offerings that includes recipes and games. The Athletic employs some 400 staffers in North America and Europe, where it offers blanket coverage of the English Premier League. The Times, as of last year, had between 40 and 50 writers and editors in sports, according to two people with knowledge of the department, though some have since left the section and not been replaced.

Since the acquisition of the Athletic, there has been notable overlap in sports coverage between the two entities, which prompted Kahn to tell sports staffers this year that the Times had more reporters covering sports than any other topic and that there needed to be more integration.

One complicating factor in any effort to do so concerns the state of labor agreements at the publications. The Athletic is not unionized, but Times staffers work

under a new employee contract that was ratified this year.

Sunday's letter alluded to that issue, stating leadership promised there would be no layoffs in the Times newsroom and also that the company acknowledged "that the New York Times Guild has jurisdiction over newsroom jobs and that any plan for Athletic employees to perform bargaining unit work must be done in accordance with our union contract."

The letter then asked: "Do those promises still hold?"

Several current and former Times sports staffers, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said they feared some sports jobs could be eliminated, potentially forcing them to move to the Athletic or to other coverage areas at the Times.

However the new arrangement unfolds, the concern among staffers is that it could mean the end of the Times sports department,

which has been a staple of the newspaper's daily report for decades. The letter notes the history of the section, dating from its coverage of the first Olympics in Athens in 1896. Columnists Red Smith, Arthur Daley and Dave Anderson won Pulitzers, as did John Branch in 2013 for feature writing.

The letter also highlights the sports department's meaningful scoops and leading coverage on issues such as concussions in football, doping in horse racing, Russia's detention of Brittney Griner and the injection of billions of dollars from the Middle East into global sports.

Among the signers of the letter were prominent baseball and NFL writers Tyler Kepner and Ken Belson; Jenny Vrentas, an investigative reporter who has written extensively about NFL quarterback Deshaun Watson; and Juliet Macur, who last year chronicled the harrowing jour-

ney of a female soccer player out of Afghanistan.

If reporters ultimately join the Athletic, they will be joining a publication in transition. The Athletic laid off around 20 people last month as part of a shift from employing beat writers for most major pro sports teams in the country to a more nationally focused outlet. The Athletic grew thanks to \$140 million in venture funding and never turned a profit before the Times bought it. It has more than 3 million subscribers, according to the Times, and has helped the company reach its lofty subscriber goals but lost \$7.8 million in the most recent quarter.

Several current and former Athletic staffers have wondered in recent days whether there may be more cuts coming at some point, given that the outlet may need fewer reporters to carry out its mission of less expansive coverage.

Stephenson resigns from PGA Tour's policy board over concerns about LIV deal

PGA TOUR FROM D1

Tour is scheduled to testify before a key congressional subcommittee that is investigating the alliance between the tour and LIV Golf's deep-pocketed benefactors. The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, chaired by Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D-Conn.), is holding a hearing Tuesday and will be questioning Jimmy Dunne, the policy board member who helped broker the deal, and Ron Price, the tour's chief operating officer.

The PGA Tour and the PIF shocked the sports world when they announced June 6 that the rival parties would drop their litigation against each other and team up to create a new for-profit entity that would oversee the commercial interests of the PGA Tour, LIV Golf and the Europe-based DP World Tour.

The sides initially agreed to terms May 30, but most professional golfers didn't learn about it until after it was announced. Most members of the policy board also were kept in the dark, according to people familiar with the matter. In Stephenson's letter, he expressed concern that



RICHARD DREW/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Randall Stephenson said he could not "in good conscience support" the PGA Tour's Saudi partnership.

the deal "came to fruition without board oversight."

The policy board consists of five players — including Rory McIlroy and Patrick Cantlay — plus five independent directors and a nonvoting representative from the PGA of America.

While Monahan signed off on the deal, Dunne and Ed Herlihy, the board chair, have been credited with negotiating with the PIF and hammering out terms of the 3½-page framework of the alliance.

The tour and the PIF continue to sort out details of a final agreement. The tour has spent the past several weeks trying to sell its players and the policy board members on the partnership, saying it's vital to the long-term sustainability of the tour. The policy board met with tour executives June 27 in Detroit and later issued a statement saying, "We are all committed to the safeguards in the Framework Agreement that ensure the PGA Tour would lead and maintain control of this potential new commercial entity."

Aside from Dunne and Herlihy, most policy board members have had little to say publicly

about the deal. Players serving on the board have been careful with their words, saying they were surprised by the deal but also noting that the basic agreement between the parties is short on details and many questions have yet to be answered, including how LIV golfers might be reintegrated into the PGA Tour.

"I don't have enough information about the deal yet to have an unfavorable or favorable view about it," Cantlay told reporters at the U.S. Open last month.

The tour sent a memo Sunday evening to its members about Stephenson, thanking him for his service but making no mention of the reasons behind his resignation. The tour explained to players that Stephenson would be replaced by someone chosen by the policy board's other four independent directors after consultation with the five golfers who also serve on the board. There is no timeline for Stephenson's replacement, but the board isn't expected to meet again until the fall.

Sally Jenkins contributed to this report.

Coruz gets first major victory and ends America's U.S. Women's Open drought

U.S. WOMEN'S OPEN FROM D1

seven feet, and the lead was two. Birdies at Nos. 14 and 15 brought Coruz to 10 under and all but ensured the former prodigy — as a 10-year-old, she eclipsed Wie West as the youngest to qualify for the U.S. Women's Amateur Public Links — of the \$2 million winner's check.

Other spoils include exemptions into the next 10 U.S. Women's Opens and berths into the next five Chevron Championships, Women's PGA Championships, Women's British Opens and Evian Championships, the other majors in the women's game.

She received a congratulatory tweet from former president Barack Obama, who, like Coruz and Wie West, attended Punahoa School in Honolulu.

Coruz was the only player in the field to post four rounds below par in the first U.S. Women's Open contested at Pebble Beach. She also finished first in the final round in putting average (1.46) and seventh in strokes gained: putting (plus-2.64) despite hitting only 11 of 18 greens.

"I feel like everything that's happened this year has kind of prepared me for this moment," said Coruz, who tied for fourth at this year's Chevron Championship and tied for 15th at the Women's PGA two weeks ago. "It was just awesome to know that we're at Pebble, such a historic venue, and yeah, just really amazing."

Among the first to celebrate with Coruz on the 18th green was American Bailey Tardy, the 36-hole leader who finished tied for fourth in her first U.S. Women's Open as a professional.

The only other American in the top 10 was Rose Zhang, who tied for ninth, securing a spot in next year's U.S. Women's Open at Lancaster (Pa.) Country Club. The record-setting former amateur has posted top-10 finishes in each of her two major championships in this, her rookie year on the LPGA Tour.

"I'm just lucky to be in contention and just play at a U.S. Open golf course," said Zhang, 20, who last month became the first player since 1951 to win in her professional debut on the LPGA Tour. "Pebble has been absolutely in-



Allisen Coruz plays her shot from the 18th tee at Pebble Beach Golf Links on Sunday. By that point, the Hawaii native had effectively clinched her first major championship.



GODOFREDO A. VASQUEZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Charley Hull shot a 6-under 66 on Sunday to match the week's low round and finish three strokes back of Coruz in second place.



DARRON CUMMINGS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jiyai Shin of South Korea shot 4 under Sunday and tied Hull for second in the first U.S. Women's Open contested at the course.

early afternoon when In Gee Chun aced the 154-yard, par-3 fifth hole. The three-time major winner produced the only hole-in-one this week when her ball bounced several times on the putting surface before rolling into the cup.

The 2022 Women's PGA Championship winner at Congressional Country Club in Bethesda got to 4 under with a birdie at No. 6, but the South Korean soon faded out of contention.

As other contenders failed to emerge, the day belonged to Coruz, who ended the longest U.S. Open drought for the host country — and did it with her usual cool.

"I think I've always had a pretty calm demeanor," Coruz said following the trophy presentation. "Not so much on the inside, but projecting that outwardly. I've always been pretty calm. I just like to take a bit of time to think about things. That's just kind of who I am. A lot of emotions [on the inside]. Just a lot of gratitude to be out here."

second ignited her round, and birdies at No. 3 and 4 drew Hull within three strokes of the lead.

"I played really well," Hull said. "Started off fast really from the

first hole, hit it to four feet, but I missed a birdie putt and then eagled the second, birdied the next few. I just played really well, felt really confident going into

today's round and very happy with it."

A mostly uneventful start to the final round gave way to the shot of the tournament in the

Paths diverge for Tiafoe and Pegula at Wimbledon

WIMBLEDON FROM D1

Pegula knows of which she speaks. The No. 4 women's player in the world and top-ranked American has spent much of her career feeling as if she was making progress on her fitness, her shot selection and her execution — only to lose in the first round at Grand Slams, six times in her first seven appearances in a main draw to be specific.

Yet Sunday, she advanced for the first time to the quarterfinals at Wimbledon, the only major tournament at which she had yet to do so. (She has never made it further in any major.) She did it with a 6-1, 6-3 victory over Lesia Tsurenko, advancing to play Marketa Vondrousova of the Czech Republic.

"Obviously I hope I can do more than that. But at the same time, it's pretty cool to say that I've [made the quarterfinals] at every Slam," Pegula said. "Just the last couple years to be able to accomplish all of that is pretty crazy. Especially here, I feel like Wimbledon is really special to make the final eight as well."

She also netted a second-round doubles victory with partner Coco Gauff and is one of three players left competing in both the singles and doubles draws, part of a slow-building success that has left her one of the most consistent players on the women's tour.

Her first quarterfinal at a Grand Slam was at the Australian Open in 2021. In 2022, she made it to the quarterfinals in every major except for Wimbledon and added two semifinal appearances, a final appearance and a title at WTA 1000-level tournaments, events whose status ranks just below a Grand Slam. This year she counts an Australian Open quarterfinal appearance alongside semifinal appearances at 1000-level tournaments in Doha and Miami.

She said Sunday she has done a good job riding the momentum of every week of the long season and learning how to settle in at tournaments. Experience has made managing her emotions and energy levels easier.

"I remember when I first made the first quarterfinal of a Slam a couple years ago. I was worried because I was in [the qualifying tournament] of Doha. I was like, 'I don't want to be that person that made the quarters of a Slam and loses first round,'" Pegula said.



JESSICA PEGULA advanced to her first Wimbledon quarterfinals with a dominant 6-1, 6-3 victory over Lesia Tsurenko on Sunday.

WIMBLEDON ROUNDUP

With back against wall, No. 1 Swiatek prevails

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WIMBLEDON, ENGLAND — Twice, Iga Swiatek was a single point from exiting Wimbledon on Sunday, a single point from the sort of confounding defeat at the place that gives her so much more trouble than any of the other Grand Slam tournaments.

Down a set and 6-5 in the second against Belinda Bencic, the top-ranked Swiatek steeled herself and dispensed with the pair of match points.

She erased the first with a booming forehand, the second with a forceful backhand, and soon enough, Swiatek was not just back in the contest, she was controlling it.

Frustrated in the late afternoon sun at Centre Court, so close to defeat in the early evening shadows, Swiatek managed to reach the Wimbledon quarterfinals for the first time by coming back for a 6-7 (7-4), 7-6 (7-2), 6-3 victory over the 14th-seeded Bencic.

"I threw everything I could at her," Bencic said, "and I pushed her to the limit."

Swiatek, a 22-year-old from Poland, extended her unbeaten run to 14 matches across all competitions. She will face wild-card entry Elina Svitolina of Ukraine for a semifinal berth.

Svitolina's victory over Victoria Azarenka, who is from Belarus, led to boos from the crowd directed at

"It's tough to be able to carry that momentum. But I think I just kind of rolled with it, took a lot of confidence from that."

Tiafoe has yet to experience that kind of sustained success — though, as Pegula pointed out, progress at Grand Slams sometimes takes patience.

"I understand. It's tough losing third round. I had a spell where I couldn't win a first round," she said. "Then it became I would win my first two, then I would kind of lose in the third round. Now I've made a lot of quarters, but I haven't made a semi."

Tiafoe's progress hasn't been so linear. Before last year's U.S. Open, his best showing in a Grand Slam was at the 2019 Australian Open, where he lost to Rafael Nadal. In the 13 major tournament appearances between those two, he had five first-round exits, four second-round exits, one third-round exit and three fourth-round exits.

Last season he appeared poised to break through once and for all. Fitness and discipline became a priority, and his serve became lethal. He raised his personal expectations.

But against Dimitrov, he barely dictated points. Over the course of two days because of a rain delay, the Bulgarian wiped Tiafoe off the court in 1 hour 39 minutes, which at the time of its conclusion was the seventh-fastest match of the men's singles tournament. Tiafoe lost the first set in 32 minutes.

Even worse: The serve he had sharpened into a blade had gone dull. Dimitrov broke him three times in the first and second sets before the match was suspended.

Tiafoe led 2-1 in the third when play resumed a little after 1:30 p.m. local time Sunday, but he was broken on his first service game and couldn't muster any momentum after that.

"I really had high hopes for Wimbledon. I genuinely think I'm one of the best grass-court players in the world, but today I didn't show so at all, and I'm going to have to live with that. Tennis, I mean, you've got to have a short memory. I've got to continue. But it's going to hurt for a very long time, and we'll see how I bounce back," Tiafoe said. "... I've got one more shot in New York. [I'll] try to make that go. But in that sense, when it comes to the Slams, it's been a pretty depressing season."

PRO BASKETBALL

WNBA

	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	13	4	.765	
Connecticut	14	5	.737	
Atlanta	10	8	.556	3½
Washington	10	8	.556	3½
Chicago	8	11	.423	6
Indiana	5	14	.263	9
Seattle	4	14	.222	12½
Phoenix	4	14	.222	12½

SATURDAY'S RESULT

at New York 80, Seattle 76

SUNDAY'S RESULTS

at Connecticut 92, Washington 84

Dallas 77, at Indiana 76

at Phoenix 78, Los Angeles 72

Las Vegas 113, Minnesota 89

Atlanta 88, at Chicago 70

TUESDAY'S GAMES

No games scheduled.

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES

Seattle at Washington, 7

Phoenix at Las Vegas, 10

THURSDAY'S GAMES

Connecticut at Chicago, 12

New York at Indiana, 12

Dallas at Minnesota, 1

Seattle at Atlanta, 7

Las Vegas at Los Angeles, 10

SUN 92, Mystics 84

Washington 16 25 25 18 - 84

Connecticut 18 29 19 27 - 84

WASHINGTON MIN FG FT O-T A PP PTS

Delle Donne 13:19 0:3 0:0 0-2 1 0
Walker-Kimbrough 30:49 3:5 0:0 0-4 6 2
Hawkins 10:12 3:3 0:0 0-2 1 0
Atkins 28:58 4:10 1:1 1:4 4 4
Hines-Allen 17:32 4:4 3:4 0:0 3 3
Merritt 16:14 3:3 0:0 0-2 1 0
Egbo 15:36 3:6 2:3 3:7 1 2
Harper 12:45 2:2 0:0 1:2 0 1
TOTALS 200 33-6111-15 5-3124 21 84

Percentages: FG, 54.1; FT, 73.3; 3-Point Goals, 7-17, 412

FG% 3-Point % 3-Point % FT% 3-Point %

Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 4 (Atkins, Egbo, Hawkins, Sykes). Turnovers: 17 (Sykes, 7, Atkins, 2, Hawkins, 2, Allen, 2, Menz, 2, Delle, 2, Egbo, Hines-Allen, 2). Technical Fouls: 8 (Sykes 3, Delle, 2, Hawkins, 2, Hines-Allen, 2).

CONNECTICUT MIN FG FT O-T A PP PTS

Bonner 37:29 9:21 4:5 0:4 2 1 24
Hayes 3:40 3:4 3:6 1:4 2 4 10
Thomas 39:27 10:14 2:4 1:4 7 4 10
Allen 27:34 3:8 1:2 1:2 3 4 9
Hiedeman 13:48 2:4 0:0 0-2 0 2 4
Merritt 16:14 3:3 0:0 0-2 1 0
Carington 14:23 3:7 1:2 0:0 0 2 0
Nelson-Ododa 12:40 0:0 0-1 0:0 0 0 0
TOTALS 209 33-65 13-21 4-24 18 17 92

Percentages: FG, 50.8; FT, 61.9; 3-Point Goals, 7-17, 412

FG% 3-Point % 3-Point % FT% 3-Point %

Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Atkins, 4). Turnovers: 11 (Thomas, 6, Bonner, 3, Allen, 2, Harper, 2). Technical Fouls: Sun, 0:30 fourth. At, 6:558 (9,322).

Wings 77, Fever 76

DALLAS 27 11 21 18 - 77

INDIANA 17 21 21 17 - 76

DALLAS: Howard 6-14 4-6, Sabally 2-8 3-3, Mcowan 3-9 3-9 3-9, Dangerfield 4-7 1-1, Ogundimu 10-20 6-6, Turner 4-12 4-12, Son 1-3, Hines-Allen 1-2, Hiedeman 0-1, Team Rebounds: 11, Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Howard). Turnovers: 11 (Howard, 6, Allen, 2, Son, 1, Hines-Allen, 2). Technical Fouls: Sun, 0:30 fourth. At, 6:558 (9,322).

INDIANA: Hull 6-2 4-4, Gray 6-17 5-17, Smith 7-12 7-12, Hines-Allen 1-2, Hiedeman 0-1, Team Rebounds: 11, Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Howard). Turnovers: 11 (Howard, 6, Allen, 2, Son, 1, Hines-Allen, 2). Technical Fouls: Sun, 0:30 fourth. At, 6:558 (9,322).

Three-point Goals: Dallas 13 (Howard, 2-3, Dangerfield, 2-3, Mcowan, 2-3, Son, 2-3, Hines-Allen, 2-3, Hiedeman, 1-2, Team Rebounds: 11, Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Howard). Turnovers: 11 (Howard, 6, Allen, 2, Son, 1, Hines-Allen, 2). Technical Fouls: Sun, 0:30 fourth. At, 6:558 (9,322).

Three-point Goals: Indiana 10 (Hull, 3-4, Gray, 3-4, Smith, 3-4, Son, 2-3, Hines-Allen, 2-3, Hiedeman, 1-2, Team Rebounds: 11, Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Howard). Turnovers: 11 (Howard, 6, Allen, 2, Son, 1, Hines-Allen, 2). Technical Fouls: Sun, 0:30 fourth. At, 6:558 (9,322).

Three-point Goals: Los Angeles 8-21 (Thomas, 2-4, Canada, 2-5, Stevens, 2-5, Cook, 1-2, Hender-son, 0-1, M. Ogwumike, 0-1, Egbo, 1-2, Hines-Al- len, 0-1, Wheeler 0-1, Smith 0-2, Záhlík 0-1, Fouled Out: Dallas 1 (Sabally), Indiana 0. Rebounds: Dallas 33 (Howard), Indiana 35 (Boston). Assists: Dallas 18 (Mcowan), Philadelphia 18 (Ogundimu), Atlanta 18 (Cunningham), Phoenix 18 (Griner). Total Fouls: Dallas 18, Indiana 21, Atlanta 21, A: 3,612 (20,000).

Three-point Goals: Dallas 13 (Howard, 2-3, Dangerfield, 2-3, Mcowan, 2-3, Son, 2-3, Hines-Allen, 2-3, Hiedeman, 1-2, Team Rebounds: 11, Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Howard). Turnovers: 11 (Howard, 6, Allen, 2, Son, 1, Hines-Allen, 2). Technical Fouls: Sun, 0:30 fourth. At, 6:558 (9,322).

Three-point Goals: Indiana 10 (Hull, 3-4, Gray, 3-4, Smith, 3-4, Son, 2-3, Hines-Allen, 2-3, Hiedeman, 1-2, Team Rebounds: 11, Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Howard). Turnovers: 11 (Howard, 6, Allen, 2, Son, 1, Hines-Allen, 2). Technical Fouls: Sun, 0:30 fourth. At, 6:558 (9,322).

Three-point Goals: Los Angeles 8-21 (Thomas, 2-4, Canada, 2-5, Stevens, 2-5, Cook, 1-2, Hender-son, 0-1, M. Ogwumike, 0-1, Egbo, 1-2, Hines-Al- len, 0-1, Wheeler 0-1, Smith 0-2, Záhlík 0-1, Fouled Out: Dallas 1 (Sabally), Indiana 0. Rebounds: Dallas 33 (Howard), Indiana 35 (Boston). Assists: Dallas 18 (Mcowan), Philadelphia 18 (Ogundimu), Atlanta 18 (Cunningham), Phoenix 18 (Griner). Total Fouls: Dallas 18, Indiana 21, Atlanta 21, A: 3,612 (20,000).

Three-point Goals: Los Angeles 8-21 (Thomas, 2-4, Canada, 2-5, Stevens, 2-5, Cook, 1-2, Hender-son, 0-1, M. Ogwumike, 0-1, Egbo, 1-2, Hines-Al- len, 0-1, Wheeler 0-1, Smith 0-2, Záhlík 0-1, Fouled Out: Dallas 1 (Sabally), Indiana 0. Rebounds: Dallas 33 (Howard), Indiana 35 (Boston). Assists: Dallas 18 (Mcowan), Philadelphia 18 (Ogundimu), Atlanta 18 (Cunningham), Phoenix 18 (Griner). Total Fouls: Dallas 18, Indiana 21, Atlanta 21, A: 3,612 (20,000).

Three-point Goals: Indiana 10 (Hull, 3-4, Gray, 3-4, Smith, 3-4, Son, 2-3, Hines-Allen, 2-3, Hiedeman, 1-2, Team Rebounds: 11, Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Howard). Turnovers: 11 (Howard, 6, Allen, 2, Son, 1, Hines-Allen, 2). Technical Fouls: Sun, 0:30 fourth. At, 6:558 (9,322).

Three-point Goals: Los Angeles 8-21 (Thomas, 2-4, Canada, 2-5, Stevens, 2-5, Cook, 1-2, Hender-son, 0-1, M. Ogwumike, 0-1, Egbo, 1-2, Hines-Al- len, 0-1, Wheeler 0-1, Smith 0-2, Záhlík 0-1, Fouled Out: Dallas 1 (Sabally), Indiana 0. Rebounds: Dallas 33 (Howard), Indiana 35 (Boston). Assists: Dallas 18 (Mcowan), Philadelphia 18 (Ogundimu), Atlanta 18 (Cunningham), Phoenix 18 (Griner). Total Fouls: Dallas 18, Indiana 21, Atlanta 21, A: 3,612 (20,000).

Three-point Goals: Indiana 10 (Hull, 3-4, Gray, 3-4, Smith, 3-4, Son, 2-3, Hines-Allen, 2-3, Hiedeman, 1-2, Team Rebounds: 11, Team Turnovers: 1. Blocked Shots: 1 (Howard). Turnovers: 11 (Howard, 6

MONDAY, JULY 10, 2023

EZ

851 Prince Georges County | 851 Prince Georges County

ORLANS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD, SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
11417 Laurelwalk Dr
Laurel, MD 20708

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from JANICE S. ADAMS, dated July 26, 2007 and recorded in Liber 28769, folio 339 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-23-000450; Tax ID No.10-1117415.) The Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on

JULY 18, 2023 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$25,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK, CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 22-007591)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
JOANNA FORONDA,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



July 3, 10, 17, 2023 12425300

MCMICHAEL TAYLOR GRAY, LLC
7470 Technology Way
Suite P
Frederick, MD 21703
(470) 480-1820
TRUSTEE'S SALE
13203 CRUTCHFIELD AVENUE
Bowie, MD 20720

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust dated August 14, 2006 and recorded in Deed Book 26123 at Page 191 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, Maryland, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the Substitute Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on

JULY 18, 2023 AT 1:45 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND, together with the buildings and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, Maryland, located at the above address and more fully described in the aforementioned Deed of Trust ("the Property").

TAX ID# 14-36264306

Said property is subject to a IRS Right of Redemption.

Said property is subject to a prior mortgage.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$18,000 by cashier's/certified check or such other form as the Substitute Trustee may allow, in their sole discretion, required at time of sale except for the party secured by the Deed of Trust. Risk of loss on purchaser from date and time of auction. The property and improvements will be sold in "as is" physical condition without either express or implied warranty of any kind and subject to all conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 22-007591)

D10 CLASSIFIED • NOTICES • Trustee Sales—VA

851 Prince Georges County | 851 Prince Georges County

ORLANS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
4816 Snowflake Boulevard
Oxon Hill, MD 20745

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from THOMAS B. MEADE, dated February 24, 2006 and recorded in Liber 25213, folio 182 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-22-000756; Tax ID No.12-3098050) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on

JULY 19, 2023 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$40,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK, CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 20-700284)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES

HARVEY W S T AUCTIONEERS, LLC
300 E. Joppa Road
Hampton Plaza - Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-769-9797
www.hwestauctions.com

July 3, 10, 17, 2023 12424003

ORLANS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

803 Bluffwood Court
Fort Washington, MD 20744

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from JEFFREY R. REYES AND MILANE J. REYES, dated January 19, 2012 and recorded in Liber 33335, folio 296 MODIFIED ON OCTOBER 14, 2018 IN LIBER 39353 FOLIO 342, MODIFIED ON JANUARY 17, 2018 IN LIBER 42424 FOLIO 47, among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.CAEF19-28034; Tax ID No.12-1343524) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on

JULY 19, 2023 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$45,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK, CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 19-701024)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
BRIAN THOMAS,
JASON MURPHY,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES

HARVEY W S T AUCTIONEERS, LLC
300 E. Joppa Road
Hampton Plaza - Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-769-9797
www.hwestauctions.com

July 3, 10, 17, 2023 12424973

851 Prince Georges County | 851 Prince Georges County

ORLANS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
11442 Deepwood Drive, Unit 176B
Boe, MD 20720

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from DELORES E. CARTER, dated April 24, 2009 and recorded in Liber 30602, folio 428 MODIFIED ON MAY 22, 2019 IN LIBER 42216 FOLIO 477 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-23-000934; Tax ID No.13-2981686) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on

JULY 19, 2023 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$30,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK, CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 19-701024)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
JOANNA FORONDA,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES

HARVEY W S T AUCTIONEERS, LLC
300 E. Joppa Road
Hampton Plaza - Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-769-9797
www.hwestauctions.com

July 3, 10, 17, 2023 12424001

851 Prince Georges County | 851 Prince Georges County

ORLANS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
10916 Prospect Hill Road
Glenn Dale, MD 20769

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from SAMUEL BROWN JR AND PEARL B. BROWN, dated September 24, 2016 and recorded in Liber 39070, folio 332 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.CAEF22-28358; Tax ID No.14-1674209) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on

JULY 19, 2023 at 2:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$35,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK, CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 19-701024)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
JOANNA FORONDA,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES

HARVEY W S T AUCTIONEERS, LLC
300 E. Joppa Road
Hampton Plaza - Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-769-9797
www.hwestauctions.com

July 3, 10, 17, 2023 12423794

852 Anne Arundel County | 852 Anne Arundel County

Brock and Scott, PLLC
5431 Oleander Drive
Wilmington, NC 28403
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
1152 Latrobe Drive
Annapolis, MD 21409

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to , Trustees, dated November 10, 2006, and recorded among the Land Records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 18510 , folio 95, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust, having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on

JULY 25, 2023 at 9:45 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NO. EIGHT (8) IN BLOCK LETTERED AO, AS SHOWN ON A PLAT ENTITLED, "PLAT 9, CAPE ST. CLAIRE", WHICH PLAT IS RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY IN PLAT BOOK NO. 22, FOLIO 6. PROPERTY ADDRESS: 1152 LATROBE DRIVE, ANNAPOLIS

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and HOA assessments pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$35,000.00 payable in certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND intended to be paid at the rate of 3.6932% on unpaid purchase money from date of sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to complete full settlement of the purchase of the property within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit shall be forfeited and the property will be sold at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes, if any, to be adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey insurable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser waives all rights and claims against the Substitute Trustees whether known or unknown. These provisions shall survive settlement. Upon refund of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Substitute Trustees. The sale is subject to post-sale review of the status of the loan and that if any agreement to cancel the sale was entered into by the lender and borrower prior to the sale then the sale is void and the purchaser's deposit shall be refunded without interest. Additional terms and conditions, if applicable, maybe announced at the time and date of sale. Sale is subject to the attestation by the Borrower in accordance with Section 5.A of the Governor's order of 10.16.2020. File No. (22-12255)

JOHN ANSEL, JEREMY B. WILKINS,
ROBERT A. OLIVERI, AMANDA DRISCOLL,
PAUL HEINMULLER, JOHN C. HANRAHAN,
KRISTOPHER HAWKINS, Substitute Trustees

HARVEY W S T AUCTIONEERS, LLC
300 E. Joppa Road
Hampton Plaza - Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-769-9797
www.hwestauctions.com

July 3, 10, 17, 2023

12423794

852 Anne Arundel County | 852 Anne Arundel County

EZ MONDAY, JULY 10, 2023

MCMICHAEL TAYLOR GRAY, LLC
7470 Technology Way
Suite P
Frederick, MD 21703
(470) 480-1820
TRUSTEE'S SALE
614 KENDRA WOODS COURT
Millersville, MD 21108

Under a power of sale contained in a certain Deed

MONDAY, JULY 10, 2023

EZ

852 Anne Arundel County

1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

328 Tennessee Avenue
Pasadena, MD 21122

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from KATHLEEN L. LUPINEK AND JOSEPH V. LUPINEK, dated March 4, 2014 and recorded in Liber 27277, folio 063 among the Land Records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C02CV18004061; Tax ID No.03-130-90024520) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on

JULY 12, 2023 at 10:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$35,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK. CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 17-700208)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
HUGH J. GREEN,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
BRIAN THOMAS,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



A181, A316, A311, A183, A425, A426, A461, A463, A508
June 26, July 3, 2023 12423932

ORLANS PC

1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

8018 George Willing Avenue
Pasadena, MD 21122

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from LAICE KIRKEBY, dated October 4, 2016 and recorded in Liber 30161, folio 336 among the Land Records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-02-CV-22-001699; Tax ID No.03-388-90059993) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on

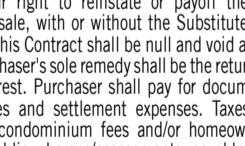
JULY 20, 2023 at 10:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$25,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK. CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 22-007659)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
JOANNA FORONDA,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



A181, A316, A311, A183, A425, A426, A461, A463, A508
June 26, July 3, 2023 12423933

852 Anne Arundel County

ORLANS PC

1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

8400 Lockwood Road
Pasadena, MD 21122

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from RICHARD C. WELSH AND MICHELE L. WELSH, dated April 10, 1998 and recorded in Liber 8394, folio 184 among the Land Records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C02CV1900466; Tax ID No.03-130-90024520) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on

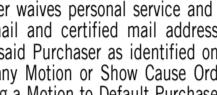
JULY 12, 2023 at 10:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$10,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK. CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 17-700208)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
HUGH J. GREEN,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
BRIAN THOMAS,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



300 E. Joppa Road
Hampton Plaza - Suite 103
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410-769-9797
www.hwauctions.com

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June 26, July 3, 2023 12423931

872 Spotsylvania County

ORLANS PC

1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

8400 Lockwood Road
Pasadena, MD 21122

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from DANIELLE MANLEY AND GLORIA A. HARDY, dated August 29, 2006 and recorded in Liber 5995, folio 128 among the Land Records of CHARLES COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C08-CV-23-00153; Tax ID No.05-005189) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET, (IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on

JULY 12, 2023 at 10:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$25,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK. CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for CHARLES COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 17-700208)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
BRIAN THOMAS,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



300 E. Joppa Road
Hampton Plaza - Suite 103
Hampton, VA 23666
410-769-9797
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June 26, July 3, 2023 12423931

The Washington Post

855 Charles County

ORLANS PC

1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY

1815 Piedmont Dr
Cobb Island, MD 20625

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from JOHN WILLIAM BROOKS JR., dated March 11, 2009 and recorded in book 11640, page 512 among the Land Records of HOWARD COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No. C-13-CV-20109; Tax ID No. 15-044294) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET, (IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on

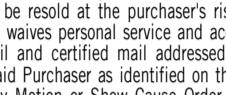
JULY 19, 2023 at 12:30 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$25,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK. CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for CHARLES COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 17-700208)

JAMES E. CLARKE,
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,
BRIAN THOMAS,
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



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Hampton, VA 23666
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June 26, July 3, 2023 12423931

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857 Howard County

GREENSPAN MARDER, LLP

</div

Delle Donne reinjures ankle

SUN 92,
MYSTICS 84

BY KAREEM COPELAND

UNCASVILLE, CONN. — Elena Delle Donne was on the court about 90 minutes before tip-off Sunday, which looked as if it would be a good day for the Washington Mystics. The two-time WNBA MVP walked without a limp and did not have an ankle brace on her left foot. She would be back in the starting lineup against the Connecticut Sun after missing the previous two games with an ankle sprain.

But all the good feelings disappeared late in the second quarter, when Delle Donne limped to the locker room and did not return. The Mystics went on to lose, 92-84, as their defense continued to struggle against Connecticut. The Sun (14-5) has won all three of their meetings while averaging 86.7 points — and it has increased its scoring output in each game.

"We did not execute many coverages right," Mystics Coach Eric Thibault said. "I just kind of told the group, we've got two [newcomers who have] an excuse for not being clear on what we're doing. But everybody else should be a lot more up to speed on what we're calling, what we're trying to execute. It's not a matter of effort a lot. It's a matter of listening to your teammates, of focus and understanding the game plan. We double- and triple-check a lot to make sure everybody's clear on the game plan. Then we shouldn't have breakdowns."

Delle Donne was hurt contesting a shot by DeWanna Bonner,

clipping Bonner's foot upon landing and rolling her ankle. The Mystics shared no information after the game, and she is slated to be reevaluated Monday.

"Absolutely not, absolutely not," the Mystics' Myisha Hines-Allen said when asked whether Delle Donne's injury was deflating. "We have everybody that we need in the locker room. Doesn't matter who's playing — we're always going to step up. We're never going to give up. We're going to fight to the end. Of course, we do not want to see Elena go down; we need her on the court with us. But at the end of the day, some things we can't control, so we have to be able to adapt."

Bonner scored a game-high 28 points; she went 6 for 12 from behind the arc. Alyssa Thomas added 22 points, nine rebounds and six assists. Washington (10-8) had no answer for either; Thomas' shot clock-beating, turnaround push shot gave Connecticut a 90-81 lead with 2:43 remaining and essentially sealed the victory. The Sun shot 50.8 percent and scored multiple baskets with the shot clock running down after what had been good defensive possessions. Thibault lamented defenders going under screens and failing to force the ball the right way in pick-and-roll coverage.

Despite all of that, Washington led by one after three quarters. The Sun outscored the Mystics 27-18 in the final period.

Washington's Tianna Hawkins tied a career high with 24 points. Brittney Sykes and Hines-Allen added 14 points apiece. Ariel Atkins had 10 points and tied Ivory Latta for the franchise record of 308 three-pointers.

Hawkins continues to shine in an ever-shifting role. She moved into the starting lineup after Shaiqra Austin (hip) was injured late last month.

"Just doing what I do," Hawkins said. "Running the floor and making sure I get in the paint on balance and at the right time. Just making sure I finish my layups. It would feel much better if we won the game."

Here's what else to know about the Mystics' loss:

Cloud is out again

Guard Natasha Cloud missed her second consecutive game with an ankle sprain. She did go through some stretching and light shooting before the game; she had been listed as doubtful. The good news was that she seemed to be moving better than she was last week. Shatori Walker-Kimbrough started in her place and finished with seven points, six assists and four rebounds.

Austin and Kristi Toliver (plantar fasciitis) remained sidelined.

Terps aplenty

The University of Maryland was well represented with Hawkins, Walker-Kimbrough and Thomas, who combined for 53 points. Thomas was a teammate of both; Hawkins and Walker-Kimbrough missed each other by a year.

Up next

In their last game before the all-star break, the Mystics host the Storm at 7 p.m. Tuesday. Washington swept two games in Seattle last month.

Storm at Mystics

Tomorrow, 7 p.m., NBCSW

WNBA ROUNDUP

Griner's 25th dunk part of big night

MERCURY 78,
SPARKS 72

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Brittney Griner scored 29 points and had her 25th dunk as a professional, and the Phoenix Mercury held on for a 78-72 win over the visiting Los Angeles Sparks in a matchup between two struggling teams Sunday.

Diana Taurasi added 12 of her 22 in the fourth quarter to put her less than 100 points from 10,000 in her career. Moriah Jefferson scored 11 for the Mercury (4-14), which had lost three straight and nine of 10 for the worst record in the WNBA. Griner, who matched her season high for points, also had 11 rebounds.

Nneka Ogwumike had 20 points and 14 boards to lead the shorthanded Sparks (7-12), who have lost five straight. Jordyn Canada scored 16 points, Azura Stevens added 13 and Jasmine Thomas 10.

The Sparks were without five players and lost starter Dearica Hamby with a sprained ankle midway through the first half.

Griner had 16 points in the first half as the Mercury took a 42-36 lead. Griner was 7-for-11 shooting, including a dunk early in the second quarter. It was her 18th in the regular season to go with five in all-star games and two in the playoffs.

"I thought I forgot how to dunk for a little bit there," Griner said.

• **WINGS 77, FEVER 76:** Arike Ogunbowale scored 10 consecutive points down the stretch and finished with 28 to help Dallas hand Indiana its seventh-straight loss.

Indiana had a chance to win after Teaira McCowan missed two free throws with 16 seconds to play, but Lexie Hull's three-pointer from the left corner bounced off the rim as time expired in Indianapolis.

Ogunbowale, who had 14 points in the fourth, made a three-pointer to tie the game at 68 with 4:37 to play, and 94 seconds later she made three free throws for a 75-68 advantage. In between she had a pair of mid-range jumpers.

• **DREAM 88, SKY 77:** Rhyme Howard scored 32 points, and Atlanta pulled away in the closing minutes to beat host Chicago for the second time in three days.

Up one midway through the fourth quarter, the Dream surged ahead by cashing in on three turnovers en route to its fifth straight win.

Cheyenne Parker had 18 points

and Las Vegas routed Minnesota for the third time this season, rolling in Minneapolis.

The Aces, who beat Minnesota by 21 and 31 earlier this season, clinched the Western Conference berth in the Commissioner's Cup. Las Vegas (17-2), which passed its previous season high of 105 points on Plum's sixth three-pointer with 3:30 to play, is averaging more than 92 points a game, a point behind the WNBA record.

Las Vegas will face either Connecticut or New York in the Commissioner's Cup title game.

• **WINGS 77, FEVER 76:** Arike Ogunbowale scored 10 consecutive points down the stretch and finished with 28 to help Dallas hand Indiana its seventh-straight loss.

Indiana had a chance to win after Teaira McCowan missed two free throws with 16 seconds to play, but Lexie Hull's three-pointer from the left corner bounced off the rim as time expired in Indianapolis.

The next direct flight out the team could get that would be able to accommodate its 24-person travel party was Wednesday — a day after the game. There were also limited seats available on Amtrak trains to Washington with it being the end of a holiday week.

After checking with the bus company that the driver would be allowed to take the team to Washington, the Storm picked up its staff at LaGuardia Airport and headed south for the drive to D.C. A flight to Washington usually takes about an hour.

The Storm got to D.C. shortly before 6 p.m., after a brief stop for lunch at a rest area in Delaware.



William Byron earned his fourth victory of the season in a rain-shortened race in Hampton, Ga.

AUTO RACING ROUNDUP

In the rain, Byron lords over the field

ASSOCIATED PRESS

William Byron overcame a spin early in the second stage that knocked him back a lap, then was in the right position when weather took control at Atlanta Motor Speedway.

Byron won the rain-shortened NASCAR race in Hampton, Ga., on Sunday night for his series-leading fourth victory of the season. It was the second win in Atlanta in the past two years for Byron, who took the NASCAR points lead.

Byron said it was "kind of pins and needles" after his crew made changes to his No. 24 Hendricks Motorsports Chevrolet that had been damaged by the spin.

"When I spun, I was like, 'Here we go,'" Byron said. "... It was not good at that moment. We lost a lap, changed tires."

The threat of rain affected strategy as drivers fought to move toward the front of the field before weather delayed or ended the race.

On Lap 185, with 75 laps to go, NASCAR ordered cars to pit road because of rain and the possibility of lightning. Cars were covered while officials waited to see whether the rain would end.

Only six minutes later, fans were warned of severe weather within eight miles of the track and were encouraged to leave immediately, and NASCAR called the race soon after.

"I one-thousand percent agree with erring on the side of caution," said Kyle Busch, who finished fifth.

Daniel Suarez, looking for his first win of 2023, was second. AJ Allmendinger was third, followed by Michael McDowell.

Suarez said he had "a little bit of mixed feelings" about NASCAR's decision to end the race.

"I wish we had one more shot to

get ahead and then it could rain all it wants," Suarez said with a laugh.

The race became official after 130 laps. After that, the weather watch factored heavily into race strategy.

"We knew the rain was coming," McDowell said. "We wanted to give ourselves the best chance to win the race."

Kevin Harvick, a three-time Atlanta winner, had a spin with 89 laps remaining. While Harvick was able to drive to pit road without a caution, the spin all but ended his hopes of a win in his final Atlanta race.

The increased threat of rain placed an increased emphasis on drivers to compete for top spots in the second stage, perhaps contributing to two wrecks that knocked out Ross Chastain, Kyle Larson and Austin Hill.

Denny Hamlin and Alex Bowman were involved in another crash late in the second stage, leaving Brad Keselowski and Ryan Blaney at the front of the field. The stage ended under caution.

Despite the stage win, Keselowski was left with a big decision as he talked with his crew about the threat of rain and the possibility of staying on the track. He chose to pit for fuel, saying he had no real choice.

"No, we had 12 to 14 laps left of fuel, and that was not enough, and we ended up running 15 laps or so," Keselowski said. "I think we made the right call. We just needed the rain to be 10 minutes earlier or 10 minutes later."

• **FORMULA ONE:** On a day when Brad Pitt joined the grid to shoot his new movie, defending champion Max Verstappen was reduced to a cameo role in his own win with F1 fans gripped by the fight for second place.

Apart from losing the lead to

Lando Norris at the start — then taking it back — Verstappen's cruise to his sixth win in a row lacked the Hollywood-style drama of Norris's battle with seven-time champion Lewis Hamilton for second.

That fits a pattern this season of dominant wins for the Red Bull driver and increasingly hard-fought battles behind him as Mercedes, Ferrari, Aston Martin and now McLaren jostle to be the second-fastest team.

"It's very confusing, to be honest, because every single race it's someone else," Verstappen said.

Filming for Pitt's upcoming F1-themed movie took place all weekend at the Silverstone circuit in Northampton, England, around the F1 sessions, using black-and-gold cars from the fictional APX team. Pitt and co-star Damson Idris joined the grid in racing suits before the start.

Verstappen extended his overall lead to 99 points over teammate Sergio Perez. First place in a race earns 25 points.

Starting on pole position, Verstappen was overtaken off the line by McLaren's Norris in what he later admitted was a "terrible" start but swept back into the lead on Lap 5 and held on until the end. Red Bull has won all 10 races this year, 11 in a row including the final race of 2022, matching the record of McLaren with 11 consecutive wins in 1988.

Norris had been expected to drop back after qualifying a surprise second on the grid but instead remained Verstappen's closest challenger throughout the race. After a safety-car restart, he fought wheel-to-wheel with Hamilton, who had what were in theory faster tires, but held on to second for his and McLaren's best result since 2021. "It was an amazing fight," Norris said.

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