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Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 2025 • \$4

Pardon frenzy fuels a lucrative industry

Trump's new clemency process unleashes a stampede for attention

BY EMILY DAVIES AND PERRY STEIN

One civil rights attorney seeking clemency for an imprisoned client scored an invite to Mar-a-Lago, then approached President Donald Trump as he dined. An advocate combed through sentencing memos to find details she thought would resonate with the political appointees now in charge. A lawyer flew to Memphis to have lunch at the home of the pardon czar — a position created by the president.

Since taking office in January, Trump has upended the federal pardoning process, increasing the White House's authority over a task that until now was largely governed by Justice Department guidelines. Although many presidents have issued controversial pardons and circumvented their lawyers' advice, Trump has far outpaced his predecessors during the first year of his term and often done so with public flair, relishing one of the few unrestrained powers of the president.

People are making money off the new system. Trump's pardon frenzy has given rise to a lucrative cottage industry of high-powered lawyers connected to the White House who seek his attention on behalf of their convicted clients. In some cases, applicants have hired big-name lawyers who can charge hefty legal fees. In others, clients leverage their own connections to Mar-a-Lago or members

SEE PARDONS ON A4

Tanks in waiting



MATT MCCLAIR/THE WASHINGTON POST

Members of the U.S. Army's 1st Cavalry Division chat on an Abrams tank parked Wednesday at the District's West Potomac Park ahead of Saturday's parade, which will mark the Army's 250th anniversary.

Army parade, protests fuel dueling visions of U.S.

BY NAFTALI BENDAVID

In Washington, tanks will roll down the streets, planes will streak overhead and bands will pump out military tunes as soldiers parade before a president who embraces a gilded, muscular form of patriotism — and whose birthday it is.

Across the country, demonstrators will flood hundreds of cities and towns, making speeches and

holding "No Kings" signs to denounce what they see as President Donald Trump's authoritarian tactics and disregard for the Constitution.

This Saturday will see one of the starkest displays of America's divisions since Trump took office, as contrasting visions of America unfold in vivid colors on the country's streets. The confrontation now playing out in Los Angeles is certain to fuel both sides, as some

Americans cheer Trump's strong hand in quashing purported chaos and others decry what they see as his growing embrace of authoritarian tactics.

Trump's critics are especially inflamed by the notion that the president would host a military parade on his birthday, which they say carries an unmistakable whiff of authoritarianism.

"Americans, in particular veterans, see this as a vanity endeavor

for Donald Trump," said Rep. Jason Crow (D-Colorado), a former Army ranger who served in Iraq and Afghanistan. "You have massive cuts to [veterans'] health care, troops away from their families for years over the last decade fighting wars on terror, barracks falling apart in many posts — and we will spend over \$50 million to roll tanks through the streets of D.C.? It doesn't add up."

SEE DIVIDED U.S. ON A6

BRIAN WILSON 1942-2025

Bandleader behind the surfing vibrations of the '60s

He brought an ocean's worth of songwriting depth to the Beach Boys, who embodied California cool

BY TIM PAGE

Brian Wilson, the founder and principal creative force of the Beach Boys, whose catalogue of early hits embodied the fantasy of California as a paradise of beautiful youth, fast cars and endless surf and made them the most popular American rock group of the 1960s, has died at 82.

The family announced the death on his official webpage but did not provide further information.

The Beach Boys were formed in 1961 in Hawthorne, California,

near Los Angeles, by brothers Brian, Dennis and Carl Wilson, their cousin Mike Love and their friend Al Jardine, and the regional success that year of their first single, "Surfin,'" thrust them to national attention when Capitol Records signed them almost immediately as the label's first rock act.

They would make the Billboard Top 40 list at least 35 times, a tally unequaled by an American band. While each member contributed to the Beach Boys' signature angelic vocal harmonies, Mr. Wilson was the widely

SEE WILSON ON A20



ILLUSTRATION BY SALLY DENG/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

SERVING 'DEAD TIME'

D.C. teens needed help. They languished in a violent detention center instead.

BY NICOLE DUNGCA, JOHN D. HARDEN AND KEITH L. ALEXANDER

Washington's juvenile justice agency appeared to finally be reformed. After decades of court monitoring, a judge declared in late 2020 that the long-troubled Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services could return to the mayor's control.

Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) promised "a focus on restorative justice, love, and empowerment" that would "serve and improve the lives of our young people, their families, and our entire community."

Instead, progress at the agency — charged with setting serious and repeat teen offenders on a better path — unraveled as youth crime spiked, a Washington Post investigation found:

- The agency has taken months to provide many teens with comprehensive treatment plans, violating a law that requires it to do so within 17 days of a judge sentencing a youth to its custody. In fiscal year 2022, the first after the city regained control of the agency, it completed planning for 93 percent of teenagers within three months, according to agency metrics. The next year, less than half had plans in the same time frame.

- The District's detention center, where children are held while they wait for their plans, is overcrowded. Fistfights break out often. Police come to quell the violence, while ambulances

SEE DETENTION ON A9

FBI seeks to move some training from Va. to Ala.

Plan is part of broader effort to shrink bureau's footprint in D.C. area

BY PERRY STEIN, CAROL D. LEONNIG, ELLEN NAKASHIMA AND GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

FBI leadership is pushing to move one of the bureau's elite training academies from Quantico, Virginia, to Huntsville, Alabama, according to multiple people familiar with the plan who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a proposal that has not yet been made public.

FBI Deputy Director Dan Bongino's effort to relocate the National Academy — a 10-week training program for local and international law enforcement and federal agents who are not with the FBI — is part of the Trump administration's broader goal of shrinking the bureau's footprint in the Washington area and relocating personnel to Huntsville.

The FBI has a separate training program for new bureau hires, and Bongino is also considering whether to move that academy to Huntsville, though the option has not been proposed, according to a senior FBI official who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal deliberations.

SEE FBI ON A4



MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

Singer-songwriter Brian Wilson, founder of the rock group the Beach Boys, holds a mirror reflecting his bandmates circa 1967.

Appreciation: Sunshine music with a haunted sadness was his gift. C1

IN THE NEWS

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The former CIA analyst who leaked Israeli military plans was sentenced to three years in prison. B1

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The president loves "Les Misérables," a work long embraced by both ends of the political spectrum. C1

LOCAL LIVING

Homesteading can be exhausting and expensive, but one family's attempt turned out to be a happy failure.

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Kennedy selects 8 for vaccine panel he purged

BY LENA H. SUN
AND LAUREN WEBER

Health and Human Services Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr. named eight people to the influential federal panel that recommends vaccines to Americans on Wednesday, elevating several vaccine critics days after he purged the group's entire membership.

His picks for the Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices include a well-known pediatric infectious-diseases expert and at least three people who have criticized the use of mRNA coronavirus vaccines. Some of the more notable selections include Martin Kulldorff, the co-author of the Great Barrington Declaration, which called for herd immunity through mass covid infection in 2020, and Vicky Pebsworth, who is listed on the board of the nation's oldest anti-vaccine group.

"All of these individuals are committed to evidence-based medicine, gold-standard science, and common sense," Kennedy said in an X post on Wednesday announcing the picks. "They have each committed to demanding definitive safety and efficacy data before making any new vaccine recommendations."

The other new members are: Joseph R. Hibbeln, a psychiatrist; Retsef Levi, a professor of operations management; Robert W. Malone, a biochemist; Cody Meissner, a pediatrician; James Pagano, an emergency medicine physician; and Michael A. Ross, a professor of obstetrics and gynecology.

Kulldorff and Hibbeln declined to comment. Malone told The Washington Post he was honored to be selected but declined to answer additional questions. Kennedy's other picks did not immediately return requests for comment.

Malone, a controversial scientist, is an ally of Kennedy's who was at the unveiling of the Make America Healthy Again report at the White House last month.

Malone previously sued The Post, alleging defamation over the newspaper's reporting on his advocacy against the coronavirus vaccine. The case was dismissed in 2023.

The selections come after Kennedy on Monday ousted 17 independent vaccine experts who advise the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. He said the vaccine committee, which he has criticized for years, has been "plagued with persistent conflicts of interest" and has become a "rubber stamp" for vaccines.

The new composition of the panel signals Kennedy's plan for U.S. vaccination policy, experts said. The committee's decisions shape which vaccines are administered and to whom — and whether they'll be free and covered by insurance.

Public health advocates raised concerns about the future of vaccination under the new committee.

"He is appointing a group of



ANNABELLE GORDON/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

"All of these individuals are committed to evidence-based medicine," said HHS Secretary Robert F. Kennedy Jr., shown above in May.

covid contrarians," said Richard Pan, a pediatrician and former California state lawmaker who often sparred with anti-vaccine activists. "They have and will undermine trust in vaccination."

A spokesman for Kennedy did not immediately return a request for comment on the criticisms of the new ACIP members. In an unrelated news conference Tuesday, Kennedy said the group would not be "anti-vaxxers."

Some of the selections have track records of opposing public health guidance on vaccines.

Pebsworth, who has also served on the Food and Drug Administration's Vaccine and Related Biological Products Advisory Committee, had repeatedly expressed concerns about potential harms from coronavirus vaccination. According to her biography on the anti-vaccine group National Vaccine Information Center's website, she has worked with the group "since 2006 on vaccine safety analytical and education projects." The organization says it promotes informed consent instead of making "vaccine use recommendations."

Kulldorff has said he was fired from his position as a professor of medicine at Harvard Medical School over his refusal to get the coronavirus vaccine, which he has advocated against. In a 2021 op-ed co-written with the now head of the National Institutes of Health Jay Bhattacharya, Kulldorff wrote: "The widespread use of vaccines against polio, measles, mumps, rubella, rabies and other pathogens has saved millions of lives. ... Those pushing for coercive Covid vaccination threaten all this progress by undermining public trust in vaccines."

Levi, a professor at the MIT Sloan School of Management, has been highly critical of mRNA vaccines and tweeted in January 2023 that "the evidence is mounting and indisputable that mRNA vaccines cause serious harm including death, especially among young people. We have to

stop giving them immediately!"

Some public health advocates who criticized Kennedy's other picks for ACIP offered a more positive assessment of Meissner, a pediatric infectious-disease specialist at the Geisel School of Medicine at Dartmouth. He has served on FDA and CDC vaccine advisory committees.

In an interview with The Post in February, Meissner praised measles vaccination and criticized the Biden administration's universal recommendation for coronavirus vaccines, including for healthy younger people.

Kennedy has sought to change the membership of the vaccine panel since shortly after taking office, said Jeffrey Klausner, a professor of medicine and public health at the University of Southern California's Keck School of Medicine and former CDC medical officer who gave Kennedy recommendations in mid-February.

"He wanted highly credentialed, non-conflicted scientists and doctors who can look at data and make recommendations objectively," Klausner said. He recalled Kennedy rejecting two names on the list, calling one "too much of an industry shill" and the other "clearly anti-vax."

Klausner declined to identify the two individuals. A spokesman for Kennedy did not return a request for comment on Klausner's account.

Klausner said the only ACIP nominee who raised concerns for him was Malone, who has disparaged coronavirus vaccination, raising concerns about its effectiveness and side effects.

Malone "worked to undermine confidence in covid vaccination — which has saved hundreds of thousands of U.S. lives — and has actively contributed to vaccine hesitancy," Klausner said.

Malone has previously called those critiques "attacks."

A document that HHS sent Tuesday to health officials and dozens of organizations before the new members were announced stated that Kennedy's decision to remove the previous

panel members does not affect insurance coverage of vaccines, the childhood vaccine schedule, programs that rely on the committee's recommendations or the panel's procedures.

Kennedy has said the panel's June 25-27 meeting will go forward as scheduled. Recommendation votes are scheduled for coronavirus, influenza, meningococcal, HPV and RSV vaccines for adults, pregnant women and infants. A quorum of at least eight ACIP members is required to hold a vote.

Kennedy has blasted the committee for never voting against vaccines.

But the panel has voted to reverse vaccine recommendations based on safety data showing elevated risks of serious complications, including the Johnson & Johnson coronavirus vaccine and a rotavirus vaccine.

The panel also has changed an initial recommendation to use a nasal spray as the preferred way to protect children against the flu, after data showed that method was no longer more effective than shots, said Jamie Loehr, a family physician in New York ousted from the committee.

"The whole goal is to have evidence that the vaccines work and are protecting people," said Loehr, who had served as a voting member of the panel since 2021.

Medical and professional organizations condemned Kennedy for purging the committee, including the American Medical Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American College of Physicians, the American Association of Immunologists, the Infectious Diseases Society of America and the American Nurses Association.

The American College of Physicians issued a statement Wednesday evening calling for Kennedy to halt the appointments and restore the previous committee members. "The speed with which these members were selected, and the lack of transparency in the process, does not help to restore public confidence

and trust," said Jason Goldman, the group's president.

On Tuesday, the AMA, at its annual meeting, called for Kennedy to immediately reverse his decision and called for a Senate investigation into his actions.

Nomination to serve on the vaccine committee has traditionally followed months of vetting, members have said. Under the ACIP charter, members should have expertise in immunization practices or public health, clinical experience using vaccines or a background researching them. The committee is also supposed to include a member who brings a consumer perspective to vaccine policy.

Kennedy has accused ACIP members of having conflicts of interest, pointing to previous government reports about them having financial stakes in their decisions.

Members declare conflicts of interest stemming from their past work with vaccine makers at the start of meetings and recuse themselves from votes that could benefit the companies to which they had financial ties.

In March, the CDC unveiled a tool to make it easier to see and search the relationships with vaccine manufacturers for potential conflicts disclosed by ACIP members and votes they recused themselves from as a result.

Since taking over as the nation's top health official in February, Kennedy has pushed back against establishment vaccine policy in the United States. He pushed out the Food and Drug Administration's top vaccine scientist and hired a vaccine skeptic to evaluate vaccine safety data. He has raised questions about how the U.S. tests vaccines and unilaterally announced that federal health officials would no longer recommend coronavirus vaccines for healthy children and healthy pregnant women.

Carolyn Y. Johnson and Caitlin Gilbert contributed to this report.

DIGEST

STATE DEPARTMENT

Entire Fulbright board resigns

The entire 12-person board tasked with overseeing the State Department's Fulbright Program resigned Wednesday, claiming political interference from the Trump administration.

In a statement posted on the board's Substack, the congressionally mandated Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board said its members voted "overwhelmingly" to resign from the board "rather than endorse unprecedented actions that we believe are impermissible under the law, compromise U.S. national interests and integrity, and undermine the mission and mandates Congress established for the Fulbright program nearly 80 years ago."

The board accused the White House of denying Fulbright awards to a "substantial" number of individuals who were selected for the 2025-2026 academic year through a rigorous, merit-based process. The board also alleged that the administration is putting

1,200 Fulbright recipients through an "unauthorized review process" that could lead to the termination of their programs.

The board's mandate gives it final approval over program awards, which it has retained without interference from administrations in both parties, according to the statement.

Fulbright, which is administered through the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, was created nearly 80 years ago by Congress in an effort to promote American diplomacy abroad through intellectual exchanges. Each year, about 8,000 Fulbright grants are assigned to U.S. and foreign students, scholars, scientists, artists and professionals.

— *Mariana Alfaro*

MICHIGAN

Foreign farm workers awarded damages

A jury has awarded more than \$500,000 to five men from Guatemala who said they were exploited and underpaid by a

labor contractor that brought them to Michigan to plant and harvest fruit and vegetables.

Much of the verdict last week — \$450,000 — was in the form of punitive damages against Purpose Point Harvesting for violating an antitrafficking law.

The five men testified in U.S. District Court in Grand Rapids. They recalled three seasons as laborers, handling asparagus, apples, cherries and other crops in Oceana and Newaygo counties, from 2017-2019.

They sometimes worked 100 hours a week but never got paid for more than 60, wore headlights to pick asparagus after midnight and slept on couches, attorney Teresa Hendricks said Wednesday.

An attorney for Purpose Point said other workers contradicted the claims.

"Ultimately the jury makes a decision based on the facts they're allowed to see. We still deny the allegations and look forward to the appeals," Robert Alvarez said.

The men entered the United States under a federal program,

H-2A, that allows farms to use foreign labor if they can't find domestic workers. Purpose Point serves as a middleman, recruiting people to fill jobs at Michigan farms and handling payroll.

The head of the company is a native of the Malacatán area in Guatemala, the same home region as the workers, Hendricks said.

— *Associated Press*

Skier dies in Mount McKinley avalanche: A skier died after being caught in an avalanche on North America's tallest peak, officials said Wednesday — the second death of this year's climbing season on Alaska's Mount McKinley. Nicholas Vizzini, 29, of Washington state and his climbing partner, a snowboarder, triggered the avalanche high on the 20,310-foot peak Tuesday while descending a slope, said Denali National Park and Preserve. Vizzini's body was recovered and transferred to the state medical examiner's office. His partner sustained minor injuries and was scheduled to leave the mountain Wednesday.

— *Associated Press*

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POLITICS & THE NATION

Rural Republicans used to back NPR. Then MAGA changed everything.

BY PATRICK MARLEY

WESTBY, WIS. — Fourteen years before he joined President Donald Trump's Cabinet, Sean P. Duffy rode a tea party wave into Congress. But within months, the conservative Republican from northern Wisconsin bucked his party and voted to preserve funding for NPR.

The vote by Duffy and half a dozen other House Republicans offered a sign that NPR, despite its liberal reputation, had a reservoir of bipartisan backing, especially in rural areas where member stations are often the most robust source of local news.

Now, the politics around public radio and television have changed dramatically. The swing state's most vulnerable congressional Republican, Rep. Derrick Van Orden, is eager to eliminate federal funding for public media by slashing more than \$1 billion in aid. His constituents are split, often along partisan lines, with Democrats backing taxpayer funding and Republicans opposed or ambivalent.

Polarized views of public broadcasting, along with a splintered and increasingly online media environment, pose a problem for NPR, PBS and their audiences, who will need some Republicans to break ranks to prevent the cuts that Trump is demanding as part of a larger package of budget reductions that the House will consider as soon as Tuesday. In two dozen interviews in Van Orden's district, voters' views on NPR and PBS exposed the rifts of a divided region in a divided state in a divided country.

"Most of the people who work for those — PBS and all that — are Democrats," said Sandy Pedersen, 73, a Trump voter from nearby La Crosse who visited this rural hamlet last week for breakfast with her brother. "It's too lopsided."

Les Danielson, a 55-year-old dairy and crop farmer in Cadott in northern Wisconsin, said preserving taxpayer funding is essential to ensuring that quality programming reaches remote communities. Danielson, who said he considers himself left of center, listens to public radio in his tractor and doesn't consider the coverage liberal.

"We would definitely be poorer in rural America without the voice of public radio," he said.

Others are mystified by the fight as more listeners and viewers turn to streaming platforms for news, information and entertainment.

"I know a lot of people now have smart TVs and they use Netflix and Disney+," said Ralph Alger, 22, as he waited for his lunch at the bar of the Nordic Lanes bowling alley in Westby. "I haven't been to anyone's house in a long time that still watches TV."

For decades, NPR and PBS relied on a well of public support to combat threats to their funding. Fred Rogers made the case before Congress in 1969. In the years that followed, local stations leaned on Big Bird and the rest of the "Sesame Street" cast. But "Mr. Rogers'



PHOTOS BY KAYLA WOLF/ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



ABOVE: Dylan Bruce, who says he's a liberal, disputed claims that PBS and NPR have a left-leaning bias. "We might not all agree politically out here, but we do agree on the need for facts, I think, and public broadcasting just gives us context," he said. LEFT: Dawn Lewis, right, talks with a new friend at a cafe in Westby, Wisconsin. In rural areas such as parts of that state, public TV and radio stations rely on bipartisan support.

"We're put in the crosshairs of those types of cuts a little bit because it's not going to weather the big-city stations, where there's a plethora of different stations," Bruce said. "It's going to hurt rural places like us, where it's often the only independent option for folks to use and stay tapped in and connected."

But Bruce's views, once shared by some conservative lawmakers, have not been able to weather the MAGA revolution within the Republican Party.

Trump signed an executive order last month aimed at eliminating funding for public media because of what he labeled biased coverage, and NPR and PBS separately sued to stop what they called illegal cuts. Last week, Trump increased the pressure by asking Congress to rescind \$1.1 billion in funding for public media along with \$8.3 billion for foreign aid.

A similar vote put Duffy in a bind soon after he was elected to his district in Wisconsin's rural north in 2010. Duffy — now Trump's transportation secretary — at the time said he made the right call even as he acknowledged "my conservative base will not be happy with this vote." The meas-

eroded over the previous five years — mirroring trends across all media — with 46 percent saying they trust it only a little bit or not at all, up from 39 percent in 2019.

"People are free to communicate in whichever way they want, and you can have whatever viewpoint you want. But if it is going to be an outlet that has a viewpoint, in that case, I don't think that taxpayer subsidies should necessarily be funding viewpoints," said David Turk, a self-described conservative and the chairman of the Richland County Board in southwestern Wisconsin.

Dylan Bruce, a farmer who runs a seed supply business and calls himself a liberal, disputed claims that NPR and PBS have a left-leaning bias, saying they provide their listeners and viewers with content that differs from cable television.

"We might not all agree politically out here, but we do agree on the need for facts, I think, and public broadcasting just gives us context," said Bruce, 32. "We don't need shouting matches. We need community."

In southwestern Wisconsin — a verdant area where cars give a wide berth to Amish horse-drawn buggies along winding highways — public media listeners and viewers said they tune in for news, children's shows, wildlife documentaries and a gardening program. They take regional pride in "Wisconsin Foodie," a television show hosted by chef Luke Zahm, the owner of the Driftless Cafe in Viroqua, a town of 4,500 people.

They called public radio a lifeline in a hilly region where many other radio signals are staticky and internet service can be patchy.

Suit accuses Musk of bribing Wisconsin voters

BY MAEGAN VAZQUEZ

A Wisconsin nonprofit organization focused on fighting for fair elections has filed a legal complaint alleging that billionaire Elon Musk illegally bribed voters by giving out cash prizes this year in his attempt to help conservatives take control of the swing state's Supreme Court.

The complaint, provided to The Washington Post by lawyers representing the Wisconsin Democracy Campaign and two Wisconsin voters, claims that Musk, his America PAC and a Musk-linked entity known as United States of America Inc. violated the state's election law in "a brazen scheme to bribe Wisconsin citizens to vote."

The complaint stems from actions of the Tesla and SpaceX CEO ahead of the Wisconsin Supreme Court election this spring, when he handed out two \$1 million checks to Wisconsin voters and when his super PAC, America PAC, paid registered voters \$100 each for signing petitions and providing their contact information.

State law, the complaint notes, bars offering or giving "any amount of money over \$1" to induce anyone to go to the polls, vote or vote for a particular person. The complaint, which was filed Tuesday, also claims the actions violated the state's prohibition on unauthorized lotteries.

The plaintiffs are asking the court to declare that the conduct broke state law and to bar Musk and the defendants from replicat-

ing such conduct in future Wisconsin elections. They are also asking the court to award damages "to the extent supported by law."

Days before an event in Wisconsin where Musk handed out the \$1 million checks, the state's attorney general, Josh Kaul, sued Musk and America PAC, arguing that the billionaire was violating a law that bars offering voters something of value in exchange for casting ballots.

After a county judge declined to immediately hold a hearing and an appeals court rebuffed his request, Kaul asked the state's high court to issue a temporary restraining order barring Musk and America PAC from further promoting Musk's visit to Wisconsin and making payments conditioned on voting. The justices on the court declined to take the case and did not explain their rationale.

When Kaul's lawsuit was filed, Musk and his team portrayed the payments as rewards for signing petitions and serving as spokespeople — and not as compensation for votes. At the time, Musk was an adviser to President Donald Trump and oversaw the U.S. DOGE Service, a federal cost-cutting agency.

America PAC declined to comment Wednesday on the new complaint.

Musk initially said that the giveaway event and prize money would be open only to those who had voted early "in appreciation for you taking the time to vote."

After legal scholars questioned the plan, Musk deleted an initial post about the event and then said it would be open to Wisconsin registered voters who signed a petition opposing activist judges.

Jeff Mandell, president and general counsel for Law Forward — a public-interest law firm representing the plaintiffs in the latest complaint, said that one of Kaul's biggest challenges was the short timeline of his request.

"We're trying to create ... accountability in a more regular timeline, in a way that gives the courts the opportunity to look at this more carefully and in a more traditional procedure for them, and we fully expect that the courts are going to do so," Mandell said.

The plaintiffs in the latest complaint are "also in a different position substantively, because we know exactly what happened and how it unfolded, and we're asking the court to say this is not acceptable," Mandell added.

Musk similarly deployed high-value giveaways in swing states during the 2024 election, saying he would hand out \$1 million daily in a lottery for registered voters who signed a petition as part of his super PAC's recruitment drive. The program also sought to give \$47 cash incentives for valid referrals to registered voters in swing states. Despite legal efforts to stop Musk's tactics during the 2024 presidential campaign, a Pennsylvania judge said that prosecutors failed to show it was an illegal lottery, and he allowed the give-

aways to continue through Election Day.

Tuesday's complaint aims to prevent Musk and his groups from taking similar actions in Wisconsin in future elections. In recent months, Musk has sent mixed signals as to whether he plans to stay involved in U.S. elections. Trump carried Wisconsin in 2024, but Musk's preferred candidate lost the state Supreme Court race.

In late May, weeks before his exit from the administration as a special government employee, Musk indicated that he planned to do "a lot less" political spending going forward after having spent massively for Trump's campaign. But he said that could change if he saw "a reason to do political spending in the future."


Musk then left his role overseeing the Department of Government Efficiency last month with the fanfare of a personal send-off by Trump and the presentation of a ceremonial key to the Oval Office. However, in the short time since his departure, Musk's relationship with Trump and many Republicans in Congress has soured, with the tech scion suggesting at times that he may seek political revenge against lawmakers who support the president's massive legislative priorities bill.

Last week, for example, Musk wrote on X that "a new political party is needed in America to represent the 80% in the middle!"

Patrick Marley contributed to this report.

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Some question cost, efficiency of moving training to Ala.

FBI FROM AI

Other parts of the FBI's Quantico facilities — including the bureau's Laboratory Division — would remain at the sprawling campus in Northern Virginia under Bongino's proposed pilot plan, the people familiar with the discussions said.

An FBI spokesperson said the bureau is exploring relocation proposals that would optimize its facilities and be cost-effective, but did not offer further details. Virginia Democrats denounced the proposal, with lawmakers fearing that the FBI shrinking its presence in the Washington suburb would be a blow to the local economy.

"I am concerned that this is just the start of a targeted effort to economically hurt Northern Virginia," said Del. Candi Mundon King (D-Prince William), who represents the area in the Virginia House of Delegates. "These are jobs we are losing, which impacts our local economy."

Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R), who has cultivated a close relationship with President Donald Trump and defended his efforts to slash the federal workforce, also questioned the proposal.

"Quantico remains the best

place to train America's FBI," Youngkin told The Washington Post in a statement after the initial online publication of this article. "I am speaking with leadership at the FBI and DOJ to make sure Quantico remains the centerpiece of FBI training now and in the future."

The senior FBI official said Bongino believes relocating the academy to Huntsville would make better use of new facilities that are underutilized. Bureau leaders appointed by the Trump administration see an opportunity for more advanced training for law enforcement officers, particularly in combating cyber intrusions and digital fraud and theft, this official said.

Some career FBI personnel have questioned the cost and efficiency of the proposed move, several people familiar with the matter said. The FBI's training facilities at Quantico were recently upgraded, and the people familiar with the discussions said critics do not think Huntsville would have comparable facilities without there being significant new funding.

The bureau has been undergoing major personnel and other changes since Trump took office and selected his longtime ally, Kash Patel, to lead the bureau.



MICHAEL REYNOLDS/POOL/AP

Dan Bongino, pictured in 2020, is the FBI's deputy director. He's looking to relocate the National Academy to Huntsville, Alabama.

The administration later chose Bongino — an outspoken podcast host who spent 12 years at the Secret Service, including on presidential detail — as deputy director. That job historically had been held by a career FBI veteran.

Both Patel and Bongino had previously used their conservative online platforms to deride the FBI as corrupt and touted conspiracy theories as they characterized the bureau as in need of a major overhaul.

They and other Trump administration officials have pushed out many senior FBI leaders and, following the president's agenda, shifted resources and personnel to immigration enforcement.

FBI Assistant Director of the Training Division Brian Dugan was pushed to retire in recent weeks, though it was not clear why he left the bureau, said the people familiar with the internal discussions. Dugan, who spent almost 30 years with the FBI, was

named to the top training division job in February.

Patel has said he would move up to 1,500 staff and agents out of the FBI's downtown Washington headquarters to satellite offices across the country. Five hundred of those employees would go to Redstone Arsenal, the bureau's large satellite headquarters in Huntsville.

The FBI has had a presence in Huntsville for more than 50 years. Christopher A. Wray, who was appointed director of the FBI during Trump's first term and served throughout President Joe Biden's term, transferred and relocated divisions of the bureau there for two purposes.

One was to create a cyber and technological innovation hub in Alabama by bringing more data analytics and cyberthreat programs there. The other was to give more space to bureau divisions that had outgrown the aging Hoover Building headquarters in Washington, which the bureau had long talked about replacing.

Wray said it was also important for the FBI to have a strong base of operations in Huntsville in case of a terrorist attack or disruption in the nation's capital region.

Sen. Mark R. Warner (D-Virginia), vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said Con-

gress should scrutinize any plans to relocate the National Academy from Quantico, which is about 36 miles outside of Washington.

"This move raises serious questions, starting with why such a relocation is even necessary, and at what cost?" Warner said in a statement. "Quantico is co-located with other critical FBI and national security assets and before we spend taxpayer dollars on a disruptive and potentially unnecessary move, the Bureau owes Congress and the American people a clear justification for this plan."

Deshundra Jefferson, who chairs the Prince William Board of County Supervisors, also questioned the necessity of the move.

"Since 1972, Quantico has been the world's preeminent training facility for federal law enforcement, along with the FBI's partners at the local, state, and international levels," Jefferson said. "To move the National Academy away from its longtime home — which was upgraded recently at taxpayer expense — would be both costly and detrimental to our ability to keep Americans safe."

Schneider reported from Richmond. Teo Armus and Aaron Schaffer in Washington and Laura Vozzella in Richmond contributed to this report.

What it takes to get a Trump pardon: Loyalty, connections or the pardon czar

PARDONS FROM AI

of Trump's inner circle.

Although ethics experts said the shift undermines a process designed to ensure fairness, administration officials argue that the existing, backlogged system fails incarcerated people, who sometimes wait years to be considered.

"I'm not interested in who's connected to the president or who's connected to anyone else," said Alice Johnson, Trump's pardon czar. "I look at each individual case and what they've done and if this person is ready to reenter society, and if they've paid their debt."

Advocates and attorneys have gone to great lengths to get their cases before the White House. In interviews, they described a four-pronged approach to getting the president's attention: appealing directly to Trump on TV shows he watches or at places he is known to go, making large monetary contributions to business and groups affiliated with him, forging relationships with the Justice Department's pardon office and engaging the czar herself.

"You can't blame people for trying to go through the back door if the front door is locked," said Amy Povah, a former inmate and founder of a clemency advocacy group that advocated for a woman pardoned last month.

At the center of it all is Johnson, a widely respected criminal justice advocate whose conviction for federal drug and money laundering charges was wiped away by Trump during his first term. As pardon czar, Johnson said in an interview, she consults Justice Department attorneys to sift through court and prison records but relies mostly on her lived experience and the instincts of the president.

"I advocated for this process to be more effective and quicker and not get hung up in the DOJ," said Johnson, whose own case captured Trump's attention with the help of reality TV star Kim Kardashian. "The president wanted it to be in the White House."

Trump's hiring of Johnson to oversee clemency actions increased the White House's influence over how cases are evaluated — power that administration officials have said is needed to expedite consideration. More than 8,000 clemency applications are awaiting vetting by the Justice Department, according to the latest department figures. Most applicants are currently incarcerated and are seeking commutations to cut their sentences short.

Some of Trump's recipients fit a profile similar to grant recipients in previous administrations. Others, critics say, stood out for their demonstrations of loyalty to and financial investment in the president. On his first day in office, he pardoned nearly all of the roughly 1,600 people charged with crimes



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Donald Trump speaks last month in the Oval Office. Since taking office, Trump has upended the federal pardoning process.

at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021 — a move that absolved rioters of any legal ramifications for their involvement in one of the most divisive events in American history. Since then, he has granted clemency to dozens of other Americans.

Trump last month pardoned Paul Walczak, a Florida businessman who pleaded guilty to tax crimes, after Walczak's mother attended a million-dollar dinner in support of the president, the New York Times reported. Trevor Milton, the Nikola founder convicted of securities fraud and wire fraud, was pardoned after he donated more than \$1 million to Trump's campaign. His longtime attorney in the case is the brother of Attorney General Pam Bondi, though a person familiar with the matter — speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss information not made public — said Brad Bondi was not involved in the pardon application.

Trump also pardoned Julie Chrisley and Todd Chrisley, reality stars who were only a fraction through their prison sentences for tax evasion and defrauding banks. Johnson said she introduced the Chrisleys' case to the president after the daughter, Savannah Chrisley, who spoke at the Republican National Convention in support of Trump, approached her and convinced her of its merits. She declined to say where the two met.

"He is delegitimizing courts, jury verdicts — even prosecutions



BILL INGRAM/USA TODAY NETWORK/IMAGN IMAGES

Trump pardoned Paul Walczak, right, who pleaded guilty to tax crimes, after Walczak's mother attended a million-dollar dinner.

by his own Department of Justice," said Liz Oyer, a former Justice Department pardon attorney whom the Trump administration fired in March.

The White House does not adhere to the Justice Department's manual for clemency actions, said an administration official who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal processes.

Clemency petitions recommended for presidential approval have typically wound their way through multiple rounds of reviews by federal prosecutors and met recommendations laid out in the Justice Department's clemency

manual. Under the guidelines, applicants must show remorse and meet high standards of productivity for extended periods after they complete their sentences.

The process has taken on added importance since America's prison population swelled in the 1990s under harsh sentencing laws. Those laws were later overhauled but did not typically provide relief to those already incarcerated. Trump, who was found guilty last year on 34 felony counts of falsifying business records in a process he decried as slanted, has made criminal justice revision a focus in office.

Johnson said the flaws in a

system she experienced firsthand shaped the changes she is implementing as czar. In her first few months on the job, for example, she paid closer attention to the views of prison staff than prosecutors offices that last engaged with the person decades earlier. She stressed that she collaborates with the Justice Department and that White House Chief of Staff Susie Wiles and White House Counsel David Warrington review every case before it reaches the president.

Rachel Barkow, a professor at the NYU School of Law and an expert on clemency power, commended Johnson for taking fewer cues from prosecutors but questioned, "If you now have to go through the White House and Alice, is there truly equal access for everyone?"

Before assuming her new job, Johnson joined Kanye West and others in fighting for clemency for Larry Hoover, once an infamous gang leader in the Midwest.

Hoover's attorneys, Justin Moore and Josh Dubin, credit her with his commutation last month.

"She sees herself in Larry," Dubin said. "And she sees Larry in herself."

Scott Jenkins, a former Virginia sheriff convicted of federal bribery and fraud charges at the end of the Biden administration, found a champion in Trump appointee Ed Martin, according to two people familiar with the decision who spoke on the condition

of anonymity to share private discussions. Martin, whose nomination by Trump to serve as the top federal prosecutor in D.C. stalled in the Senate, was sworn in last month as the Justice Department's pardon attorney. Martin was also named the head of Justice Department's new "weaponization" group — dual roles that could give him the power to review past prosecutions he perceives as politically motivated and then push to grant those defendants clemency.

Presidents typically reserve controversial pardons for the end of their terms. Republicans and Democrats criticized former president Joe Biden for granting broad pardons to his son, Hunter Biden, and other relatives, as he left office, fearing that those unusual and personal clemency actions could be used as justification by future presidents to abuse the pardon powers.

In January, John Yoo, a law professor at the University of California at Berkeley who served as deputy assistant attorney general in the George W. Bush administration, wrote an op-ed in Newsweek praising Trump for allowing criminal processes to play out before granting pardons — unlike Biden, who issued a series of preemptive clemency actions. The piece was titled "Sorry, Biden's Pardons Are Much Worse Than Trump's."

After last month's pardons, Yoo changed his mind.

"It's like a celebrity pardon-a-thon," he said. "It's all these people with well-known cases, but it's not because great matters of state are involved."

That week in May, Johnson walked into the Oval Office with case files for people she hoped would get a second chance.

On her list: A woman who helped her husband run a drug trafficking organization; a man who led efforts to impeach Biden while in prison for fraud; and Hoover, the former gangster who built one of the most sprawling criminal enterprises in the Midwest.

Johnson said she had chosen some candidates after conversations with their attorneys, including one who joined her in Memphis for lunch. (Johnson said she does not tend to invite attorneys to her home but made an exception during a particularly busy time in her schedule.) Others advocated directly to the president — in a dining room at his Mar-a-Lago estate, on the stage of the Republican National Convention and on Fox News.

During her meeting with Trump, Johnson said, he approved of some of her nominations and rejected others. She said the president was invested in each case.

The next day, he pardoned 17 of the people she had presented and commuted the sentences of eight others.



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A firework thrown by a protester explodes near a police officer this week near the Metropolitan Detention Center in Los Angeles.

Police face 'balancing act' in protests

Despite troops' presence, most clashes are with local law enforcement

BY MARK BERMAN, REIS THEBAULT, MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE AND ERIN PATRICK O'CONNOR

President Donald Trump has boasted that the National Guard troops he dispatched to Los Angeles amid immigration protests are the only thing keeping peace in the city.

"If we didn't send in the National Guard quickly, right now Los Angeles would be burning to the ground," Trump said Tuesday in remarks at the White House.

But when protesters took to the streets in recent days, they repeatedly encountered the much more familiar — albeit sometimes unwelcome — sight of Los Angeles police officers, local sheriff's deputies and state highway patrol officers. These law enforcement authorities, rather than federal forces, have largely been the ones facing off with demonstrators who have gathered each day to protest recent immigration raids in the area.

Precisely how authorities are responding to the protests — which have at times been marked by clashes between police and demonstrators — has become a fraught fault line between the federal government and state and local officials.

The Trump administration has portrayed the country's second-biggest city as besieged and its leaders unable to properly respond, and ordered National Guard troops and 700 Marines to the area. Local and state authorities have countered by saying Los Angeles is well-equipped to handle the situation.

"The Los Angeles Police Department, alongside our mutual aid partners, have decades of experience managing large-scale public demonstrations, and we remain confident in our ability to do so professionally and effectively," Jim McDonnell, the LAPD chief, said in a statement about the Marine deployment.

Protests began last week after the Trump administration carried out a series of raids in the Los Angeles area, which is home to a large immigrant population, including many people who are undocumented. After some demonstrations were marked with skirmishes between authorities and protesters, Trump said he would send in the National Guard.

His announcement fueled outrage in Los Angeles and elsewhere, and protests continued daily. Law enforcement officials responding to the demonstrations faced criticism for some of their uses of force, including hitting multiple journalists and others with rubber bullets and tear gas.

Police said some people in the crowds have hurled items at officers or turned violent. At times, demonstrators have faced off with federal troops, including some lined up outside the federal building in downtown Los Angeles that has become a hub of protest activity.

Authorities and prominent figures have pushed back on the Trump administration's portrayal



A demonstrator this week in Los Angeles. The LAPD said it has arrested more than 100 people.

of a city consumed by unrest. The sometimes chaotic demonstrations have been isolated to relatively small sections of Los Angeles and its suburbs. Protests have not reached the size or scale of those that spread across the country in 2020 after George Floyd's killing, nor have they equaled the size of a demonstration in Los Angeles this year against Trump's policies.

Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass (D) said in a statement Monday that "the LAPD and local law enforcement continue to effectively respond" to the situation. As protests continued, Bass on Tuesday instituted an evening curfew for downtown Los Angeles beginning at 8 p.m. and said violators would be arrested and prosecuted.

Rick Caruso, the real estate magnate who ran against Bass for mayor, posted to social media Sunday that there was "no emergency, widespread threat, or out of control violence in Los Angeles." And, he said, "local law enforcement is capable of handling the situation and should arrest anyone causing violence in the streets."

Tensions have bubbled over at several points. On Saturday, protesters faced sheriff's deputies in two cities outside Los Angeles — Paramount and Compton — and some shot off fireworks or threw rocks and bottles at officers.

Several times as the night wore on, deputies fired tear gas into the throng, sending protesters scrambling and coughing.

"It's like the police are having fun shooting at people," said Bryan Nieves, 29, a protester from nearby Bell Gardens. "Pepper balls, flash bangs, this is amusing to them."

The next day, demonstrators blocked part of the 101 Freeway, threw rocks at police cruisers and set vehicles on fire. Authorities lobbed tear gas at protesters near the Edward R. Roybal Federal Building, which houses an immigration detention center.

"As soon as we got to the federal building, it was instantaneous: They threw tear gas," said Crystal, 31, a demonstrator who spoke on the condition that only her first name be used. "They're not able to have conversations with people. ... They can take that moment to de-escalate."

Trump's order called the Na-

tional Guard in to "temporarily protect" immigration officers, federal personnel and federal property. He notably did not invoke the Insurrection Act, which would let him deploy the military for domestic law enforcement actions, something they are generally prohibited from doing.

During demonstrations Monday, California National Guard troops were lined up in front of the federal building, alongside Customs and Border Protection agents. They remained on the federal property, hanging back while police officers formed a line and pushed demonstrators away using batons and rubber bullets. It was not immediately clear why the crowd was pushed back.

By Tuesday, troops were outside, blocking an entrance to the federal building.

Alpert Sutton, who was demonstrating nearby, said he had been injured by police during the protests and had seen many others hurt as well.

"I've seen a lot of people hit. I saw someone hiding behind a trash can and an officer shot him" with a projectile, said Sutton, 38. "Wasn't doing nothing. He was there to take pictures."

The LAPD said Tuesday it had arrested more than 100 people since Saturday for failing to disperse, and also arrested others for looting, assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer and attempted murder with a molotov cocktail. Nine other people face federal charges in connection with the Los Angeles protests.

The LAPD said it has used "less lethal munitions" in response to some demonstrators, adding that they "may cause pain and discomfort." The term refers to weapons law enforcement officials use in crowd control that are not meant to be deadly, including rubber bullets and tear gas.

"The department is aware of, and investigating, less lethal deployment use during the protests," an LAPD spokesman wrote in an email Tuesday.

McDonnell, the police chief, has defended his department's ability to respond to large-scale demonstrations. He has also pushed back on some of the Trump administration's rhetoric, including after Todd Lyons, acting director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, said it

took the LAPD more than two hours to respond to calls for help Friday. The department said officers were dispersing "the hostile and riotous crowd" within 55 minutes of being called.

After news broke Monday that the Trump administration planned to deploy Marines to the city, McDonnell said in a statement that without clear coordination between various agencies, the move "presents a significant logistical and operational challenge for those of us charged with safeguarding this city."

Experts said police in Los Angeles were in a difficult spot as they navigated the protests and Trump administration rhetoric.

"The police on the ground are in the hot seat, in a very complicated, difficult situation," said Darrel Stephens, the former Charlotte police chief. "Anything they do is going to have lots of questions, particularly in terms of whether to deploy gas or use force. ... Lots of people are going to second-guess that."

Los Angeles, in particular, has a long history of responding to protests — although not always handling them well. The department was sharply criticized for its response to unrest after officers involved in beating Rodney King were acquitted in 1992. And after the George Floyd protests in 2020, an examination found that the department's response was marred by poor training and lack of direction.

"The LAPD has a lot of experience in this area, probably more so than any department," said Chuck Wexler, executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum, a Washington-based group that works with police departments. "This is ultimately a balancing act. They're trying to defuse a very tense situation."

Wexler said there can be cases where federal assistance is needed, but that fundamentally, local policing leaders have the clearest sense of what they need.

"Decisions about how to best handle [protests] should be made by the local police chief, who knows the community," Wexler said. "Policing by and large is a local issue. And you would want to defer to them."

Thebault, Hennessy-Fiske and O'Connor reported from Los Angeles. Berman reported from Washington.

ICE offices get quotas in crackdown on employers

IMMIGRATION FROM A1

warrants, according to immigration advocates and lawyers. Often, undocumented workers never return to work after ICE agents serve an employer an inspection notice.

The directives have resulted in an explosion of immigration enforcement across industries and regions, according to four immigration lawyers.

This month, ICE officials have detained hundreds of workers, including at a meat-processing plant in Omaha, gas stations in Phoenix, construction sites in Tallahassee and Texas's Rio Grande Valley, and a pallet manufacturer in Pennsylvania.

ICE has ramped up arrests broadly in an effort to follow through on a directive from White House Deputy Chief of Staff Stephen Miller to make a minimum of 3,000 arrests a day. Those heightened efforts were on display last week in Los Angeles when ICE agents descended on a women's clothing manufacturer with a search warrant and also arrested day laborers at a Home Depot parking lot. The raids sparked protests that led President Donald Trump to deploy the National Guard and U.S. Marines.

Chris Thomas, a partner at Holland & Hart, a law firm that represents employers across the United States, said he is "seeing audits at the usual suspects: hospitality, construction and food processing. And with the same frequency in red states as blue states."

"Employers all over are panicking," said Amy Peck, a lawyer at the firm Jackson Lewis in Omaha, following Tuesday's raid on the Nebraska meat-packer. "Workers are not showing up for work."

The acceleration of the employer crackdown follows a recent declaration from Trump's border czar Tom Homan that there would be "more worksite enforcement than you've ever seen in the history of this nation." Some workplace raids in recent weeks have been assisted by the FBI; Drug Enforcement Administration; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives; U.S. Marshals Service; and Internal Revenue Service, as well as local law enforcement, according to recent ICE communications.

Abigail Jackson, a spokesperson for the White House, responded to questions about the quotas and increased worksite enforcement, saying: "If you are present in the United States illegally, you will be deported. This is the promise President Trump made to the American people and the Administration is committed to keeping it."

A DHS spokesperson said that "worksite immigration enforcement protects workers from exploitation and trafficking."

"These operations protect not only American workers but also illegal aliens," the spokesperson added. "President Trump will not allow criminals to abuse and exploit workers for profit."

The former DHS official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private conversations about the quotas, said that agents were being "pushed for this weeks ago" but that the pressure to investigate workplaces has increased recently. Quotas may vary by region, the official added.

As part of this effort, DHS has also recently reassigned more law enforcement agents from human trafficking and other transnational crime investigations to target U.S. employers, according to the former DHS official and two of the immigration attorneys.

"They're being pushed to basically work civil immigration and not do any criminal work," the former DHS official said.

The I-9 audits are used to collect evidence that can later be used to obtain warrants for workplace raids, such as those that rolled communities in the South and Midwest during the first

Trump administration.

This year, ICE agents have sometimes been arresting workers while delivering employers with inspection notices. In early May, ICE agents arrested 200 workers while serving inspection notices to 187 businesses in D.C. during a four-day sweep.

The crackdown on undocumented workers and employers arrives as the White House has applied enormous pressure on ICE to ramp up its deportation statistics. The administration previously set a goal of 1 million deportations in 2025, though it appears unlikely that it will meet this target.

It's unclear how many worksite arrests ICE has made so far. But during the first 100 days of the Trump administration, agents arrested about 1,270 undocumented immigrants on worksites and proposed nearly \$1 million in fines on businesses that employ them, according to its website.

Those numbers appear to be rising quickly as ICE agents descend on employers in nearly every sector.

"Notices of inspection are increasing exponentially," Dawn Lurie, a lawyer at the firm Seyfarth Shaw, which represents major employers. Earlier this year, DHS targeted small businesses — including mom-and-pop restaurants — but more recently, audits have branched out "in both scope and strategy," targeting company headquarters, including in the retail, finance, real estate and tech industries, Lurie said.

The construction industry has also faced enforcement activity, stoking widespread fear among laborers about showing up to work, notably after more than 100 undocumented immigrants were arrested while working on Tallahassee construction sites last month.

The I-9 audits are used to collect evidence that can later be used to obtain warrants for workplace raids, such as those that rolled communities in the South and Midwest during the first Trump administration.

Brian Turmail, spokesman for Associated General Contractors of America, said there is "huge anxiety" about how to support and maintain the current workforce. The organization has been coaching its 27,000 members about what to do if ICE shows up to a site or starts inquiring about paperwork. The group is also exploring ways to help people who have lawful status secure citizenship or other protections since "lawful status today might not be lawful status tomorrow."

Since January, agriculture had been one of the few sectors that has weathered less enforcement action, comparatively, the immigration lawyers said. More than 40 percent of laborers employed by agriculture are undocumented, according to 2022 estimates by the Agriculture Department.

The director of policy at the California Farm Bureau, Bryan Little, who is regularly in touch with farmers throughout the state, said he had not heard of a single enforcement action targeting the state's farmers since Trump retook the White House. But on Tuesday, word spread of raids on some farms in Southern California.

Natalie Allison contributed to this report.



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

Law enforcement officers stand on duty as a protester tosses a football with another protester Tuesday in Los Angeles.

Across most of Los Angeles, life continues uninterrupted

BY REIS THEBAULT

LOS ANGELES — From the Griffith Observatory, a landmark perched on a hilltop 1,000 feet above sea level, Joe and Jolene McGuire had a prime view of this vast city, and they couldn't see what their friends and family back home in Nebraska were so worried about.

For days — as social media feeds and cable news replayed images of burning cars and smashed windows, as President Donald Trump claimed a violent insurrection was underway — the couple fretted about whether they should cancel their anniversary trip out West.

Yet the Los Angeles they saw after arriving Tuesday morning was serene: sunny skies, peaceful streets, no hint of civil unrest or the federal government's aggressive, militarized response.

"If you're not here, you think L.A.'s burning to the ground," Joe McGuire said. "But you come out here, you look around and you just say, 'My God, this is where I want to be.'"

Despite Trump's assertions that Los Angeles was beset by widespread lawlessness, a chaos he insisted could be quelled only by thousands of National Guard troops and Marines, the protests that have unfolded here since Friday in response to immigration raids have been mostly confined to a few downtown blocks.

They have featured sporadic violent clashes, which intensified as the sun set and organized rallies dispersed, prompting the mayor to impose a curfew for downtown Tuesday night. Overall, though, the crowds have not been especially large, and life in



JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Most of Los Angeles, including the Mid-Wilshire neighborhood, has been free of protests this week.

much of this sprawling metropolis has continued uninterrupted.

On the tree-lined streets of the city's westside, joggers passed beneath blooming purple jacarandas. In northeast neighborhoods, street vendors sold fresh fruit and tacos. Kids, celebrating the start of summer break, played in parks. Retirees read newspapers outside a cafe.

Riding in open-top tour buses, visitors craned their necks to get a good look at the homes of celebrities. Revelers packed the city's Pride parade and the Hollywood Bowl's opening weekend.

An around-the-clock, every-where-all-at-once emergency this

is not.

"This is a manufactured crisis with a manufactured narrative that completely misunderstands Los Angeles," said Fernando Guerra, director of Loyola Marymount University's Center for the Study of Los Angeles. "It is as though there's a fire in one house and someone is claiming that the entire town is burning down."

That doesn't mean Angelenos aren't aware of what's happening. On the contrary, many stridently oppose the Immigration and Customs Enforcement crackdown, fearing for themselves, their families or their neighbors.

But Los Angeles is huge, and

even as a feeling of foreboding lingers, the protests triggered by the ICE raids have hardly impeded daily routines. The city is roughly 500 square miles and could hold more than 20 Manhattan within its bounds. L.A. County is even larger and, with nearly 10 million residents, would be the country's 11th most populous state.

In portraying the pandemonium as total, Trump and his allies are furthering several political goals, Guerra said. The president is showcasing his anti-immigration policies, communicating his willingness to upend long-standing norms and bolstering his

persistent argument that Democratic-led cities are out of control.

"If you ever wanted a playbook on how to dominate the national narrative, this is it," Guerra said. "He's met all his objectives."

For a reality check, he added, compare the events of recent days with past moments of upheaval. The 2020 protests following the murder of George Floyd by Minneapolis police drew far larger crowds here, and the 1992 riots after the beating of Rodney King left an extensive trail of damage across the L.A. area.

And the latest demonstrations weren't even the biggest of the year locally, nor were they the first to shut down parts of the 101 freeway. Officials maintain that a typical police response — which might include mutual aid from the state, county or neighboring cities — would have been sufficient.

"We've all been, in Los Angeles, a part of a grand experiment to see what happens when the federal government decides they want to roll up on a state, roll up on a city and take over," Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass (D) told reporters recently.

In the same news conference, she took pains to underscore that the most significant confrontations between protesters and police were isolated to a relatively small area. "Unfortunately the visuals make it seem as though our entire city is in flames, and that is not the case at all," Bass said. "And I think it's important to say that."

At the Griffith Observatory, those visuals didn't fool Lynn Counts, who had just arrived from Illinois a couple hours before. She and her family saw the

headlines but decided to make the trip anyway. Her impression after driving the distance from Los Angeles International Airport? An overreaction.

"We're from Chicago," she said. "So we've seen plenty of stuff like that."

Peter Pastore of Toronto has been in Los Angeles for nearly a week, sightseeing while his son competed in a Tetris tournament. Best he can tell, Trump is just back to picking a fight with California, a favorite punching bag. His family hasn't noticed anything amiss.

"It's really no big deal," Pastore said.

The only thing that has made him nervous during the trip: his lifelong earthquake phobia.

In the neighborhood of Silver Lake, Tera Uhlinger and her 12-year-old schnauzer, Mason, were lounging in the grass next to the area's reservoir. Like other residents, she has been fielding concerned messages from out-of-town friends and family.

"I think people who don't live in L.A. think that it's kind of like any other city," she said.

Instead, it's diffuse, spread out, a multiplicity of diverse places and people. Uhlinger — a writer, actor and Reiki practitioner — has been feeling the dissonance lately. She has been dismayed by the immigration raids, but the protests have felt a world apart.

Her focus has been on Mason, who is recuperating from a back injury.

"We're a few miles from the protest right now," Uhlinger said. "But I'm a million miles away, sitting in the park, giving my dog attention."

Competing gatherings reflect a split nation

DIVIDED U.S. FROM AI

Trump has long made clear his desire for a dramatic military parade to showcase America's military might, a display that has traditionally been more common in other countries. June 14 is Flag Day as well as the 250th anniversary of the U.S. Army's founding, and the White House says the fact that it is also Trump's 79th birthday is a coincidence.

Sean Spicer, an officer in the Navy reserve who served as White House spokesman in Trump's first term, noted that the president seized on the idea of a military parade years ago, after seeing one as part of France's observation of Bastille Day. The juxtaposition with Trump's birthday is plainly happenstance, he said.

"This idea of 'kings' and his birthday — that is manufactured. He has not brought this up," Spicer said. "The only people mentioning his birthday are people in the media and the left. It's sad when the president of the United States, the commander in chief, is trying to recognize the sacrifice of so many, and haters want to tear it down."

As the confrontation in Los Angeles drags on, shaping up as a pivotal moment in Trump's second presidency, it is becoming increasingly conflated with Saturday's events. Trump sent the National Guard and Marines to Los Angeles to confront protests against his immigration policies, and on Tuesday he suggested a similar dynamic could play out on Saturday.

"For those people that want to protest, they're going to be met with very big force," Trump told reporters in the Oval Office, making no distinction between violent and peaceful demonstrators. "And I haven't even heard about a protest, but you know, this is people that hate our country. But they will be met with very heavy force."

In an address denouncing Trump's intervention in his state, California Gov. Gavin Newsom (D) cited the parade as part of the president's lurch toward authoritarianism. "We all know that this Saturday he's ordering our American heroes, the United States military, and forcing them to put on a vulgar display to celebrate his birthday, just as other failed dictators have done in the past," Newsom said Tuesday.

Mike Madrid, a longtime Republican consultant who is critical of Trump, said the president's goal is the same in the L.A. confrontation and the D.C. parade: to warn opponents he is willing to use the military in unorthodox ways. "The reason he is doing the military parade is not for flexing,



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Attendees listen during the Unite for Veterans rally on the National Mall on Friday, a protest of proposed cuts to VA and the overhaul of the federal workforce.

it is to show he is willing to break norms with the military," Madrid said, adding that the clash in California "fits into that narrative."

Organizers say their plans for a Saturday No Kings protest in Los Angeles are moving forward and that the recent immigration-focused protests only confirm the need for it. They add that they are stressing nonviolence in all their planning.

But the parade was a volatile subject long before the Los Angeles protests, with Trump's adversaries seizing on it as the epitome of his crude self-regard. Still, not everyone who supports the parade is an unequivocal Trump fan.

Ty Seidule, a military historian at Hamilton College who retired as a brigadier general after 36 years in the Army, said he initially had mixed feelings about the parade but came to view it as a rare chance to highlight the U.S. Army, a storied and underappreciated organization.

"Is it the same day as his birthday? Yes, but it is also the Army's birthday," Seidule said. "The Army band is not playing 'Happy Birthday.' There isn't going to be a Marilyn Monroe moment, I hope. I think there are plenty of other things to criticize the president for, but to me, if you focus on that, you are taking away the opportunity to celebrate something we don't often do in this country."

Saturday's display could be a moment to highlight facts that Trump downplays, Seidule sug-

gested, including the Army's historic reliance on immigrants and minorities. The Army's story is not all positive, he added; it helped end slavery and liberate the Nazi death camps, acts of undeniable heroism, but fell woefully short when it came to civil rights.

"It's an opportunity to tell Americans that we reflect the society, for better and worse," he said.

Trump's habit of seizing on traditional patriotic symbols, such as the American flag, Mount Rushmore and the Declaration of Independence, while using forceful tactics that his opponents see as un-American, has prompted a renewed discussion of the meaning of patriotism since he returned to office in January.

Trump's adversaries say he routinely seeks to whitewash U.S. history, ignoring episodes of injustice and racial division in favor of a mythical unblemished past. The president and his supporters respond that he is pushing back against progressives' bitter obsession with magnifying the country's flaws and downplaying its greatness.

The clash will get a full airing on July 4, 2026, when the country celebrates its 250th anniversary with enormous pomp. Trump is signaling his intent to use that occasion to promote his vision of patriotism, including the creation of a "Garden of American Heroes," a sculpture garden that the White House says "will memorialize our American heroes for generations

to come." Which heroes to include is likely to be the subject of fierce argument.

Saturday's parade and protest are the immediate flash points.

At a recent hearing of the House Armed Services Committee, Rep. Salud Carbajal (D-California) suggested the parade's \$45 million to \$50 million price tag makes little sense at a time of cuts in military programs. "If Congress wrote the Army a \$45 million blank check, do you think the Army could find a better way to spend that money than a parade?" Carbajal asked.

Army Secretary Daniel P. Driscoll responded that the 250th birthday celebration will spur a "recruiting boom that will fill up our pipeline for the coming years," so the money will be well-spent. Rep. Derrick Van Orden (R-Wisconsin) added that "you cannot put a price tag on patriotism. You cannot. And celebrating arguably — not even arguably — the best army that has ever existed in the history of the planet deserves attention."

At the celebration in Washington, 150 vehicles, dozens of helicopters, various planes and 6,700 soldiers are expected to take part, the Army has said. The Army's parachute team, the Golden Knights, will drop into the event, delivering an American flag to Trump, who will be watching the proceedings from a reviewing stand. The president will also enlist and reenlist 250 civilians and soldiers, and beyond the parade

itself, the day will include a fireworks display, military demonstrations and country music performances.

At the same time, activist groups such as Indivisible, 50501, the American Federation of Teachers and Black Voters Matter are planning to turn out thousands of protesters for the "No Kings" nationwide day of defiance that they say will include marches and rallies in about 2,000 locations. In some places, activists will spell out "No Kings" on a beach or use cards to spell it out on a field.

"Trump is trying to claim that he owns this country, that he is the ruler of this country," said Ezra Levin, co-founder of Indivisible. "By holding a military parade, it's his attempt to equate the American government with himself. ... In these protests, we'll see a lot of patriotism, a lot of flags, a lot of veterans on stages talking about their service. We are not ceding the ground of patriotism."

Last Friday, thousands of veterans rallied against Trump's proposed cuts to the Department of Veterans Affairs and his overhaul of the federal workforce, at a Unite for Veterans protest on the National Mall.

Crow agreed that many veterans will take part in Saturday's protests, adding that the troops taking part in the parade are probably not happy about it, given how unpopular parade duty is in the military.

"On my three combat tours, we were focused on fighting, being physically fit and getting better at the mission, and if we had any time we wanted to be with our families," the congressman said. "I guarantee you those 6,000 troops preparing to engage in this parade would rather be doing something else."

Trump this week framed the event partly as a response to the fact that unlike other nations, the United States had not been planning a commemoration of victory in World War II, even though "we're the ones that won the war."

He was equally blunt on NBC's "Meet the Press" last month. "We have the greatest missiles in the world," Trump said. "We have the greatest submarines in the world. We have the greatest army tanks in the world. We have the greatest weapons in the world. And we're going to celebrate it."

Seidule said that it is appropriate to celebrate the accomplishments of the U.S. Army — but also appropriate for Americans to protest if they wish.

"With our 340 million people, we will see it in all ways, and I welcome that. That is the American way," he said. "We should have this event, and there should be people protesting. What more American event could you have than to have people protesting as well?"

Olivia George contributed to this report.



BRANDON BELL/GETTY IMAGES

Demonstrators gather Monday at the Texas State Capitol in Austin to protest the sweeping immigration crackdown.



MEGAN VARNER/REUTERS

Police officers in Atlanta are targeted by fireworks thrown at them Tuesday as they try to disperse demonstrators.



ADAM GRAY/GETTY IMAGES

NYPD officers make arrests Tuesday as people protest mass deportations outside of federal buildings.

A look at anti-ICE protests across the country, from New York to Seattle

BY BEN BRASCH, KARIN BRULLIARD AND MOLLY HENNESSY-FISKE

Protests over the Trump administration's immigration enforcement continued to spread Wednesday to cities across the United States, drawing stark warnings from the White House that it would not hesitate to expand its deployment of National Guard troops and Marines to quell demonstrations beyond Los Angeles.

Hundreds of people have been arrested in recent days as events have taken place in Chicago, New York, Atlanta and various Texas cities. More are planned for the coming days in cities from Eugene, Oregon, to Raleigh, North Carolina.

Yet even as the administration faces growing backlash from the streets and Democrats, officials have dug in with its approach, with Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth telling a Senate panel on Wednesday that President Donald Trump's order to federalize the National Guard in Los Angeles could be rolled out elsewhere should law enforcement officers be "threatened." White House spokeswoman Karoline Leavitt characterized the Los Angeles protesters as "left-wing radicals," "illegal criminals" and "rioters" causing chaos in that city — despite the demonstrations being isolated, with only episodic violence.

Democratic leaders have condemned the immigration sweeps

that have provoked the growing public response and called the use of federal troops unnecessary and unwarranted.

Chicago Mayor Brandon Johnson on Wednesday labeled Trump an "authoritarian" and "tyrant." Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass and elected officials representing 15 Southern California cities appeared together to decry the fear generated by the crackdown and warn of its implications: "Maybe today it was the city of Los Angeles. Tomorrow it's one of your cities," Bass said.

The sparring at federal, state and local levels reflected partisan divisions that have only hardened in recent days as more raids and protests took place.

Texas Gov. Greg Abbott (R) announced on Tuesday evening that he was deploying his state's National Guard to help "maintain order" at protests planned there against U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. San Antonio Mayor Ron Nirenberg said he and other city officials were never notified about the deployment, and he was "chasing rumors" to find out where they were. "Local police, including San Antonio police, are fully capable of maintaining order."

In Georgia, Attorney General Chris Carr (R) cautioned Wednesday that anyone arrested for destroying property or assaulting law enforcement could be charged under the state's domestic terrorism law. Six people were arrested at an Atlanta immigration protest, and more anti-

Trump demonstrations are expected in coming days.

"All Americans have the right to peacefully protest. No American has the right to destroy property, loot businesses, or attack law enforcement officers," Carr said in a statement described as a "warning to rioters." "Protesters use words. Rioters use violence. There is no gray area."

The Trump administration defended its California troop deployments in federal court, saying in response to a lawsuit by the state that the Guard forces are not engaged in law enforcement but instead are focusing on protecting federal personnel and property in the Los Angeles area.

In a declaration submitted along with the court filing, Maj. Gen. Niave F. Knell, deputy commanding general for Army North Command, wrote that more than 2,100 troops had already carried out tasks including protecting federal buildings and guarding ICE officers. The Trump administration has also dispatched more than 700 Marines to Los Angeles, though they have not yet arrived. They are "currently training in preparation" to carry out similar work, Knell said in the declaration.

Legal experts have raised concerns about Trump's response to the unrest, saying he appears to be laying the groundwork for more expansive use of the military. He has not invoked the Insurrection Act, which would let him deploy the military to carry out domestic law enforcement

actions, which it is otherwise generally barred from doing. But when asked about that option Wednesday, Attorney General Pam Bondi said the administration is "not scared to go further."

Southern California officials have pushed back strongly on ICE's roundups of workers, whom they say are nothing like the violent offenders the administration claims to be targeting. "ICE is scaring our communities," South Gate Mayor Maria Davila said during a briefing with other L.A.-area mayors. "They're targeting children and families."

Mario Trujillo, who leads nearby Downey, said ICE had detained seven people in his city during raids at a Home Depot, LA Fitness and Catholic church. "These people are not criminals — they are here to work," Trujillo said. Federal agents "are not keeping our communities safe. They are stirring fear."

In Los Angeles on Wednesday, many downtown businesses were open and foot traffic steady. But some store fronts were boarded up with plywood or had signs in their windows with messages of solidarity for protesters and immigrants. Outside City Hall, about a hundred protesters gathered in the afternoon, chanting, waving Mexican flags and playing mariachi music. A nighttime curfew remains in place from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m.

Bass said police made more than 100 arrests overnight on Tuesday, not for looting or vandalism but for failure to disperse and

curfew violations. She stressed that the curfew covers only a small sliver of the city, a half-dozen square miles out of hundreds. Protests are "isolated to several streets in downtown," she said, blasting Trump's portrayal of the city being out of control as "a lie."

The protests this week have been organized by a variety of groups, including labor unions and the 50501 movement, a decentralized, grassroots campaign that has been calling for rallies against various Trump policies.

Hunter Dunn, a spokesperson for the 50501 movement, said he has been heartened to see demonstrations expand nationwide since Friday. "People are willing to stand up across the country because of what's happening in my local community," he said. "People are watching and are ready to join the fight."

In Texas, a border state that has been a nucleus of anti-ICE activity, protesters have gathered in Dallas, San Antonio, Austin and beyond in recent days to decry immigration raids and detentions. In Austin, protesters — organized by the local Party for Socialism and Liberation — and law enforcement clashed at a demonstration Tuesday that led to 13 arrests and minor injuries among officers. Mayor Kirk Watson urged residents to not feed into Trump's "politics of fear and pain and risk doing harm to those we want to help" in immigrant communities.

In Philadelphia, union members turned out after last Friday's

arrest of David Huerta, head of the Service Employees International Union of California. Police said that about 150 demonstrators gathered at the Federal Detention Center there to protest ICE and that 15 people were arrested and accused of disorderly conduct and aggravated assault on officers.

Amid the spontaneous protests this week, hundreds of rallies in a movement that has dubbed itself the "No Kings Nation Wide Day of Defiance" are in the final stages of planning for Saturday — the same day, by design, as Trump's military parade and Army birthday celebration in Washington.

No Kings organizers said in a call this week that protests are expected in more than 1,800 cities as part of a "mass, nationwide protest rejecting authoritarianism, billionaire-first politics, and the militarization of our democracy." The interest level has only intensified since the Los Angeles immigration raids and demonstrations, organizers said.

Said Leah Greenberg, the co-executive director of the left-leaning grassroots advocacy group Indivisible Project: "In a moment like this where this is an active effort by the president and his regime to chill dissent and to create costs for anybody who speaks out, it's absolutely crucial that you have collective action."

Mark Berman, Holly Bailey, Annie Gowen, Victoria Crow, Daniel Wu and Gaya Gupta contributed to this report.



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Harvey Weinstein convicted of sexual assault in retrial

BY HERB SCRIBNER

Harvey Weinstein was convicted Wednesday by a New York jury of one charge of committing a criminal sexual act in his sexual assault retrial, a decision that comes more than a year after his 2020 conviction was overturned.

The jury acquitted Weinstein on a separate criminal sex act charge involving Kaja Sokola, a former model who testified that Weinstein sexually assaulted her in 2006 when she was 19 years old, but has been unable to reach a verdict on a third charge stemming from an incident in 2013. The jury was expected to continue deliberations on that charge on Thursday.

Sokola said she was “relieved” by the decision, which could keep the disgraced Hollywood producer behind bars.

“Coming forward was the hardest thing I’ve ever done. I shared my story publicly, I testified under oath, and I relived my trauma, all at a personal cost — so that the world would know the truth,” she wrote in a statement. “I owed it to myself, and to the other women who survived him, to make sure that the world knows what kind of man Harvey Weinstein is. Speaking out was an act of power and it allowed me to reclaim the pride and confi-

dence he tried to take from me.”

Sokola’s lawyer, Lindsay M. Goldbrum, wrote in a statement that “Kaja may not have received the verdict she deserved, but her truth was heard, and it helped bring down a man who believed he was untouchable.”

One of Weinstein’s other accusers, former production assistant Miriam Haley, told reporters Wednesday she was thankful for the jury’s verdict.

“Testifying in the face of constant disruptions, victim shaming and deliberate attempts to distort the truth was exhausting and at times dehumanizing,” Haley said. “But today’s verdict gives me hope — hope that there’s new awareness around sexual violence and that the myth of the perfect victim is fading. And I hope that this result empowers others to speak out and seek justice.”

“This trial was fair until we got to the jury deliberations,” Weinstein’s publicist, Juda Engelmayer, said in a statement to The Washington Post. “More than one juror had complained that other jurors had preconceived notions and are using their beliefs of Harvey’s life as evidence of guilt. The Foreman said he was threatened by other jurors. We believe there are serious appellate issues and they will be explored.”



Harvey Weinstein appears in New York court Wednesday. The jury is expected to continue deliberating on a third charge Thursday.

On Friday, juror drama threatened to divert the case. One juror complained to the judge that other jurors were talking about and treating another member of their group unfairly, behavior he called “playground stuff,” according to the Associated Press. But the judge still denied the defense team’s earlier mistrial request, because the discussions that concerned the juror didn’t seem to involve trial evidence and possibly suggested that the juror’s

“youth makes him uncomfortable with conflict.”

In an exclusive interview after closing arguments, Weinstein told Fox5, “I have regrets that I put my family through this, that I put my wife through this, and I acted immorally. I put so many friends through this and hurt people that were close to me by actions that were stupid. ... But never illegal, never criminal, never anything.”

Weinstein was first found

guilty of sex crimes in 2020 and sentenced to 23 years in prison. In 2024, a New York court overturned the decision, ruling that the original trial’s judge had improperly allowed three women to testify about allegations that Weinstein was not on trial for. Prosecutors added a third sex crime charge for the retrial.

Weinstein, 73, pleaded not guilty and has denied all allegations of sexual assault. His attorneys argued that anything that happened between him and his accusers was consensual.

Prosecutors alleged in the retrial that Weinstein used his power as a high-profile media figure to influence victims emotionally and physically. Three women — Haley, Sokola and former aspiring actress Jessica Mann — alleged in graphic and emotional testimony that Weinstein said he’d help them with their careers but later preyed on them in private.

Weinstein, who did not testify in the trial, watched from the defense table as his accusers testified, sometimes speaking to his attorneys and other times shaking his head, according to the Associated Press.

In the 2020 trial, Weinstein was found guilty of a first-degree criminal sex act of forcing oral sex on Haley at his apartment in

2006. He was also found guilty of a third-degree rape of Mann at a hotel in 2013.

But in April 2024, his conviction was overturned by the New York Court of Appeals, which suggested a retrial since prosecutors had called women to the stand whose accusations were not the basis for the charges. Those accusers alleged Weinstein forced them into unwanted sexual encounters.

The decision to overturn his conviction was deemed an upset by the #MeToo movement, which was supercharged in 2017 after stories from the New York Times and the New Yorker reported that Weinstein had sexually abused and harassed women for years. This inspired more women to come forward against the mogul and other powerful men across entertainment.

Weinstein has been imprisoned at Rikers Island in New York after receiving a 16-year sentence after a 2022 trial for a separate case in California. In that case, he was convicted of rape, forced oral sex and sexual misconduct. He is appealing that case. Weinstein didn’t testify at previous trials in New York and California.

Samantha Chery and Shayna Jacobs contributed to this report.



Air Force Gen. Dan Caine, right, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, travels between hearings Tuesday at the U.S. Capitol.

Joint Chiefs chair breaks with Trump assessments

General rebuts president on Putin’s ambitions and L.A. ‘being invaded’

BY ABIGAIL HAUSLOHNER

Gen. Dan Caine, who since becoming chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in April has assiduously avoided the public spotlight, on Wednesday broke with President Donald Trump’s assessment of the threat posed by Russia and the ongoing protests and violence in Los Angeles.

Caine’s comments during a Senate Appropriations subcommittee hearing were restrained but significant, coming from the nation’s top military officer who Democrats and moderate Republicans had feared might show little appetite for going against a president prone to pushing falsehoods in pursuit of his political agenda.

Trump has routinely downplayed alarm about Vladimir Putin’s territorial ambitions in Eastern Europe and, in an address this week, branded those in the United States protesting his immigration policies as agents of a “foreign invasion.” But Caine declined to confirm either assessment.

When asked by Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-South Carolina) whether Putin intends to “stop in Ukraine,” the general was frank: “I don’t believe so, sir.”

When pressed by Sen. Brian Schatz (D-Hawaii) to say if he believes the demonstrations and violence in Los Angeles are a sign the United States is “being invaded by a foreign nation,” as Trump told an audience of soldiers Tuesday in North Carolina, Caine said he doesn’t.

“At this point in time, I don’t see any foreign, state-sponsored folks invading,” the general re-

plied, before adding, “but I’ll be mindful of the fact that there has been some border issues throughout time.”

When Schatz asked if there has been a “rebellion” against the government, another politically charged term the president and his administration have employed since unrest flared in Southern California, Caine declined to affirm that either. “I think there’s definitely some frustrated folks out there,” he offered.

Trump’s second term in office has been remarkable, in part, for the frequency with which false and misleading statements by the president go unchecked by a majority of Republicans on Capitol Hill, and Caine’s responses Wednesday offered a stark contrast with the man seated beside him, Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth.

As the president’s top military adviser, the Joint Chiefs chairman is expected to provide honest and unflinching advice to the commander in chief, the defense secretary and to Congress, even when that assessment conflicts with the political messaging of the administration in power. During his confirmation hearing, Caine, a surprise selection for the job after Trump abruptly fired the general’s predecessor, Gen. Charles Q. Brown Jr., in February, promised to earn lawmakers’ trust.

Hegseth tried to paper over what Caine had said.

“It’s quite easy to point out that there has been an invasion of 21 million illegals in our country under the previous administration,” he told Schatz. “So this administration was elected to get a hold of that.”

To Graham’s question about Putin’s intent to pummel Ukraine and turn his war machine westward, Hegseth allowed only that “it remains to be seen.”

Graham — whom Republican

lawmakers often view as the senator best equipped to persuade the president on the GOP’s more traditional foreign policy postures — laughed. “Well, he says he’s not,” the senator said, referencing the Russian leader. He likened Putin’s ambitions to Adolf Hitler’s stated intentions to kill Jews and take over Europe in the 1930s. “It doesn’t remain to be seen, Graham went on. Putin, he added, “tells everybody around what he wants to do.”

Wednesday’s hearing was the second time in as many days that Hegseth and Caine faced lawmakers’ questions, with another hearing, before the House Armed Services Committee, set for Thursday. Senate Democrats, just as their House counterparts had on Tuesday, seized the opportunity to attack Hegseth’s record of “chaos and poor judgment” while helming the Defense Department, and his unwillingness to respond to congressional inquiries and the news media.

The Trump administration has so far failed to provide Congress with a complete defense budget proposal for the coming fiscal year, and meanwhile the Pentagon has diverted funds meant to rebuild barracks and improve U.S. troops’ quality of life to support instead Trump’s immigration crackdown on the U.S.-Mexico border, said Sen. Chris Coons (D-Connecticut), the subcommittee’s top Democrat.

Coons accused Hegseth of committing the “unthinkable” mistake of sharing sensitive military plans over an unclassified messaging app, including with members of his family; of firing some of the military’s most senior commanders “without cause”; and of “censoring” military academies’ libraries.

“Far more of your time so far has been spent inside the building on culture wars, rather than outside the building, deterring real ones,” Coons said.

“You are deploying the American military to police the American people,” Sen. Patty Murray (Washington), the full Appropriations Committee’s top Democrat, said to Hegseth of the scene in Los Angeles. “Sending the National Guard into California without the governor’s request. Sending the Marines — not after foreign threats, but after American protesters.”

If Caine toed a delicate line Wednesday, Hegseth — who caught the president’s eye during his tenure as a right-wing commentator on Fox News — adhered to White House talking points as he responded to Democrats’ queries and doubled down on Trump’s claims. He also left open the possibility that the deployment of troops to respond to protests in Los Angeles “could expand to other places.”

The president’s deployment order is partly about “getting ahead of a problem, so that if in other places, if there are other riots in places where law enforcement officers are threatened, we would have the capability to surge National Guard there if necessary,” Hegseth said.

Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Kentucky), the former Senate leader who has made little secret of his dislike for both Trump and Hegseth, criticized the administration for spending too little on national security, and for the appearance of siding with Russia in its war against Ukraine.

“Which side do you want to win?” he pressed Hegseth.

“This president is committed to peace in that conflict,” Hegseth replied, declining to name Ukraine. “Ultimately, peace serves our national interests and, we think, the interest of both parties, even if that outcome will not be preferable to many in this room and many in our country.”

Patrick Svitek and Amy B Wang contributed to this report.

Hegseth is evasive on details of Qatari jet deal

BY AMY B WANG AND DAN LAMOTHE

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth on Wednesday resisted lawmakers’ demands for transparency about the luxury airplane from Qatar that President Donald Trump wants to use as Air Force One, rebuffing several sharp questions about the Boeing 747-8 jetliner and the terms surrounding its transfer to the U.S. government.

At a hearing of the Senate Appropriations Committee on Wednesday — during which Hegseth was grilled on the Defense Department’s budget for the upcoming fiscal year and its approach to global conflicts — Democrats were intently focused on the plane that Trump has claimed would be a “gift” to the United States. The Pentagon said last month that it had taken possession of the jetliner, even though legal teams representing the two countries have not finalized an agreement that would allow such a transfer.

Hegseth confirmed a Washington Post report from last month revealing that the agreement had not been signed despite one of his top aides having claimed that the secretary had accepted the Qatari jet. Yet Hegseth declined to answer several other questions about it, citing the unclassified nature of the hearing.

When Sen. Jack Reed (D-Rhode Island) asked, for instance, how long it might take for a contractor to reconfigure the aircraft to meet rigorous safety and security standards for the Air Force One mission, Hegseth said that information was “not for public consumption.”

Hegseth also said he could not reveal the cost of such a contract, a rebuff that appeared to anger the usually low-key Reed, the top Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee.

“Why can’t it be revealed in this setting?” Reed snapped. “This is the Appropriations Committee of the United States Senate. We appropriate the money that you will spend after it’s authorized by my committee.”

Reed criticized the secrecy shrouding the Trump administration’s deal with Qatar and said the plane was “not only a bad deal for the American public” but also about “gratifying the president’s ego.”

As The Post reported last month, Air Force officials estimat-

ed it could cost \$1.5 billion to bring the Qatari plane up to satisfactory maintenance conditions for presidential transport, and another \$500 million to remove the military gear and convert the aircraft for civilian use after Trump’s term.

Trump, who has denied the plane is a personal gift to him, has said the aircraft would be transferred to his presidential library after he leaves office.

Sen. Chris Murphy (D-Connecticut) noted Wednesday that when Trump signed a contract with Boeing in 2018 for Air Force One replacements, during his first term, those terms were disclosed. Murphy also pointed out that Air Force officials had testified before the House that those new Air Force One planes probably would be ready for use by 2028.

“It doesn’t stand to reason that you will be able to retrofit the plane from Qatar much sooner than 2028, so I’m trying to understand what the gap is that we’re trying to fill,” Murphy said.

Hegseth deferred the question to the Air Force but noted there also had been “delay after delay on the Boeing side,” suggesting the planes that are under contract might not be ready by 2028.

“But why would we ask the American taxpayer to spend upward of \$1 billion on a plane that would then only be used for a handful of months and then transfer directly to the president? That doesn’t sound like a wise use of taxpayer dollars,” Murphy pressed.

Hegseth maintained that there are reasons — which he said should remain classified — that justify modifying an aircraft even for a short period of time “to ensure the safety and security of the president of United States.”

“We’re talking about a pretty massive investment of appropriations dollars into a plane that the secretary is saying is currently planned to be transferred personally to the president,” Murphy concluded. “There’s a lot of other pending needs that we need to fund. This would seem to be low on the list.”

In a separate exchange during the hearing with Sen. Brian Schatz (D-Hawaii), Hegseth declined to say whether the U.S. or Qatar initiated discussions over the jet’s transfer. Trump has said that Qatar approached the U.S. about it, while other officials have said the Trump team first raised the issue.



Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth testifies Wednesday during a Senate Appropriations Committee hearing on Capitol Hill.

DETENTION FROM A1

whisk away the injured. Last year, at least two teenagers tested positive for fentanyl. Since 2021, the number of dangerous incidents at the center has nearly quadrupled, meaning chaos has become a near-daily reality for the high-risk young people held there.

- Children committed to DYRS while awaiting treatment should be transferred to a rehabilitation program within 30 days, the agency director has testified. But the average wait time saw a nearly fivefold increase, to 62 days in 2024 from 13 in 2018, The Post found. Some teens waited more than six months for treatment.

- Many delays are caused by a shortage of beds for teens at residential programs that contract with DYRS. Bowser didn't pursue a 2022 proposal to create a psychiatric residential treatment facility in the District, The Post found. That left DYRS relying on a dwindling number of facilities with long wait lists. They often reject D.C. youth or have been accused of serious misconduct. Last year, the agency sent 14 children to a Pennsylvania nonprofit where two staffers had been charged with sexually assaulting children — including a teen from D.C. — at one of its centers.

- Because time spent waiting for placement doesn't count toward their stay in a rehabilitative program, children have routinely been kept away from home for much longer than intended. Attorneys and teens commonly refer to this wait period as “dead time,” which advocates say can be logistically and psychologically harmful to a young person.

“You want to stop crime in the city, as Mayor Bowser says?” said Will Mount, a lawyer who has represented hundreds of teens in D.C.'s juvenile justice system over the past nine years. “The solution is to get these kids the services they need now, or otherwise, you reap what you sow.”

Bowser declined multiple requests to be interviewed. She has publicly touted her administration's progress on youth crime, telling a local media outlet last year that DYRS is “fantastic.” In April, she announced that violent crime arrests were down 26 percent over the same time last year. Carjacking arrests were down 50 percent.

Lindsey Appiah, the deputy mayor for public safety, defended the administration's handling of the agency in a statement.

“The District is working to hold young people accountable for wrongdoing—especially violence—even as we try to build pathways to rehabilitation and growth,” she said. “The Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services works consistently to ensure the safety of its young people and of the general public.”

Sam Abed, the agency director, also declined to be interviewed.

In an emailed statement, DYRS spokeswoman Turnesha Fish said the agency is committed to delivering “comprehensive rehabilitative services to the young people in our care while ensuring community safety.”

“We are enhancing these efforts by strengthening existing partnerships and collaborating with our contracted providers to expand a robust continuum of care,” Fish said. “The safety of the youth in our care is paramount, and we are dedicated to taking all necessary measures to safeguard and support the youth and families we serve — principles that have long guided our work.”

Fish said that as of March 6, 22 teens were waiting at the agency's detention center for spots at treatment programs, alongside the dozens of teens held at the detention center before their trials. The number of youths waiting for treatment beds was as high as 41 in February 2024, according to city data.

The DYRS spokeswoman said the March figure “reflects our ongoing efforts to streamline case management and ensure timely placements.” Fish said the agency had reduced the number of children waiting for programs even as it saw a 30 percent increase in young offenders committed to the agency's care from fiscal years 2024 to 2025.

A Post analysis of internal data shows an agency struggling to prevent young people from returning to crime: More than 70 percent of juveniles who were committed to the agency from 2018 to 2022 were accused of new crimes or violating other court orders within two years of release. The rate is in line with national patterns, but likely an undercount because it does not include teens rearrested and charged as adults.

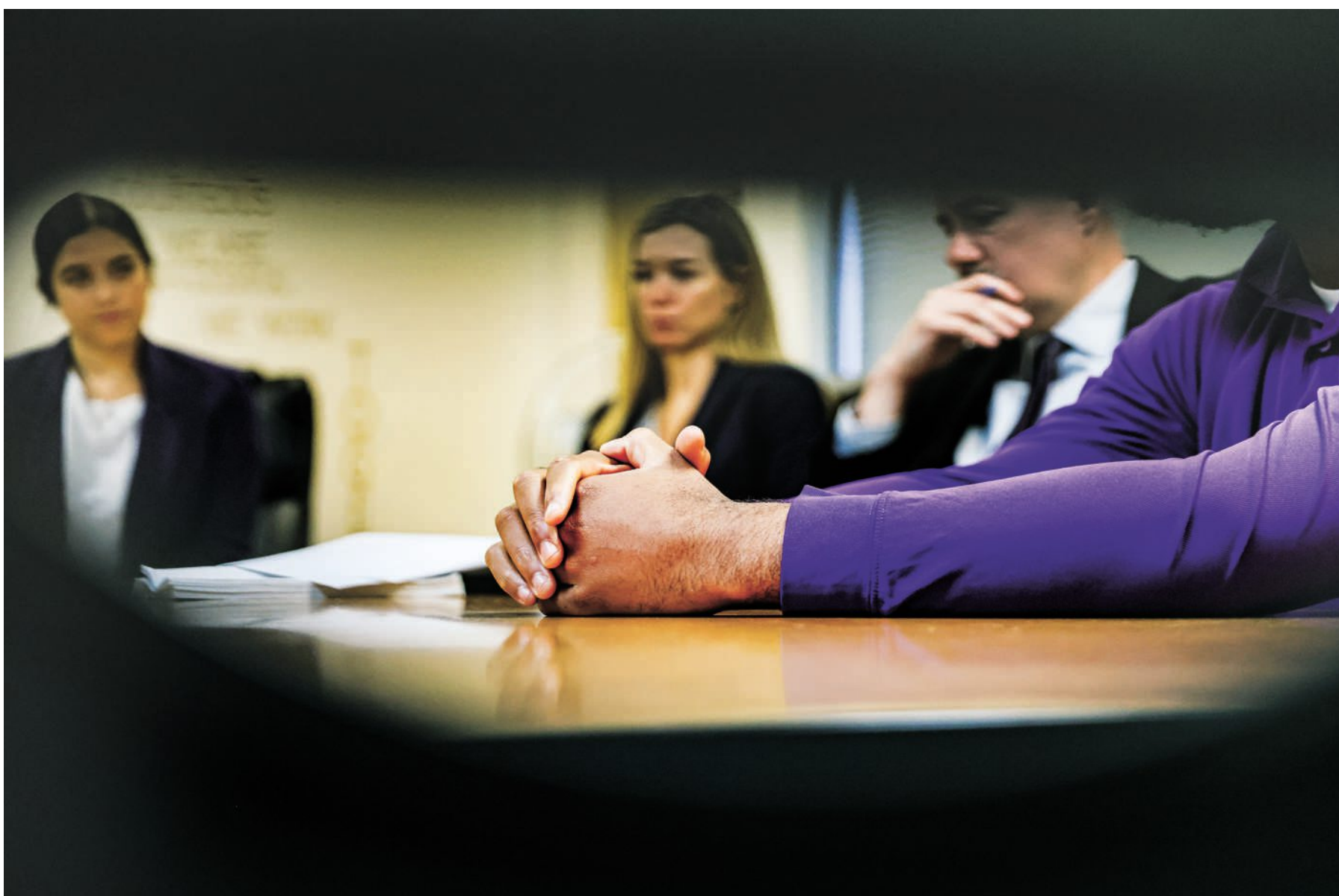
To investigate DYRS's performance, reporters gained rare access to the city's juvenile justice system, which is shielded from public view to protect children's identities. The Post conducted an analysis of internal data obtained from the agency through Freedom of Information Act requests, enabling reporters to track more than 500 children as they moved through the system from 2018 to 2024.

The Post also received permission to observe dozens of court hearings typically closed to the public; reviewed internal documents and confidential files detailing juvenile court cases; and interviewed scores of current and former DYRS employees, lawyers, judges, advocates, juvenile justice experts, and families and children who have navigated the system.

One of those young people was N.H., who was 17 when he was charged with at least nine felonies, including unauthorized use of a vehicle and carjacking, in 2023 and 2024.

The teenager — who is being identified by his initials to keep his juvenile record confidential — was committed to agency custody by D.C. Superior Court Judge James Crowell last year.

N.H. had been abused by a relative as a young child, according to records and interviews. The District's child welfare agency investigated allegations of neglect



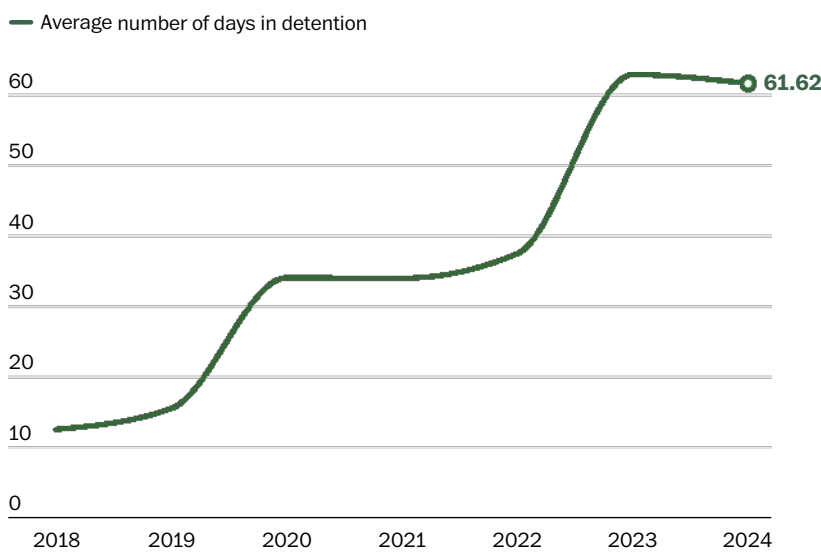
VALERIE PLESCH/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

N.H., who was 17 when he was charged with at least nine felonies in 2023 and 2024, is seen at the Youth Services Center in Northeast Washington.

AT DETENTION CENTER, VIOLENCE AND LONG WAITS

Juveniles waiting for a rehabilitative program are spending about five times longer in secure detention than they did in 2018

An analysis of the District's juvenile justice agency data reveals that youths in the city often wait months in secure detention before being transferred to a rehabilitative program. Today's average length of stay is nearly five times greater than it was in 2018.



Source: Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services



ILLUSTRATION BY SALLY DENG/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

by his mother. He floated in and out of foster and group homes in D.C. In 2022, his brother died of a fentanyl overdose while incarcerated.

The next year, N.H. was arrested and charged for the first time. He was rearrested on charges of carjacking in 2024 and sent to the detention center.

There, he began to wait — for services, for treatment, for help.

‘It’s traumatizing there’

The Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services was born out of turmoil.

In 1985, a class-action lawsuit in D.C. Superior Court brought by several city youths alleged decades of abuse and mismanagement at detention facilities run by the agency's predecessor, the Youth Services Administration. Attorneys and their juvenile clients said that the buildings used to hold teens were uninhabitable and that the city agency was failing to deliver promised services to children.

The following year, city officials entered a consent decree that required the agency to report to a court monitor as it completely overhauled how it approached criminal justice for young people.

Across the country, juvenile justice agencies began moving away from a punitive system that seemed to ferry children convicted of crimes straight into adult jails and prisons. An emerging body of scientific research concluded that the part of the teenage brain responsible for good judgment and weighing consequences was still developing. That spurred reforms toward programs focused on rehabilitation.

In 2004, the city dismantled the old agency, replacing it with DYRS and a new approach: Instead of holding children in large prisonlike facilities, the agency would release young people accused of crimes back to their families with community-based services or into secure residential programs aimed at providing comprehensive services to address underlying problems.

Officials unveiled the Youth Services Center, or YSC, on Mount Olivet Road in Northeast as a way station to securely hold young offenders before their court hearings and after, while they waited to be placed in rehabilitation programs. The detention center, which opened with 80 beds and soon added eight more, replaced the decrepit holding facilities that had prompted the lawsuit decades earlier.

Bowser had sought to end court oversight of DYRS since becoming mayor in 2015. She agreed to create the Office of Independent Juvenile Justice Facilities Oversight to monitor the YSC and New Beginnings, a longer-term rehabilitation program run by DYRS in Laurel, Maryland.

But in the years after the agency exited court monitoring, the population exploded at the detention center. From October 2018 to the following September, the average daily population at the YSC was 40 youths, including teens who were awaiting trial. In May, it was more than 100. As more teens were arrested, DYRS added 10 beds in 2023.

At the same time, the detention center has grown more chaotic and violent, according to data published by the oversight agency.

In 2021, the agency reported 100 dangerous incidents at the center; in 2024, there were 394, according to data released by the oversight agency.

The agency also reported more injuries in recent years: In January 2022 — the first year the oversight agency collected the data — DYRS recorded six injuries to youths. That jumped to 30 in January 2025.

Mark Jordan, the executive director of the oversight agency, blamed the surge in violence partly on the increased number of children held at the center.

“Facilities like the YSC, in which the population changes frequently and there

can be a lot of conflicts from the community that carry over into the facility, conditions are constantly changing,” he wrote in an email. “The management response has to respond to the specifics of what’s happening inside the facility.”

In April 2024, seven teenagers were involved in a fight and all required medical attention, according to reports obtained by The Post. Later that month, when a guard left a door propped open, two teenagers assaulted another resident. Days later, guards found another teen with a shank fashioned from a nail and a face mask.

The next month, a guard was escorting a Maryland man's son, then 17, and the rest of his unit through the halls of the facility when a worker opened a door to another unit. The man's son, whom The Post is not identifying to protect him from retaliation, and others rushed through the door and began to fight with teens in the room, according to an internal incident report.

Though employees saw multiple teens beating his son for several minutes, the guards said they couldn't open the door to intervene because other youths were trying to rush in and join the fight, according to the report and a former employee who witnessed the brawl.

His son was sent to the hospital with a swollen eye. Another teen went to the hospital with injuries to his jaw, according to the father and the former employee.

“I don't feel safe for anybody's kid, not just my own,” the father said.

Beyond the violence in the facility, advocates and families have repeatedly sounded the alarm about a lack of services for youths. Mental health specialists are available at the YSC, but because the detention center is intended to be a temporary destination for teens, it does not offer intensive or regular therapy. It also does not provide access to as many behavioral specialists as dedicated rehabilitative facilities typically staff.

Abed, the DYRS chief, said during testimony to D.C. Council members in December 2023 that the detention center is “not a treatment facility.”

D.D. Davis, a lawyer who has represented many teens who have been housed in the YSC, said that young people are confined for hours at a time to their rooms when there are any fights or disturbances, which are common. During these lockdowns, therapy is off the table. Instead of attending school, children are handed worksheets to complete.

“They get an hour a day or two hours a day of being free,” Davis said.

Over the past year, the courts permitted The Post to attend confidential hearings in juvenile court. In some, DYRS officials told judges that teens were not receiving adequate services at the detention center.

A health services manager at the YSC testified at a May 2024 hearing that detention center staff allowed a 14-year-old — upon his request — to replace his prescribed psychiatric medication with melatonin gummies. Staff also agreed to stop biweekly therapy sessions for the young teen after he “expressed he was okay and did not want to talk to a therapist any longer.”

The teen's public defender, Emily Sufrin, noted that these therapy sessions had taken place in a game room where other teens were often nearby. Sufrin said the teen had previously been attacked in this public space: “It's traumatizing there.”

D.C. Superior Court Judge Andrea Hertzfeld questioned Bruce Edwards, then the associate general counsel for DYRS, about the situation.

“You're telling me that meeting with a therapist a couple of times a week in the game space at [the detention center] and getting a melatonin gummy is sufficient rehabilitation for this juvenile?” she asked.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



VALERIE PLESCH/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A hallway at the Youth Services Center, where young offenders are held while they wait for their treatment plans. Some teens have waited there over six months.

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Edwards, who has since left DYRS and is now a magistrate in Prince George's County, replied, "I wouldn't qualify this as sufficient at all."

'Dead time'

The time teens spend waiting in detention for an opening in a rehabilitative program means that some are away from home much longer than intended.

"That 'dead time' is really expensive and it's damaging on its own account just for that kid," said Tom Woods, a senior associate at the Annie E. Casey Foundation who has studied juvenile detention. "There's sort of this unavoidable psychological harm to that."

DYRS has no requirement for how quickly young people must be transferred to programs after the courts commit them to the agency, according to a review of its policies and city law. But Abed, the agency chief, has testified at multiple D.C. Council hearings that children and teens should go to an appropriate program within 30 days — and ideally sooner.

Yet today, young people are languishing for months at the detention center, according to a Post analysis of internal data.

Teens waited for an average of about 60 days to go to a rehabilitation program last year, The Post found. Some waited six months or longer. From 2020 to 2024, nearly one-quarter of teens met the agency's goal of spending less than a month within the detention center.

In those years, 36 percent of young people spent three months or longer at the center.

The District is lagging behind neighboring states: Maryland and Virginia youths spent an average of 23 and 28 days, respectively, waiting to leave detention centers for treatment programs, data shows.

A 2023 crime wave led some, including the mayor, to call for increased jail time and harsher punishments for offenders. In 2024, Bowser worked with the city council to pass a law giving judges more leeway to jail adults and some juveniles charged with violent offenses before their trials.

Research shows that locking up juveniles leads to higher rates of rearrest than probation and other interventions that keep teens at home and in school. A 2015 study by juvenile justice researchers found that teens in Seattle who were arrested and incarcerated were four times as likely to end up in jail or prison as an adult, compared with other youths who were arrested but did not serve time in a detention center.

"You're putting that child in a horribly traumatic environment and the idea that we expect them to get any better without treatment is not logical and not at all consistent with what clinical best practices tell us," said Jennifer Snow, the national director of government relations at the nonprofit National Alliance on Mental Illness.

Former DYRS employees whom The Post is not naming to protect from professional retaliation say some of the delays occur because agency social workers are taking longer to complete rehabilitation plans. This is often a necessary step before sending a teen to a treatment program.

The agency is required by law to provide treatment plans for teens within 17 days of referral from the courts. But former employees and advocates said it often takes several weeks or even months to complete the process.

The agency doesn't report how many teens received a plan within 17 days. Instead, it reports how many young people have gone through a complete "case planning process" within three months, according to annual summaries filed to the Office of the City Administrator. This process includes the courts sending relevant documents to DYRS; the agency

completing an assessment that helps determine the proper treatment for a young offender; and staff convening a meeting to decide where to send the teen.

The vast majority of young people — about 9 in 10 — had gone through this process within 90 days of commitment to DYRS custody in the 2022 fiscal year. The following year, less than half of teens had a completed plan within three months. Then, in 2024, the rate was zero.

In that report, the agency said that "significant staff turnover" led it to abandon an assessment that was part of the planning process — and that the agency would stop reporting data on the treatment plans because, moving forward, they were going to use different standards.

Critics have pushed the mayor's office to speed up placements: The Office of the Attorney General — which prosecutes cases involving youth crime — worked with Council Chairman Phil Mendelson (D) in 2024 to introduce a bill to make DYRS find beds at treatment programs for children within 30 days of commitment.

The mayor's office and Abed, the agency chief, lobbied aggressively against the measure. They said that the timeline was unrealistic and that it failed to take a "comprehensive" approach to the juvenile justice system.

Nevertheless, the D.C. Council passed the Road Act late last year with an even more aggressive timeline: The new law requires the juvenile justice agency to begin the treatment planning process before a child is even committed. It also directs the city auditor to report on the agency's progress.

"There was a resistance on the part of the [mayor] to work with the council on this, which was unfortunate and also counterproductive," Mendelson said in an interview.

In the meantime, the delays have landed DYRS in court again.

The District's Public Defender Service and the local American Civil Liberties Union office filed a federal lawsuit in October accusing the agency of a "failure to meet the rehabilitative and treatment needs of children in its custody and the District's practice of needlessly and unlawfully extending the time children spend in jail-like settings."

The suit was brought on behalf of two teens who had each spent more than three months at the detention center. K.Y., a 16-year-old identified in the complaint by his initials, had been waiting since July for DYRS to transfer him to a treatment facility "to get therapy."

In the lawsuit, K.Y. wrote that he had post-traumatic stress disorder that was going untreated as he waited at the detention center.

"There's nothing going on in here," he wrote. "They treat us like dogs and animals in here. If people were in our shoes, they wouldn't want to be here."

In response to the suit, DYRS has acknowledged that most youths committed to the agency will spend "some amount of time" waiting in detention. The agency said these waits are dependent on several factors outside its control, including the details of each teen's case and whether space is available at a program.

Days after a December hearing in the case, the agency transferred the two youths to rehabilitative programs.

The agency did not answer questions related to the lawsuit, which is ongoing.

'Big ideas'

In late 2022, as Bowser prepared to enter her third term, the mayor announced that she was looking for "big ideas" to improve the city.

The directors of three agencies that work with at-risk children decided to heed her call.

Hilary Cairns, the head of DYRS at the time, said in interviews with The Post that she met with the chiefs of the Department

D.C.'s juvenile justice pipeline

This series examines the District's juvenile justice system, a constellation of agencies tasked with preventing children and teens from becoming caught up in crime and rehabilitating those who have violated the law. Key parts of the system, including public schools, the police and the youth detention facility, are overseen by Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D).

SCHOOLS

Nearly 16,000 students truant in 2023-2024 school year

District leaders have found that juveniles who are arrested have a history of missing class. D.C. public schools, led by Chancellor Lewis D. Ferebee, are supposed to engage children with after-school programs, provide mental health specialists to students and investigate why youths are missing class. Truant students can be referred to child welfare or the courts.

POLICE

Once arrested, a teen may face charges in court

The Metropolitan Police Department, or D.C. police, is often the first agency that juveniles encounter in the criminal justice system. Juvenile arrests reached record highs in 2023, leading to an outpouring of community concern. In April, Police Chief Pamela A. Smith launched the Juvenile Investigative Response Unit to improve how police respond to youth crime.

COURTS

Teens may be held or released while awaiting hearings

While court cases are pending, juveniles may remain in custody or be released — sometimes with ankle monitors — and supervised by the Family Court Social Services Division, which is led by interim director Tamira Roberson. Judges will hear each teen's case and determine if they have been "involved in a delinquent act" and, if so, may impose a sentence.

DETENTION

Youth Services Center perpetually overcrowded

Juveniles may be detained in the Youth Services Center, which is under the Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services and overseen by Director Sam Abed. The facility, which is often overcrowded, holds children who are awaiting court hearings, as well as teenagers who are waiting to be transferred to a group home or treatment facility.

REHABILITATION

Teens may wait months for program openings

Teens involved in serious or repeated crimes may be referred to group homes or residential facilities for treatment and therapy. However, teens often wait months for space in a facility or are sent to ones hundreds of miles away in part because the District has no psychiatric residential treatment facility. Bowser did not pursue a 2022 proposal to create one.

of Behavioral Health and Child and Family Services Agency to make a proposal to the mayor.

Together, they asked the Bowser administration to consider creating a psychiatric residential treatment facility in the District for teens.

Known as PRTFs, these inpatient facilities provide comprehensive mental health services for children with complex needs. Some child welfare advocates oppose residential programs; they argue that children do best when they're treated in their communities, living with their families and going to their schools. Still, beds at PRTFs are typically in high demand.

Opening up beds at a city-run facility, the agency chiefs suggested, would reduce the wait times at the detention center, while also providing psychiatric services for the District's most troubled children close to home.

The District's need for more treatment beds had been widely known for years: Before the pandemic, other officials at DYRS and eight other local departments and organizations that work with children held the Inter-Agency PRTF Collaboration Meeting.

In minutes from the March 10, 2020, meeting, attendees noted that treatment options were limited, writing that "there are fewer each year" and that "some providers on the list will no longer accept DC youth despite being a current provider."

Since then, the agency has struggled to find space not just at PRTFs but also at less specialized residential programs for youths, too. In 2013, it sent children to 31 residential treatment centers. By 2023, the number of rehabilitation programs working with DYRS had dwindled to 10, The Post found.

Some facilities that D.C. used closed their doors after youth arrests started declining in the 2000s. More shuttered during the pandemic. In 2019, Pennsylvania shut down the Glen Mills Schools over allegations of widespread child abuse.

Some of the remaining programs no longer accept D.C. teens, saying they can't handle youths with complex needs or who have violent offenses on their records.

The proposal from Cairns and other agency directors seemed to them to be an obvious solution to bed shortages. But nearly three years after the agency chiefs gave the idea to Bowser, no such facility exists in the District.

Representatives from the mayor's office and the three agencies that developed the proposal all declined to answer questions about what happened to the plan.

The Post filed several Freedom of Information Act requests for records related to the proposal. But government agencies refused the request, citing an exemption that protects internal deliberations.

It is unclear how much such a facility would cost the District. But other states have set aside funds to create their own: This year, Maine awarded a \$2 million contract to a nonprofit to run a PRTF.

Cairns said staff had scouted potential locations around the region, including unused land near New Beginnings in Laurel. She said she knew that her request to the mayor's office was ambitious but that she believes it would have been worth it.

"It was an acknowledgment that it was expensive in the short term for a long-term investment," Cairns said.

The mayor asked Cairns to resign in 2023. Cairns, who helmed the city's juvenile justice agency for less than two years, said she was blindsided. She now works with the Office of the D.C. Auditor to set up a system to monitor the agency. She said she still does not know why the Bowser administration didn't pursue the project.

Three months after The Post first asked city officials about the proposal, the D.C. Council added language to the Road Act, the bill from the attorney general's office that is now known as the Recidivism Reduction at DYRS Amendment Act. It requires the mayor to take steps toward opening a PRTF in the District. According to the new law, Bowser's office must submit a report to the council estimating the cost of a new facility in September.

Mendelson, the council chairman, said he was not surprised the Bowser administration did not follow through on the 2022 proposal. He told The Post that the mayor's office thinks the "best way to deal with crime is just to lock people up."

In the December 2024 memo outlining changes to the bill, he emphasized the importance of opening a local treatment center.

"The lack of a PRTF in the District is a barrier to the timely placement of children with psychiatric disorders committed to DYRS," Mendelson wrote. "As such, it is critical that the District seriously begin planning for such a facility."

A place for N.H.

Everyone agreed that N.H. needed help.

The teenager who came before Judge James Crowell last summer would benefit from the intensive services that a PRTF could provide, his lawyer told the court.

He had first been arrested in February 2023, accused of stealing a car, according to his probation report obtained by The Post. Police picked him up on similar charges in March, April and May. That June, he was again arrested and charged with first-degree theft, unlawful entry of a motor vehicle and unauthorized use of a vehicle. This time, N.H. was detained for about a month, until the courts sent him to a shelter home. The case was later dismissed through a plea agreement.

That fall, as part of a court-ordered psychiatric evaluation, a doctor recommended extensive therapy and psychotropic medication for N.H., writing that he "will most likely continue to act out in the community, and that this will be the case until his condition is successfully



ILLUSTRATION BY SALLY DENG/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

treated.”
 In October 2023, N.H. pleaded guilty to several of his charges and entered a program that allowed him to return home. But a few months later, he was arrested on new charges of carjacking and again held at the detention center.

When Crowell committed N.H. to DYRS custody last summer, the agency was already searching for a bed for him in a rehabilitative program.

N.H. said he hoped the agency would quickly transfer him to such a program so that he could work through his issues and go to North Carolina, where his mother had moved. But every time he talked to Mount, his lawyer, N.H. learned that there was no space for him at a treatment facility.

In October, The Post attended one of the teen’s hearings. He returned to Crowell’s courtroom wearing the detention center uniform: a bright purple polo, slacks and rubber clogs. Four months after the judge had committed N.H. to DYRS custody, the teen had gone nowhere, his lawyer said. Speaking in front of a nearly empty courtroom, Crowell did not hide his frustration.

“DYRS continues to fail these kids and a generation of kids are being lost,” the judge said. “It’s been the exact same, time and time again. No one wants to call them out. No one wants to put light to this. But it’s an absolute failure.”

Locked up in detention, N.H. felt like “an animal,” he told The Post.

Sometimes he thought about the crimes that got him arrested. Adrenaline, fun and “fast money” led him to steal cars, he said. He knew he was going to get caught. “At the time, I wasn’t thinking,” he said.

His crimes had hurt people, he recognized. In one case, N.H. and other teenagers had pushed a woman out of her car. She had a bruised arm and pain in her right leg, according to the police report.

N.H. said his actions warranted consequences. “But having to be here without knowing when you’re leaving, and just being under somebody else’s power, is frustrating,” he said.

As the months went by, N.H. and the other teens at the detention center followed a daily routine: schoolwork, followed by hours of watching television and playing cards. At times, they would get together for group talks, led by guards or their peers.

N.H. was in therapy to process the abuse he experienced as a child until he was about 15, he said. He always knew he had a problem with anger.

He would occasionally get therapy at the detention center, he said, but not on a regular basis. “There was no programs there,” he said. “We were just sitting there doing nothing.”

Then, in September, agency officials presented Mount and his client with an option: N.H. could go to a facility run by



Staff at the Abraxas facility in Marienville, Pennsylvania, have been accused of sexually abusing youths in their care.

Methodology

To investigate the effectiveness of the city’s rehabilitation of D.C. youth, The Washington Post collected data from several agencies. From the Metropolitan Police Department, The Post collected juvenile arrests data from 2015 through 2024. An analysis of these records showed that between 2020 and 2024, the number of robbery arrests for people under 18 years old increased to a level not seen in decades. In this same period, reported carjackings increased 300 percent compared with previous years.

The Post collected data from the city’s youth rehabilitation agency, including a database of information pertaining to more than 1,000 youths placed in secure detention and the services they were provided from 2014 to 2024. The Post used the data to calculate the length of time youths committed to DYRS spend in secure detention before they are placed into a community setting like a treatment facility or group home.

The length-of-stay computations were calculated using an internal dataset, acquired through Freedom of Information Act requests, called FAMcare that the city uses to track the services provided to each youth under the District’s care.

For the analysis, The Post counted the days between when a court places a youth under D.C.’s supervision and the exit date from a secure detention facility. The analysis found that the average wait times for juveniles in secure detention grew from 12 days in 2018 to more than 60 days by 2024.

The Post also tracked the number of juveniles who were released back into the community while still under the city’s care and then placed back into secure detention for reasons that may include rearrests and other violations of court orders. More than 70 percent of youths released from secure detention for at least 60 days and placed into a community setting returned to secure detention within two years.

Abraxas Youth & Family Services. The Pittsburgh-based nonprofit operates residential programs in five states.

It was not an ideal solution, Mount said. The campus that N.H. would attend in Marienville, a rural community 100 miles northeast of Pittsburgh, had therapy and counseling. But it did not offer as much access to psychologists, social workers, therapists, nurses and counselors as a PRTF.

The agency also did not tell Mount about another issue: Staff members at the facility had been accused of sexually abusing children in their care. In March 2024, an Abraxas dorm supervisor told the agency that a D.C. teen was one of multiple youths who had allegedly been sexually assaulted, according to an internal report obtained by The Post.

Court records show that Ana Danielle Carlton, then 24, was charged with institutional sexual assault, involuntary deviate sexual intercourse and indecent assault of a minor under 16 years old. One teen told Abraxas staff members that the mental health counselor had sexual contact with five youths in the facility, according to a police report.

Carlton has not yet entered a plea in the case. Her attorney called the charges “unproven accusations” in an email to The Post.

Erin Perez, whose 14-year-old was allegedly abused by Carlton in 2024, said in

an interview with The Post that she was “disturbed and disgusted” by what happened at Abraxas.

“They’re horrible and I’d never send any kid there,” she said. “They should be shut down.”

Jeff Giovino, the president and CEO of Abraxas, said in an email that staff informed DYRS and law enforcement of the abuse allegations as soon as they surfaced.

“Abraxas treats all allegations of abuse and harassment with the utmost seriousness,” he wrote.

It was the second time in as many years that a staff member was accused of sexually abusing a teen at the facility: In 2023, a 47-year-old woman was arrested after a youth told police they had sexual contact. The woman was later sentenced to state prison for disseminating sexual materials to a minor and endangering the welfare of a child.

Last year, dozens of people who attended Abraxas facilities between 2003 and 2023 filed a lawsuit in Pennsylvania court saying they were sexually abused at the programs. Giovino told The Post that the claims in the lawsuit are without merit.

Sixteen plaintiffs specifically accused employees at the Marienville campus of assault. Nevertheless, the District’s juvenile justice agency sent 13 teens to Abraxas in 2024 after the incident was reported, records show.

The agency declined to say whether it conducted an investigation into the sexual assault allegations or informed any families or attorneys they referred to Abraxas about the problems.

Unaware of the allegations, Mount said he and N.H. decided it would be the best option.

“The client wants to leave the YSC as soon as possible, which I don’t blame them for wanting to do,” Mount said. “And we’re offered an out-of-state placement option, and of course, we’re going to take it, because the faster we take that option, the faster we can get them back home.”

N.H. arrived at the remote campus in October, one of the few Black teens in the program. He no longer had visitors because he was so far from home: a six-hour drive from D.C., and even farther from his family in North Carolina.

Still, the six-month program was better than the detention center, he said: He could open his own doors and walk from building to building. He was able to join the basketball team at a neighboring high school, practicing with his teammates most afternoons. At times, he would talk to a counselor, he said.

N.H. was released to a group home in April, after spending a year away from home. Now 19, he said he isn’t angry about his time with the Department of Youth Rehabilitation Services, but said he didn’t feel like the agency did its job.

“They’re not rehabilitating nothing,” he said.

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THE WORLD

In South Korea, even kindergartners now attend cram schools

Parents are increasingly preparing 5-year-olds to eventually sit for college entrance exams as competition for universities grows ever more fierce

BY MICHELLE YE HEE LEE

SEOUL — The South Korean kindergartners squirmed through their English-language writing class. They were not doing their ABCs. They were getting a head start on a defining moment more than a decade in the future: their college entrance exam.

Write a paragraph of five to eight sentences using five synonyms for “large,” said Ms. Keri, their teacher. The kids began jotting down ideas in neat handwriting.

But their minds wandered easily. “Make a stinky paragraph!” one girl yelled in English. The class erupted into uproarious giggles, echoing: “Stinky! Stinky!”

South Korea has long been notorious for its hothouse education system, where kids go from classes at middle or high school straight to after-hours tutoring at cram schools, often until 10 or 11 p.m.

These private programs prepare students for extremely difficult college entrance exams. Getting into an elite university is often seen as the golden ticket to a stable career at a top-tier company or government ministry.

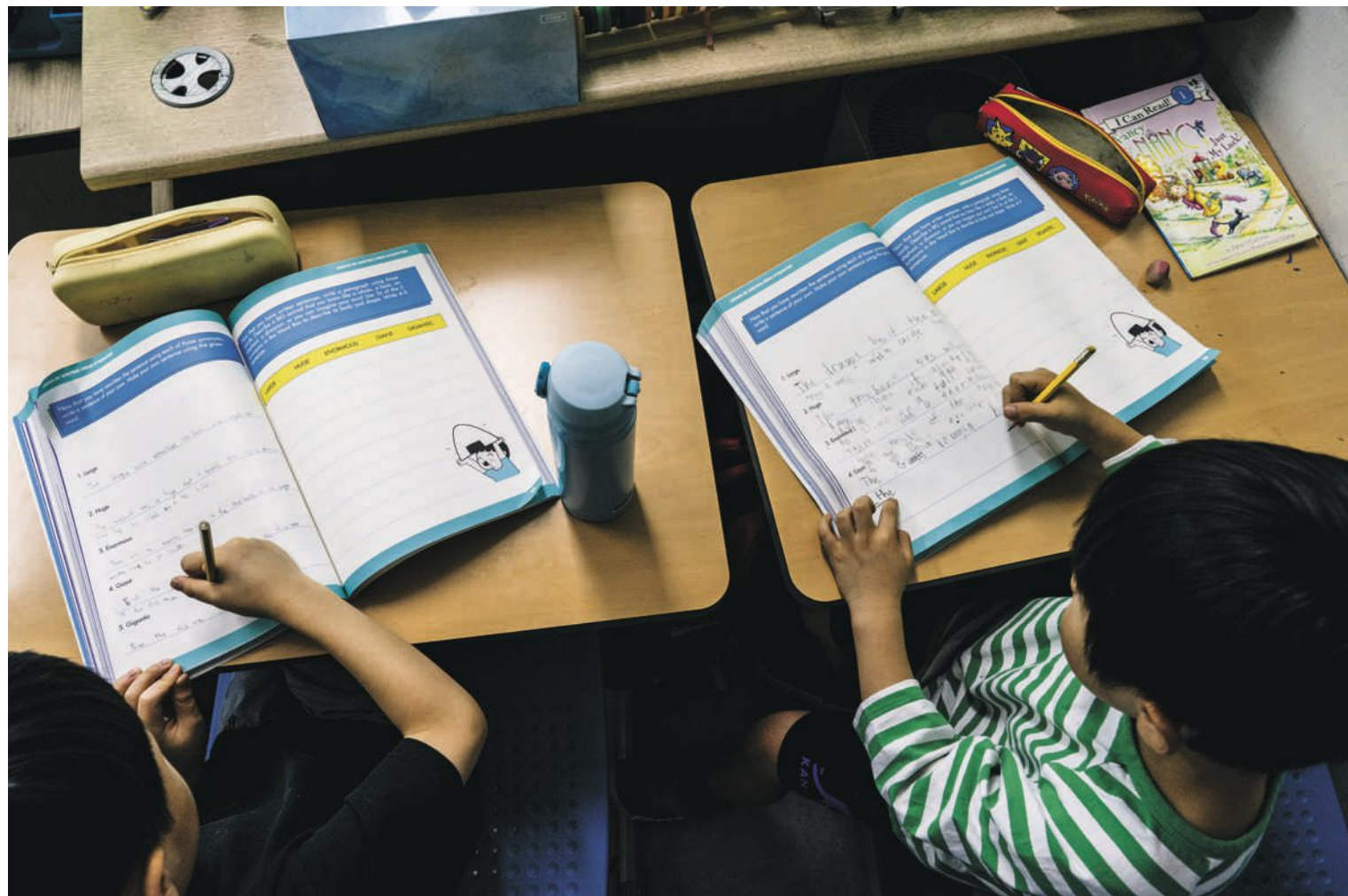
But the race to the top schools is intensifying amid a widening income gap, fueling parents’ anxieties about their children’s future job security, experts say.

As a result, some parents think it’s never too early to start preparing for college. Nearly half of children under 6 are now receiving some type of private education, most commonly English classes, according to a government survey released in March.

“The opportunities to succeed keep dwindling, but there is one rare path that remains available, which is going to a good university,” said Won-pyo Hong, a professor of education at Yonsei University in Seoul. “Then, of course, the competition to get into a good university becomes fiercer.”

The 6-year-olds learning from Ms. Keri — Keri Schnabel, a 31-year-old from Rhode Island — are among a growing cohort of South Korean children who are enrolled in private early-education programs. Such programs are almost always focused on developing English fluency — a must-have for social mobility and a marker of intellect and wealth.

Some curriculums claim to teach math skills so advanced the kindergartners would be on track for medical school. There are



PHOTOS BY TINA HSU/ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Kindergarten students practice writing at Twinkle English Academy, a private cram school in Seoul, last week.

even classes that train toddlers to sit without fidgeting for up to an hour at a time, to build study habits early.

These niche programs have become increasingly popular in the most affluent areas of Seoul, where some families shell out upward of \$1,400 for the classes and related fees every month. They are now spreading throughout the country and gaining attention from the broader public, sparking debate over South Korea’s cutthroat education system and the private education boom.

“We need to seriously consider the excessive desire for private education, excessive investment, and excessive academic and psychological pressure on our children,” Hong said.

The skyrocketing cost of giving a child the best shot in life is one of the reasons South Korea has the world’s lowest fertility rate and is facing a demographic crisis. Government surveys show the rising cost of private education is one of the factors deterring couples from having more than

one child or starting a family at all.

Critics of private education say the industry is stoking parents’ anxieties by creating a sense of urgency and desperation.

Gaining an advantage

These early-childhood English classes are usually taught by native English speakers, such as Schnabel, who teaches at Twinkle English Academy in the affluent Seoul neighborhood of Mokdong.

The 5- and 6-year-olds in her class learn about idioms, similes and parts of speech from U.S. textbooks, including one for American second-graders.

They speak in fluent English to each other and their teacher — sometimes about “eating lava,” sometimes describing black holes as a “giant singularity.”

By the end of this program, they will write two-page essays with an introduction, three body paragraphs and a conclusion — the skill level of an American third-grader.

Doing well in cram kindergar-

ten will help them get into an elite cram school in first grade.

“The point of the English kindergarten is to do well in the next level, which is in elementary school,” said Kim Hye-jin, 37, whose 5-year-old attends English classes in Daechi, where private educational institutions are concentrated, in the ritzy Gangnam district.

“For the top cram schools, you have to get in early because the other schools don’t come close to how good their programs are. So if you enroll later on, it becomes more difficult to follow their curriculum,” said Kim, an office worker.

Those places have long wait lists for prospective first-graders, who are required to take entrance exams. A recent documentary by the broadcaster KBS found some of the entrance tests are at the English and math level of high school freshmen.

“Only the few top cram schools offer these tests, so they don’t have many spots open. So the door to enter those schools gets

smaller and smaller,” said Lee Mi-ae, an education consultant in Daechi. “Parents’ dreams and ambitions, and those academies that fan these flames, have led this industry to balloon.”

This has given rise to “prep” programs, mostly in Daechi, to specifically train kids to take entrance exams for elementary-level cram schools. Some of these programs teach children to memorize entire essays to regurgitate later.

Prep schools pepper social media with advertisements claiming high success rates, and there is even a black market for entrance exams to help kids study.

The Education Ministry last month launched an investigation into these marketing practices and extreme prep programs.

An ‘unavoidable’ system

In Daechi, buildings are lined with signs for an assortment of “study cafes” and cram schools — English, math, coding, debating and more. There are even rest areas for students to take a

breather between classes, including a “screaming zone” where they can vent.

The neighborhood is known for its relentless academic focus, extreme even for South Korea, and for launching kindergarten cram classes.

“They say children these days don’t meet friends at playgrounds; they meet them at cram school,” said Kim, the Daechi parent. “That’s how unavoidable it is. As a parent, I just have to try to make the best decisions I can.”

Kim and other parents are worried about their kids burning out. They also worry about their kids falling behind compared with their peers, or otherwise being left out of a system that promises to set their children up for elite education and a successful life.

“All of these mothers are pouring so much energy and attention into their children who are just [6 years old],” Kim said. “So I worry a lot about how much worse it will get once they start elementary school.”

More psychiatric and alternative medicine clinics are cropping up in the Gangnam area, according to domestic media reports. The number of health insurance claims for depression and anxiety among children 8 and under in the area has more than tripled in the past five years, according to figures released in April by the education committee in South Korea’s legislature.

Seo Dong-ju, 41, whose 5-year-old attends a less intensive English school in the Gangnam area, is not convinced that a competitive cram-school path is the right one for his son.

“My kid still loves dinosaurs and animals, so much that we always take him to the aquarium,” said Seo, a thoracic surgeon.

Seo said he is concerned about the long-term physical, psychological and societal impacts of excessive schooling on little children.

“I think this culture needs to change dramatically,” Seo said. He hopes to see policymakers overhaul a system that he believes is a disservice to the nation’s youngest.

“This is the biggest problem facing our children’s generation right now,” he said. “The most pitiful thing is that by the time it materializes into societal problems, it will be too late for them.”

So Jin Jung contributed to this report.



Keri Schnabel teaches a story-writing class to kindergarten students at Twinkle English Academy. The 31-year-old from Rhode Island has been teaching at cram schools in South Korea for several years.



Daechi, a neighborhood in Seoul’s ritzy Gangnam district, is known for its concentration of private educational institutions. There are even rest areas for students to take a breather between classes.

DIGEST

KOREAN PENINSULA

South halts anti-North propaganda broadcast

South Korea’s military shut down loudspeakers broadcasting anti-North Korea propaganda along the inter-Korean border on Wednesday, marking the new liberal government’s first concrete step toward easing tensions between the war-divided rivals.

The South resumed the daily loudspeaker broadcasts in June last year following a years-long pause in retaliation for North Korea flying trash-laden balloons toward the South in a psychological warfare campaign.

South Korea’s Defense Ministry said the move, ordered by President Lee Jae-myung, was part of efforts “to restore trust in inter-Korean relations and promote peace on the Korean

Peninsula.” Kang Yu-jung, Lee’s spokesperson, described the decision as a “proactive step” to reduce military tensions and ease the burden for South Koreans residing in border areas, who have also been affected by North Korea’s retaliatory loudspeaker broadcasts.

North Korea, which is extremely sensitive to any outside criticism of its authoritarian leadership and its third-generation ruler, Kim Jong Un, didn’t immediately comment on the step by Seoul.

— Associated Press

POLAND

Coalition government wins confidence vote

Poland’s pro-European coalition government won a vote of confidence on Wednesday, an outcome that Prime Minister

Donald Tusk hopes will give his cabinet new momentum after it was shaken by a setback in the presidential election.

Rafal Trzaskowski from Tusk’s Civic Coalition was defeated by nationalist Karol Nawrocki in the June 1 runoff vote, unleashing recriminations from the smaller partners in the coalition government and casting doubt over the administration’s future when a hostile president is able to wield veto powers.

Tusk’s broad coalition has 242 lawmakers in the 460-seat lower house, or Sejm, meaning it was always likely to survive Wednesday’s vote of confidence. However, he added that he still needed to regain voters’ confidence: “We need to do much more.” In a debate ahead of the vote, Tusk listed higher defense spending and a cut in visa issuance for migrants as

major achievements since he took power in December 2023.

— Reuters

TURKEY

Politician on trial for hostility accusation

A Turkish far-right politician accused of inciting public hatred and hostility went on trial Wednesday in a case critics view as an effort to suppress opposition to the president.

Umit Ozdag, the leader of Turkey’s Victory Party, was detained in January over accusations he insulted President Recep Tayyip Erdogan with comments he made during a party meeting in Antalya.

A day later Ozdag was formally arrested and charged with inciting hatred against migrants. He was blamed for last year’s anti-Syrian refugee riots in

the central Turkish province of Kayseri last year, during which hundreds of homes and businesses were attacked.

Prosecutors have presented a series of posts from Ozdag’s social media as evidence against him. He faces up to four years in prison if found guilty.

— Associated Press

TAIWAN

Taiwan was struck by an earthquake about 44.1 miles south of Hualien City,

monitoring agencies said. The quake hit seconds after cellphone alarms went off at 7:01 p.m. Wednesday. The United States Geological Survey reported the quake had a magnitude of 5.9 and was detected at a depth of 19.3 miles. Taiwan’s Central Weather Administration gave the magnitude as 6.4. Such variations are common given differences in sensitivity and

detector locations. Buildings in Taipei shook for about a minute.

Kosovo said on Wednesday it has agreed to a request from the United States to temporarily accept up to 50 third-country migrants a year, according to the government press office. The Balkan country’s government said “over the course of a year, up to fifty individuals may be temporarily relocated, with the aim of facilitating their safe return to their home country,” in response to a question.

Immediately upon taking office in January, U.S. President Donald Trump started plans for mass deportation to make good on campaign promises to crack down on illegal immigration. It was not clear when Washington made the request or whether it made similar requests to other countries in the region.

— From news services

Anti-immigrant riots roil town in Northern Ireland

Rumors about alleged sexual assault fuel two nights of rampaging

BY STEVE HENDRIX

LONDON — Rioters broke windows, torched cars and attacked police with bricks and petrol bombs for a second night in a Northern Ireland town late Tuesday, after public anger over an alleged sexual assault rumored to have been committed by Romanian immigrants morphed into a xenophobic rampage.

More than 17 officers were injured and several homes and vehicles damaged after what police called a “sustained attack” by dozens of protesters, many wearing masks and hoods, in Ballymena, a town of 32,000 just north of Belfast. Cars and garbage piles were set aflame on rubble-strewn streets. Fifteen officers were hurt in clashes the previous night.

Witnesses described immigrant families hiding in attics or fleeing their homes as rioters broke windows and tried to set curtains on fire. Some residents displayed the Union Jack flag in their windows to avoid being targeted by what the local police chief described as “racist thuggery, pure and simple.”

Several houses had signs declaring “Filipino lives here” — apparently in hopes of redirecting attackers to other targets.

Riot squads were brought from all over the country as reinforcements, and video showed police using water cannons to blast the advancing mobs. Five people were arrested, and police said they were reviewing footage to identify additional participants in the melees.

The unrest, which officials warned could continue for a third night or longer, is just the latest violent flare-up over migration in some British commu-

nities.

Four days of riots erupted in a suburb of Liverpool, England, last year after a person arrested in the killing of three girls at a dance event was falsely identified online as a Muslim asylum seeker. Last month, after a driver plowed into a crowd celebrating a soccer championship, Liverpool police broke precedent by quickly identifying the suspect as a White British citizen to head off spiraling disinformation and racial conflict.

The unrest in Ballymena began after the arrest Sunday of two 14-year-old boys on suspicion of sexually assaulting a girl, officials said. Authorities did not identify the suspects, but when the pair appeared in juvenile court by video link Monday, the charges of attempted oral rape were read to them by a Romanian interpreter, sparking widespread speculation that the boys were from Eastern Europe.

Court officials have released no further information about the suspects, and their nationality and residency status in the United Kingdom remained unclear. They were denied bail and are scheduled to appear again in court on July 2, the BBC reported.

Anger at the arrests spread quickly. A vigil, originally organized to support the alleged victim, quickly turned violent Monday when some participants broke away and began smashing windows in a part of the town where many immigrant families live and close to where the assault is alleged to have occurred. Protesters set up barricades and gathered blocks and other projectiles to hurl at police.

Officials said they did not believe the violence was planned by organized groups and have detected no involvement by the paramilitary groups that still exist in Northern Ireland but in forms far diminished from the days when the region was beset by sectarian strife. But rioters



PAUL FAITH/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



CHARLES MCQUILLAN/GETTY IMAGES

Protesters set alight vehicles and hurl projectiles in Ballymena, Northern Ireland, on Tuesday in what police described as “racist thuggery, pure and simple.” The violence erupted after rumors spread that two teenagers arrested Sunday on suspicion of sexually assaulting a girl were from Eastern Europe.

were connecting with others through the internet, the authorities said.

There was “widespread live-streaming on social media of the violence, directing people where to go, how to get around the police barricades,” Sian Mulholland, Ballymena’s Legislative Assembly representative, told the BBC.

Mulholland described helping to evacuate a pregnant woman from one burning house. “We were able to direct the police to remove that family and get them out of the area to safety, to the police station,” she said.

The violence was largely quelled by about 1 a.m. Wednesday, police said. The family of the alleged victim condemned the violence, and authorities called for the public’s assistance in helping to trace the perpetrators.

British Prime Minister Keir Starmer’s office said it was monitoring the situation, calling it “very disturbing.” Officials said additional reinforcements from England and Wales were ready to be deployed if needed.

‘Murder maps’ show those in medieval England were in for a bloody time

BY LEO SANDS

LONDON — A saddlemaker ambushed outside a brewhouse. A man stabbed to death after he stumbled over a heap of dung while trying to flee a fight. And a priest killed by three knife-wielding assailants, possibly on the orders of a noblewoman accused of having an affair with him.

Each of these attacks took place at the same violent “hot spot” in medieval London, and they were among more than 350 homicides committed across three English cities that have been chronicled in extraordinary detail by a small team of academics and enthusiasts.

Using 14th-century coroners’ rolls and other archival sources, Manuel Eisner, a criminologist at the University of Cambridge, has spent 15 years working on interactive tools he calls “murder maps” with the help of a team including his wife and daughter.

“Each of these stories shines a little spotlight on an event in some corner of London,” Eisner said in a phone interview last week.

Taken together and analyzed in a peer-reviewed paper published this month, their findings offer a glimpse into the dark underbelly of medieval life in London, Oxford and York. They

also reveal some trends that may surprise modern readers: Some of the deadliest hot spots were in the most affluent areas, and male college students were among the most frequent killers. The authors also found that slayings tended to cluster in high-footfall outdoor areas and that the majority of killers enjoyed impunity.

“Homicide was much more frequent than it is in modern times,” Eisner said. The deadliest of the cities was Oxford, which he estimated to have a homicide rate of about 100 per 100,000 inhabitants in the 14th century, while London and York hovered at 20 to 25 per 100,000. (In 2023, the most recent year for which data is available, London’s homicide rate was about 1.2 per 100,000 inhabitants.)

Oxford’s “spectacularly high” homicide rate was partly because it was home to so many college students, who made up the majority of both victims and suspected killers, Eisner said.

The students were mostly teenage men and boys, far from home, who frequently engaged in gang-like fights with one another and with townspeople. The details of how they met their untimely ends are varied: In one case, a mob of students rampaged through the city with bows and arrows. In another, a student

was mistakenly killed after he stepped out in the middle of the night to urinate, becoming caught between two warring gangs of students.

Hannah Skoda, a historian at the University of Oxford, uses the map to teach medieval history to contemporary Oxford undergraduates (who are far less bloodthirsty than their predecessors). “Thinking about space really gives us a different perspective on what’s going on,” she said in a phone interview.

As she looked at the map of Oxford with some of her students during a lesson in her office, the group’s attention was drawn to one pinpoint in particular, she said. “A murder had taken place literally right outside my window in the 14th century!”

By mapping the homicides, Skoda says, it’s possible to physically explore the locations and picture the scene of the crime: Who may have seen the attack? Was it a premeditated ambush, or a sudden outburst of violence?

Poorer neighborhoods were not associated with higher rates of homicide, the study said, “contrary to findings in modern societies.”

In London, for instance, the most prominent homicide hot spot was Westcheap, which Eisner described as the medieval

equivalent of New York’s Fifth Avenue. “It’s the widest street in London, it has the tallest buildings on both sides, it’s the location of all the upscale markets,” Eisner said, adding: “I would not have expected a concentration of assassinations in these prestigious, highly visible places.”

Eisner and his team mapped over 20 killings on Westcheap’s 500-yard-long street and its offshoots, including one of the highest-profile attacks: the 1337 murder of John Ford, a priest who was set upon by a knife-wielding gang in broad daylight.

A jurors’ report from the time noted that Ford had been involved in a long-running dispute with the sister of one of his assailants, a noblewoman named Ela Fitzpayne.

However, her possible motive remained a mystery to historians until Eisner found further documents as part of his project. Some years before the murder, the archbishop of Canterbury had denounced Fitzpayne, accusing her of having a sexual affair with Ford, and she was ordered to walk barefoot along the length of Salisbury Cathedral carrying a four-pound candle once a year for seven years as punishment.

This suggested the attack on Ford could have been “a revenge killing by a powerful woman

against somebody who’s probably caused her a lot of problems,” Eisner said.

The murder “could have been a soap opera plot,” said Matt Lewis, who hosts “Gone Medieval,” a history podcast. “You’ve got the sex, the intrigue, the divided loyalties and violence, and the message that’s being sent by doing it in public.”

The medieval era is also on the cusp of when detailed official records of events became available, so it was ripe for intrigue and investigation, Lewis said. “It makes it a great place to go mining for these stories.”

According to the research, over 90 percent of recorded homicide victims and suspected killers in all three cities were men — although Eisner cautioned that domestic violence against women and children may have gone underreported.

The research also shines a light on medieval England’s criminal justice process. After a killing, passersby were obliged by law to raise a hue and cry out for help. A coroner would then summon an investigative jury that would identify a suspect — although only about 23 percent of recorded homicide cases resulted in an arrest, according to the research.

“Conviction rates were not

only very low because people ran away, but also they were quite low because at that time many people were of the understanding that if you were attacked by somebody, you had to fight back,” Eisner said. In many cases, the jury would determine that the killer was acting in self-defense.

Unlike those accused of crimes such as theft, suspected killers came from across the social spectrum — including the elite, Eisner said. That provided another motivation, Eisner suggested, for a jury to return an acquittal.

In the murder of Ford, for example, Fitzpayne was never tried, and only one person — one of her servants — was eventually convicted, Eisner said.

“Some of the things that aristocrats and the well-off get up to in this period are completely terrifying,” said Skoda, the Oxford historian. “Violence is seen as a way of dealing with things right across the social spectrum.”

People would have found the public killings terrifying, Skoda said, adding that that would explain why so many of the crimes — including Ford’s killing — were committed in busy thoroughfares.

“It’s clearly intended to be spectacular and to terrify and humiliate in a public sense,” Skoda said.

Argentina’s former president sentenced to prison, barred from public office

BY ANA VANESSA HERRERO AND SAMANTHA SCHMIDT

Argentina’s Supreme Court has upheld a six-year prison sentence against Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, the polarizing former president and one of the country’s most influential politicians, barring her from public office for life.

Kirchner, 72, was formally charged with corruption Tuesday and given five days to present herself before the court to be arrested.

The ruling delivers a stunning blow to the woman who has personified the country’s powerful Peronista movement and loomed large over Argentine society for two decades. She ruled Argentina from 2007 to 2015, following her



CRISTINA FERNANDEZ DE KIRCHNER ruled from 2007 to 2015.

husband, Nestor Kirchner, and later served as vice president until the 2023 election of libertarian Javier Milei.

Kirchner, who is the head of

the leftist Justicialist party, the principal opposition to the right-wing Milei government, rejected the accusations against her and accused the government of persecuting the opposition.

“Isn’t it paradoxical that they enjoy absolute freedom to continue doing the same things, causing the same pain, the same suffering to the Argentine people,” she said of the political right. “They are free and I am a prisoner.”

Kirchner also questioned the timing of the ruling, which came as she planned to pursue a political comeback in upcoming elections in the Buenos Aires provincial legislature.

Many Argentines, including the Milei government, accuse Kirchner of stealing from the

country and sending its economy into one economic crisis after another. Milei, a radical libertarian friendly with President Donald Trump, rode a wave of anger at the Peronist political establishment to win the 2023 election and shift the country dramatically to the right.

Still, Kirchner continues to galvanize a movement of loyal fans. She received the news Tuesday surrounded by supporters that gathered in the streets of Buenos Aires and blocked some highways.

Milei wrote on X after the ruling was made public: “Justice. The end.”

Kirchner was accused of corruption after investigations determined that she and her late

husband created a construction company and signed contracts in the Santa Cruz province. During 12 years their company received almost 80 percent of the public contracts in the province.

She was convicted in 2022, when a panel of three judges found her guilty of fraud for directing millions of dollars in taxpayer money to a family friend. She denied any wrongdoing. Several officials from her administration have been convicted in separate corruption cases.

Kirchner continues to face multiple trials on corruption charges. In March, Secretary of State Marco Rubio barred Kirchner from entering the United States over her “involvement in significant corruption” during

her time in office.

It is unclear whether the former president will serve prison time, in part because of her age. Argentine law allows people over 70 to serve house arrest. Her lawyer told local news media Tuesday that they will ask for her to serve her sentence at home. The court ordered that “special security measures” be taken, given an assassination attempt against Kirchner in 2022.

“As always, we’ll put our bodies on the line because we don’t run away, that’s what the right-winged mafia does. We Peronists stay here and put our faces and bodies on the line,” Kirchner said to supporters outside her party headquarters Tuesday. “We’re not mafia.”

U.S. adjusts posture as Israel may strike Iran

BY JOHN HUDSON,
KAREN DEYOUNG,
DAN LAMOTHE
AND ADAM TAYLOR

The United States is on high alert in anticipation of a potential Israeli strike on Iran, with the State Department authorizing the evacuation of some personnel in Iraq and the Pentagon green-lighting the departure of military family members across the Middle East.

The heightened security environment comes as President Donald Trump expresses dimming hopes of achieving a deal with Iran that would restrict its nuclear program and forestall a potentially cataclysmal military confrontation in the Middle East.

"I'm less confident now than I would have been a couple of months ago. Something happened to them, but I am much less confident of a deal being made," Trump told the New York Post.

In recent months, U.S. intelligence officials have grown increasingly concerned that Israel may choose to strike Iran's nuclear facilities without the consent of the United States. Such a move would almost certainly scuttle the Trump administration's delicate nuclear negotiations and prompt an Iranian retaliation on U.S. assets in the region.

Tehran has long said the U.S., as Israel's biggest military and political supporter, would suffer consequences in the event of an Israeli strike on Iran.

The State Department recently ordered all embassies within striking distance of Iranian assets — including missions in the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Northern Africa — to convene emergency action committees and send cables back to Washington about measures to mitigate risks.

That procedure led to Secretary of State Marco Rubio's decision Wednesday to authorize the departure of nonessential personnel in Iraq.

"We are constantly assessing the appropriate personnel posture at all our embassies," said a State Department official who, like others, spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive security matter. "Based on our latest analysis, we decided to reduce the footprint of our mission in Iraq."

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth, meanwhile, has authorized the "voluntary departure" of military family members from installations across the Middle East, a defense official said.

U.S. Central Command, the military headquarters overseeing the region, is working in close coordination with State Department counterparts and allies to maintain a constant state of readiness to support numerous missions at any time, the official added.

"We are watching and worried," one senior diplomat in the region said. "We think it's more serious than any other time in the past."

Iran has urged the U.S. to prioritize a negotiated solution, with its mission to the United Nations saying that "diplomacy — not militarism — is the only path forward."

"Iran is not seeking a nuclear weapon, and U.S. militarism only fuels instability," the Iranian mission said on social media. "CENTCOM's legacy of fueling regional instability, through arming aggressors and enabling Israeli crimes, strips it of any credibility to speak on peace or non-proliferation."

Iran and the U.S. are tentatively scheduled to hold a sixth round of direct talks in Oman on Sunday between U.S. negotiator Steve Witkoff and Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi, along with discussions between their technical teams. But people familiar with the planning said Wednesday that it is possible that talks may not happen.

Trump has described the negotiations, which began in April, as heading in a positive direction and has said he told Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to hold off on any military plans. But on Wednesday, Trump said he was "less confident" that Iran would agree to U.S. demands that it completely shut down its nuclear enrichment program.

"They seem to be delaying, and I think that's a shame," he said.

He has frequently said that Iran would never be allowed to have a nuclear weapon and has threatened military action if an agreement is not reached.

In a post on X on Wednesday, Araghchi said that Trump's demand that Iran not develop a nuclear weapon "is actually in line with our own doctrine and could become the main foundation for a deal."

"It is clear that an agreement that can ensure the continued peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear program is within reach — and could be achieved rapidly," he said.

Although Witkoff indicated early in the negotiations that some kind of compromise could be reached that would allow Iran to continue producing a small quantity of low-enriched uranium for civil purposes, the administration has since rejected that possibility.

The International Atomic Energy Agency board of governors is meeting this week in Vienna, where Director General Rafael Grossi reported Tuesday that Iran has dramatically increased the amount of near-weapons-grade material it possesses.

Under the 2015 nuclear agreement signed with the Obama administration and other world powers, Iran agreed to limit its enrichment to a low level for medical, energy and research purposes in exchange for the lifting of harsh economic sanctions.

After Trump dropped out of the agreement in 2018 during his first term in office and reimposed U.S. sanctions, Tehran began producing and stockpiling highly enriched uranium. The IAEA reports Iran now has a 900-pound stockpile of fuel, just a step away from what could be used in a nuclear weapon.

The agency also has concluded that Iran carried out secret nuclear-related activities more than two decades ago with undeclared nuclear material at three locations inside the country.

The IAEA for years has demanded Iran explain those findings and received no adequate response. European signatories to the agreement — Britain, France and Germany — have threatened to exercise "snapback" rights and reimpose their own sanctions on Iran for non-compliance.

In a contentious meeting Wednesday, Iran's envoy to the IAEA, Reza Najafi, charged the Europeans with violating the decade-old agreement, which technically still remains in effect, claiming they failed to lift all of their own sanctions when the original deal was struck.

In a separate post Wednesday, Araghchi said that "instead of displaying remorse or a desire to facilitate diplomacy," the Europeans were "promoting confrontation through the absurd demand that Iran must be punished for exercising its right" under the agreement "to respond to non-performance by counterparts."

If the IAEA governors proceed with plans to vote on a resolution against Iran at the end of their week-long meeting Friday, Araghchi said, Iran will "react STRONGLY. Blame will lie solely and FULLY with malign actors who shatter their own relevance."

Susannah George in Dubai, Suzan Haidamous in Beirut, Kareem Fahim in Istanbul and Mustafa Salim in Baghdad contributed to this report.



High school students prepare for the high-stakes gaokao college entrance exam last month in Fuyang in eastern China's Anhui province.

AI in China leashed for national exam

BY SAMMY WESTFALL
AND LYRIC LI

As more than 13 million students filed into rooms across China to sit for the notoriously grueling, high-stakes gaokao college entrance exam, they already faced strict anti-cheating and real-time surveillance measures, including facial recognition technology, metal detectors, drones and cell-phone-signal blockers. Vehicles transporting the test papers — classified as state secrets — are equipped with video surveillance. Copies of the test are stored in steel-reinforced rooms that can only be opened by three people, each wielding their own key. China made cheating on exams a criminal act in 2015 — punishable in some cases by prison sentences.

But as technology changes the education landscape, new ways to cheat have emerged. This year, AI companies joined in, adding a new layer to the ring of walls and moats around the exam.

The gaokao almost singularly determines university admission for China's high school seniors. The nine-hour test covers math, language and foreign language. Many students study for years.

The ruling Communist Party argues that the standardized test is a social equalizer for the country

of some 1.4 billion people.

This week, as students sat for their make-or-break exams, some major Chinese AI companies appeared to freeze certain functions during testing hours, with at least one — Shenzhen-headquartered tech giant Tencent — explicitly citing the integrity of the test to explain why certain features were unavailable.

"Dear user, to ensure the fairness of gaokao, this function is unavailable during gaokao hours. Tencent Yuanbao wishes gaokao sitters all success in the exams. [Unavailable: 08:00-12:30, 14:30-18:15 on June 9 and 08:00-12:30, 15:00-17:00 on June 10," Tencent's chatbot Yuanbao said in response to attempts to upload photos of generic test papers during the exam window.

Chinese AI model DeepSeek did not allow users to upload photos of test papers during the same period. Asked if photo recognition was suspended because of the exam, the chatbot answered: "yes. Deepseek Chat could temporarily suspend photo recognition for test question search during gaokao and other important exams," to prevent the technology from being used to cheat. It added that "China's Ministry of Education and other relevant departments usually orders the restriction of

snap for answer search functions during important exams." It said relevant functions usually "return to normal after gaokao," and asked users to try again later.

AI tool Kimi allowed photo recognition on Tuesday, but uploading failed when it detected a test exam or paper. Doubao, the AI owned by TikTok's parent company ByteDance, appeared to suspend the uploading of test paper photos or screenshots, though other photos worked fine.

A spokeswoman for ByteDance said the company did not want to comment immediately. The other companies in question did not respond to requests for comment.

This year, some schools in China used real-time AI patrol and surveillance systems to check for suspicious behavior in the exam room: whispering, peeking, passing objects, answering early or using prohibited tools, Chinese state media outlets reported. It can detect the behavior during the exam and with a "post-exam intelligent search," a Global Times article said.

Discovered instances of cheating on the exam have stoked past controversies.

One high-profile case involved 120 university students allegedly using fake fingerprint membranes to enter the test rooms on

behalf of high-paying high-schoolers in Henan province in 2014, South China Morning Post reported.

Chinese law enforcement arrested more than "50 criminal suspects from 12 criminal gangs" and seized more than 100,000 sets of wireless equipment designed to facilitate gaokao cheating in 2018, the government announced that year. Many tens of millions of dollars were involved in the cheating ring.

In 2016, six teachers were imprisoned for "illegally obtaining state secrets," after they were convicted for helping their students cheat on the gaokao.

State-run network CGTN once broadcast a video of a huddle of parents helping one student remove his pants zippers — a piece of metal dinged by the security detectors that nearly made him miss the test. After finally removing the metal pull tabs, he sprinted into a school building just in time.

This year's multiday testing period ended Tuesday. State-affiliated Chinese outlet Global Times published photos of lines of parents waiting to greet the students with flower bouquets and high-fives.

Christian Shepherd contributed to this report.

T. rex ancestor identified in Mongolian collection

BY CAROLYN Y. JOHNSON

A new species of early tyrannosaur, dubbed the "prince of dragons," has been discovered lurking in a collection of fossils first excavated in Mongolia in the early 1970s, scientists said Wednesday in the journal *Nature*.

Khankhuuluu mongoliensis — its scientific name — is an evolutionary ancestor of the most famous tyrannosaur, the "tyrant lizard king," T. rex.

With their bone-crushing bites and spindly little arms, large tyrannosaurs (scientifically known as "eutyrannosaurians") are the celebrities of the dinosaur world.

But they started off as small-bodied tyrannosauroids some 150 million years ago in the Jurassic period. It wasn't until the late Cretaceous that they began evolving into the giants that ignite people's imaginations.

Their precise evolutionary origins, however, have long been murky. A critical swath of the family tree is blank.

Khankhuuluu, known from two partial skeletons in fossil collections at the Institute of Paleontology in Mongolia, helps fill in this gap — a transitional 86-million-year-old species that represents the closest known ancestor to the famed late tyrannosaurs.

Previously, it had been described as an allectrosaurus, another early tyrannosaur. Asked for a modern-day comparison, University of Calgary graduate student Jared Voris, who led the work, said to imagine a large, predatory horse.

"What makes them so important is their age," said Stephen Brusatte, a paleontologist at the University of Edinburgh who was not involved in the study. "They are about 86 million years old, a good 20 million years older



JULIUS CSOTONYI

Khankhuuluu, the "prince of dragons," lived 86 million years ago.

than T. rex. It has been a frustrating gap in the record."

Voris was on a research trip in Mongolia in 2023 when he sent a text halfway across the world to his adviser, Darla Zelenitsky, an associate professor of paleontology. He told her that he thought some of the fossils he had examined in a museum collection were actually a new species.

Those specimens had been classified for decades as allectrosaurus, "an enigmatic and poorly represented tyrannosauroid species," Zelenitsky and Voris wrote in their study.

What leaped out to Voris initially was that the snout bone was hollow, a clear sign that this was an early ancestor of the tyrannosaur family. It was the first of what would come to be dozens of features that suggested this creature was something new.

Zelenitsky, a paleontologist at the University of Calgary, said she was excited but cautioned Voris to take his time.

Some bones were sent to Japan, where the research team was able to conduct CT scans to study them in greater detail. The scientists also traveled to the

American Museum of Natural History in New York to study allectrosaurus fossils to make sure the animals they were researching were distinct.

"There's no doubt this is a new species," Zelenitsky said. "There's also no doubt that it's the ancestor to these large apex predator tyrannosaurs."

The new study reveals an intermediate form — a slender, relatively flat-snouted creature.

Other tyrannosaur experts said it was good to see these specimens reexamined with modern techniques and understanding. Thomas R. Holtz Jr., a vertebrate paleontologist at the University of Maryland, recalled that in the 1980s, the find in Mongolia was relatively famous within the small community of tyrannosaur specialists.

He was the envy of colleagues back then, because he had been able to hunt down a blurry microfiche of the paper, published in an obscure Mongolian geologic journal in the 1970s.

"It helps fill in a gap in time and in the evolutionary tree," Holtz said.

Khankhuuluu is part of a gold rush in discoveries that are fill-

ing in more chapters of tyrannosaur evolution.

Over the past 15 years, there has been an explosion in discoveries of tyrannosaur species, said Joseph Sertich, a vertebrate paleontologist with the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute.

Sometimes, new species come to light by dusting off old fossils and finding ones that were misclassified in museum collections, as in the new study.

Other times, scientists dig up new bones.

Voris and Zelenitsky paint a picture of species evolution and migration as tyrannosaurs dispersed between Asia and North America over millions of years. Khankhuuluu, or another closely related species, left Asia and moved into North America, giving rise to tyrannosaurs there around 85 million years ago.

Several million years later, a migration back to Asia resulted in two new branches of the tyrannosaur family tree: the giants on one branch and the "Pinocchio rexes" — smaller dinosaurs with long, slender snouts — on the other. And at the very end of tyrannosaur evolution, one of the giants migrated back to North America, giving rise to T. rex.

Sertich drew the analogy to big cats: Many species can live alongside one another — leopards, lions or tigers coexisting as predators in the ecosystem.

"The patterns of evolution we are uncovering are revealing a complex story of evolution that goes far beyond tyrant dinosaurs and has bearing on the origins of the modern ecosystems of the Northern Hemisphere," Sertich said.

"Ultimately, this paper is exploring the ancient connections between North America and Asia, two continents that have shared species, including humans, for the past 90 million years."



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Secretary of State Marco Rubio, seen last month on Capitol Hill, authorized the departure of nonessential personnel in Iraq.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS



KIM RAFF/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The Naughton Power Plant in Kemmerer, Wyoming, in 2023. Power plants are the second largest source of carbon emissions in the U.S.

EPA aims to roll back emissions rules

Proposals would undo Biden-era regulations on power plant pollution

BY JAKE SPRING

The Environmental Protection Agency announced Wednesday a proposal to eliminate Biden-era regulations restricting power plant greenhouse gas pollution, a move that would significantly increase U.S. emissions that contribute to climate change.

In a separate proposal, the EPA plans to weaken controls on power plant emissions of mercury and other toxic chemicals. The agency will leave in place 2015 controls on these chemicals, which also include carcinogens such as arsenic and benzene, while proposing to strike down stronger 2024 limits.

The changes could be finalized by the end of this year and would represent a dramatic shift in regulatory priorities, as the Trump administration moves to dismantle former president Joe Biden's most significant environmental and climate achievements.

Power plants are the second largest source of carbon dioxide emissions after transportation in

the United States, and loosening the toxics rules probably would lead to more cases of cancer, brain damage and birth defects. Together, the rule changes would cause thousands of premature deaths, according to estimates by the Biden EPA and outside experts.

Trump officials say they are seeking to strike a balance between economic and environmental protections.

"We are proposing to repeal Obama and Biden rules that have been criticized as regulating coal, oil and gas out of existence," EPA Administrator Lee Zeldin said.

"Both proposed rules, if finalized, would deliver savings to American families on their electricity bills, and it will ensure they have the electricity that they need."

The rule changes are part of the Trump administration's multipronged approach to rolling back emission controls. Zeldin had announced the EPA's intention to reconsider these and many other environmental rules in March, on what he called "the most consequential day of deregulation in American history."

As The Washington Post reported in February, Zeldin has been privately urging the White House to strike down the EPA's 2009 "endangerment finding," which concluded that green-

house gas emissions pose a threat to human health and welfare, according to three people briefed on the matter.

That finding underpins most of the federal government's actions to confront climate change, including the power plant rules, by allowing greenhouse gases to be regulated under the Clean Air Act.

"By gutting these clean air standards, the EPA is giving a free pass to the nation's dirtiest power plants and most toxic polluters," said Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse (D-Rhode Island), in a statement reacting to the EPA announcement.

"Pollutants like mercury and greenhouse gases are harmful, a settled scientific fact for decades, and the evidence has only gotten stronger."

Environmental advocates emphasized the health risks of changing the emissions rules. "The hazardous air pollutants from coal-fired power plants in particular are hugely harmful to health. Mercury is a neurotoxin. The other emissions host a wide range of health harms for people that breathe emissions from those plants," said Laura Kate Bender, vice president of public policy at the American Lung Association.

Business groups have argued that the emissions standards are

too strict, driving up costs for coal and gas power plants or forcing them to close down.

"What the Trump administration is doing is absolutely essential to saving the grid, and that means saving the economy, because without a reliable grid, you can't have a productive economy," said Myron Ebell, the former director of the Center for Energy and Environment at the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a libertarian think tank.

Ebell said the mercury and air toxics rules already had led coal plants to close, causing billions of dollars in economic damage that won't be undone by the EPA's actions. Rescinding greenhouse gas emissions rules still could benefit plants that burn fossil fuels, he said.

The government has been swinging from one extreme to another on emissions rules for more than a decade, Ebell added. "We've been playing ping-pong on these rules since the Obama administration. Obama did them, Trump undid them, Biden did them. Trump's undoing them."

The rule changes are certain to face legal challenges from environmental advocates, with Natural Resources Defense Council CEO Manish Bapna saying in a statement that if the EPA goes ahead, "we'll see them in court."

Meta takes \$15B stake in the start-up Scale AI

Data firm's CEO will lead superintelligence team at social media giant

BY NAOMI NIX AND NITASHA TIKU

Meta has agreed to pay \$14.8 billion for a 49 percent stake in the artificial intelligence data firm Scale AI in one of the biggest acquisitions the social media giant has made since its 2014 deal to buy WhatsApp, according to a person familiar with the matter.

The arrangement with Scale AI will give the start-up's CEO, Alexander Wang, a senior position at Meta leading a team focused on developing superintelligence, said the person, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private company matters.

Superintelligence describes a hypothetical technology that could perform better than humans at all tasks. Meta, which is an existing Scale AI customer, is expected to expand its use of the company's data-labeling services, the person said. The deal was reported earlier by the Information. The New York Times and Bloomberg News earlier reported Meta's decision to create a new AI lab. Meta and Scale AI declined to comment.

The deal will give Meta more access to Scale AI's services, which have shifted over the years. The company first specialized in connecting large tech companies with human contractors to label the massive amounts of data necessary to train AI models, focusing on self-driving vehicles and relying on "digital sweatshops" in areas such as the Philippines.

As the technology progressed to require little labeling, Scale pivoted to the types of contractors and data required for later stages of AI development, including making chatbots sound more human or helping them improve in specific categories, such as health care or defense.

Outlier AI, a platform Scale uses to hire contractors, on Tuesday advertised 28 roles, mostly for specialized human trainers focusing on subject areas such as advanced biology, chemistry and physics, and for a number of voice-training roles in languages including Chinese and Arabic.

Meta's acquisition could face scrutiny from antitrust regulators in the Trump administration who, while cautious about regulating AI, have expressed skepticism about the power and effect of big technology companies, including Meta, said William Kovacic, a former Federal Trade Commission chair and a law professor at George Washington University.

The FTC earlier this year opted not to drop its lawsuit challenging Meta's acquisitions of Instagram and WhatsApp, even after Meta CEO Mark Zuckerberg lobbied the White House for a resolution.

Earlier this month, panelists at an FTC event called for stiff regulatory changes to help make the internet safer for kids and teens.

But FTC Chair Andrew Ferguson said in September that "AI may pose a much-needed competitive and innovative challenge to incumbent Big Tech firms."

"A knee-jerk regulatory response will only squelch innovation, further entrench Big Tech incumbents, and ensure that AI innovators move to jurisdictions friendlier to them — but perhaps hostile to the United States," he added.

Kovacic said that, if antitrust regulators examine Meta's acquisition, they would have to determine whether the company could be considered a dominant player in the AI field to take action.

"My sense of looking at the commentary from the business community is that Meta is not the leader in the development of artificial general intelligence — that it is trailing the field," he said.

Meta's alliance with Wang is the latest in personnel changes as the social media giant attempts to compete with tech firms that have a stronger reputation in generative AI, such as OpenAI, Anthropic, Google, Microsoft and China-based DeepSeek. Zuckerberg has said he expects that Meta's AI chatbot will become the leading AI assistant, besting rivals such as ChatGPT and Claude.

Meta earned a lot of goodwill from industry insiders when its popular AI model, called Llama, launched in 2023, earning points for its relative openness as OpenAI and Google began to publish fewer papers and reveal less about how their technology was developed.

But, in recent months, Meta has faced public stumbles. In April, it was caught trying to manipulate a platform for evaluating AI models called LMArena. And last month, Meta said it would delay the rollout of its gargantuan AI model called Behemoth, according to a report in the Wall Street Journal.

Meanwhile, Meta's recently launched AI app, which Zuckerberg touted in podcast appearances, seems to have fallen flat with consumers. It is ranked No. 17 in the productivity category on Apple's App Store and has fewer than 10 million downloads on the Google Play Store.

In April, Joelle Pineau, who had worked at the company for about eight years, announced that she was leaving her post leading Meta's AI research lab. During her tenure, Meta made significant moves to reshape the once-independent artificial-research lab to be more aligned with the company's business and product priorities.

The following month, Meta reorganized its generative AI team, splitting the department into two groups focused on AI research and consumer products, according to an internal memo about the plans seen by The Washington Post.

"I believe this structure will be a major upgrade to overcome the biggest challenges that I've heard from many of you, and will help accelerate our overall progress," wrote Meta Chief Product Officer Chris Cox.

DIGEST

STOCK MARKET

Wall Street stalls after new inflation report

Wall Street's rally stalled on Wednesday after U.S. stocks climbed back within 2 percent of their all-time high.

The S&P 500 fell 0.3 percent to 6,022.24 for its first loss in four days. The Dow Jones Industrial Average was virtually unchanged, edging down by one point to 42,865.77, and the Nasdaq composite index slipped 0.5 percent to 19,615.88.

In the bond market, the yield on the 10-year Treasury eased to 4.41 percent from 4.47 percent late Tuesday. Shorter-term yields, which more closely track expectations for what the Federal Reserve will do with overnight interest rates, fell more. Several Big Tech stocks led the way lower, and a 1.9 percent drop for Apple was the heaviest weight on the market. It's been listless this week after unveiling several modest upcoming changes to the software that runs its devices.

The action was stronger in the bond market, where Treasury yields eased after a report suggested President Donald Trump's tariffs are not pushing inflation much higher, at least not yet.

U.S. consumers had to pay prices for food, gasoline and other costs of living that were 2.4 percent higher overall in May than a year earlier. That was up from April's 2.3 percent inflation rate, but it wasn't as bad as the 2.5 percent that Wall Street was expecting.

A fear has been that Trump's wide-ranging tariffs could ignite an acceleration in inflation, just when it had seemed to get nearly all the way back to the Fed's 2 percent target from more than 9 percent three summers ago.

— Associated Press

TECHNOLOGY

Google offers buyouts to several key units

Google has offered buyouts to another swath of its workforce across several key divisions in a fresh round of cost-cutting coming ahead of a court decision that could order a breakup of its internet empire. The Mountain View, California, company confirmed the streamlining that was reported by several news outlets.

It's not clear how many employees are affected, but the offers were made to employees in Google's search, advertising, research and engineering units,



SARAH MEYSSONNIER/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

French President Emmanuel Macron looks at a robot Wednesday during a visit to the VivaTech start-ups and innovation fair in Paris. The event bills itself as Europe's largest start-up and tech event.

according to the Wall Street Journal. Google employs most of the nearly 186,000 workers on the worldwide payroll of its parent company, Alphabet.

Google is offering the buyouts while awaiting for a federal judge to determine its fate after its ubiquitous search engine was declared an illegal monopoly as part of a nearly five-year-old case

by the U.S. Justice Department.

— Associated Press

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Nvidia will build AI platform in Germany

Nvidia will build its first artificial intelligence cloud platform for industrial

applications in Germany, CEO Jensen Huang said at the VivaTech conference in Paris on Wednesday. The technology, which will combine AI with robotics, will help carmakers such as BMW and Mercedes-Benz with processes from simulating product design to managing logistics.

In a series of Europe-focused announcements, Huang outlined plans to expand technology centers in several countries, open up Nvidia's compute marketplace for European companies, help AI model makers in several languages to become more advanced and aid in drug discovery by the likes of Novo Nordisk.

Huang will be traveling to Berlin on Friday, said two people close to the matter, with one of the people saying he is due to meet German Chancellor Friedrich Merz. Nvidia did not specify where it would build the plant, at what cost it would do so or when construction would start.

— Reuters

ALSO IN BUSINESS

General Mills is considering selling its Häagen-Dazs ice cream stores in China, Bloomberg News reported on

Wednesday, citing people familiar with the matter. The company may seek several hundred million dollars for the assets in a sale process that could begin this year, according to the report. The discussions are in early stages and the company may not pursue a sale, Bloomberg reported, adding that General Mills intends to continue selling Häagen-Dazs in places such as supermarkets and convenience stores in China. General Mills declined to comment on the report.

Starlab Space Station developer

Voyager Technologies secured a valuation of \$3.8 billion after its shares surged 125 percent in their New York debut on Wednesday, signaling strong interest in the defense and space sector that is expected to thrive under the Trump administration. The strong market debut also adds to a steady IPO recovery after months of delays sparked by turbulence stemming from President Donald Trump's shifting tariff policies. The Denver-based company's stock opened at \$69.75 apiece, above the \$31 offer price. Voyager raised \$382.8 million by selling nearly 12.4 million shares in an upsized IPO.

— From news services

Economy shows surprising resilience amid tariff impacts

BY ANDREW ACKERMAN
AND JEFF STEIN

President Donald Trump's escalating trade war may be rattling corporate boardrooms and slowing consumer spending, but the U.S. economy so far has kept humming along.

The latest encouraging sign came Wednesday, when the Labor Department reported that inflation remained mild in May, rising at an annual pace of 2.4 percent — less than economists had anticipated. The labor market continues to chug as well, adding a healthy 139,000 jobs last month, which also beat expectations.

The wave of good news has surprised analysts who had braced for higher inflation and weaker hiring amid Trump's unpredictable trade moves — including new tariffs that were quickly scaled back or delayed. The inflation report landed the day after U.S. and Chinese negotiators announced a framework for a deal to reduce tariffs and other economic restrictions between the countries, suggesting the administration may further retreat in its global trade war. That could remove another threat from the U.S. economy.

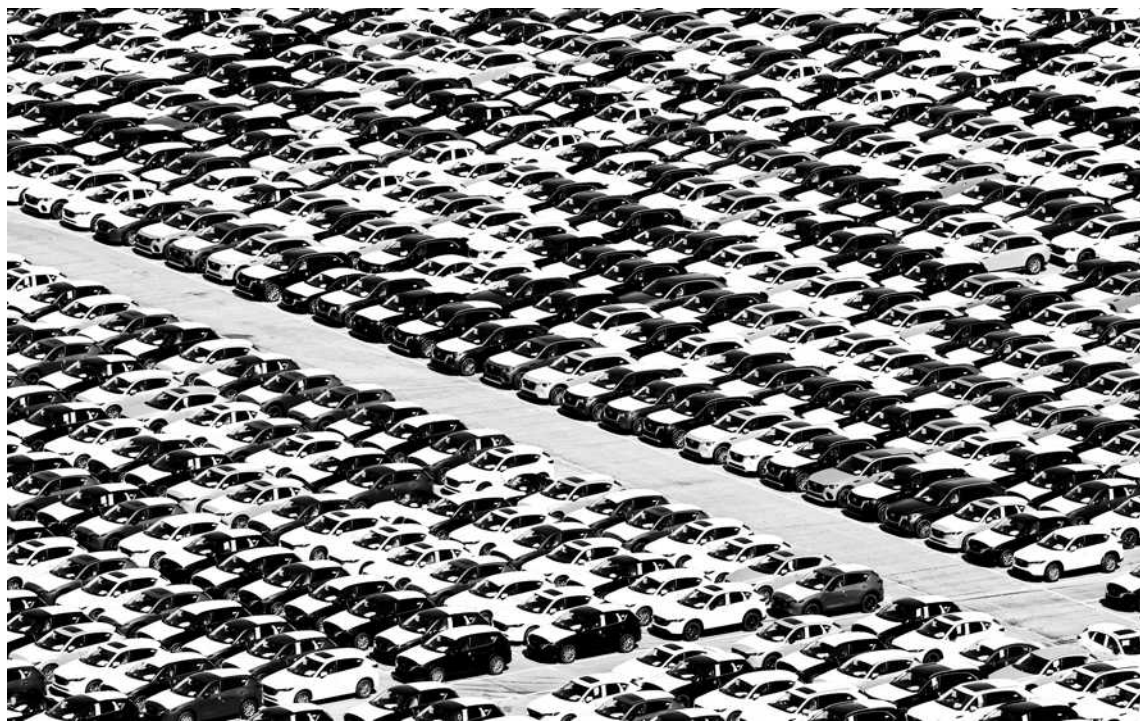
"The fact that we have not seen a bigger impact from tariffs on both inflation and the labor market to date is striking," said Krishna Guha of Evercore ISI.

Big companies, in particular, seem to have prepared well by stocking inventories ahead of the tariffs, Guha said. Many also found alternative suppliers, improved productivity, and pressured wholesalers and distributors to absorb some of the extra costs.

For now, most firms are holding off on major price increases while they wait to see if the Trump administration pulls back on its trade threats. But if tariffs stay high, economists still expect to see real damage over time — in the form of both higher prices and slower job growth.

"Without a doubt, firms are absorbing some of the costs," said Joe Brusuelas, chief economist at RSM. "But it does not alter the reality that there are price hikes on the way into the economy."

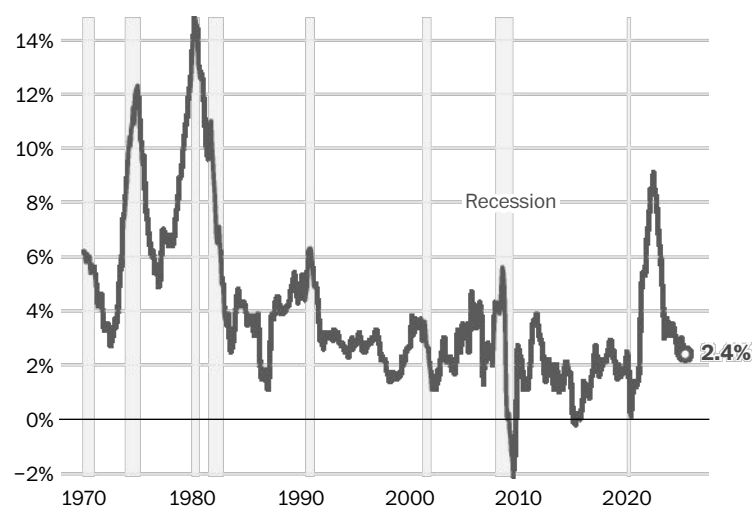
Still, the surprising resilience of the economy may have significant repercussions for the Trump



MARIO TAMAYO/GETTY IMAGES

Imported new cars at an automobile processing terminal at the Port of Los Angeles in April 2024.

Annual inflation rate



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

administration and the upcoming 2026 midterm elections. The president and his aides for weeks suggested they would be willing to risk a recession to rebalance the global trade system, and the chaos inflicted by Trump's tariffs initially appeared to hurt his popularity among voters. The trade war caused a sharp contraction in the stock market and volatility in the bond market that rattled investors around the world.

But the administration has since largely backed off its most

drastic measures and is poised to soon pass a more than \$2 trillion tax measure that could provide a further economic boost. The developments suggest Trump may keep the economy from suddenly unraveling — and that his party could mitigate the political consequences of such a downturn — even if it entails a recognition that his initial plans were impossible to implement.

The White House hailed Wednesday's inflation report as the latest sign that "America is

beating inflation" under Trump. The president also welcomed the report, taking to his social media platform Truth Social to renew his calls on the Federal Reserve to cut borrowing rates by a full percentage point.

"Great numbers!" the president wrote in all caps, adding that lower rates would translate into lower interest costs on U.S. debt. "So important!!!" he wrote.

Since January, the Fed has been in a wait-and-see policy stance on interest rates amid a cloudy economic outlook and uncertainty over how Trump's policies, particularly on tariffs, will affect the economy. Fed officials have repeatedly said they are well positioned to wait for more clarity on the outlook for inflation and economic growth, despite consistent pressure from the president to lower interest rates.

"If the large increases in tariffs that have been announced are sustained, they're likely to generate a rise in inflation, a slowdown in economic growth and an increase in unemployment," Fed Chair Jerome H. Powell said at a news conference last month.

The Fed is expected to hold rates steady next week for a fourth straight meeting, with investors in futures markets putting the odds at nearly 100 per-

cent. Most investors don't expect another rate cut until the Fed's September meeting.

The Fed's benchmark short-term rate, which trickles through the financial system to influence what millions of consumers and businesses pay to borrow money, sits at 4.25 to 4.5 percent.

In addition to a subdued 2.4 percent annual rate, Wednesday's inflation report showed that prices excluding food and energy categories — what are known as core prices — rose 2.8 percent, which was also below economists' expectations. On a monthly basis, overall prices were up just 0.1 percent.

The news wasn't entirely rosy. There are signs that tariffs are already rekindling inflation in some categories, including toys, which overwhelmingly come from China. Prices for toys, games and playground equipment rose by 2.2 percent in May, the largest one-month increase on record. Several goods that were getting cheaper when Trump took office — including consumer electronics and toys — have all instead risen in price by about 0.5 percent since January, according to Ernie Tedeschi, who served as a top economist in the Biden administration.

Skanda Amarnath, executive director of Employ America, a left-leaning policy organization, also said that healing supply chains, which had been severely disrupted by the covid pandemic, are probably muting the impact of the tariffs on a broad range of prices. Housing inflation in particular has eased because of trends that predate the Trump administration but continue to provide some relief for consumers.

But it's also likely that it will still take a few months for the tariffs to appear in the inflation data — perhaps as late as the end of the summer — because it will take businesses time to decide how or whether to pass on the tariffs to consumers, he said.

"There's a lot more lags in this stuff than people realize," Amarnath said. "There's a lot of lags and latency issues that people underestimate."

Still, increases that some economists were expecting failed to materialize last month. For instance, apparel prices fell 0.4 per-

cent, while prices for new vehicles declined 0.3 percent. Both categories are expected to see tariff-fueled price pressures.

For the auto industry, tariffs are still expected to drive up vehicle prices by thousands of dollars, after the Trump administration imposed levies of 25 percent on imported cars. While the White House later moved to soften the blow by ensuring that auto tariffs don't "stack" on other duties applying to inputs such as steel and aluminum, even those vehicles assembled in the United States will face higher component costs, analysts say.

So far, new car prices haven't changed much, though automakers and dealers have pulled back on sales incentives, said Erin Keating, executive analyst at Cox Automotive. Still, tariffs are adding significant costs to the industry. If they remain in place, manufacturers are likely to pass some of those expenses to buyers, pushing prices up by about 4 to 8 percent by year's end.

"They are not going to be able to absorb the whole tariff cost," she said.

While designed to protect U.S. industries, tariffs often raise prices for consumers, leaving Fed officials to parse whether inflation is being driven by one-time pricing changes they can look through or is a sign of overheating that calls for tighter monetary policy.

Despite the spate of strong data, policymakers say it's difficult to assess the strength of the economy, as tariff-related uncertainty upends spending and investment patterns. During the first quarter, gross domestic product declined slightly, largely because of a surge in imports — which count against GDP — ahead of anticipated tariff increases that are likely to reverse.

While the labor market is at or near the Fed's goal of maximum employment, the future is uncertain. The administration's trade and other policies could yet raise the unemployment rate while raising inflation during the rest of this year, Fed governor Adriana Kugler said in a speech last week.

The Fed's existing wait-and-see approach is "currently appropriate" to achieve the central bank's dual goals of maximum employment and stable prices, she said.

Trump hails limited deal with China after talks on renewing trade war truce

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

President Donald Trump said Wednesday that a limited trade deal with China was "done," pending his approval and that of Chinese President Xi Jinping.

The agreement, hammered out during two days of marathon talks in London, calls for China to resume shipments of rare-earth minerals and related magnets needed by U.S. automakers and other manufacturers. The United States then will "PROVIDE CHINA WHAT WAS AGREED TO," including visas for Chinese students to attend American universities, the president said in a post on Truth Social, without providing details.

Secretary of State Marco Rubio said at the end of May that he would "aggressively revoke" visas for Chinese students with ties to the Chinese Communist Party or who were studying in "critical fields." But the president said the presence of Chinese students on U.S. campuses "HAS ALWAYS BEEN GOOD WITH ME!"

Less than two weeks after accusing China of violating a trade war truce, Trump on Wednesday had nothing but praise for the Chinese leader.

"President Xi and I are going to work closely together to open up China to American Trade. This would be a great WIN for both countries!!!" Trump wrote in a second Truth Social post.

Under the renewed truce, the

U.S. will impose a 55 percent tariff on Chinese goods, and China will hit American products with a 10 percent import tax, the president said. Those are both higher rates than before Trump took office, but lower than the triple-digit tariff levels that each nation imposed this spring.

U.S. and Chinese negotiators agreed late Tuesday to try again to implement the trade war truce that collapsed amid recriminations on both sides just weeks after it was reached during an earlier round of talks in Geneva.

Speaking near midnight in London, Commerce Secretary Howard Lutnick announced what he called a "handshake" deal to put into effect the terms of the May 12 U.S.-China agreement that called for both nations to lower their tariffs and take additional steps to facilitate trade.

"We have reached a framework to implement the Geneva consensus and the call between the two presidents," Lutnick told reporters, referring to a June 5 telephone conversation between Trump and Xi. "I think it's really beneficial to the United States of America. It's very beneficial to the Chinese and the China economy."

Negotiators released no text of either the London framework or the earlier Geneva accord to de-escalate the U.S.-China trade war. But Lutnick said both nations would remove new trade barriers they had erected as the truce broke down.



TOBY MELVILLE/REUTERS

Commerce Secretary Howard Lutnick in London on Tuesday.

That means China is expected to permit an increased flow of critical materials known as "rare earths" for auto and defense production. As those shipments increase, the U.S. will lift measures that it imposed recently "in a balanced way," Lutnick said.

"We do absolutely expect that the topic of rare-earth minerals and magnets, with respect to the United States of America, will be resolved in this framework implementation," Lutnick said.

He did not specify which U.S. measures would be lifted in response. But his department has implemented a number of restrictions on exports to China of aerospace technology and advanced semiconductor equipment, which Chinese officials urgently want removed.

Lutnick described the diplo-

matic breakthrough as the first step toward expanding U.S.-China trade, which topped \$580 billion last year. The U.S. buys more than three times as much from China as Chinese customers buy from Americans, a trade deficit that Trump has inveighed against for years as a measure of industrial decline.

"We have an existing, significant trade deficit, and President Trump's fundamental goal is to reduce the trade deficit and increase trade. So this was the first step of the framework by which we will then approach and discuss growing trade. But first we had to sort of get the negativity out," Lutnick said.

Briefing reporters outside Lancaster House, the 19th-century mansion in London's West End that hosted two days of talks, Lutnick credited the involvement of both presidents with producing quick results.

"You have to get things done if you're working for President Trump. I'm sure they felt they had to get it done because they were working for President Xi," he said.

The U.S. delegation also included Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent and U.S. Trade Representative Jamie Greer. Bessent left the talks a few hours early to return to Washington in time to appear before Congress on Wednesday.

The Chinese team was led by Vice Premier He Lifeng, a close associate of Xi.

In China, Li Chenggang, China's vice commerce minister, said the talks were "professional, rational, in-depth and candid," according to Chinese state media, and Beijing hopes the discussions will "be conducive to increasing trust between China and the United States."

Yao Yang, an economist at Peking University, said the fact that Beijing and Washington engaged in negotiations amid bitter trade tensions is positive.

"The Chinese government's stance has always been, if you want to fight, we are going to take it. But the purpose of fighting is not just for the sake of fighting, it is to prepare for negotiation or to bring the other side to the negotiation table," he said.

Yet even as the latest attempt to put U.S.-China relations on a sound footing moved forward, Greer nodded to the long list of issues that divide the two sides. The Trump administration has complained about Chinese policies that fuel what it sees as excess production of manufactured goods, which depress global prices and hurt American factory workers.

"There are some things that the Chinese and U.S. economies, they just don't fit together very well. Other things, maybe they do. And there'll be a time for broader conversations on that," he said.

The 90-day pause on triple-digit tariffs that amounted to a de facto U.S.-China trade embargo

expires Aug. 12. In response to a question about prospects for an extension, Greer said that would be up to Trump.

Further talks are expected, though no date has been agreed to yet.

The Trump administration notched a legal win Tuesday when a federal appeals court ruled that many of the tariffs the president imposed on China can remain while the government appeals a lower-court ruling that found they were illegal.

The Court of International Trade, a little-known specialized court in New York, ruled last month that Trump exceeded his authority by invoking emergency powers to impose tariffs on imports from China and other nations.

The Trump administration quickly appealed, and the appeals court temporarily paused the lower court's decision. On Tuesday, it said that pause could stay in place while the appeal was decided.

"The court also concludes that these cases present issues of exceptional importance warranting expedited en banc consideration of the merits in the first instance," the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit said Tuesday. The appeals court said it would expedite the issue and hear arguments July 31.

Katrina Northrop in Taipei, Taiwan, and Rachel Lerman in Washington contributed to this report.

Trump backers call for Walmart boycott amid furor over 'No Kings Day' ad

BY JACLYN PEISER

Some supporters of President Donald Trump are calling for a Walmart boycott after an heiress to the nation's largest retailer took out an ad in the New York Times to promote a protest of the president's policies.

The full-page display, which appeared in the newspaper Sunday and was paid for by Christy Walton, advertises "No Kings Day" gatherings across the country Saturday. The mobilizing events coincide with Trump's military parade in D.C.

While the ad doesn't mention Trump by name, many of his

followers interpreted it as a criticism of his actions and policies. "WE uphold and defend the constitution"; "WE care for veterans and children"; "WE are the world leader trusted to uphold the stability of rule of law."

It also came as protests in Los Angeles against the administration's immigration policies ramped up, with Trump deploying Marines and National Guard troops to California.

By Tuesday, some influential Trump allies were posting about the ad on social media. Kari Lake, the senior adviser to the U.S. Agency for Global Media, the government body overseeing the

Voice of America news service, reposted the ad on X and wrote: "Do you shop at Walmart?"

Conservative commentators on X also started calling for boycotts of Walmart and cited its association with Walton, the widow of John T. Walton and daughter-in-law of the retailer's founder, Sam Walton.

"It may be time to #BoycottWalmart," one user wrote. "#ChristyWalton, heiress of @Walmart has lost her mind in thinking she can fund revolutions against the American people/consumers."

Among the lawmakers joining the fray was Rep. Anna Paulina

Luna (R-Florida), who connected the ad directly to Walmart as she posted on X: "Looks like the Walmart dynasty is big mad about China Tariffs."

In a statement to The Washington Post, a Walmart spokesman sought to distance the company from the ad.

"The advertisements from Christy Walton are in no way connected to or endorsed by Walmart," he said. "She does not serve on the board or play any role in decision-making at Walmart."

"A left-wing billionaire feels like burning some of her inheritance for a PR stunt," White

House spokesman Kush Desai said in a statement. "It's not going to change the fact that over 77 million Americans voted for mass deportations, border security, and America First trade policies — a mandate that the Trump administration is committed to using every lever of executive power to deliver on."

While it's unclear whether a grassroots boycott from Trump supporters is underway, Walmart has already been in Trump's crosshairs in recent weeks. After the Bentonville, Arkansas-based retailer announced in its first-quarter earnings call that prices could go up within weeks be-

cause of tariffs, Trump admonished the company, posting on Truth Social that Walmart should "EAT THE TARIFFS" and "not charge valued customers ANYTHING."

Big box retailers have frequently been involved in the culture wars. Earlier this year, grassroots efforts materialized across the country to boycott retailers that retreated from their diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) initiatives. Target was one of the biggest chains criticized, and last month it reported lower-than-expected earnings in its first quarter, thanks, in part, to customers' pullback.

THURSDAY OPINION

‘Trump accounts’
to fix inequality?
Try this instead.BY DARRICK HAMILTON
AND AYANNA PRESSLEY

In the United States, the wealthiest nation in the world, a child born into poverty is unlikely to ever climb out of it. Wealth inequality in this country has reached historic highs, with the top 10 percent of households holding 67 percent of the nation's wealth, while the bottom 50 percent holds just 2.5 percent. This means that millions of children grow up lacking basic economic security.

Now as much as ever, we need real investment in our children.

The Republican reconciliation bill that recently passed the House does nothing to address our glaring wealth inequality. Not only does it slash Medicaid, food assistance and other essential programs for the more than 30 percent of Americans who can't put together \$400 for an emergency expense, but also tucked into this harmful bill are provisions that claim Americans can build wealth through “Trump accounts.” Under the GOP proposal, every child born in the next four years would receive a one-time \$1,000 government contribution into a tax-free investment account, to which families may contribute up to \$5,000 annually.

But this is not a serious solution.

Trump accounts fall drastically short of addressing the real hurdles Americans face. These accounts are built on the presumption that individuals lack the incentive to save. In fact, what they lack is disposable income. Anyone can lawfully open a savings account for their child, such as a 529 account for college, but most are not positioned to take advantage of such accounts. A 2016 Federal Reserve Bank study found that just 2.5 percent of all families had a 529 savings account — and among households in the bottom half of the income distribution, that number dropped to only 0.3 percent. Most are not positioned to take advantage of new savings accounts. And by restricting eligibility to children born in the next four years, the proposal makes clear it was never intended to truly confront generational poverty and the wealth gap.

Trump accounts are structured to benefit primarily more affluent families — those who already have money to invest. For those struggling to put food on the table or afford a doctor's visit, the choice isn't between consumption and investment — it's between groceries and medicine. Though many Americans could use real support — such as extra cash when a new baby arrives — the Republican bill moving through the Senate threatens to slash essential programs, leaving families worse off. And ironically, it contains no provision to protect low-income recipients from the “benefit cliff” — the asset limits that could disqualify them from essential services such as housing or income support once they reach adulthood.

Contrast this with the legislative vision we've championed for more than six years: baby bonds.

Known in Congress as the American Opportunity Accounts Act, the legislation to create baby bonds is rooted in the principle that every child, no matter their race, family income or birth circumstances, deserves a fair shot at building wealth and securing their future.

Here's how it works: Every child receives \$1,000 at birth. But unlike Trump accounts, baby bonds don't stop there. Children would continue to receive additional deposits from the government every year, progressively scaled to family income. These funds would grow over time in safe, federally managed investment accounts. At age 18, young adults could access their accounts to pay for allowable expenses, including homeownership, higher education or starting a business — the kind of human and financial capital investments that change life trajectories. Building wealth from birth this way is cost-effective — supercharging dollars through years of interest — and also disrupts the cycle of intergenerational poverty.

Baby bonds also tackle the root problem of asset inequality — something the regressive tax structure of the Trump accounts does not fix. Rather than simply encouraging investment by those who already have the money, baby bonds seek to ensure that everyone has a meaningful stake in the economy and an opportunity to build financial stability and wealth.

Baby bonds wouldn't replace private investment — they would complement it by providing every young person with a baseline of security. They would create a public foundation of capital while still allowing private investment and individual agency. In doing so, they don't displace the market but expand the pool of those who can benefit from it.

There is also a deeper issue at play. Trump accounts amount to a government subsidy for asset managers — another tax-advantaged inflow into the financial services industry. In effect, they are a backdoor giveaway to Wall Street, wrapped in the rhetoric of economic populism.

Our country has a long history of wealth-building programs that expanded opportunity — from the Homestead Act to the GI Bill, which led to the greatest expansion of the middle class in U.S. history. But too often, those benefits were not accessible to all Americans, especially Black Americans and Native Americans, from whom much of the land seeded in the Homestead Act was taken, often violently. We now have the chance to design a 21st-century wealth-building initiative that is inclusive, equitable and grounded in sound economic theory and evidence.

We vehemently oppose the Republican budget reconciliation bill and urge the Senate to halt this attack on Medicaid, food assistance and more. In a just nation, everyone should have the economic power and financial opportunity to build wealth and live the productive life they choose. That's what baby bonds offer: real solutions to wealth inequality and real investments that can transform the future for millions of children.

Darrick Hamilton is chief economist at the AFL-CIO and director of the Institute on Race, Power and Political Economy at the New School. Ayanna Pressley, a Democrat, represents Massachusetts's 7th Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Secret police descend on Small Town, U.S.A.

CATHERINE RAMPELL

MAYBE they really were immigration officers, just as they claimed. Or maybe they were a ragtag vigilante group, arbitrarily snatching brown-looking people off the street.

“It could have been like a band of the Proud Boys or something,” said Linda Shafiroff, recounting the agents who showed up outside her office in masks and tactical gear and refused to show IDs, warrants or even the names of any criminals they were supposedly hunting.

As unrest and military troops overtake Los Angeles, terrifying scenes are also unfolding in smaller communities around the country. They, too, are being invaded by what resembles a secret police force, often indistinguishable from random thugs.

Shafiroff and business partner Sarah Stiner own a boutique home-design and construction firm in Great Barrington, a New England town largely populated by artists, aging hippies and affluent second-homeowners. On May 30, around 11 a.m., six armed agents showed up outside the women's office. The agents were dressed as though they had parachuted into a war zone, rather than a small town where the crosswalks are painted in rainbows.

The paramilitary-resembling group approached a Hispanic man who was outside the design office, picking weeds. The man did not work for Shafiroff and Stiner's design firm, but rather for a local landscaping company. (The women say their employees are all citizens or otherwise have documents proving they're here legally.) Neither Shafiroff nor Stiner knew the gardener's name, but they said they had seen him around before and that he seemed friendly.

They were also incensed by what looked like an extralegal abduction unfolding in their parking lot.

“These guys had guns hanging all over them,” said Shafiroff, but they otherwise had no conformity to their dress. “None of them had the same letters on the front of their vests. Some of them didn't even have letters, but it said ‘Police’ across the back. ... One had light-colored jeans and sneakers on, and one had on a Red Sox hat.” The agents arrived in unmarked cars, some with out-of-state plates.

The women asked to see IDs or warrants, or even the names of the alleged criminals these agents were there to track down. They refused. One briefly flashed a badge, Stiner recounted, but would not let her inspect it even to see what agency it was for.

“It could have been from Cracker Jacks,” she recalled.

The gardener did not appear to understand what these officers were



Linda Shafiroff, standing, and Sarah Stiner outside their business in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, on June 6.



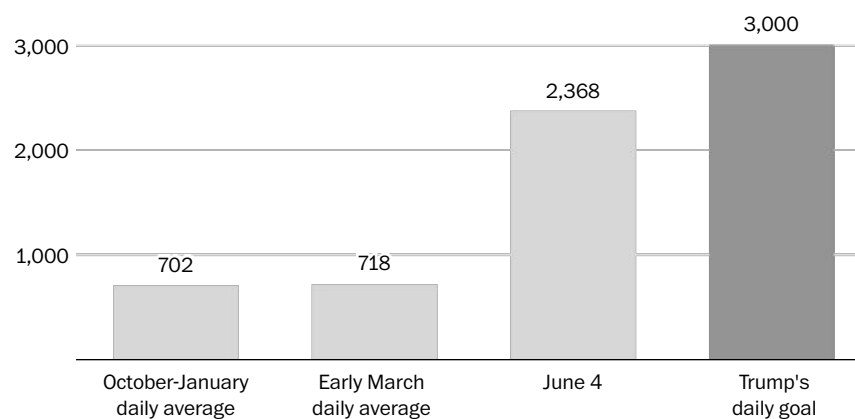
Sarah Stiner confronts the masked agents on May 30.

PERRY BACON JR.

The ICE quotas make stop-and-frisk look civil

The Trump administration wants to sharply increase the number of arrests ICE makes each day

Until recently, ICE was arresting about the same number of people as when Biden was president.



Source: Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse

PERRY BACON JR. / THE WASHINGTON POST

port increased gender and racial diversity but am wary of organizations trying to hire a set number of women and people of color. In law enforcement, they are more troublesome. Police officers operating under quota systems feel pushed to make arrests for minor offenses. They sometimes target not the most dangerous people but those who are easiest to apprehend.

That's what's happening now. Undocumented immigrants showing up to court hearings, working at clothing stores or looking to get Home Depot customers to hire them for day labor are probably not leading human trafficking organizations on the side. I am deeply concerned that ICE will soon start making arrests at schools and hospitals, since those are other places where you can arrest lots of people at once — few of whom will be armed or dangerous.

I am opposed to these arrests in part because I don't support Trump's overarching goals of deporting 1 million immigrants a year and creating a climate in which other undocumented

immigrants return to their native countries on their own. But you could argue that while Trump did not specifically campaign on 3,000 arrests per day, he promised to crack down on undocumented immigrants, and Americans elected him, so the public wants this.

It's hard to determine why people voted for a candidate and what kind of mandate that gives them. But even if Trump campaigned explicitly on arresting 3,000 people a day, we should be wary of that policy — and not just because quotas generally aren't smart.

This particular quota is excessive. If ICE arrested 3,000 people a day, that would add up to about 1.1 million arrests after a year. There are about 11.7 million undocumented people in the United States. So if no individual was arrested more than once, about 9 percent of undocumented immigrants would be arrested in a given year under this policy. Arresting 9 percent of any group would almost certainly result in the other 91 percent being constantly worried about being arrested or jailed.

asking him. Another man who had been working the landscaping project with him immediately went into the women's design office and shut the door upon seeing the masked agents arrive. The agents didn't try to follow him, Shafiroff said.

When the business owners repeatedly asked the agents to prove who they were, the agents said they didn't need to show identification and accused their interlocutors of promoting lawlessness. “You want people driving drunk in here?” one of them asked, according to a cellphone video. Shafiroff replied: “I don't want people driving drunk. I have asked for IDs.”

The gardener was eventually put in the back of an unmarked car and driven away. Shafiroff, who described the incident as part of the new “police state,” said she has since heard through mutual acquaintances that the man is being detained in an immigration facility, perhaps near Boston. She said she had been told the worker's family was unable to determine his whereabouts for several days. (My attempts to contact the man or his family have been unsuccessful.)

The business partners, who have received threats in the days after the incident as a result of coverage by local newspapers, had good reason to question who these cloaked agents were.

It's easy to buy tactical gear online. And around the country, bigots and criminals have already begun taking advantage of chaotic, masked immigration raids to further their own ends. Civilians have impersonated ICE agents while committing robbery (Pennsylvania), kidnappings (Florida, South Carolina), sexual assault (North Carolina) and other forms of public intimidation (Washington state, California).

Some Democratic leaders have demanded that ICE agents show their faces and present identification when carrying out enforcement actions, so they can at least be differentiated from anonymous hooligans. Republican lawmakers have fiercely opposed such efforts, claiming that asking federal officials to identify themselves would put agents in “extreme danger.”

Meanwhile, President Donald Trump ordered the arrest of protesters simply for wearing masks. “MASKS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED to be worn at protests,” he posted on social media on Sunday. “What do these people have to hide, and why???”

This seems like a reasonable question to ask of federal law enforcement officers. America, after all, is not supposed to have a secret police force. And our country's history of roving bands of masked men rounding up undesirables is a long, ugly one.

And because about three-quarters of undocumented immigrants are from Central or South America, some U.S. citizens and authorized residents who are Brown almost certainly will be unjustly arrested or questioned by ICE. This arrest quota echoes stop-and-frisk policies many police departments used to employ. At the height of that approach, there were about 350,000 stops of the 1.9 million Black New Yorkers. Basically every Black New Yorker had to be on guard for being stopped and frisked, and a judge invalidated the program on the grounds that it was racially discriminatory.

Miller and Trump might want all 11.7 million undocumented immigrants to live in terror. But the rest of us shouldn't. The overwhelming majority of those people came to the United States seeking a better life. If we want to deter future immigrants, cracking down on employers who hire undocumented people and making it harder to enter the country in the first place are obvious solutions. Making life excessively difficult for people already here *will* probably discourage future migrants, but the U.S. government should not be in the business of rushing into restaurants and courthouses with guns to arrest people for the purpose of scaring others into leaving the country.

Many Democratic politicians and political commentators have criticized Trump for deploying the National Guard over the objections of California Gov. Gavin Newsom, a Democrat, to stop the protests of ICE's actions in Los Angeles. But Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Lyndon B. Johnson rightly invoked the National Guard, without support from governors, to integrate schools and defend civil rights marches, respectively. The problem isn't that Trump is using the National Guard; it's that he's using the National Guard to defend a policy that will target people of color indiscriminately and inhumanely. The quota must go.

OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

This can't be sustained

SHORTLY AFTER the 2024 presidential election, incoming border czar Tom Homan signaled that President Donald Trump's deportation campaign would target criminal wrongdoers. Even now, Homeland Security Secretary Kristi L. Noem insists that federal agents are going after "the worst of the worst," a tacit acknowledgment that many Americans might want bad guys gone but not peaceful, productive immigrants embedded in their communities.

So much for that. Assurances that the Trump administration would focus on dangerous criminals never squared with Trump's promise of mass deportations. There simply aren't enough violent undocumented immigrants in the United States to deport, and finding them is hard. The immigration hard-liners in Trump's orbit, led by

EDITORIAL

White House Deputy Chief of Staff Stephen Miller, would not be satisfied with anything like the pragmatic approach previous presidents took — one that acknowledged the nation's dependence on imported labor and the risks of quickly ejecting a key workforce from the country.

And, indeed, Miller was unhappy with the pace of the administration's deportation efforts, insisting last month that federal authorities boost immigration arrests to 3,000 per day. The result is the sort of indiscriminate roundups federal immigration authorities are beginning to conduct — and that have attracted protesters to Los Angeles's streets.

Homan is now promising "more worksite enforcement than you've ever seen in the history of this nation." Unlike the promise to pursue hardened criminals, an easy political sell, Homan's threat targets farmworkers, construction workers, janitors and home-care aides whom Americans rely on in their daily lives. Some House Republicans are already urging restraint.

There are some 8.3 million unauthorized workers across the economy — accounting for 4.8 percent of the labor force. They make up a little under half of the agricultural labor force and are essential for the child-care industry to function. About 1.4 million unauthorized immigrants work in construction — the only industry that can lower home prices. There were no workplace raids during the covid-19 pandemic because those workers kept America running.

Immigrant labor will become even more vital as the aging American-born workforce continues to shrink. Baby boomers are retiring, and younger Americans are having too few children. Meantime, it's unlikely they will be pleased when the price of strawberries skyrockets after farmworkers are deported, when the feds go after their babysitters or when their favorite waitress disappears.

Previous presidents have shied from pursuing unauthorized workers for fear not only of harming the economy but also of riling business-sector con-



JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

California National Guard troops monitor protesters in Los Angeles on Monday.

stituents. In 1998, immigration authorities paused raids in Vidalia onion fields after receiving an angry letter from Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-Georgia) complaining about their "indiscriminate and inappropriate use of extreme enforcement tactics."

A 1986 law authorized sanctions against employers who hire unauthorized workers. Barring migrants' access to jobs, the logic went, would virtually eliminate their reason to come. But then the government let businesses off the hook. Required to demand that workers show papers proving their eligibility to work, they faced little penalty when such papers turned out to be even obvious forgeries.

For all his get-tough-on-immigrants rhetoric during his first term, Trump did little to impede businesses from hiring them. In 2017, he even commuted the sentence of an Iowa meatpacking plant executive who had been convicted, during the presidency of Barack Obama, of fraud and knowingly hiring hun-

dreds of unauthorized workers and paying for the fake documents they needed to get jobs. In other words, even Trump has stopped short of attacking the demand for immigrant labor — in which Americans all over the country are in some way complicit — and instead has focused on restricting the supply.

And he might, at least for a while. Migrant crossings into the United States have slowed. Showy, indiscriminate immigration raids — along with the deployment of federal troops to Los Angeles, which was provocative in its lack of need — might scare people from trying to cross the border and encourage those already here to leave, or at least keep their heads down.

Perhaps the president will find a way to nullify the rule that enough demand (in this case for immigrant labor) will eventually attract supply — that is, people coming here to work. That would be surprising and economically painful. It was on these insights that a bipartisan consensus used to rest: that the only way to

deal with illegal immigration is to widen lanes for legal immigration, so labor demand could be met by background-checked immigrant workers vetted for their willingness to participate positively in American society. Coupling this policy with better border control and special programs to attract skilled workers would create a comprehensive, pro-growth, anti-irregular immigration policy. Trump has instead narrowed opportunity for immigrants to enter the United States legally.

Many Trump backers are no doubt tired of the conventional wisdom — repeated for decades as Congress failed to respond, with the consensus approach or any other, to more people crossing the border — and of previous presidents' failures to acknowledge their concerns. Trump's 2024 win gave them a mandate to get tough, instead. But that strategy will be harder for the country to sustain than it might now appear.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Queer spaces should be open to Jews like me

Every June, Pride Month arrives with a familiar rhythm: rainbow flags in windows, dance parties, solemn vigils. It's a time for celebration, reflection and, for many of us, affirmation. But since the Oct. 7, 2023, Hamas attacks on Israel, many of us have been bullied, harassed or pushed out of the communities that once offered us unconditional support. Refusing to denounce Israel, or simply being Jewish, is, in my experience, enough to get you unfriended, boycotted, denied services or kicked out of queer spaces.

Queerness is rooted deep in our bones. So is being Jewish. And for some, so is a connection to Israel. It's a connection that is spiritual, familial, historical and ancestral. These aren't just political opinions. They are identities. They are the ache of generations exiled and the longing for home.

Queer spaces are entitled to set their own boundaries. When those boundaries mirror the exclusions queer spaces were created to resist, though, we need to ask whether we are challenging ideas or erasing them and the people who espouse them. When identity itself — not policy or rhetoric, but lineage, language or visible markers of Jewishness — becomes disqualifying, something is very wrong. Right now, too many queer Jews are being erased not for what they've done, or even what they think, but for who they are.

This shouldn't be who we are. Those rainbow flags that fly every Pride Month are about our commitment to solidarity in multiplicity. We should be able to hold more than one story at once.

For many of us, coming out was already an act of exile from our families, faiths and sometimes even ourselves. Now, we're being asked to come out again, as Jews or people who feel a connection to Israel. We have experienced hatred, bigotry and intolerance from progressives, those who once stood beside us as allies. Once again, we're hearing: You don't belong here.

A recent study found that 82 percent of LGBTQ+ Jews had been harassed in or excluded from online queer spaces. Sixty-seven percent said they were more likely to experience antisemitism if they wore visibly Jewish symbols even occasionally. These numbers are heartbreaking but not surprising.

I am a psychologist and psychoanalyst, and I work with an organization founded in the wake of the Oct. 7 attacks to provide mental health care for members of the Jewish community. I've spoken with queer Jews whose entire social circles vanished overnight simply because they had posted about the hostages held in Gaza. A woman who identified as lesbian was

given the silent treatment by friends until she would agree to publicly denounce Israel. She refused to do so. A man who identified as gay left the United States, convinced that he couldn't find a queer community that would let him be both queer and Jewish. Others have stopped dating online entirely, turned off by profile after profile that says "No partys," now a shorthand similar to "No partys," referring to users of crystal methamphetamine.

And then there are those who are expected to be the "good Jew": quiet, apologetic and muted about antisemitism on the left. These Jews are forced to swallow their convictions, hide their identities and "pass" to fit in. It's a painfully familiar ritual for queer people. This isn't just social rejection. In clinical terms, it's what we call traumatic invalidation: the delegitimization of one's identity or emotional reality.

And it cuts especially deep when it comes from a community that once felt like home and received us at our most vulnerable.

Pride is about being your whole self. Can we make room for queer Jews who are hurting simply for daring to be visible in all their complexity? If you believe in queer liberation and the right to be seen, safe and whole, I'm asking you to hold space for us, even if it's complicated.

Joshua Simmons, San Francisco

Harvey Milk's name doesn't belong

The June 5 news article "Hegseth moves to scrub Milk's name from ship" would have benefited from more context. Though it provided a detailed overview of Harvey Milk's contributions to gay rights, it failed to mention his purported relationship with a minor.

Journalist Randy Shilts wrote in "The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk" that Milk had a "pendant for young waifs with substance abuse problems." He also noted that Milk, then 33, had a relationship with a 16-year-old runaway from Maryland.

In a just society, we judge people by their character. What would we say about a heterosexual mayor and Navy veteran who behaved the same way? We would not be so quick to brush that under the rug as a small, omittable detail of his life as he honored his legacy. Milk is no different.

As a Navy daughter, my issue with Milk's name staining one of our nation's ships is not that he was gay, but that he reportedly had an inappropriate relationship with a teenager. So I'm left wondering why that absolutely critical piece of information was left out of the news article. Without a doubt, Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth is justified in renaming that ship.

Stephanie Lundquist-Arora, Springfield

Harvey Milk's name does belong

I am a retired naval officer and the proud father and brother of openly gay men, and I am appalled by Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth's decision to rename the USNS Harvey Milk.

Milk, one of the first openly gay elected officials in U.S. history, was a beacon of courage during a time of widespread intolerance. Though some might have disagreed with his politics, his unwavering advocacy for human rights earned him this honor by the Navy. His assassination alongside San Francisco Mayor George Moscone (D) in 1978 was a devastating blow to the LGBTQ+ community and all who believe in justice.

To claim this name change is necessary to restore our "warrior ethos," as was said by Hegseth's spokesman, is not only baseless — it is also an insult to every gay service member who has worn the uniform with pride and distinction. That this decision was made during Pride Month only deepens the offense.

Steven M. Wendelin, Lost River, West Virginia

News is out that Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth has

ordered the removal of Harvey Milk's name from a naval ship and is also considering renaming ships honoring abolitionist Harriet Tubman and Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. Hegseth's spokesman said it is part of an effort to rejuvenate our country's "warrior ethos."

I am a veteran with a top-secret nuclear clearance and the Army's elite machine gun sharpshooter badge, and I am hurt by Hegseth's explanation. Tubman's military exploits extended beyond the Underground Railroad, on which she sometimes carried a pistol to deter slave chasers. She also served as an armed scout, nurse and source of intelligence to federal troops. In June 1863, she furnished planning and leadership to Union troops during a military operation at South Carolina's Combahee River that freed more than 700 enslaved people, many of whom then joined the Army. In 1865, she was appointed as nurse matron at Fort Monroe's Colored Hospital in Hampton, Virginia.

And while we are talking about "warrior ethos" deficiencies, I'd also like to note that Tubman was posthumously given the rank of brigadier general in the Maryland National Guard, which outranks Hegseth, who was just a major in the Minnesota National Guard.

Stan Heufler, Baltimore

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth has ordered the Navy to rename one of its ships honoring the gay activist Harvey Milk.

Unlike the current commander in chief, who never wore the uniform of our country, Milk came

from a family with a history of naval service. He was commissioned as an officer in 1951 and served as a diving officer on the USS Kittiwake, a submarine rescue ship, during the Korean War. Hegseth should respect his service. Leave the USNS Harvey Milk alone.

Vin Morabito, Scranton, Pennsylvania

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth is removing Harvey Milk's name from a U.S. Navy ship because, according to Pentagon spokesman Sean Parnell, it apparently isn't "reflective of the Commander-in-Chief's priorities." So, Hegseth is probably seeking an appropriate name that reflects President Donald Trump's priorities. After just a bit of my own reflection, I've come up with a suggestion: the USS Bone Spurs.

Tom Martella, Washington

It was a brazenly impertinent move by Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth to order the removal of the name of an assassinated gay icon from one of the Navy's oilers right at the start of Pride Month. It will take more than that to rain on our parade.

History has shown that erasing names from monuments or other memorials, or buildings or forts — or anything, for that matter — does not remove the memory of that name, and what it stands for, from the human heart.

As for President Donald Trump's priority of keeping names in line with a "warrior ethos," I must remind him why Pride is celebrated in June: to honor the ferocious drag queens and other persistent queer community members who fought back during the Stonewall riots, which became a turning point in the modern gay rights movement. Remember: Hell hath no fury like a scorned queen. Happy Pride!

Skip Strobel, Washington

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OPINION

KAREN TUMULTY

Sherrill's run in New Jersey points the way for Democrats

As Democrats seek a way out of the wilderness, they should be paying attention to what just happened — and is about to happen — in a blue state that swung sharply to the right in last year's presidential race.

In Tuesday's New Jersey primary elections, Rep. Mikie Sherrill (D) easily prevailed over five other contenders to win her party's nomination for governor; Republicans overwhelmingly picked Jack Ciattarelli, a business executive and former state representative who four years ago nearly knocked off Democratic incumbent Phil Murphy.



J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/AP

Rep. Mikie Sherrill

New Jersey is one of two states — the other is Virginia — that hold their gubernatorial contests in the year following presidential elections and are therefore seen as bellwethers of national politics.

Most surprising about Tuesday's vote, Sherrill told me the morning after her victory, was the surge in Democratic turnout. "We had almost 800,000 people voting in this primary. That's unheard of," she said. The number, she added, "shows you the passion people have, shows you what's coming in November here."

All of which is a sharp contrast from November 2024, when Donald Trump came within only six points of winning New Jersey, a state he had lost to Joe Biden by 16 points four years earlier. The main reason was a sharp drop-off in the number of Democrats showing up to vote.

No doubt, part of the Democratic resurgence was fueled by record spending by the candidates and outside groups. But Sherrill, the only woman running for New Jersey governor in either party, is also a politician of rare talents and with a dazzling life story.

She is a U.S. Naval Academy graduate who piloted helicopters on missions in Europe and the Middle East and a former federal prosecutor who holds a degree from the London School of Economics. As a moderate first-time candidate in 2018, Sherrill flipped a congressional district that had been held by Republicans for decades. She is also a mother of four, whose daughter and son will be enrolling at Annapolis this summer.

As a gubernatorial candidate, Sherrill has focused heavily on making life in New Jersey more affordable. But she rejects the advice from some that Democrats should be running exclusively on kitchen table issues.

"I'm like, well, if I'm not talking about rights and freedoms, why am I running here? I've taken multiple oaths to the Constitution. I'm not backing away from that," she said. "I'm not somehow going to cave to Trump, because he's trying to shred the Constitution and ignore the courts and the governors and the states and attack the very people he's supposed to serve. I'm not going to just say nothing."

In Washington, Sherrill shared an apartment for four years with fellow lawmaker Abigail Spanberger, who is unopposed in Tuesday's Virginia Democratic primary for governor. Last year, I wrote about the two of them, and how their shared background in national security — Spanberger had been an undercover CIA officer — made them impatient with the processes and gridlock that are endemic to Capitol Hill.

"I truly believed, and still believe, that the front line of the battle is in the states, that it's truly in the states where we need to stand up for people," Sherrill told me Wednesday. "We need to provide effective governance for people, especially in the wake of the chaos from Washington, and we need to protect people."

This race has the potential to be a brutal one. Though no Republican has won New Jersey's presidential vote since 1988, its governorship has often swung between the two parties. The GOP believes Ciattarelli is well positioned to win this year, in part because of dissatisfaction with the leadership of Murphy, who has been in office eight years and is term-limited.

"Make no mistake, Mikie Sherrill is Phil Murphy 2.0," Ciattarelli said in his victory speech Tuesday night.

But Trump will loom heavily in the race. Though Ciattarelli in 2015 referred to the celebrity real estate developer as a "charlatan" who was "not fit to be president of the United States," he has since fallen into line and was boosted in his race this year by Trump's endorsement.

"Jack, who after getting to know and understand MAGA, has gone ALL IN, and is now 100% (PLUS!)," Trump wrote last month on his social media site.

Sherrill, for her part, said: "I think the people of New Jersey are ready for this fight. I mean, it's going to be a tough one, but we're all ready, because it's our future." How well she does might also spell what lies in the future for her party.

THEODORE R. JOHNSON

What real patriots should think about Trump's parade

The heart of the nation's civic calendar is the period between Memorial Day, honoring those who gave their last breath, and Independence Day, when the country drew its first.

In between, there is Juneteenth, the newest federal holiday, which commemorates the end of slavery and a second founding. Flag Day is June 14, marking the anniversary of the adoption of the Stars and Stripes. That date is also the birthday of the U.S. Army, which turns 250 this year. That date is Donald Trump's birthday, too, which stamps the president's uncritical and theatrical brand of patriotism at the center of a bigger conversation about pride in America.

This year, Trump will get the parade that he has long desired. The Army's historic milestone provides the occasion for a mile-long military procession to wind its way through the nation's capital on Saturday. This will be the first such event in three decades, and the first not associated with a presidential inauguration or victory in war. Given this rarity and the coincidence of dates — the flag, the Army and Trump all sharing a birthday — the parade has taken on more meaning than just the celebration of an institution.

Democratic lawmakers have accused Trump of hijacking the historical anniversaries in service of his own ego and political benefit. There's bipartisan angst about the parade's hefty price tag of up to \$45 million, and mayoral concerns that damage to city streets could cost \$16 million. Some of Trump's supporters anticipate a glorious spectacle, seeing the convergence of birth dates as evidence of his consecration: "providential," as U.S. Chief of Protocol Monica Crowley describes it. "Hand of God, for sure." All the bickering and zealotry are enough to make real patriots lose their religion — however many of them remain.

Patriotism is on the decline in the United States, and the word itself has become contentious. It's perceived as partisan, and there's a generational divide, with younger Americans having far less attachment to the label and the idea. Its most garish displays are often associated with an intolerant, "love it or leave it" nationalism. It seems fickle in practice: Voters feel more patriotic when their candidate wins the White House; it surges not in peaceful times but immediately after an attack. And the honorific is assigned frivolously, given alike by presidents to soldiers who died defending the Constitution and to Jan. 6 convicts who violated it by storming the Capitol. These realities have stigmatized the whole concept, undermining what it means anymore to be proud of the country.

National holidays and commemorations are inherently political; they



The Capitol is seen through a security fence on the National Mall on June 9.

communicate which people and moments to honor. And rituals are good for nations; they offer meaning and connection that signal our willingness to belong. But though few things spell civic pride like a parade, when politics co-opts the ritual and treats it like religion, it's as likely to create believers as it is heathens. And the most divisive politicians tell the country who is which, fashioning themselves as saints in the process. No wonder fewer of us identify as patriots.

Patriotism is on the decline in the U.S., and the word itself has become contentious.

But does it also mean fewer of us should be proud of our country? Not in agreement with its actions or proud of its choices on any given day, but proud of its journey over time. Proud of the many people who fought for equality, and of the cultures and ideas they gave life to. And proud of its progress, even where work remains. In 1852, Frederick Douglass's historic speech asked: "What to the slave is the Fourth of July?" What to the enslaved would Juneteenth National Independence Day mean, signed into law while a Black woman was vice president? Today wouldn't be their heaven, but it's a far better nation than the one they knew, maybe even better than one they thought possible. I think they would be proud. We should be, too — no

matter which party holds the White House, and no matter which brand of patriotism predominates.

They would definitely throw a parade. Newly emancipated men and women held the earliest Memorial Day observance in May 1865 in Charleston, South Carolina, honoring fallen Union soldiers by singing an ode to the flag, "The Star-Spangled Banner," and marshaling a parade of 10,000 people. A few weeks later, on June 19, the Army informed the last corner of Texas of slavery's end. Juneteenth has been filled with festivals and parades ever since.

At the heart of our calendar are people of all colors from all places who felt pride in their history despite experiencing injustice, and who found pride in America though they had reasons not to. Real patriots know there is room for both shame and pride; they meet the former with a fighting spirit and the latter with a celebratory one.

As it happens, the Army is central to all the national observances in these civic six weeks. Older than the nation by a year, its history is likewise imperfect, but its 250 years of service are more than worthy of commemoration. The flag and the country have also earned their anniversaries. And their critiques and protests, too. White House planners expect paradegoers will spontaneously serenade the president for his birthday, flags streaming and battle tanks tracking down Constitution Avenue. But president and parade and politics aside, there's no shame in being proud of the people and institutions — in uniform and out — who have fought to make America live better, and help it see another year.

Congress has a tool to finish what Musk started

BY DOMINIC PINO

Well, this is awkward. After the relationship between President Donald Trump and businessman Elon Musk very publicly soured, Congress is considering action on the primary product of that relationship: spending cuts suggested by the U.S. DOGE Service.

Lawmakers might be annoyed with Musk's heel turn against Trump, but that shouldn't keep them from moving forward on this proposal. Cutting spending through rescission packages passed by Congress should become a greater part of fiscal policy going forward. It's a far more effective and legally sound way to approach spending cuts than the smash-and-grab approach Musk's allies pursued at the agency level.

Though some other actions of the Trump administration have been based on expansive theories of executive power (to say the least), which often leaves them open to challenges in court, a rescissions package is squarely within the bounds of the law and the Constitution. The legislative branch appropriates money, and then the executive branch spends it. If the executive branch thinks the appropriation was too high, or unnecessary, the Impoundment Control Act of 1974 says it can explain its reasoning to Congress and request that the funding be rescinded.

Importantly, it's one of the few types of meaningful legislation that Republicans can enact without a single Democratic vote. If the House and the Senate both pass their request with a simple majority (no filibuster is possible for rescissions packages under the 1974 act), then the budget authority for whichever agencies were tasked with spending the appropriation goes away. The White House transmitted its request for rescissions to Congress on June 3. It seeks to undo \$9.4 billion

worth of appropriations. Once it is transmitted, Congress has 45 days to approve it.

The muscle memory among staff and lawmakers around using this procedure is all but gone on Capitol Hill, but it has a history of success that could provide a model for Republicans moving forward. The process under the ICA largely fell into disuse after Bill Clinton's presidency, but Ronald Reagan was the most frequent user of it. In the 1981 fiscal year, Congress passed 101 of Reagan's 133 proposed rescissions, cutting about \$11 billion in appropriations. "As a percentage of federal outlays, that would be like cutting over \$100 billion today," National Review pointed out in March.

Republicans are rightly criticized for talking a good game about spending cuts when in the opposition but not following through when they're in power. Now they have an opportunity to follow through in two areas they have criticized for a long time: foreign aid and public broadcasting.

These are red-meat political issues that the administration probably chose to include in part to enrage progressives. "If they pass this, we'll send up many more," Office of Management and Budget Director Russell Vought said. In other words, start with the relatively easy political lift and build up to heavier ones.

This isn't a substitute for fixing the long-term debt: \$9.4 billion will not do anything to change the broader fiscal trajectory. On average, the federal government spends over twice that much money in one day. But it is a test for Republicans in Congress to see whether they can take a discrete vote to cut spending, a simple test that they have repeatedly failed.

Republicans have talked about defunding PBS and NPR at least since Richard M. Nixon was president. Reagan proposed rescinding some appropriated funding for public broadcasting

in 1981. Newt Gingrich wanted to defund public broadcasting as part of his Contract With America agenda. Mitt Romney said he'd cut PBS funding if he were elected president in 2012.

"If in fact the Republicans can't get rid of a program they've talked about for 20 years, we might as well go home," said conservative economics commentator Stephen Moore in these pages — in 1995. Opposing taxpayer-funded broadcasting is not something new in the Trump era; cutting that spending would be.

Foreign aid is a much more complicated area to cut, and it's a good thing that Congress will be making the decisions. The rescissions process imposes order on what was at first a reckless DOGE effort to slash foreign aid.

Republican Rep. Don Bacon of Nebraska, for example, said he wouldn't vote for the rescissions if they significantly cut funding from the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, a program that started under George W. Bush and has been effective at fighting AIDS. There's plenty of foreign aid to target that is not effective. Bacon's vote is crucial, and the White House knows that, so it has altered its request, according to Politico. The same pattern could play out with other members and other programs. This is the legislative process at work, using hearings, committee expertise and negotiation to temper DOGE's more rash approach.

The Trump-Musk bromance was an odd mechanism for this process to return to Washington, but if Republicans can pass this first package and then build up to Reagan levels of rescissions, they'll be able to get back a little bit of their street cred as budget hawks. Better late than never.

Dominic Pino is the Thomas L. Rhodes journalism fellow at National Review Institute and host of the American Institute for Economic Research podcast "Econception."

GEORGE F. WILL

Cautious optimism for individual liberty

Aristotle's axiom "one swallow does not make a summer" suggests caution in anticipating large reverberations from a Supreme Court ruling last week. But the court's *unanimous* affirmation of a principle that is commonsensical but now controversial might indicate its readiness to temper the racialization of American law and governance, to which the court has contributed.

In 2019, Marlean Ames, a heterosexual Ohio woman who had worked in a state agency since 2004, was denied a promotion for a job that went to a lesbian colleague with less experience at the agency and lesser academic credentials. Ames was subsequently demoted to a position involving a 40 percent pay cut, and her prior position was filled by a gay man.

Ames filed a lawsuit saying she was discriminated against, in violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, because of her sexual orientation. She lost in a district court, and in her appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit, which held that she had not demonstrated "background circumstances" (not defined, anywhere) to justify her suspicion of discrimination. This demonstration requires, the 6th Circuit said, a member of a majority to show that her employer is "that unusual employer who discriminates against the majority."

The Supreme Court heard this case not to decide the merits of Ames's accusation but to consider her extra burden in making them. In Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson's short (nine-page) opinion for the court, she noted that "disparate treatment" (discrimination) claims generally rest on "circumstantial evidence," but only members of a majority have the additional evidentiary burden of demonstrating "background circumstances."

Jackson briskly held that Title VII draws no distinction between majority-group and minority-group plaintiffs. Rather, it concerns unlawfully hiring, discharging or otherwise discriminating against "any individual" (Jackson's emphasis).

By stipulating protections for every "individual," Congress "left no room for courts to impose special requirements on majority-group plaintiffs alone." Jackson quoted the court's language in the 1971 *Duke Power Co.* case: "Discriminatory preference for any group, minority or majority, is precisely and only what Congress has proscribed" (Jackson's emphasis).

In *Duke Power*, however, the court greased the nation's slide into laws that recognize, in order to privilege, groups. The court conceded that the company did not intentionally discriminate on the basis of race. It nonetheless was guilty of illegal discrimination because when making promotions it administered an aptitude test that had a "disparate impact" on groups: 58 percent of White candidates and 6 percent of Black ones passed.

By creating an illegal discrimination of effects, severed from intentions, the court opened a path to racist thinking and laws. And a racial spoils system based on the theory that disparate social outcomes should be blamed on "systemic" racism. So, racism will persist until "the system" — a.k.a. society — is dismantled and reassembled equitably, which might take a while.

Such language — systemic injuries to certain (not all) minority groups — undermines a foundational American premise: that rights (and responsibilities) inhere in individuals. This has helped create today's simmering stew of grievances: the toxic binary of oppressors and oppressed, grievance groups vs. groups aggrieved by being accused of complicity, even if unintentional, in oppression.

Jackson's opinion focused, properly, on the narrow question of what Title VII requires and does not mandate. Justice Clarence Thomas, however, in a 14-page concurrence (joined by Justice Neil M. Gorsuch), deplored "problems that arise when judges create atextual legal rules and frameworks."

By now, much constitutional law is "judge-made": extracted from, not found in, constitutional or statutory texts. Including some doctrines that conservatives rightly applaud, such as the "major questions" doctrine: Executive agencies should not exercise powers of vast economic and political significance unless Congress has *clearly and explicitly* authorized this. Other examples: Miranda warnings (by police), the exclusionary rule (excluding illegally seized evidence from trials), the nondelegation doctrine (limiting Congress's ability to delegate to executive agencies essentially legislative powers).

The "background conditions" requirement for majority plaintiffs is, however, unambiguously discrimination mandated as social policy, implausibly tickled from Title VII language. How will Jackson apply her "individuals, not groups" reasoning when, soon, the court announces its ruling in a case from Louisiana under the 1965 Voting Rights Act?

The core issue there is: Does a map of six congressional districts, drawn after the 2020 Census, constitute "vote dilution" that denies a particular group, Black voters, a "meaningful opportunity" to elect candidates of their choice? No such language is in, or implied by, the Voting Rights Act, or is compatible with the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection of the laws for individuals.

Spectacularly creative songwriter behind the Beach Boys

WILSON FROM A1

acknowledged mastermind behind their music.

A spectacularly imaginative songwriter, he was responsible for initial successes including “Surfin’ U.S.A.,” “Surfer Girl,” “I Get Around,” “All Summer Long,” “Don’t Worry Baby,” “The Warmth of the Sun” and “California Girls.” Such numbers evoked the joys of hot-rodding under boundlessly blue skies and, above all, the bronzed, bikini lifestyle of Southern California.

Yet Mr. Wilson also displayed an ambitious craftmanship as a producer that culminated in the 1966 Beach Boys album “Pet Sounds,” which many critics and music historians consider the first and greatest of all rock “concept” albums building songs around a theme.

Alternately celebratory and despairing, making effective musical use of such traditionally extramusical sounds as bicycle bells, car horns, trains and barking dogs, “Pet Sounds” was not simply a collection of songs but a unified work of art, tracing a love affair from beginning to end, while melding an all-but-unprecedented intimacy of expression in rock with near-symphonic scope.

The album and Mr. Wilson had a profound impact on musicians of the era and beyond. The Beatles acknowledged that the unity and complexity of “Pet Sounds” helped inspire the similarly ambitious “Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band” (1967).

The mystical singer-songwriter Judee Sill, later heralded by many critics as an overlooked genius, based her first finished piece, “Lady-O” (1971), directly on the album’s emotional climax, “I Just Wasn’t Made for These Times.” And Bob Dylan admired the immaculately polished sound in the Beach Boys’ recordings, telling Newsweek, “That ear — I mean, Jesus, he’s got to will that to the Smithsonian!”

From the beginning, the Beach Boys were wildly successful. Their work combined traditional American songwriting in the manner of Stephen Foster and George Gershwin, close “barbershop” harmonies appropriated from groups such as the Four Freshmen, the lushly ornate “Wall of Sound” production values of Phil Spector, and the exuberant rock-and-roll of Chuck Berry.

Mr. Wilson increasingly moved away from songwriting formulas and turned instead to a deeply personal “outsider” mode of creation that tested the boundaries of sounds, harmonies and song structures. A 2007 article in the New Yorker by music critic Sasha Frere-Jones went so far as to call Mr. Wilson “indie rock’s muse,” and it is hard to imagine the works of such latter-day bands as the High Llamas, Yo La Tengo, and Belle and Sebastian without his influence.

Although the Beach Boys occasionally recorded songs by other musicians, including members of the band, Mr. Wilson’s brother Dennis summed up the group as Brian’s “messengers.”

“Brian Wilson is the Beach Boys,” he said in 1971. “He is all of it. Period. We’re nothing. He’s everything.”

Yet there was an abiding pathos in Mr. Wilson’s best records. It consisted not merely of the idealized scenes the songs depicted, but also of the fact that they were created by a depressed, socially awkward, partially deaf young man who never surfed or much liked the beach and spent a great deal of his time alone in his room.

Indeed, Mr. Wilson led what was often an unhappy and unsettled life, and suffered a breakdown in the late 1960s that drastically curtailed his life and later work. As he expressed in one of his most personal songs, “Til I Die,” released on the 1971 album “Surf’s Up”:

*I’m a cork on the ocean,
Floating over the raging sea,
How deep is the ocean?
How deep is the ocean?
I lost my way*

Pressure and ‘Pet Sounds’

At the height of their career, The Beach Boys were under pressure to turn out song after song, album after album, while making live concert appearances throughout the United States and abroad.

The albums “Shut Down, Volume 2,” “All Summer Long,” “The Beach Boys Today!” and “Summer Days (And Summer Nights!!)” were all released between March 1964 and July 1965 — each one representing an exponential leap for Mr. Wilson as composer, arranger and producer.

During the same period, a succession of British groups, led by the Beatles, came to the United States and knocked the Beach



MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

The Beach Boys circa 1964. Brian Wilson, second from right, is joined from left by Al Jardine, Mike Love, Carl Wilson and Dennis Wilson.

Boys from their perch near the top of the charts. By 1965, Mr. Wilson, increasingly troubled and anxious, had stopped touring with his band, with the expressed intent of devoting himself exclusively to production and songwriting.

“Pet Sounds,” released in May 1966, dazzled everyone from Paul McCartney (who once called it “God Only Knows” the greatest pop song ever written) to the conductor and composer Leonard Bernstein, who concluded his warmly appreciative, nationally telecast exploration of rock with Mr. Wilson at home, playing alone at the piano.

But “Pet Sounds” sold relatively poorly when it came out, and an internecine struggle had begun within the Beach Boys, one that would prove disastrous for all concerned. Some members of the band, particularly Love, the front man during live performances, were vehemently opposed to any deviation from what had become an exceedingly lucrative formula, while Mr. Wilson — overstressed, overindulged, despondent, drugged and dissipated — was increasingly out of sight and out of touch.

At home in Los Angeles, Mr. Wilson worked on what he hoped would be his magnum opus, a vast, abstracted suite called “Smile.” He had a custom-made sand pit built in the house, to summon the aura of the beach. Never before had so much time and money been spent on a single recording; there were eventually 72 studio sessions. A bejeweled single, “Good Vibrations,” featuring an electro-theremin, went immediately to No. 1, and anticipation for the album was intense.

The complete “Smile” was announced for release in early 1967, then postponed indefinitely, at Mr. Wilson’s insistence.

He had begun to suffer from what would later be diagnosed as schizoaffective disorder, with incessant auditory hallucinations and paranoia. He reached a nadir when he became convinced that a two-minute cut called “Mrs. O’Leary’s Cow” — the “fire” part of a so-called Elements section on “Smile” that also contained musical evocations of earth, air and water — was somehow, by its very existence, igniting blazes all over Los Angeles County. Mr. Wilson then attempted unsuccessfully to destroy the tapes before entering a long despondency.

For most of the following decade, Mr. Wilson was a near-complete recluse. He contributed one or two songs to Beach Boys recordings, which still came out on occasion but sold miserably. The group was often dismissed as hopelessly old-fashioned during the “psychedelic” late 1960s and early 1970s. Jann Wenner, the co-founder and first editor of Rolling Stone magazine, went so far as to dismiss claims of Mr. Wilson’s genius as “essentially a promotional shuck.”

A quickly made substitute for “Smile,” titled “Smiley Smile,” was finally issued in late 1967, to dismal reviews and poor sales, and the Beach Boys never recovered their creative momentum.

Tracks from the original “Smile” project leaked out on the albums “20/20” (1969), “Sunflower” (1970) and “Surf’s Up” (1971).

In 2004, a supposed “completed” version was issued by Mr. Wilson, in tandem with his lyricist and collaborator Van Dyke Parks and a Los Angeles band called the Wondermints.

It took until 2011 for Mr. Wilson’s original “Smile” recordings to be released in their entirety, and the music was just as gorgeous, giddy, ambitious and strange as had been expected. In these discs, Mr. Wilson is better understood as a composer of electro-acoustical soundscapes than as a traditional songwriter. The disc was made up of fractured, elaborately ornamented musical tableaux, distinguished by their brevity, concentration and sheer sonic splendor that flowered in the ear.

Roads to recovery and relapses

In 1974, the Beach Boys (without Mr. Wilson) had been discovered as a live “oldies” act and began to make an enormous amount of money again in concert and with their back catalogue. The group began a strenuous campaign to convince the world “Brian Is Back!”

Mr. Wilson appeared on NBC’s “Saturday Night Live” in 1976, participated in an hour-long television celebration of the band, and began to make occasional appearances with the group, during most of which he looked terrified and unhappy. But he managed to write every song on the 1977 album “Love You,” a poignant, charming and strangely childlike disc that captivates despite Mr. Wilson’s startlingly ragged vocals.

Giving the album an A in the “Consumer Guide” column he wrote for the Village Voice, critic Robert Christgau summed it up: “Painfully crackpot and painfully sung, but also inspired, not least

because it calls forth forbidden emotions. For a surrogate teenager to bare his growing pains so guilelessly was exciting, or at least charming; for an avowed adult to expose an almost childish naivete is embarrassing, but also cathartic.”

Still, the argument about whether Mr. Wilson was, in fact, “back” persisted for the rest of his life. He spent much of his life struggling with cocaine and other drugs, drastic weight fluctuations, and depression and mental illness, and his recoveries seemed both tentative and temporary. For a long period, he was under almost total control by a psychologist who was later stripped of his license.

In later life, Mr. Wilson seemed to stabilize somewhat with improved psychiatric medications and his marriage to Melinda Ledbetter-Wilson, who took charge of his career as well as his person. He toured with an entourage that guarded him fiercely and gently.

His auditory hallucinations never abated.

“I dread the derogatory voices I hear during the afternoon,” he reflected during an interview with Ability magazine in 2006. “They say things like, ‘You are going to die soon,’ and I have to deal with those negative thoughts. But it’s not as bad as it used to be. When I’m on stage, I try to combat the voices by singing really loud. When I’m not on stage, I play my instruments all day, making music for people. Also, I kiss my wife and kiss my kids. I try to use love as much as possible.”

Traumatic childhood

Brian Douglas Wilson was born in Inglewood, California, a suburb of Los Angeles, on June 20, 1942, and grew up in nearby Hawthorne, where his father

owned a machinery company. His father, Murry, had musical ambitions that were never realized and was, by all accounts, a physically abusive tyrant and heavy drinker.

“When he didn’t put his hands on us, he tried to scare us in other ways,” Mr. Wilson later wrote in his memoir “I Am Brian Wilson.” “He would take out his glass eye and make us look into the space where the eye used to be.”

Murry Wilson derided his children, especially Brian, as talentless and undisciplined, despite mounting evidence to the contrary. Brian had written his first song at 5 and learned to play piano by watching his father. Playing the piano would become a way to drown out family fights.

During high school, Mr. Wilson was a capable student who played baseball and football and ran cross-country. But his great interest was music and, when he received a Wollensak tape recorder for his 16th birthday, he enlisted his younger brothers, singing familiar songs and playing them back, all the while listening closely and critically.

“I heard the Del-Vikings, the Coasters and the Platters. They blew me away,” Mr. Wilson told the Washington Times. “I learned how to make harmonies. And I learned how to sing with love in my voice from Rosemary Clooney.”

In 1961, while a student at El Camino College, he wrote his first pop song. Based on the Disney standard “When You Wish Upon a Star,” it was later known as “Surfer Girl.”

His group, originally called the Pendletones, made its first appearance that same year. When the first single, “Surfin’” was released on a small Los Angeles label called Candix, Mr. Wilson and his band were surprised to learn that the record company had changed their name to the Beach Boys.

Dennis Wilson once described the first time the Beach Boys heard “Surfin’” on the radio. They were driving through Los Angeles during a winter rainstorm and the song came on unexpectedly. “Nothing will ever top the expression on Brian’s face, ever,” he recalled. “That was the all-time moment.”

Their first national hit was “Surfin’ U.S.A.,” an homage to Berry that was based on his “Sweet Little Sixteen.” The borrowings were obvious — Berry had offered a vision of people “rockin’” all over the country, and Mr. Wilson changed that to “surf-in” and added a backing chorus. Berry’s lawyers threatened a lawsuit and won a songwriter’s credit for his inspiration.

Therapy gone awry

After Mr. Wilson mostly withdrew from the Beach Boys, he stayed in bed much of the time, put on weight and became addicted to alcohol, marijuana and cocaine. In 1976, his first wife, Marilyn Rovell, sought help and found an unconventional Hollywood therapist named Eugene Landy to take over the care of her rapidly deteriorating husband.

Landy assembled a team that included himself, another doctor, a nutritionist and a group of handlers to watch him 24 hours a day. He charged a monthly fee

that was said to exceed \$20,000, and later estimated that Mr. Wilson had paid him more than \$3 million between 1983 and 1991. For a while, he also lived in Mr. Wilson’s mansion.

In 1989, Landy’s license to practice psychology was stripped by the state of California. But he continued to work with Mr. Wilson and claimed a third of the \$250,000 advance for a spurious 1991 autobiography, “Wouldn’t It Be Nice.”

Eventually, Mr. Wilson — with the strong support of his family and the rest of the Beach Boys — took out a restraining order to break his last ties with Landy.

Mr. Wilson’s brother Dennis drowned in 1983, and his brother Carl died of cancer in 1998. Mr. Wilson’s relationship with the rest of the Beach Boys devolved into a squalid series of suits and countersuits that lasted until the three surviving members of the band — Mr. Wilson, Love and Jardine — joined forces with David Marks and Bruce Johnston, both of whom had been “Beach Boys” at one point or another, to play together again in 2012.

An album, “That’s Why God Made the Radio,” was issued that June, and the group embarked on a 50th anniversary tour.

But the last official Beach Boys hit had been “Kokomo” in 1988, with which Mr. Wilson had nothing to do and initially sold more copies than any of their earlier songs, largely because of its inclusion in the Tom Cruise movie “Cocktail.”

That same year, Mr. Wilson released his first solo album, titled “Brian Wilson,” to encouraging reviews. It was his first collection of new songs in more than a decade. The opening piece, “Love and Mercy,” became Mr. Wilson’s signature piece. (That also became the title of a 2014 film biopic featuring two actors, Paul Dano and John Cusack, playing the younger Mr. Wilson.)

Further solo discs appeared and, in 2002, Mr. Wilson recorded a live version of “Pet Sounds” as part of a world tour. By then, he had recovered much of his original vocal luster, but the new rendition seemed alarmingly robotic, as though it had been learned rather than felt.

Indeed, in later years, he grew increasingly adept at “playing” Brian Wilson onstage, but he never appeared fully comfortable doing much more. “It’s a hard truth for those of us who love and admire him to admit, but it can be painful to see Wilson in concert,” Will Hodgkinson, chief rock and pop critic for the Times of London, wrote in 2018.

The Wilson talent lived on into another generation as Mr. Wilson’s daughters Carrie and Wendy Wilson, by Rovell, made names for themselves as two-thirds of the band Wilson Phillips. His marriage to Rovell, which had long been complicated by affairs and his precarious mental state, collapsed in the late 1970s.

In 1995, he married Ledbetter, a model and car saleswoman who became his manager and with whom he had five children. She died in 2024, at age 77. A complete list of survivors was not immediately available.

“Melinda was more than my wife,” Mr. Wilson wrote on Instagram after her death. “She was my savior. She gave me the emotional security I needed to have a career. She encouraged me to make the music that was closest to my heart. She was my anchor.” After Ledbetter’s death, Mr. Wilson’s family sought to place him under a conservatorship, saying that he was taking medication for dementia and “unable to properly provide for his own personal needs for physical health.”

The Beach Boys were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988, and Mr. Wilson received the Kennedy Center Honors in 2007 for being “rock and roll’s gentlest revolutionary” and for a body of work that was called “vulnerable and sincere, authentic and unmistakably American.”

In 2010, he made a recording of his favorite Gershwin songs and, in 2021, he released “At My Piano,” a selection of Mr. Wilson’s songs played simply, lovingly and somewhat anxiously by their composer.

For all of the Beach Boys’ musical infatuation with the carefree life in the surf, Mr. Wilson admitted to getting “conked on the head” the one time he tried to ride a wave. But in summing up the band’s most enduring aesthetic, he told the Sunday Times of London in 2019 that Southern California was “more about the idea of going in the ocean than actually going in the ocean.”

“I liked to look at the sea, though,” he added. “It was like a piece of music: each wave was moving around by itself, but they were also moving together.”



REED SAXON/AP

Brian Wilson poses with his best rock instrumental performance Grammy, for “Mrs. O’Leary’s Cow,” in Los Angeles in 2005.



PHOTOS BY KENNY FLETCHER/CHESAPEAKE BAY FOUNDATION

Singing the blue crab blues

Number of females, males and juveniles in bay raises concern for experts who study them

BY DANA HEDGPETH

Blue crabs in the Chesapeake Bay have dropped to a “distressing low” number, experts say, marking several years of repeated declines and raising concern about their long-term health.

The estimated number of crabs was 238 million, the second-lowest point since an annual blue crab dredge survey to measure their population started in the 1990s and coming shortly after 2022’s record low of 226 million crabs, according to experts. The survey found that the decline hit all of the crustaceans, regardless of maturity or gender.

“It’s disturbing because we’ve seen in all sectors — adult males, adult females and juvenile crabs — drops in their numbers,” said Allison Colden, Maryland executive director for the Chesapeake Bay Foundation. The biggest concern, she and other experts said, is the drop in juvenile crabs.

“There’s a disconnect,” she said, “in the productivity of the blue crab population and the number of fe-



TOP: Crews work on a boat to conduct a “dredge survey” to analyze the blue crab population along the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland and Virginia. ABOVE: A blue crab is measured as part of an annual survey.

males in the water.”

The causes of their decline are a bit of a mystery to scientists. The blue crab population can vary widely each year, depending on several factors, including changes to their habitat — especially a loss of underwater grasses that are critical for young crabs, an increase in predators such as blue catfish and red drum fish, pollution runoff into the bay and dramatic shifts in wind, current and storm patterns that can especially affect juvenile crabs.

“If it gets too cold too quickly that causes them to die, and we’ve seen a very high rate of crabs dying over the winter,” Colden said.

The survey, conducted from December to March by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources and the Virginia Institute of Marine Science, gives a snapshot-in-time estimate of the number of blue crabs living in the bay.

Experts use a boat to drag a six-foot-wide dredge with a nylon mesh

SEE CRABS ON B2

Some in Va. GOP question strategy

EARLE-SEARS LAGS ON FUNDRAISING

Concerns over slow start; 3-way ticket unity sought

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER AND LAURA VOZZELLA

RICHMOND — Democrat Abigail Spanberger reported a massive fundraising lead over Republican gubernatorial rival Winsome Earle-Sears this week, with her \$14.3 million in campaign cash more than quadruple the \$3 million on hand for Earle-Sears — aggravating concerns among some in the GOP that the campaign is off to a troubled start.

Republican critics cited another number to explain their fears: zero, the number of times Earle-Sears has campaigned in public with the full GOP ticket of John Reid for lieutenant governor and Attorney General Jason S. Miyares seeking reelection. With Democrats awaiting June 17 primary elections to determine the rest of their ticket beyond Spanberger, Republicans had a clear opportunity for a head start.

“It’s really frustrating,” Loudoun County GOP chairman Scott Pio said. “They could have energized the ticket early on, and here

SEE CAMPAIGN ON B2

TODAY’S WEATHER

8 a.m.	Noon	4 p.m.	8 p.m.
74°	87°	93°	86°

High today at approx. 4 p.m.: 93°
 Precip: 0% Wind: WSW 6-12 mph
 For weather news, go to B6

MARYLAND

Maryland’s juvenile services chief resigned amid a crime spike. B3

D.C. to ban phones in public classrooms

Council will take final vote on law that would cover charter schools, too

BY LAUREN LUMPKIN

Students in D.C. Public Schools will no longer be permitted to use their cellphones during the school day starting this fall, the system’s chancellor said.

The 52,000-student district, which enrolls more than half the public school students in the city, is the latest in the D.C. area to attempt to restrict phone usage. It joins schools in several states — including Virginia, California and Florida — that have adopted similar policies amid growing concerns over how the devices could affect students’ mental health.

The new guidance from DCPS also comes as the D.C. Council considers a law that would ban cellphone usage at all schools in the District, including the city’s 134 charter schools. Council members recently approved that legislation in an initial vote, but will need to vote again before it becomes law.

An early version of the bill would have put the policy in effect before the next school year starts in August. However, fol-

SEE PHONES ON B3

Former CIA analyst is sentenced to three years

Rahman pleaded guilty to violating Espionage Act after leaking intel

BY SALVADOR RIZZO

A former CIA analyst who leaked highly classified records about Israeli plans for a military strike on Iran, which spread quickly through social media last year, was sentenced Wednesday to three years and one month in prison.

Asif W. Rahman pleaded guilty to two counts of violating the Espionage Act, admitting that he leaked more than a dozen classified documents while working as a CIA analyst. He was arrested last year after FBI investigators traced the download of two records detailing Israeli military preparations to Rahman’s workstation at the U.S. Embassy in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

The two top-secret documents,

from the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, appeared in a Telegram channel called “Middle East Spectator” in mid-October and described aviation exercises and movements of munition carts on an Israeli airfield that were consistent with preparations for a strike on Iran but contained no images, U.S. officials said.

The leaks also spread to other social media platforms and led Israel to delay its attack plan, officials said. About two weeks before the top-secret documents appeared online, Tehran had fired nearly 200 missiles at Israel as a response to the killings of leaders from Hamas and Hezbollah. The Biden administration was publicly lobbying Israel not to target Iranian nuclear sites or energy facilities as it prepared a retaliatory strike.

“I don’t think the severity, the seriousness, of the conduct can be overstated,” U.S. District Judge Patricia Tolliver Giles said as she imposed Rahman’s sentence in

SEE SENTENCE ON B3



TOM BRENNER/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Somber remembrance

Members of Congress participate in a moment of silence Tuesday during a vigil honoring Sarah Milgrim and Yaron Lischinsky on the steps of the U.S. House. Lischinsky, 30, and Milgrim, 26, were killed by a gunman May 21 outside the Capital Jewish Museum in the District.

Some Va. Republicans questioning Earle-Sears campaign

CAMPAIGN FROM B1

we are. ... As far as I can see there's no three-way unity on the ticket."

The Earle-Sears campaign argues that it's working from a careful strategy that will pay off over the long haul. "Mistake quiet confidence for a slow start at your own risk," spokeswoman Peyton Vogel said.

Still, many Republicans are concerned about an enthusiasm gap as national Democrats pour money and attention on Virginia's off-year elections, seen as a referendum on President Donald Trump and a tune-up for next year's congressional midterms. All 100 seats in the House of Delegates are also on the fall ballot, and with control of the chamber at stake, Democratic House candidates raised a cumulative \$4.6 million compared with \$2.1 million for Republican candidates for the three-month period that ended June 5, according to analysis by the Virginia Public Access Project.

Spanberger raised \$6.5 million over the quarter, bringing her total haul to \$22.8 million, while Earle-Sears brought in \$3.5 million in that period and \$9.2 million overall.

The lagging fundraising and lack of public appearances by a statewide GOP slate that solidified in late April come while six Democrats running for the lieutenant governor nomination and two vying for attorney general have been attacking one another.

"It's not too late, but we have lost these last four to six weeks," said Phil Kazmierczak, a Republican activist in Virginia Beach and former House of Delegates candidate. The timing is particularly bad, he said, because the GOP faces such "an uphill battle this year." Trump lost Virginia by 6 points, his policies of cutting the federal workforce have hit particularly hard in a state where the economy is more tied to the federal government than almost any other, and the party in the White House has lost every Virginia gubernatorial election but one since 1977.

Spanberger, a former congresswoman, has largely held off on attacking Earle-Sears, the state's lieutenant governor. Instead, she has maintained a methodical, low-key schedule of appearances around the state to roll out policy positions and face reporters in one-on-one interviews or gaggle. Her campaign said Spanberger has events planned in every Virginia congressional district through the end of June; her website details activities in the coming weeks for volunteers — such as phone banks and canvassing — and for the candidate herself.

"The Spanberger for Governor campaign is building unmatched momentum across Virginia," campaign manager Samson Signori said via email. "Meanwhile,



KRISTEN ZEIS/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A spokeswoman for Winsome Earle-Sears (R) warned of mistaking a slow start for quiet confidence.



MAXWELL POSNER/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Abigail Spanberger (D) has a lead in fundraising and is "building unmatched momentum," campaign manager Samson Signori said.

Winsome Earle-Sears has remained largely out of view — skipping scheduled events, doubling down on her extreme positions, and leaving voters with more questions than answers.

Earle-Sears offers no such public scheduling, but her campaign said that's part of the plan. "Winsome Earle-Sears is showing up where it counts," Vogel said via email. "In churches, at small businesses, in parades, and on factory floors. We're on TV, in mailboxes, and out earning votes every day. It's early and while being strategic may not be what the media wants, our focus is squarely on voters."

Much of the turmoil within the GOP has roots in a controversy over Reid, a hard-right Richmond talk-radio host who is openly gay and became the lieutenant governor nominee by default when the establishment favorite dropped

out for health reasons. Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) asked Reid to withdraw from the race after the candidate was accused of authoring a social media account that reposted racy photos of nude and seminude men, but Reid denied the account was his and refused to step aside.

He since has campaigned heavily around the state and drawn enthusiastic support from the MAGA base of the party for his outspoken allegiance with Trump, while Youngkin — who is term-limited out of office — Earle-Sears and Miyares have kept their distance.

Asked by reporters last week whether she planned to campaign with Reid, Earle-Sears did not directly answer: "We are focused. We are doing exactly what we need to do. We are all over. And we're going to win this. And we are going to bring alongside

"Republicans are always outspent in these statewide races. It's just imperative that we get our message out and that we remind the citizens and the donors how critical this election is."

State Sen. Mark J. Peake, Virginia Republican Party chairman

everybody else. Thank you. Next question."

Earle-Sears has canceled several campaign appearances, including three with Reid in the days after Youngkin asked him to quit the race. A rally her campaign had been advertising for Friday in Virginia Beach was called off this week, according to a now-deleted Eventbrite notice of the event; her campaign said she will make other, unadvertised appearances in the city that day instead. Three minutes before Earle-Sears was to host a Zoom news conference with a pair of rural sheriffs on May 22, her campaign emailed reporters to say the event would have to be rescheduled "due to unforeseen travel delays." A new date has not been announced.

Her style of campaigning has been heavy on small and private events or public appearances with little media coverage — not a

typical approach for a candidate trailing in fundraising. Her campaign promoted no events last weekend, for instance, but on Saturday evening Earle-Sears posted on X that she had "met with business leaders in Virginia Beach, attended the Chinese American picnic in the peninsula, made my way to Taste of India, and now I'm at the [Tri-City] Chili Peppers [baseball] game. Only in Virginia, only in America."

The chairman of the Republican Party of Virginia, state Sen. Mark J. Peake (R-Lynchburg), said Earle-Sears has been using nontraditional methods in "a great outreach effort to bring in new Republican voters. I think that will pay off in the fall."

Peake expressed hope that the party's three statewide candidates will eventually campaign together. "It is certainly my hope that we will have a unified ticket and that we will have campaign rallies featuring all three candidates," he said.

Peake said the Democrats' fundraising lead was nothing new — that's been the case for Virginia's past three governor's races — and not a reliable barometer of voter sentiment. Democrat Terry McAuliffe narrowly beat Republican Ken Cuccinelli II in 2013 after outspending him by \$20 million. McAuliffe, seeking a comeback in 2021, outspent Youngkin by \$3 million but lost in a squeaker.

"Republicans are always outspent in these statewide races," Peake said. "It's just imperative that we get our message out and that we remind the citizens and the donors how critical this election is."

Spanberger's haul so far has outpaced McAuliffe's from four years ago, despite his being a legendary national Democratic fundraiser. During the same period in 2021 (though with five fewer days in the reporting period), McAuliffe raised almost \$2.9 million, according to VPAP. Spanberger raised more than \$6.5 million. She spent almost \$3.2 million during that time, which combined with the money already in her coffers left her with more than \$14.3 million available.

In addition, the Democratic Governors Association announced Monday that it was committing at least \$5 million to Spanberger's race, of which only \$500,000 was reflected in the most recent filing.

Earle-Sears, by contrast, raised \$3.5 million for the period but reported spending even more — \$4.6 million. With the money she already had in her coffers, that left Earle-Sears with just under \$3 million on hand.

Democrats also had a wide fundraising advantage in the race for lieutenant governor. Reid, the GOP nominee, raised about \$134,000 over the period, for a total of \$312,000, and had

\$116,000 on hand. Those sums put him far behind the four best-funded Democrats competing in Tuesday's six-way lieutenant governor primary.

State Sen. Ghazala F. Hashmi (Richmond) led the pack of aspiring Democratic lieutenant governors for the quarter, raising \$743,000, which brought her total to nearly \$1.8 million and left her with \$462,000 on hand. Former Richmond Mayor Levar Stoney raised \$702,000 for the period. That put his total at \$2.1 million — the highest in the race — but his cash on hand at \$258,000 was lowest of the top contenders. State Sen. Aaron R. Rouse (Virginia Beach) was in the same financial league as those two, raising \$660,000 since April, for a total haul of \$1.8 million. He had \$452,000 in the bank.

Babur B. Lateef, a Northern Virginia eye surgeon and chairman of the Prince William County School Board, raised \$374,000 for the quarter for a \$1.3 million total, leaving him with \$263,000 on hand. Far behind the others is Alex Bastani, a retired economist and lawyer at the U.S. Labor Department and former union president, who raised \$142,000, for a total of \$276,000, and had \$27,000 on hand. Victor Salgado, a former federal prosecutor, raised \$17,000 for a total of \$221,000, and had \$14,000 in cash.

The only financial bright spot for Republicans was in the race for attorney general. Miyares, the incumbent, raised \$1.2 million for the quarter, for a total of \$4.3 million. He had \$2.3 million on hand.

The two Democrats vying to take on Miyares are former Norfolk delegate Jerrald C. "Jay" Jones and Henrico County Commonwealth's Attorney Shannon Taylor. Taylor raised nearly \$1.1 million for the quarter, bringing her total to \$2.1 million. Jones raised \$934,000, for a \$2.7 million total. They had comparable cash on hand heading into the homestretch, \$493,000 for Jones, \$470,000 for Taylor.

The big cash advantage that Democrats reported in House of Delegates races was partly because they're fielding candidates in all 100 districts while Republicans are running in about 70. Pio — the Loudoun Republican, who this year mounted an unsuccessful campaign to become state party chairman — said the House races are another reason he's concerned about the GOP's approach this year.

"Why the heck are we ignoring so many voters?" he said. In 2021, he said, Youngkin brought high energy and enthusiasm to races up and down the ballot. "You would go anywhere and you'd know there was a delegate running on the ticket, you'd know everybody was pushing in one direction. Man, I don't know — this certainly feels different, for sure."

Blue crabs in bay drop to 'distressing low' number

CRABS FROM B1

liner slowly along the bottom of the bay, taking samples from 1,500 sites for the analysis. The experts measure the collected crabs and calculate the average number of crabs in an area.

Experts examine the number of female crabs that could spawn in the coming year, which is an indicator of whether there will be a healthy crop of new crabs coming, and analyze the number of young crabs. The data helps experts manage crabs and regulate the number that can be caught and harvested each year.

Female crabs spawn their eggs at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, where it meets the Atlantic Ocean. When they hatch, the larvae — barely the size of a pinhead — develop in the ocean and return to the bay on tides, winds and currents, where they settle in underwater grass beds. They then disperse throughout the bay, mature in the rivers and mate. But if the tiny larvae don't make it back to the bay, they're lost in the ocean and die.

Changes in water temperatures and storm patterns are also affecting the juvenile crab popu-

lation.

"If we have changes in weather and more storms — more frequent and more intense — that pushes crabs into the ocean and not into the bay, and we can lose a lot of those juveniles," said Mandy Bromilow, manager of the blue crab program in fishing and boating services for the Maryland Department of Natural Resources.

She said over the past five years of the survey, there has been a decrease in the number of females and juveniles. This year, there were 108 million adult females — which is below the target population of 196 million. If it consistently remains low, she said, "you could have so few females that they're going to have trouble sustainably reproducing the population."

Rom Lipcius, a professor of marine science at the William & Mary Virginia Institute of Marine Science in Gloucester Point, Virginia, said that while the number of females has recovered after being overharvested in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the number of juveniles remains low.

Another problem for juvenile crabs is one of their biggest predators,



KENNY FLETCHER/CHESAPEAKE BAY FOUNDATION

There is a disconnect between the blue crab population overall and the number of females in the water.

ators, the invasive blue catfish, which is known to eat "whatever they can get their hands on," Bromilow said.

Longtime waterman Chuckie White, who has been in the commercial fishing business for 46 years in Rock Hall on Maryland's Eastern Shore, said he has noticed juvenile crabs "aren't getting ample time to make it to

legal size because of all the predators."

His friend Donald Pierce, who has been in the business since 1971, said he has seen good signs in this year's crab season, which runs roughly from March to November. Pierce said this spring, he put down 200 pots — used for catching crabs — around the Cape Charles area of the bay on

Virginia's Eastern Shore and caught the state's daily limit — 22 bushels — of female crabs.

Keisha Sedlacek, federal director at the Chesapeake Bay Foundation, said in a statement that her group is also concerned that the "blue crab numbers are crashing just as the Trump administration dismantles programs restoring water quality and underwater

habitat like grasses vital for crabs."

Scientists in Maryland and Virginia are conducting a larger-scale assessment of the blue crab population, which will be completed in 2026. The last assessment was in 2011, and watermen and environmental experts said they're eager to see the impact of changes in the climate and habitat, and of the increase in blue catfish population.

Lipcius said keeping the blue crab population healthy is critical for the bay's ecosystem. Crabs eat worms, clams and smaller crabs, and they're prey for sea turtles, great blue herons and fish.

"They're a major node in the network and food web of the Chesapeake Bay," he said, and they generate between \$50 million and \$80 million in the commercial harvesting business in Maryland and Virginia.

Watermen said they're concerned but not alarmed.

"You have to give it time to work itself out. We've seen changes from time to time in every season," said Robert T. Brown, a third-generation waterman in the St. Clements Island area of Maryland who has been president of the Maryland Watermen's Association for more than a decade. "Sometimes these surveys come out and they say it's going to be bad and it instead turns out to be a pretty good crabbing season."



The Guide to Offers
The Washington Post

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See Details <https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388>



MARYLAND

State's juvenile services chief resigns following scrutiny over his approach

BY KATIE METTLER

Maryland Department of Juvenile Services Secretary Vincent Schiraldi — Gov. Wes Moore's most unorthodox Cabinet member — resigned Monday after a tumultuous two years while tasked with overhauling the agency amid a spike in crime among teens.

Schiraldi, a nationally renowned youth justice reformist, said in an interview Tuesday that he told the governor's office last month of his intent to leave the agency by the end of the calendar year, but said he would depart sooner if it made more sense logistically for the administration.

On Monday, Moore (D) said Betsy Fox Tolentino of the Roca Impact Institute will be taking the helm as acting secretary on Wednesday. Schiraldi will remain with the department through June 20, he said, to help with the leadership transition.

"I think I had become too much of a lightning rod, and I think that's problematic," Schiraldi said in the interview. "My hope is now that Betsy, who is terrific, will not carry my baggage."

Since he was appointed by Moore in 2023, Schiraldi has

overseen a philosophical repositioning of the juvenile services agency, standing up programming meant to home in on rehabilitation and implementing partnerships with "credible messengers," who are community members that young people may be more inclined to listen to and trust.

His Thrive Academy, which focused on providing intensive resources to young people under state supervision who are at the highest risk of shooting someone or being shot, was awarded the Inspiration Innovation Award by the Council of Juvenile Justice Administrators last year.

But Schiraldi's tenure has been pocked with controversy. Republican state lawmakers called on Moore to fire him earlier this year after a state audit of the department found deficiencies, including with the agency's case management system. Some problems in that audit existed long before Schiraldi took over the agency, and others took place during his tenure.

Through it all, Moore stood by Schiraldi — praising his philosophy and saying the department under the secretary's leadership had produced good outcomes for children.

In a statement Monday an-



OFFICE OF GOV. WES MOORE

Juvenile Services Secretary Vincent Schiraldi, who is an unorthodox figure, was tasked with overhauling the agency.

nouncing the leadership change, Moore praised the "immense energy and effort" Schiraldi put into the work and said he "moved important new efforts forward," including the Thrive Academy. "Vinny Schiraldi brought decades of experience and innovative thinking to the task of running the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services," Moore said in the statement.

On Tuesday, Moore's tone to-

ward Schiraldi shifted.

In a radio interview on WBAL, Moore said that he "ordered" Schiraldi's resignation and that his choice to nominate Tolentino as the new secretary came as a result of an "expansive search."

"This was my decision," the governor told WBAL. "My expectations are high, and my patience is low. So I instructed his resignation, and I'm really excited about the future under Betsy's leadership."

Moore also said that Schiraldi inherited a "very troubled" agency from the administration of Gov. Larry Hogan, which he said had returned \$130 million earmarked for rehabilitation initiatives back into the state's general fund.

In an interview after Moore's WBAL radio comments, Schiraldi said he had acknowledged many times to the governor's staff that he understood the political firestorm surrounding him and his leadership, including the calls for his removal. Schiraldi said he repeatedly told them that if they want him to go, he will.

Then in late May, Schiraldi said, he met with a member of the governor's staff at a coffee shop in Takoma Park, where he lives. He told the staff member

that he knew his "time was about up" and that he planned to leave by the end of the year but wanted the transition to be smooth, Schiraldi recalled.

In that conversation, he said, he recommended Tolentino to replace him — an endorsement that mirrored feedback from other Maryland leaders and lawmakers who had also put forth her name as a good choice for the agency's next lead.

On Monday, Schiraldi said, he was summoned to Annapolis by the governor's chief of staff, Fagan Harris, and he was told that they were accepting his resignation offer and that Tolentino would be taking over.

Schiraldi said he spoke on the phone with Tolentino on Tuesday morning and plans to spend the next 10 days helping hand off the agency operations.

"I wish the governor and her the best," Schiraldi said.

The department's work, he said, "is too important for anyone to really care who started it." The conversation, he said, should be focused on the children.

Before joining Moore's Cabinet in Maryland, Schiraldi was the head of New York City's corrections department and the former director of juvenile cor-

rections in the District. He also worked as a senior researcher at the Columbia School of Social Work and at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government Program in Criminal Justice.

Tolentino joins the state after serving as managing director of juvenile and young adult justice initiatives at the Roca Impact Institute, a national nonprofit. She previously was the deputy secretary of community operations at the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services and has worked in criminal and juvenile justice advocacy for 18 years.

In his statement, Moore said he hopes she will be able to use her connections throughout state government and across the country to build strong collaborative relationships with police, prosecutors, community partners and local leaders.

Schiraldi said his advice to Tolentino would be this:

"Pick your north star and stay true to it. Don't let bad information, bad politics, allow you to do bad stuff to children and allow you to do bad stuff for public safety. That has to be nonnegotiable."

He added: "Don't let them drag you into the pandering and maligning of children. Everything else is a detail."

DCPS will ban student cellphones in the fall

PHONES FROM B1

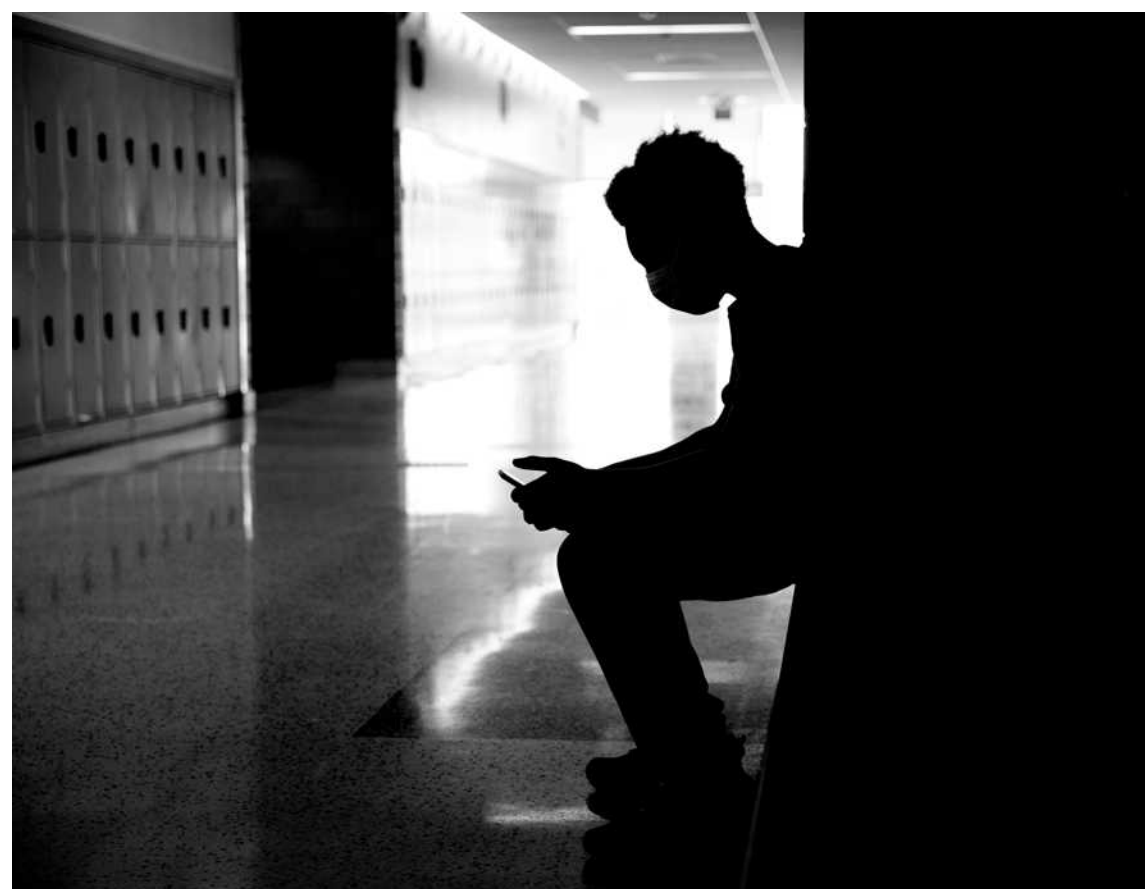
lowing concerns from some school leaders — including the state superintendent of education — that the timeline was too tight, the council opted to delay implementation until the 2026-2027 school year.

But the traditional public school district, which is in its second year of piloting phone-free policies in middle schools, is ready to move sooner. Many charter schools also have policies already that restrict the way students can use their phones.

DCPS Chancellor Lewis D. Ferebee said Friday that middle-schoolers, as well as high school students attending campuses that restrict cellphone use, have reported positive changes — including stronger relationships between students and their teachers.

"As a city, we've been recognizing the body of research around this issue, that suggest smartphone use and devices have been detrimental to the school environment," Ferebee said. Studies have shown that students who use phones learn less and perform worse than their peers. School district leaders also hope that keeping phones out of classrooms will reduce cyberbullying.

The district's new policy takes aim not just at cellphones, but also includes "personal electron-



MAANSI SRIVASTAVA/THE WASHINGTON POST

While waiting for the bell to ring, a Dunbar High student uses their cellphone in the school hallway.

ic communication devices" — defined by officials as electronics that can connect to a cellular or WiFi network, including smartwatches, Bluetooth headphones and personal laptops or tablets. Those gadgets will be prohibited during the school day, except in special circumstances such as field trips.

Teachers may also permit students to use their phones in a handful of situations — typically for an educational reason or if a child has a disability or medical need, according to the district's policy. A multilingual student, for example, may be allowed to

use their phone to translate course materials.

Each school will have flexibility to amend the policy to fit its community, but students will probably have to turn in devices to be stored in lockers or magnetic pouches until dismissal.

Students will continue to use school-issued devices.

In D.C. and throughout the country, many families have embraced the idea of banning phones in schools, believing it will lead to improved focus in the classroom. But some parents and students are worried about losing touch during emergencies —

especially a school shooting.

Ferebee said the middle schools that have been piloting the ban have managed crises just fine. Campuses are supposed to communicate with families via text message, robocall and email during emergencies. In these cases, cellphones can act as distractions, according to the policy.

"In emergency situations we actually need them to comply with the directives from the adults, the staff at the school," Ferebee said. "In many cases it is not the time to try to communicate with others via your cellphone."

Ex-CIA analyst sentenced to three years in leak case

SENTENCE FROM B1

Alexandria, Virginia, federal court. "Our intelligence community has a responsibility of keeping our nation safe, and when things are done to compromise that in any way, it puts us all in danger."

The leaked information was so sensitive, Giles said, "I can't even have it in my chambers alone. ... And yet, it is thrown into the ether."

Rahman, 34, also admitted leaking more than a dozen other classified documents, though their contents were not described in public court filings or proceedings. His attorneys said he had led a promising life — a high school valedictorian who earned a Yale University degree with honors in three years, and who left a lucrative career in finance to join the CIA — but that his judgment had been clouded for months under grueling circumstances.

A forensic psychologist said in a legal submission that Rahman had mental health issues stemming from a traumatic posting in Baghdad and his wife's miscarriage, which occurred just before the couple's planned move to Cambodia last year. In the end, Rahman moved there alone.

His attorneys requested a prison term of one year and one month for Rahman, saying he "never intended to harm the United States or its interests" but was unsettled by "events in the Middle East that began in the fall of 2023."

"I betrayed the oath I took when I joined the CIA, and I let

my colleagues and the American people down," Rahman said in remarks to the judge Wednesday.

In court documents, federal prosecutors requested a nine-year prison term for Rahman, describing him as "a sophisticated intelligence professional" who leaked top-secret documents for months and skillfully covered his digital tracks, deleting troves of classified records he had accessed without authorization.

"He systematically and methodically stole classified national defense information and provided it to others outside of the government — even after one of his disclosures exploded across the internet and should have caused him to stop," prosecutors said in a sentencing filing.

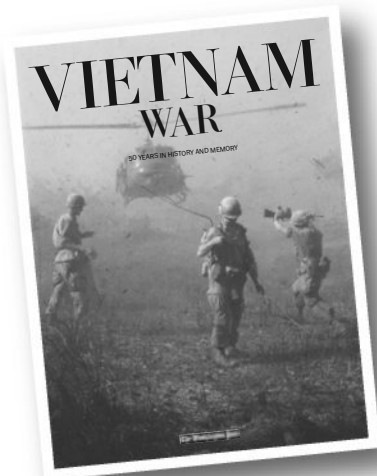
Defense lawyers said that prosecutors had indicated during President Joe Biden's term that they would seek a shorter prison term than nine years, in large part because Rahman confessed within weeks of his arrest in November, but that they changed course and began to seek a stiffer sentence under directions from President Donald Trump's Justice Department.

"It is hard to see now how I could have seen this then, but when I committed my offenses I thought they would help protect Americans and American interests," Rahman said in a letter to Giles. "Now, I face the harsh reality that they did the opposite, and I worry constantly that Americans — particularly members of the military serving in the Middle East — will suffer harm as a result."

The Washington Post

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WINTER 2024-2025

OBITUARIES

CONRAD 'GUS' SHINN, 102

'Sheer madness': Navy officer was the first pilot to land at the South Pole

BY HARRISON SMITH

On a brutally cold Halloween evening in 1956, a plane landed at the ice-covered bottom of the Earth, touching down at the South Pole for the first time in history. It was nearly 60 degrees below zero. Even after the plane completed its descent, bouncing on the hard snow with skis affixed to its landing gear, the crew kept the engines running to prevent a freeze-up.

"In retrospect, it was sheer madness," said the pilot, Lt. Cmdr. Conrad "Gus" Shinn, a veteran naval aviator who planned and executed the flight.

It was only the third time humans had set foot on the planet's southernmost point, following earlier expeditions led by Roald Amundsen, a Norwegian who traveled by foot, ski and sledge before reaching the pole in December 1911, and Robert Falcon Scott, a British naval officer who arrived weeks later, in January 1912, but died with his four companions while making the return journey.

Looking back on the flight, Cmdr. Shinn said that getting to the pole was the easy part. Getting back proved far more challenging, requiring the use of more than a dozen small rockets to dislodge the plane from the ice and provide enough thrust for takeoff.

Friends said that long after he retired, when he was introduced to strangers as "the first man to land at the South Pole," he would gently note: "Well, that's true. But more importantly, I'm the first man to take off from the South Pole."

By flying to the pole and back, Cmdr. Shinn — who died May 15 at 102 — helped open up a new era of Antarctic research, demonstrating that it was possible for personnel and supplies to be flown to one of the world's most desolate places. By his count, he made about 17 South Pole flights, providing assistance to Navy construction workers who began creating a permanent research base, a precursor to today's Amundsen-Scott South Pole Station, a few weeks after his first trip.

Scientists continue to conduct experiments at the pole, including on air quality, seismic waves and elementary particles known as neutrinos. Tractors make the weeks-long trek to bring supplies overland from McMurdo Station. And supply planes continue to fly in and out, although the aircraft — ski-equipped LC-130s, carrying as much as 42,000 pounds of cargo — are more powerful and better equipped than the planes flown by Cmdr. Shinn and his colleagues.

"Everything was critical in that day: attitude and altitude and air speed, weight and balance. We hardly stayed in the air," he said in a 1999 interview for the Antarctic Deep Freeze Oral History Project.

A North Carolina native who joined the Navy during World War II, Cmdr. Shinn started out as a



U.S. NAVY

From left, John Strider, George Dufek, Conrad Shinn, John Swadener, William Cumbie, William Hawkes and Douglas Cordiner in 1956.

multiengine pilot in the South Pacific, transporting medical supplies and wounded men. He later flew military brass and other VIPs, ferrying flag officers, Cabinet secretaries and friends of President Harry S. Truman, before volunteering for Operation Highjump, a Navy program that brought him to Antarctica for the first time in 1947.

By then, the Navy had been involved in Antarctic exploration for years, supporting scientific research while also — amid a Cold War standoff with the Soviet Union — seeking "to establish a foothold in a region of the world that could be strategically important," said Hill Goodspeed, a historian at the National Naval Aviation Museum in Pensacola, Florida.

To prepare for the mission, Cmdr. Shinn took a transport plane equipped with skis and tested it on the ice in Edmonton, Alberta. He went on to fly a ski-clad R4D, the military version of a Douglas DC-3 airliner, off an aircraft carrier, taking it hundreds of miles over the ice to reach Little America, the Navy's makeshift exploration base on the Ross Ice Shelf.

Cmdr. Shinn lived on the ice for about a month, sleeping in a tent — designed more for the tropics than the Antarctic — and flying

photographic missions that were intended to help map the continent.

At the end of his tour, he was picked up by an icebreaker and joined the command ship of Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd, who had made history in 1929 as the first person to fly over the South Pole. Cmdr. Shinn accompanied the admiral on a triumphant voyage to the Washington Navy Yard, where Byrd shook hands with the secretary of the Navy and presented the National Zoo with a gift of two dozen penguins. (When a crate burst open during unloading, three of the birds disappeared into the Anacostia River.)

By 1956, Cmdr. Shinn had returned to Antarctica as part of Operation Deep Freeze, a Navy mission that was launched in support of the International Geophysical Year, a collaborative effort promoting scientific research at the poles and elsewhere around the world.

This time he lived in comparative luxury at McMurdo Sound, in a heated Quonset hut instead of a tent. Still, he noted that the solitude of the Antarctic could take a toll — "people get angry with one another; there were a few mental cases" — and that even with his experience navigating high winds and whiteout conditions, the risks of polar aviation remained high.

During an exploratory flight near the Beardmore Glacier, his airplane was caught in a wind shear and "fell out of the sky," hurtling toward the ground before Cmdr. Shinn turned to a rocket system known as JATO, for jet-assisted take-off, in which rockets are fired to provide additional thrust.

"The wing rolled and the wingtip touched the ice. I'm sure it added to the deafening blast of the JATO firing," he said in the oral history. "We were close enough to the surface to send up a huge balloon of ice crystals. The passengers must have been terrified. But we flew out."

Cmdr. Shinn turned to the JATO system once again during his historic flight to the South Pole, aboard a propeller-driven R4D-5L named Que Sera Sera (Whatever Will Be, Will Be), after the newly released Doris Day pop song.

The plane carried seven passengers and crew members, including Rear Adm. George J. Dufek, who stepped outside and planted an American flag into the ice. (Technically, they had landed about four miles from the geographical South Pole. Observers deemed it close enough.) The group set up a metal radar reflector, intended to help future pilots make their way to the site, and spent about 45 minutes outside before readying for takeoff.

Cmdr. Shinn was already prepared for a difficult departure by virtue of the pole's altitude, at more than 9,000 feet. But he was surprised to discover that while the plane's engines were running, the snow under its skis had melted and refrozen.

"They were stuck. We just sat on the ice like an old mud hen," he told the Associated Press in 1999.

Overheard was an Air Force cargo plane, assigned to hang close and drop supplies in case of disaster. It wasn't needed: Cmdr. Shinn was able to free the plane by firing JATO bottles, four at a time, enabling the Que Sera Sera to break loose and, at full throttle, take off — just barely.

Cmdr. Shinn and his crew flew through "a cloud of ice," using their instruments to navigate while unable to see out of the cockpit, before making their way back to base at McMurdo, some 800 miles away. After landing, his colleague John P. Strider downplayed their difficulties at the pole, joking to a reporter that he dealt with only one problem on the flight: "My coffee wouldn't percolate at 12,000 feet."

As a result of the mission, Cmdr. Shinn was awarded the Legion of Merit. Antarctica's third-highest peak, Mount Shinn, was named in his honor.

"I had been lucky," he said in the oral history, looking back on his flying days in the Antarctic. "Lucky — that's what I would call it."

The second of six children, Conrad Selwyn Shinn was born in Leaksville, North Carolina — a mill town that is now part of the city of Eden — on Sept. 12, 1922. His father served in the infantry during World War I and worked as a YMCA secretary; his mother managed the home.

As a boy, he idolized Charles Lindbergh and Wiley Post, pilot heroes of the golden age of aviation. His high school yearbook, which he edited, seemed almost prophetic in its title: The Pilot.

Cmdr. Shinn graduated at age 16, first in his class, and studied aeronautical engineering at North Carolina State College, now a university. He enrolled in a civilian pilot training program, left school to join the Navy in 1942 and received his commission the next year.

After World War II, he married Gloria Carter, with whom he had three children: David, Connie and Diane Shinn. They divorced in 1954.

Cmdr. Shinn retired from the Navy in 1963 and settled in Pensacola, where he had been stationed. For years, he made regular visits to the National Naval Aviation Museum, where he was able to visit his restored former plane, the Que Sera Sera, and tell visitors about his flying days.

Long after he retired, he continued to dress in military-style flight suits, preferring to avoid fussing over questions of personal appearance and style, according to his family. He remained especially concerned with safety issues, a theme dating back to his Navy days: If he couldn't sit in the pilot's seat as a civilian, he refused to fly at all, preferring to maintain control over maintenance and safety procedures.

"He always had the military demeanor," his son David said, "with one dramatic exception. While living in Florida, he developed the moniker Cat Man of La Rua," after the street where he lived. "He always had a dozen or two-dozen cats in residence. They'd come to his door, having heard about town that there was this man who would take care of them if he needed help."

Cmdr. Shinn lived in the city until shortly before his death, at a nursing facility in Charlotte. His son confirmed the death but did not cite a specific cause.

Survivors include his three children; a sister; a grandson; a great-grandson; and several of his cats, which he re-homed late in life.

Asked in the oral history what he was proudest of from his time in the Antarctic, Cmdr. Shinn replied: "I would guess if I were going to have a tombstone I would put on it, 'He tells it like it is.' There's just no substitute for honesty and integrity."

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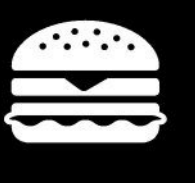
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IN MEMORIAM

TAYLOR

PAUL L. TAYLOR
JUNE 12, 1941 - JANUARY 31, 2008
Happy Loving Day Birthday, MBL.

DEATH NOTICE

HEGGS

CARNADOSE HEGGS (Age 38)
It is with regret that we notify the members of Steamfitters Local 602 of the death of Brother Carnados Hegg. Private services were held by the family, Notice #2020.

Christopher M Madello F.S.T.

IN MEMORIAM

MOOT



HELEN HELMS MOOT (Age 95)
Helen Helms Moot, 95, passed away peacefully on Sunday, May 18, 2025, at her home at Greenspring Senior Living in Springfield, Virginia. She was predeceased by her husband of 50 years, Robert C. Moot, and her daughter-in-law, Linden Moot.

something was growing. Helen was also a passionate artist. Her hands, so skilled in the soil, were just as at home shaping clay. Pottery became a life-long creative outlet...

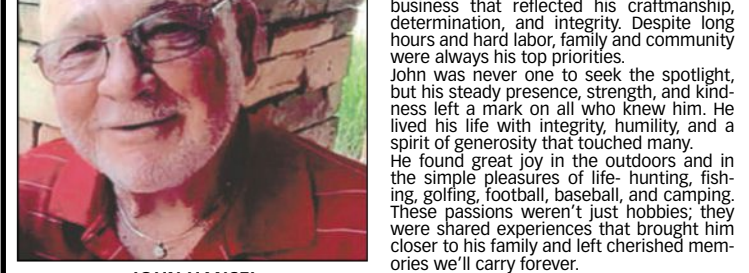
IN MEMORIAM

DEATH NOTICE

HOWARD

PM MARION ETHEL HOWARD
Miriam Chapter No. 4, OES, PHA
Leslie L. Hairston, WM
Donielle W. Hemby, Sr., WP
Constance H. Francois, Secretary

HANSEL



JOHN HANSEL
John Richard Hansel of Mineral, Virginia, passed away peacefully on Wednesday, June 4, 2025, at the age of 83. Born on February 26, 1937, he was the sixth of eight children.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

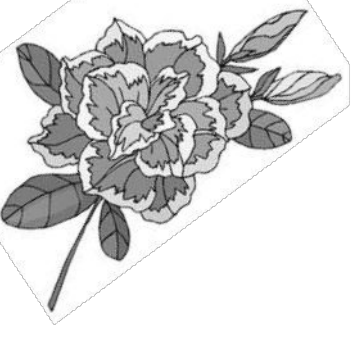
To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.



DEATH NOTICE

HOLIDAY

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To Place A PAID DEATH NOTICE Please Visit:
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MEMORIAL SERVICE

MEMORIAL SERVICE

AMIN



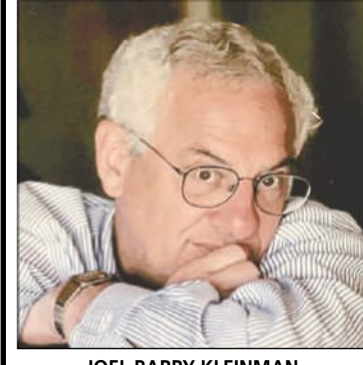
DR. JYOTI SURENDRA AMIN (Age 75) IN LOVING MEMORY. NEONATOLOGIST MOTHER, DAUGHTER, PIONEER. Dr. Jyoti Surendra Amin passed away peacefully on May 1, 2025, in Culver City, California.

MEMORIAL SERVICE

AMIN

Katie, and Callie; sister and family, Varsha, Dennis, and Dhairini; and her lifelong community of friends in Northern Virginia and extended family around the world. Jyoti was a pioneer and an extraordinary woman.

KLEINMAN



JOEL BARRY KLEINMAN
AUGUST 24, 1949 - JUNE 1, 2025
Joel, husband for 34 years, of Mary Pat Brown, and father of Sam Kleinman, son, died on June 1, 2025 from Creutzfeldt Jakob Disease at Forest Hills of Washington, DC.

Joel was a lawyer, pilot, golfer, oenophile, and semi-professional Bacchanalian. He was a resident of the Knollwood Retirement Community in Northwest Washington. Marianne is the widow of Major General Richard M. Lee, U.S. Army, who predeceased her.



DEATH NOTICE

BOWMAN



BONNIE ESTES BOWMAN
Bonnie Estes Bowman died on February 23, 2025, at her home in Naples, FL, after an extended illness and hospice care. A memorial gathering was held at her home in Madison Park, Naples.

DEATH NOTICE

CORNO



CAMERON ANNE CORNO
Cameron Anne Corno, age 6, passed away peacefully on June 6, 2025, at home in Potosi, MD, after a courageous five-year battle with brain cancer.

LEE



MARIANNE COLLET LEE
Marianne Collet Lee passed away at the age of 94 on March 30, 2025, at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, DC. She was a long time resident of the Knollwood Retirement Community in Northwest Washington.



DEATH NOTICES

INFO & RATES FOR DEATH NOTICES

Table with columns for Hours of Operation, Current 2025 Rates, Monday-Saturday rates, Sunday rates, and Online Only Notices.

STANTON



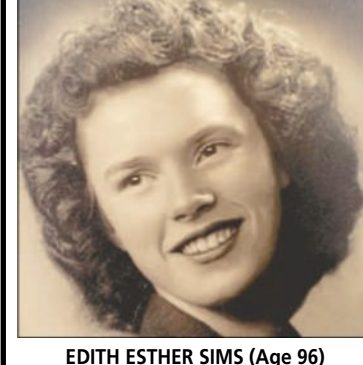
ROBERT LEWIS STANTON (Age 59)
On Wednesday, May 14, 2025, Robert Lewis Stanton passed away peacefully at the Compass Barnette Center in Centerville, MD after a long battle with cancer.

POST YOUR CONDOLENCES

Now death notices on washingtonpost.com/obituaries allow you to express your sympathy with greater ease. Visit today.



SIMS




EDITH ESTHER SIMS (Age 96)
Edith "Edie" Esther Hammond Sims, wife and matriarch to a large, loud, loving brood, passed to eternal life on June 3, 2025.









THE WEATHER

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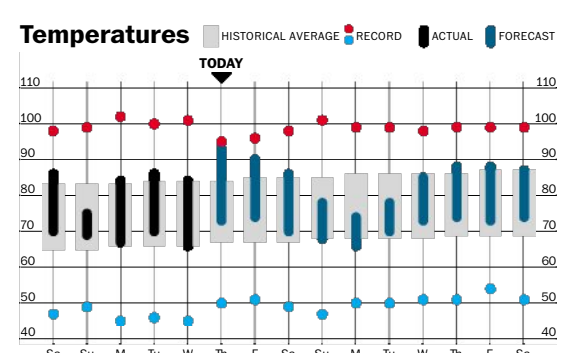
Will it hit 90?

 Mostly sunny skies will keep the warming trend going. Will it be the area's first 90-degree day of the year? We've got a shot, with highs probably in the upper 80s to low 90s along with more noticeable humidity. There still could be some smoke in the sky from the Canadian wildfires, but it should be less dense than it was Wednesday. In the evening, it will be mostly to partly cloudy with lows in the upper 60s to low 70s as the humidity continues to rise.

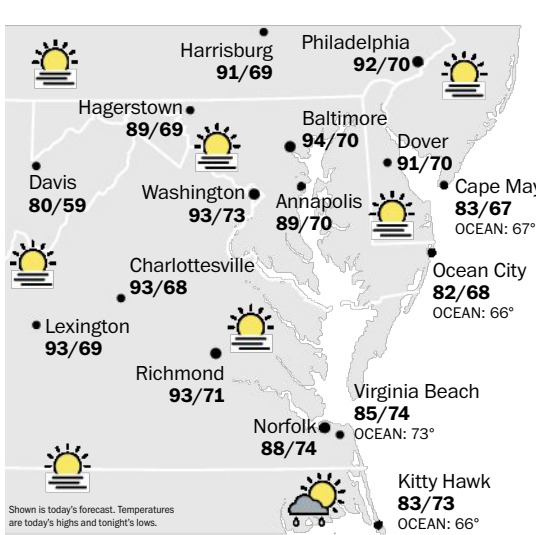
AccuWeather FORECAST

Today	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday
Hazy, hot	T-storm	T-storm	T-storm	T-storms	Low clouds
					
93° 73°	90° 74°	86° 70°	78° 68°	74° 66°	78° 70°
REALFEEL®: 97°	REALFEEL®: 99°	REALFEEL®: 95°	REALFEEL®: 84°	REALFEEL®: 75°	REALFEEL®: 80°
CHANCE PRECIP: 0%	CHANCE PRECIP: 40%	CHANCE PRECIP: 45%	CHANCE PRECIP: 50%	CHANCE PRECIP: 85%	CHANCE PRECIP: 5%
WIND: WSW 6-12 mph	WIND: SE 6-12 mph	WIND: NE 6-12 mph	WIND: E 6-12 mph	WIND: ENE 7-14 mph	WIND: E 6-12 mph
HUMIDITY: High	HUMIDITY: Very High	HUMIDITY: Very High	HUMIDITY: Very High	HUMIDITY: High	HUMIDITY: High

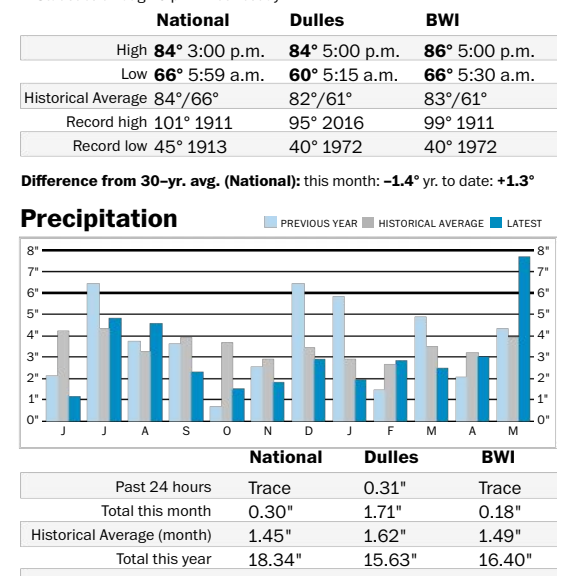
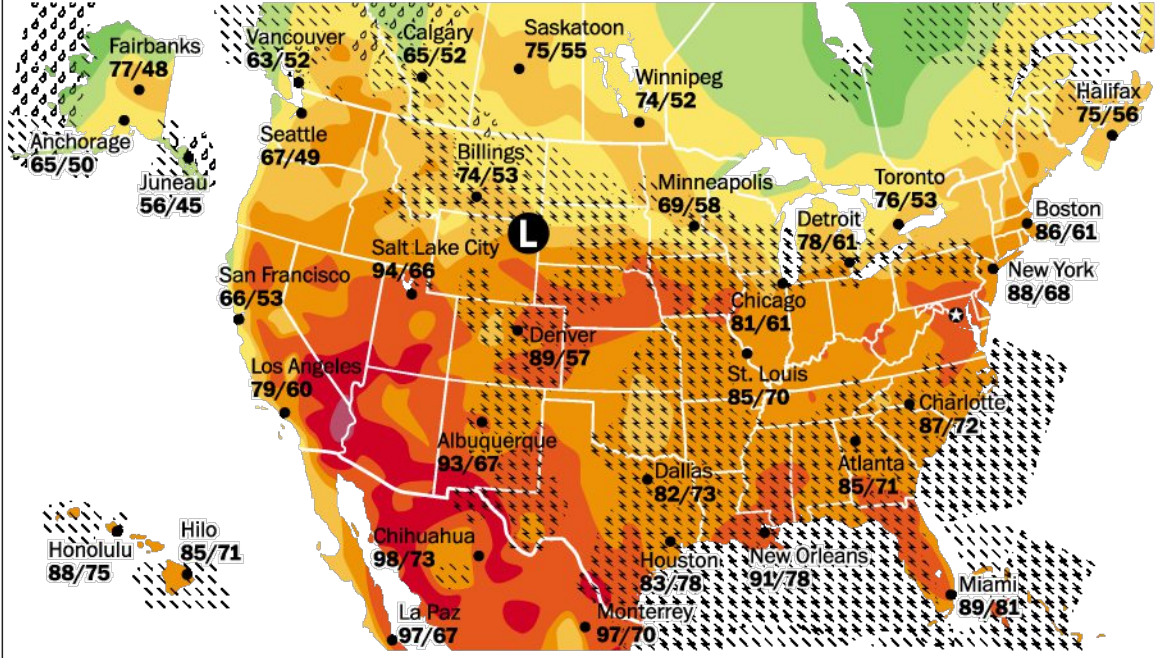
OFFICIAL RECORD



REGION TODAY



NATION TODAY



Pollen: High
Observed ratings on 6/11
Grass High
Trees Moderate
Weeds Moderate
Mold High

Air Quality: Moderate
Main pollutant: Ozone

UV: Very High
9 out of 11+

Blue Ridge: Shenandoah National Park: Today, very warm, hazy sunshine. High 87. Winds south-southwest becoming south 4-8 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy. Low 65. • **Great Smoky Mtns. National Park:** Today, cooler, an afternoon t-storm in parts of the area. High 88. Winds south-southwest 4-8 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy. Low 59.

Atlantic beaches: Ocean City, MD: Today, hazy sun, humid. High 82. Winds south-southwest 7-14 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy, humid. Low 68. Winds south-southwest 6-12 mph. • **Virginia Beach:** Today, humid, hazy sunshine. High 85. Winds south-southeast 6-12 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy, humid. Low 74. Winds south-southwest 6-12 mph.

Waterways: Upper Potomac River: Today, hazy sunshine. Wind southwest 4-8 knots. Waves less than a foot. Visibility unrestricted. • **Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:** Today, hazy sun. Wind south 6-12 knots. Waves 0-1 foot on the Lower Potomac; 1-2 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. • **River Stages:** The stage at Little Falls will be around 5.70 feet today, rising to 6.20 Friday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (Shown are High tides in **Bold** and low tides.)

City	High	Low
Washington	3:53 a.m.	9:26 a.m.
Annapolis	6:51 a.m.	1:49 p.m.
Ocean City	3:08 a.m.	8:57 a.m.
Norfolk	5:07 a.m.	11:04 a.m.
Point Lookout	2:46 a.m.	10:07 a.m.

NATIONAL		Des Moines		Oklahoma City	
Albany, NY	78/53/pc	87/67/t	87/66/t	79/66/t	86/70/t
Albuquerque	93/67/t	87/67/c	87/68/t	89/66/pc	87/68/t
Anchorage	65/50/s	81/60/pc	82/63/t	82/62/pc	85/67/pc
Atlanta	83/69/t	85/70/t	87/74/t	92/74/t	92/75/t
Austin	89/76/t	92/75/t	88/75/sh	87/74/sh	87/69/t
Baltimore	94/70/pc	91/72/t	81/75/t	87/77/t	108/82/s
Billings, MT	74/53/pc	79/57/t	85/68/pc	79/68/t	86/65/pc
Birmingham	86/73/t	87/73/t	82/74/t	88/74/t	82/63/t
Bismarck, ND	64/53/sh	68/53/pc	82/74/t	87/74/t	73/50/pc
Boise	87/59/s	87/55/s	82/74/t	87/74/t	68/50/pc
Boston	86/61/pc	74/59/pc	81/76/t	87/74/t	87/58/pc
Buffalo	72/52/t	72/54/c	80/67/t	90/74/t	87/54/s
Burlington, VT	77/52/pc	67/53/pc	105/78/s	105/80/s	87/54/s
Charleston, SC	88/75/t	88/75/t	82/71/t	84/73/t	87/54/s
Charleston, WV	88/65/pc	88/69/t	79/66/pc	79/62/pc	87/54/s
Charlotte	87/72/t	83/72/t	89/71/pc	85/72/t	87/54/s
Cheyenne, WY	84/53/t	78/54/t	84/72/t	84/71/t	87/54/s
Chicago	81/61/t	82/63/s	89/81/pc	89/80/sh	87/54/s
Cincinnati	86/68/pc	84/69/pc	87/55/t	71/56/t	87/54/s
Cleveland	79/62/t	76/65/t	69/55/t	63/53/r	87/54/s
Dallas	82/73/t	91/76/t	89/72/pc	87/72/t	87/54/s
Denver	89/57/t	88/57/t	91/78/pc	89/78/t	87/54/s
		88/74/pc	85/74/t	90/77/t	87/54/s
		88/74/pc	85/74/t	90/77/t	87/54/s

Moon Phases

June 18 Last Quarter
June 25 New
July 2 First Quarter
July 10 Full

Solar system

Sun	Rise: 5:42 a.m.	Set: 8:34 p.m.
Moon	Rise: 10:19 p.m.	Set: 6:21 a.m.
Venus	Rise: 3:23 a.m.	Set: 4:43 p.m.
Mars	Rise: 10:55 a.m.	Set: 12:31 p.m.
Jupiter	Rise: 6:21 a.m.	Set: 9:10 p.m.
Saturn	Rise: 1:53 a.m.	Set: 1:49 p.m.



KIDSPOST

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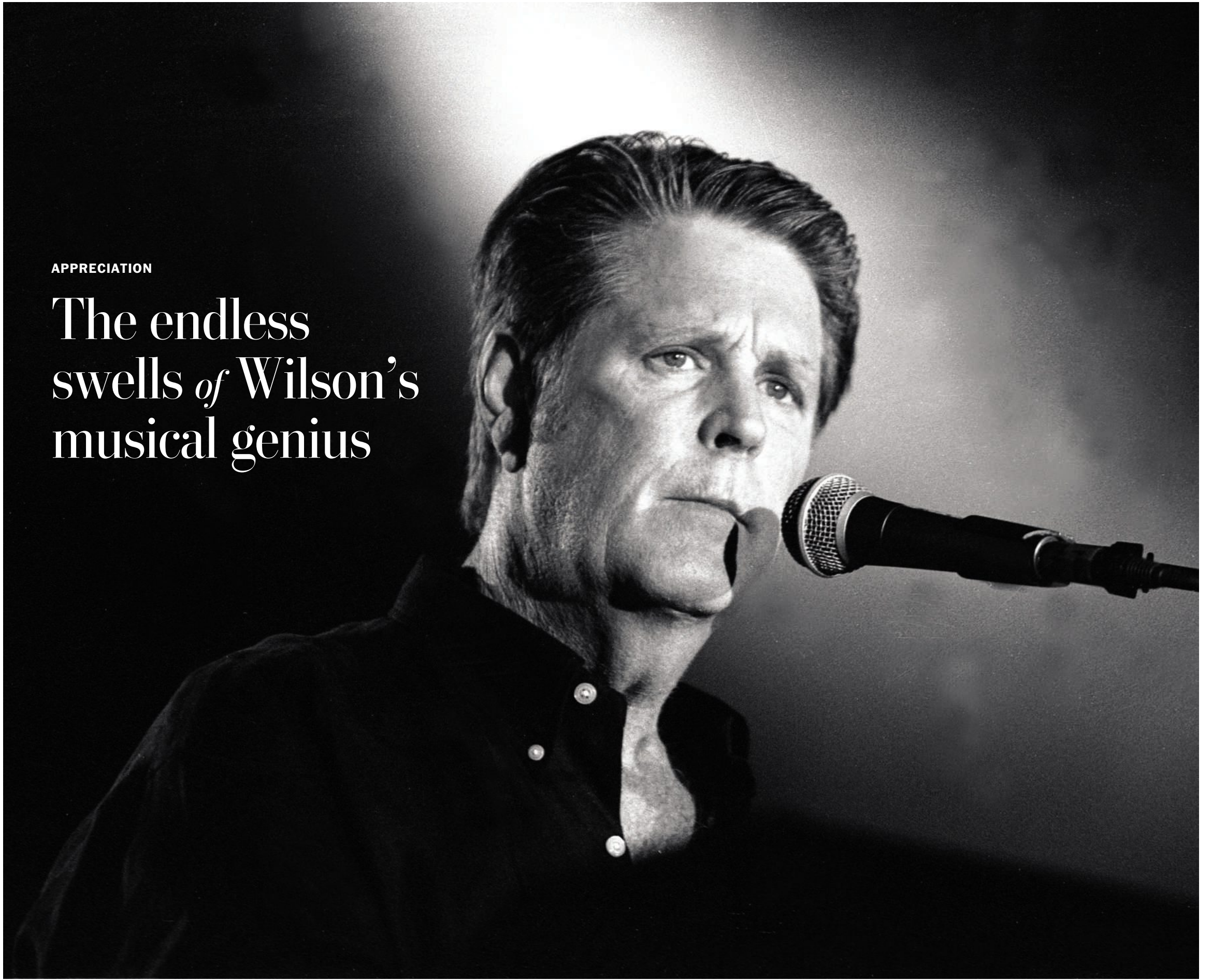



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APPRECIATION

The endless swells of Wilson's musical genius



JOHN ATASHIAN/GETTY IMAGES

The Beach Boys leader created a soundtrack for the freedom of postwar America, laced with a haunted sadness

Musician Brian Wilson performs in 1999. His death at 82 was announced Wednesday.

BY CHRIS RICHARDS

On Nov. 16, 1966 — six months to the day after the Beach Boys released “Pet Sounds,” strangely enough — Jorge Luis Borges was lecturing on English literature at the University of Buenos Aires, marveling over the fact that Samuel Taylor Coleridge wrote his epic seafaring poem “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner” before he had ever set eyes on the ocean. “The sea of his imagination,” Borges said, “was vaster than the real one.” He could have just as easily been talking about Brian Wilson, a songwriting giant

who helped pen the likes of “Surfin’ Safari,” “Surfin’ U.S.A.,” and “Surfer Girl” without ever having learned how to drop in on a wave.

Yet somehow, Wilson’s mind for music was truly oceanic, bringing deeply complicated melodies to gorgeously simple conclusions, repeatedly evoking the awesome power of surf crashing on a coastline. At the dawn of the Beach Boys, his work might have sounded like novelty music for kids enjoying the freedom and fun times of postwar America, but the harder Wilson leaned into the idea of sunny California as a blank-slated dreamworld where anyone might go to remake themselves, the more

tension his music began to generate. For the dream to hold, everyone’s imagination has to stay vaster than what’s real.

Wilson — whose death at 82 was announced Wednesday — was born in 1942, the oldest of three brothers raised in the Los Angeles suburbs who, together, would grow up to change the mood and feel of American pop. He and his brothers, Carl and Dennis, loved singing in sibling harmony in the back seat of the family car.

SEE APPRECIATION ON C3

13 essential Wilson tracks

Picking favorites isn’t easy, but here’s a start. C3

MUSIC REVIEW

Addison Rae’s debut album is influential

BY CHRIS RICHARDS

In a world that requires celebrities to broaden themselves into multi-hyphenates, let’s stop acting perplexed when a media personality takes up a new line of work. Especially if it’s in the tower of song. Why are fame’s transitive properties so fluid in pop music? Maybe because the fundamental nature of the gig involves transposing life experience into sound.

We’re probably more familiar with this than we’d like to be. As an early reality star, Paris Hilton embarked on pioneering adventures through the attention economy that surely taught her something about a head-turning pop hook. Being named NBA Rookie of the Year probably gave Shaquille O’Neal that extra smidgen of confidence necessary for making straight-faced rap records. And obviously, the platinum career

SEE MUSIC REVIEW ON C4

Why Trump likes ‘Les Mis,’ dear to left and right

BY ZACHARY PINCUS-ROTH

Claudia Salazar had the crazy idea to produce “Les Misérables” in Venezuela in 2019, at the height of the demonstrations raging against the authoritarian President Nicolás Maduro, when violence scarred the streets and citizens struggled to find food and medical care.

“I decided that my biggest protest was to put on ‘Les Mis’ in the country that was living ‘Les Mis,’” recalls Salazar, now 39.

During rehearsals, the company lost power for several days; the threat of violence sent the director fleeing home to London for a bit. But when the show finally went up at the Teatro Teresa Carreño in Caracas, it sold out most of its 12-performance run.

“They came from the streets to the stage,” she says of the cast. “They knew exactly what they were portraying to the audience.”

“Siento libertad,” one audience member said as she left the theater: *I feel freedom.*

“Les Misérables” has sparked all sorts of feelings in the 130 million people who have seen it over the past 40 years, since the musical based on Victor Hugo’s

SEE ‘LES MIS’ ON C2



MATTHEW MURPHY/KENNEDY CENTER

The barricade scene in “Les Misérables” for the current U.S. tour.

TV REVIEW

Docuseries undersells raunchy podcaster

BY SONIA RAO

Eyebrows were raised in October when Vice President Kamala Harris sat for an interview with “Call Her Daddy” host Alex Cooper. The podcast, while immensely popular, is also known for its raunchy conversations about sex and relationships. Skeptics wondered whether it was a suitable media appearance for a serious presidential candidate on the verge of a pivotal election.

Even those who take Cooper seriously — namely the “Daddy Gang,” as she cheekily refers to her fan base — were surprised by the episode: Cooper had long avoided politics on her podcast, which reaches listeners across the political spectrum. But the host defended the interview after it aired, and doubles down in a new two-part docuseries, “Call

SEE TV REVIEW ON C4

Key to show's appeal? 'It's all about passionate beliefs.'

'LES MIS' FROM CI

1862 epic novel first opened on the London stage in 1885. "I love the songs, I love the play," President Donald Trump proclaimed ahead of its return to the Kennedy Center this week through July 13, the first Broadway musical tour to arrive since his takeover of the institution. Trump organized a fundraiser for the center around the first night's performance Wednesday, with guests paying up to \$2 million. A chunk of the main cast was planning to boycott.

Some may hear a dissonance between the show's values and Trump's; for others in this left-leaning city, the three hours in the Opera House could be portal to a better world, like how "The West Wing" became a balm to liberals during Trump's first term. But theatergoers across the political spectrum have long seen themselves in the populist uprising at the center of the story — and with its romance and heroism, "Les Mis" can appeal to the hearts and minds of just about anyone.

The tour's last stop before D.C. was at the Stranahan Theater in Toledo, a Democratic stronghold of an increasingly red state, where some theatergoers at Saturday's matinee found their politics reinforced.

"I first saw 'Les Mis' in the late 1980s on Broadway when my friends and I were the 'angry men' because so many people were dying of AIDS — and every time I've seen it again, it has reminded me of how important resistance is," recalled retired hairdresser Will Lawson, 68, of Toledo. "You can't watch it today and not relate it to the cruelty of the current administration toward people who are undocumented, can you?"

Jerri Carpenter, 50, a ride-share driver from Milan, Michigan, saw parallels between the protagonist, Jean Valjean, and Trump, in having been "wrongly accused, never given the benefit of the doubt, constantly hounded and chased by the Democrats."

The lyric "the blood of the martyrs will water the meadows of France" resonated with retired autoworker Grant Parson, 66, who lives near Perrysburg, Ohio, and said he volunteered for Vice President JD Vance's 2022 Senate campaign.

"That's pretty close to that line about the tree of liberty needing blood, isn't it?" he asked. (Thomas Jefferson's 1787 quote "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time by the blood of patriots and tyrants," has long been a right-wing slogan.) The MAGA movement is about the "angry people" taking back power and making the world more fair for everyone, Parson said.

Donna Winchester of Toledo agreed. "I'm sure the liberals and the fake-news media will say that 'Les Mis' is anti-Trump," she said, while rolling up the windows of a Jeep adorned with stickers mocking "wokeness" and LGBTQ pride. "I think we can all agree the songs are great."

These days, when the prisoners sing, "Look down, look down, you're here until you die," some on the left might remember the administration sending Kilmar Abrego García and 260 other Salvadorans and Venezuelans to El Salvador's Terrorism Confinement Center. Others, on the right, may recall the defendants in the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol singing "The Star-Spangled Banner" in jail. The show's student uprising may bring to mind law enforcement's clashes with the Los Angeles protests of Trump's administration immigration crackdown.

When the impoverished Fantine is forced to give up her child or



2014 PHOTO BY KAREN ALMOND/DALLAS THEATER CENTER

Theatergoers across the political spectrum have long related to "Les Misérables," above in a modern-dress Dallas production.

gets sick, some might think of Trump's big tax bill, which the Congressional Budget Office estimates will shift resources from the bottom 10th of income earners to the top 10th, with 8.6 million people losing access to health insurance. (Even in the "Sesame Street" parody, a Frenchman named Jean Bon-Bon, brought to life by Cookie Monster, learns to share his cookies.)

"The values of 'Les Misérables' are completely antithetical to the current administration," says David Bellos, a Princeton University professor and author of "The Novel of the Century: The Extraordinary Adventure of Les Misérables." The story, he says, "is a plea for charity and mercy. It shows you that the law when applied without mercy or charity is cruel and absurd."

Its anthem "Do You Hear the People Sing?," sung by the protesters in the 1832 anti-monarchist student uprising in Paris (*not* the French Revolution, as historians will remind you), has been borrowed by a global multitude of protest groups, including in Belarus, the Philippines, Turkey and South Korea. Tom Hooper, director of the 2012 movie adaptation, compared the plotline to Occupy Wall Street. A 2014 modern-dress production in Dallas alluded to the Arab Spring, among other movements.

In 2002, the Chinese government invited the show to be the nation's first full-scale Western musical, in part because Hugo is so popular there. But after Hong Kong protest movements deployed the show's stirring anthem in 2014 and 2019, Chinese authorities reportedly blocked the tune from streaming services.

Trump used the song as his entrance music to a 2016 Miami rally, where a screen graphic behind him read "Les Deplorables" — a scoff at Hillary Clinton for calling a segment of Trump supporters a "basket of deplorables." The show's producer Cameron Mackintosh and other copyright owners released a statement saying that they "were not asked for permission and did not authorize or endorse usage ... and have never done so for any of the songs from the musical for this or any other political event." Nonetheless, Trump cued it up again for his 2022 announcement that he was running again, and the U.S. Army Chorus performed it at the White House Governors Ball in February.

"President Trump is a virtuoso and his musical choices represent a brilliant palette of vibrant colors when their often paint in pale pastels," Steven Cheung, White House communications director, said in a statement. "... There is nobody more uniquely qualified to bring this country, and its rich

history of the arts, back to prominence."

Representatives from the Kennedy Center and the U.S. Army did not comment for this story. The touring production declined interview requests for the cast and the current and original creative teams, and Mackintosh was traveling and unavailable for an interview.

When asked about the show's politics in 2017, Mackintosh carefully toed the line. "It's all about passionate beliefs," the British producer told Washingtonian, "which certainly on both sides of the divide is what's happening in your country and indeed in ours."

Hugo's original 1862 novel was a phenomenon, and arguably helped inspire universal primary education and other liberal-minded initiatives. Working-class Parisians would band together to buy a single copy and spend evenings reading it aloud. But it was also so popular among Confederate soldiers that the Army of Northern Virginia came to call it, and themselves, "Lee's Miserables."

Salazar says that even Maduro loyalists appreciated her Caracas "Les Mis." His predecessor and mentor, Hugo Chávez, was a fan of the novel — a New Yorker story after his death quoted him as saying that socialism "clicked for him" after he read it. "They took it upon themselves to see: 'This is

the 'Les Mis' we believe in. This is also our revolution," Salazar says, adding, "That's the beauty of art. It belongs to all of us."

Hugo witnessed the arrest of a man for stealing a loaf of bread — a poignant moment that inspired his singularly appealing protagonist Valjean. The author imagined the man's struggle to get back on his feet after 19 years in prison; the pitiable peasant steals from a sympathetic bishop, who later shields him from the authorities. It inspires Valjean to become an "honest man," a businessman and mayor, displaying astonishing strength and generosity, even as he arouses the suspicions of an Inspector Javert against the backdrop of the student uprising.

"He's a bit of a Hercules, a bit of a Christ figure, a bit of an action hero and all the way through a moral hero," says Bellos, the professor, whose book notes the existence of at least 65 "Les Mis" screen versions — from silent film to anime — not to mention loose adaptations such as "The Fugitive."

The version that made its way to Broadway and regional theater around the world is propelled by the affecting songs composed by Claude-Michel Schönberg, notably "I Dreamed a Dream," which Anne Hathaway sang to win an Oscar and Aretha Franklin belted

out at an inauguration event for President Bill Clinton. (Not everyone was enchanted: Barack and Michelle Obama bonded over their dislike of the show, she wrote in her memoir.)

"Frankly, it's pop music from the '80s, so it has an enduring quality," says Jason Moore, who directed the a cappella movie "Pitch Perfect" after a decade overseeing "Les Mis" stage productions.

"The thing that's unifying about it is the spiritual message, the endurance of the human soul, the hope that is engendered by climbing toward the light," he says, citing its climactic lyric: *To love another person is to see the face of God.*

"That's basically the whole show," Moore says.

He observed that Latter-day Saints especially liked "Les Mis," and in the conservative city of Salt Lake City, auditions would attract several hundred actors, and audiences would applaud at the beginning of songs. "It was like being at a god--- rock concert."

"It was sort of a cathartic way for me to feel big, sweeping emotions a safer way," recalls Melissa Juarez, 37, who grew up Mormon in rural Idaho and watched the 10th-anniversary concert every Sunday for five years.

As an awkward teen, she identified with Eponine, who sings of her unrequited love for Marius in "On My Own." Now, as a parent, she relates to Valjean, who adopts Cosette and later carries a wounded Marius through the Paris sewers to save his life. "He didn't want Cosette to be with Marius," she says, "but he is actively trying to protect him and sacrificing his life and health and well-being, because that's what he knows his daughter will appreciate."

The original London production drew mixed reviews, but set designer John Napier remembers women leaving the first performance with mascara running down their cheeks.

"It makes you feel like a good person, a better person, to have watched it and listened to it and been moved by it, and have sympathy for the poor and dispossessed," says Roger Allam, who originated Javert in London. "I think that was a big hook for the audience and still is 40 years later."

There was also Napier's sculptural set built around a turntable to accommodate the book's formidable array of characters. "It was very much to do with bringing people into the foreground from out of the darkness," he says. "And it was magical."

Not to mention the instantly iconic marketing poster, which Russ Eglin — the same designer behind the classic logos for "Cats," "The Phantom of the Opera" and "Miss Saigon" — adapted from the novel's Cosette illustration.

Almost from the start, the do-good ethos of "Les Mis" put it at the center of fundraising efforts and cast activism — for the Amazon rainforest; for victims of the 1988 airline bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland; and for Amnesty International, prompted by the Tiananmen Square massacre.

When the show came to the Kennedy Center in 1988, about 10 cast members worked in a shelter kitchen every Friday and invited 150 people experiencing homelessness to a matinee.

"I cried a lot because I have a little boy who's living with his father now and who I haven't always been such a good mother to," said an unidentified 22-year-old woman, quoted in The Washington Post. "It made me want to run to a phone and call my son and tell him I'll do a lot better."

Steve Friess in Toledo contributed to this report.

Stepmom is worn down by kids' hostility toward her after visits to their mother



Adapted from an online discussion.

Carolyn Hax

Dear Carolyn: My stepkids don't like me. I suspect it's due to alienation from their mother.

My husband has full custody, and they see their high-conflict mother every other weekend.

Every time they come back, they are different — hostile and nasty to me, despite my caring for them and providing for their needs.

I'm thinking of pulling back and letting their father lead. As of right now, I do a lot of the house managing, cooking and making sure chores get done. My husband is resentful and thinks it'll reinforce their negative opinions about me. How do I do this delicately?

— Loving, Caring Stepmom

Loving, Caring Stepmom: I think you're jumping to the most negative conclusion (they "don't like me") when the same facts also support a different one.

That they dump on you after they've been to their mom's suggests their hostility is about her, not you.

Maybe they're coming home full of nasty things she said about you — the obvious interpretation.

Or, they are stressed in her home, and they come home wrecked. And the home you made with their dad feels safe, so that's where they let out the ugly stuff.

If this is true, then of course that would feel awful for you — like punishment for your good deeds. (That should be parenting's tagline.)

Nor is it good that they do this. I'm not excusing it.

Soon, as adults, they will bear



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

full responsibility for behaving civilly and doing their emotional work.

But kids are still emotional works in progress and can't be expected to do graceful things — yet — with some seriously complex feelings. Especially with so many adults so publicly making a mess of it. They may, for example, feel intense guilt

for preferring their stepmother's care to their mother's.

I'm not saying this is true — it's a for-instance. I'm just suggesting they may trust you and count on you in ways you don't understand, or have reasons they come home angry that you aren't privy to.

What I propose is a visualization that can help all of

you regardless of who resents whom and why: Imagine you're a giant rock on a shoreline. The stepkids are the sea. You are there, doing what you do, being who you are, no matter how the waters roil and crash around you. "That hurts," you might say, but no punishing back.

It's the long game, and it is powerful.

As for your husband — he is resentful, why? If it's about your washing your hands of everyone and letting him deal with it, then, okay. I imagine you both entered marriage and full custody as a team commitment.

If he resents that you expect him to get more involved than he feels like being, though, then I'll start to suspect a more problematic backstory than just a problematic ex and their problematically acting-out kids.

A reader's thought:

• When I brought my now-spouse into my kids' lives after

divorce, I spoke to each kid separately and said, "You don't have to like X, but you do have to treat them with the same respect everyone is due." My kids were free to reject every overture to do something with X, but only with "No, thank you." And when they crossed the line, I made them apologize. Also, it was my job to do this, not X's, and I thanked X repeatedly for their patience.

Each kid softened in their own time. I felt I had to honor how little agency my kids had in the shifting family dynamics but also teach them there are right and wrong ways to treat people.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/gethax.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at washingtontimes.com/live-chats.

Wilson's music refined a sense of teenage existentialism

APPRECIATION FROM C1

and by the time they were teenagers, they had started a group with their cousin Mike Love and their friend Al Jardine. Dennis was the Wilson brother who actually knew how to surf, and when he suggested that his oldest brother try to write songs about things teenagers liked, it seemed to set Brian's symphonic sensibilities in motion. "He had an orchestra in his head," Elton John said in the 2021 documentary film "Brian Wilson: Long Promised Road."

Throughout the 1960s, Wilson used it to give the Beach Boys' adolescent sunshine music its haunted sadness, a contrast that first felt explicit with "In My Room," a hit ballad from the autumn of 1963. "There's a world where I can go and tell my secrets to," Wilson sings in his cherubic yawn, his bandmates' voices quickly joining him without spoiling the fragile loneliness of the scene. "In my room, in my room." The rest is teenage existentialism at its most refined:

*"In this world I lock out all my worries and my fears.
In my room, in my room."*



Brian Wilson, pictured at a 2017 performance, battled schizoaffective disorder and depression.

*Do my dreaming and my scheming.
Lie awake and pray.
Do my crying and my sighing.
Laugh at yesterday.
Now it's dark and I'm alone
but I won't be afraid."*

As the Beach Boys grew into a cultural phenomenon, Wilson began hearing voices inside his head, both figuratively and literally. He battled schizoaffective disorder and depression, and with his mental health struggles slowing the band's touring, he famously took refuge in the recording studio, making his music increasingly more layered, more detailed, more expansive, more radiant. In 1966, the Beach Boys released "Pet Sounds," an album of symphonic pop that steered them away from commercial success, toward historical importance. Instead of radio-happy singles about cars and girls, these were meditations on the meaning of life and death, their depth and delicacy best embodied by "God Only Knows," a cosmic love pledge that has since been recognized as Wilson's great masterpiece. "If you should ever leave me," Carl Wilson sings with a

beautiful droop, "though life would go on, believe me: The world could show nothing to me."

Oblivion kept reappearing in Brian Wilson's most gripping songs, his ghostly falsetto harmonies conjuring either angels sent to rescue us from it or the cursed souls lost therein. It's clearly the latter on "Til I Die," the annihilating penultimate cut on "Surf's Up" from 1971. "I'm a cork on the ocean floating over the raging sea," goes the song's opening verse. "How deep is the ocean?" If you manage not to sink, there are still other ways to leave the face of this earth. Like "a rock in a landslide." Like "a leaf on a windy day." Wilson doesn't ask us to imagine our mortality. It's something we all know.

The sun and the void, then. If you've spent your life listening to Wilson's songs, you've probably noticed that one keeps getting brighter, while the other keeps growing darker. That's because the grand architecture of these magnificent songs creates space for meaning to gather. As this music brightens and dims, its ultimate meaning feels as unknowable as the ocean.

13 essential Brian Wilson songs, from surf rock to 'Pet Sounds' and beyond

BY WASHINGTON POST STAFF

If you enjoy most any kind of pop music, you're a cork in Brian Wilson's ocean. The principal songwriter and sonic architect of the Beach Boys, he bottled the vibes of Southern California — and really, the American optimism of the early 1960s — in dozens of hits (many of which contain the word "surf") before creating what is by broad consensus one of the great rock records of his or any era, "Pet Sounds." No one needs an introduction to this catalogue; it remains encoded in music's DNA. But we have some favorites. Don't you?

'In My Room' (1963)

For Wilson, a bedroom was a kingdom of comfort, somewhere safe from the anxiety of performing. As his songs for the Beach Boys began to broaden beyond the hot-rod and surf themes, "In My Room" was a sign of things to come. With each line in the first verse adding an additional harmony atop, this single could act as a lullaby or first dance. But Wilson's waltzing doo-wop showcases a private kind of romance, a pull to the solace and calm that a room of one's own provides.

— Ethan Beck

'Don't Worry Baby' (1964)

Phil Spector rejected this — can you imagine? Yeah, Wilson was recasting the Ronettes' immortal "Be My Baby," but that was the young songwriter's genius, taking the language that was pure and beautiful — teenie-bopper pop — and locating something divine. Penned with lyricist Roger Christian, it's a mid-tempo almost-ballad about an ill-fated car race with a lover's calming refrain: "Don't worry, baby/ everything will turn out all right." Wilson's vocal seems to race against the melody, his performance packed with romance, foreboding and regret.

— Jonathan L. Fischer

'Fun, Fun, Fun' (1964)

The early Beach Boys weren't just about the beach; they were also about cars. "Little Deuce Coupe?" A gem. "Little Honda." A bop. "Fun, Fun, Fun?" A Chuck Berry rip-off, for sure. (Mike Love, co-writing with Wilson, copped to listening to Berry's "Nadine.") That chorus — "and she'll have fun, fun, fun till her daddy takes the T-Bird away" — could pull anyone onto a gymnasium dance floor, but it's that "oo-wooooo" harmony that pops this song into third gear.

— J.L.F.

'Barbara Ann' (1965)

Like so many of the Beach Boys' early chart climbers, it was a song



PHOTOS BY MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES



TOP: Brian Wilson while recording "Pet Sounds" in 1966 in Los Angeles. ABOVE: Wilson, left, with the Beach Boys in 1962.

about a girl. Or was it? This stripped-down 1965 tune — a cover of a minor doo-wop hit from seven years earlier — noodled with the lady's name into abstraction, an almost contemplative chant. *Ba-ba-ba, ba-ba-baram*. It sounded like pure fun; in fact, it was a sop to the record company, which needed a holiday season release, but Brian was busy with "Pet Sounds," his not-yet-ready masterpiece. So he got the guys back in the studio to record their "Party!" album — loose, acoustic, mostly covers. "Barbara Ann" sounds like a bridge from the band's easygoing surfing era to its sonic experiments still to come. The magic is in the casual chatter

and laughter caught on the track. *Were they having fun?* We didn't know yet that the Beach Boys were depressive child stars, that Brian was a control freak ready to fight his bandmates over the phrasing of a single lyric. But that elusive party sound could make us think these were real boys, real friends, just chilling out with some tunes.

— Amy Argetsinger

'California Girls' (1965)

A sunny ode to going "all around this great big world" and seeing "all kinda girls," "California Girls" is laced with infectious harmonies and a U.S. tour's worth of locations. Kicking things off with an orchestral prelude, Wilson

smuggled larger sonic ambitions into a familiar, early-Beach Boys pop rock sound. This "hymn to youth," as Wilson described it, sails off into the distance on the strength of the bouncing organ part and a whirling bass line. The absolute peak is on the final chorus, where the instrumentation played by the Wrecking Crew is completely submerged by Wilson family harmonies.

— E.B.

'Help Me, Rhonda' (1965)

The sound of this bouncy, sunset tune radiates good vibes, but there's something more desperate going on — the singer (in this case, Beach Boy Al Jardine) is begging for the attentions of the woman in the title after another has rejected him. Anyone named Rhonda has had this song sung to them, for better or worse, and its pop-cultural half-life underscores its slightly iffy power. "Help Me, Rhonda" became a talking point in 2021 when it figured into an episode of Marvel's "WandaVision" — a witchy show about superheroes, yes, but also one about grief, a lost love and what we do when we're despondent. Not off-base at all.

— Herb Scribner

'Good Vibrations' (1966)

If "God Only Knows" is arguably Wilson's greatest gift to civilization, "Good Vibrations" represents the measure of everything he could do squeezed into one brilliant bouillon cube of a single. Overlapping with the creation of "Pet Sounds," this global smash of a "pocket symphony" used the stu-

dio itself as its canvas, with dozens of musicians playing a battery of instruments — the electro-theremin! The ocarina! — for a baroque marvel of pastiche pop. Groundbreaking in its multipart structure, pure cotton candy in its lyrics, "Good Vibrations" sounded like nothing else before or since, and it fired the imaginations of musical rivals with names such as Lennon and McCartney. (Hello, "Sgt. Pepper.") It remains an unalloyed ode to creative joy and a burst of light before the darkness fell.

— Ty Burr

'Wouldn't It Be Nice' (1966)

Wilson made the prosaic profound and the personal universal, so here's my own story: As with a lot of people, "Pet Sounds" is a particularly important album to me. I discovered it in college, and this opening track perfectly captured the possibility and freedom of experiencing one's first adult relationship — no surveillance, no curfews, just some measured dreams. I played the record constantly, even from the speakers at the Fullerton arboretum in California, where I worked as a gardener. Young adulthood is a time of terrifying uncertainty, and Wilson spikes the song's optimism, singing, "You know it seems the more we talk about it/ It only makes it worse to live without it." But then he adds, "But let's talk about it." The moments may not last, but they matter.

— Gene Park

'Sloop John B' (1966)

As a child of the Pacific, I have a natural love of music from island nations. I instantly recognized this West Indies folk classic, transformed by Wilson's pining voice in two of the verses. Of course, it's a perfect shanty for karaoke, and the best nights of my life were singing "I feel so broke up, I wanna go home" shoulder to shoulder with other drunk and broken island boys, lost in rough oceans metaphoric and literal.

— G.P.

'God Only Knows' (1966)

Between its pitter-patter percussion, jaunty pianos and Carl Wilson's boyish, elastic singing, "God Only Knows" remains possibly the all-time greatest love song. Inspired by co-writer Tony Asher's love of swooning jazz standards, the pair of Asher and Brian Wilson arrived at a few straightforward, extraordinary sentiments about what losing love looks like. Few and far between are the moments more romantic in pop music than when Carl sings, "What good would living do me?" and his voice rises into falsetto. As the horns interject, and Hal Blaine's thundering drum rolls ratchet up the

heartache toward the end, it's apparent why "God Only Knows" is Paul McCartney's favorite song.

— E.B.

'Caroline, No' (1966)

The closer of "Pet Sounds" remains one of the Beach Boys' thorniest and most disillusioned songs. "Caroline, No" is where the surfing fantasies and teen romances of the early 1960s curdle into the harsh reality of early adulthood. While working on "Pet Sounds," Wilson had been married for three years, facing the early years of mental health struggles that defined much of his life, and was uncertain about all of it. Between the uneasy, flickering harpsichord and the clattering woodblock hits, the song's ornamental construction fades into the chaos of the barking of animals and a train passing by.

— E.B.

'Surf's Up: Piano Demo' (1967)

A full-band version, completed by Brian and Carl Wilson, can be found on the 1971 album of the same title, but buried in the wreckage of the 1966 "Smile" sessions that finally saw release in 2011 is a solo piano version that guts everyone who hears it: Brian Wilson alone in a room with nothing but his genius. The demo lilts gently through the song's complex, multi-chambered structure, with Van Dyke Parks's cryptic lyrics registering as little more than sound, but in the final section, as Wilson sings the words "a children's song," his voice soars into a heartbreaking cadenza of wordless emotion — the sound of a sadness purged of everything extraneous and made pure. For the remainder of the song, as Wilson repeats that cry over a piano part that finally just peters out, he sounds like nothing other than the loneliest man on Earth.


— T.B.

'This Whole World' (1970)

One version of Wilson's creative story crests with the transcendent "Pet Sounds" and crashes to an end with "Smile," the "teenage symphony to God" that he failed to complete amid mental health struggles. But there was so much more to a career in which he was no longer the auteur of the Beach Boys, but he still kicked in heaters to the more democratic version of the group that persisted into the '70s and '80s. Like "This Whole World," from 1970's "Sunflower," one of a number of poor-selling records that has since been rediscovered by younger fans. With key changes and a weird structure, it's formally wild but undeniably pop, a recluse's love paeon with a gorgeous Carl Wilson lead vocal and pirouetting harmonies, all in under two minutes.

— J.L.F.

the **GUIDE** to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
THEATRE					
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BTS nears reunion as members' military service ends

K-pop supergroup's final discharge slated to take place this month

BY ANDREW JEONG

SEOUL — Two members of K-pop supergroup BTS walked out the gates of a South Korean military base around a dozen miles from the North Korean border Wednesday, flashing smiles and salutes to news cameras and screaming fans as they proudly announced that they had completed their mandatory military service.

Jimin and Jungkook didn't have to say they were happy to be out of the army — their grins gave it away.

"Honestly, it's been a while to be in front of a camera ... so it's a little embarrassing," Jungkook said. Jimin told fans that the military wasn't an easy place but that he had created great memories and thanked fans for waiting for them.

The discharge of Jimin and Jungkook indicates that BTS, arguably the most popular South Korean boy band ever and a global household name with international hit songs such as "Dynamite," will return to the stage soon. The last time that all seven members performed together was in 2022 in Busan, South Korea.

Six of BTS's seven members are now civilians, free to tour and perform. Members RM and V ended their stints in the army at a different base in Chuncheon, in Gangwon Province in eastern Korea, this week. Jin and J-Hope were discharged last year. The seventh member, Suga, will be released from his duties later this month.

Most South Korean males are obligated to serve at least 18 months in the active military



HAN MYUNG-GU/GETTY IMAGES



CHUNG SUNG-JUN/GETTY IMAGES



SHIN YONG-JU/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: BTS members Jungkook, left, and Jimin salute after being discharged from mandatory military service Wednesday in Yeoncheon-gun, South Korea. Fans of the band gather in Chuncheon, just outside Seoul, on Tuesday to welcome two more band members, RM and V, after their 18-month service came to an end. RM, left, and V react after being discharged that day in Chuncheon.

with some exceptions, such as for high-performing athletes and classical musicians, which none of BTS's seven members qualified for. The band members announced their intent to fulfill their military duties in 2022, months after they said they would be going on hiatus, triggering tears and grief among the band's fans across the globe.

Since debuting in 2013, BTS has sold tens of millions of records worldwide, won Grammy nominations and landed at the top of the Billboard 200 chart, earning hundreds of millions of dollars for their labels, Hybe and Big Hit Music. Hybe's CEO said in a February conference call that the company had relied on BTS for up to 95 percent of its revenue at one point since listing on the South Korean stock exchange in 2020. Hybe has seen its annual revenue grow from \$581 million in 2020 to \$1.6 billion in 2024.

When Hybe saw its profitability drop in 2024, despite increased overall sales, the company said in a news release in February that one of the key reasons for the fall was BTS's "temporary break."

On the walls of Hybe's headquarters in Seoul this week, the company put up the words "We are back."

Series misses what makes podcaster so compelling

TV REVIEW FROM C1

"Her Alex," now on Hulu. "I'm not CNN, I'm not Fox News," she says. "This is 'Call Her Daddy,' and we talk about women's rights."

Directed by Ry Russo-Young ("Nuclear Family"), "Call Her Alex" paints Cooper, 30, as a trailblazer for young women unafraid of their own sexuality. Since launching in 2018, the podcast has evolved from oral sex tutorials to substantial conversations with trending celebrities such as Hailey Bieber and Chappell Roan; it was one of Spotify's most popular titles of 2024, second only to "The Joe Rogan Experience." Cooper and her guests still talk about sex, but she also steers them toward discussions of female empowerment — probably the main draw for the Harris campaign.

"Call Her Alex" does a decent job of exploring Cooper's business savvy — it is mostly set in 2023 as she prepares for a seven-city tour — but it stops short of truly examining what makes her such a compelling media personality. Sex sells, but it doesn't automatically bump you to the top of the charts. It certainly doesn't legitimize you enough to interview a presidential candidate. What is it about Cooper and her life experience that has for years broadcast an authentic persona to the passionate Daddy Gang? What shaped her into — as fans often put it — such a "girl's girl?"

While listeners repeatedly tell Russo-Young that "Call Her Daddy" feels like hanging out with your best friend, watching "Call Her Alex" feels more like meeting someone at a networking conference. It glosses over the messier details in favor of telling a more inspiring, marketable story.

That tale begins with Cooper's youth in Newtown, Pennsylvania, when she says she was bullied for having red hair. She hated going to school and instead found community in organized sports, playing alongside supportive female teammates. Her strongest friendships were with a few girls who joined her in writing silly skits, videotaping their performances and editing the footage.

Cooper has long been comfortable in front of an audience and helps her guests — generally



DISNEY

Podcaster Alex Cooper, the voice behind "Call Her Daddy," in a scene from the new two-part series "Call Her Alex." The hugely popular podcast features frank conversations about sex and relationships.

women — feel that way, too. By sharing a few details about her own personal life, she creates a space of vulnerability that allows other people to open up. Bieber, the model and beauty entrepreneur frequently criticized by fans of her husband Justin Bieber's ex-girlfriend, warms up enough to share her favorite sex position. Roan, the pop star known to shield her dating life from the public, admits to being in a new relationship. Model-actress Hunter Schafer divulges that she was recently cheated on.

But when the roles are reversed, Cooper, who produced "Call Her Alex" under her Unwell company banner, is more guarded than she allows her guests to be. She made headlines this week for alleging toward the end of the first episode that she was sexually harassed by her soccer coach at Boston University — but the storyline is swiftly abandoned after a brief moment of reflection, when Cooper says she vowed after graduating to never be silenced again. The series skirts any discussion of how the alleged harassment might have affected Cooper's sense of sexual

Watching "Call Her Alex" feels more like meeting someone at a networking conference. It glosses over the messier details in favor of telling a more inspiring, marketable story.

agency, and carefully sidesteps the gender politics of her coach being a woman, as well.

On a less serious level, "Call Her Alex" also avoids delving too deeply into what happened between Cooper and her former co-host, Sofia Franklyn. They started "Call Her Daddy" together and co-hosted until 2020, when Franklyn allegedly left over a business dispute with Cooper and distributor Barstool Sports. The show was successful from the get-go, but Cooper on her own transformed it into a media empire. She eventually struck a \$60 million deal with Spotify, and last year signed a \$125 million deal with SiriusXM instead. Did she feel Franklyn was standing in her way?

If she did, the docuseries doesn't get into it. Part of the controversy over the Harris interview came down to the lack of hardball questioning; but for Cooper, who hadn't previously touched politics, the conversation about expanding access to reproductive health care was a step toward something newer, bolder and more meaningful. If only "Call Her Alex" were, as well.

Rae makes the pivot to pop star look easy

MUSIC REVIEW FROM C1

arcs of Britney Spears, Justin Timberlake, Miley Cyrus and many others have proved that the Disney Channel is something like pop's MIT.

So instead of being surprised by the fact that TikTok influencer Addison Rae just released one of this year's very best pop albums, let's try to tune our ears to all the things she learned while plowing the fields of digital content creation. The 24-year-old Louisiana native got her start dancing to songs that were trending on social media, then quickly branched out into everything else. A little podcasting here. A little Netflix acting there. With her follower count on TikTok currently standing at 88.4 million, she remains finely tuned to what audiences are drawn to, what they return to, how to perpetually delight them without boring them, how to surprise them without scaring them off.

Her fantastic debut album, "Addison," was co-written with Elvira Anderjård and Luka Kloser, two Swedish song factory supervisors who know how to push synthesizer patches and bass melodies in all kinds of unexpected directions. As for Rae, she's clearly a student of Lana Del Rey's dead-eyed sotto voce ("Diet Pepsi"), Madonna's regal pomp ("Aquamarine"), Ariana Grande's aspartame coo ("Summer Forever"), with her overall aesthetic falling square in the nuclear green shadow of Charli XCX — and if this is the first great post-"Brat" album, may a hundred summers bloom.

Timbre-wise, though, Rae's closest contemporary parallel is

Billie Eilish, an intimacy-minded singer who understands our ears as well as she understands her own voice. There's a breathy, ASMR-like softness tucked into most of Rae's songs — as well as some louder fourth-wall breakage during the finale of "Money Is Everything" when a fleet of Addisons materializes to shout along with the refrain, prompting us to do the same. On the album opener, "New York," the big cue to heed Rae's loudness-softness is lyrical, describing the thump of a nightclub subwoofer and a masticated rhythm that exists only inside your head: "Kick drum, chew gum."

Even better is "Fame Is a Gun," a dreams-come-true anthem that spins Gwen Stefani's "What You Waiting For?" and Laurie Anderson's "O Superman" into a new kind of cotton candy. "There's no mystery. I'm gonna make it, gonna go down in history," Rae sings in the exquisite second verse. "Don't ask too many questions. God gave me the permission," her voice suddenly shooting upward in the middle of the word "permission" as if she were nudging heaven. Is it a perfect pop song? There's no such thing. We're reminded of that whenever someone gets this close.

And so it seems that the best way for an influencer to truly supplant a pop singer in this overstimulated digital world is to literally become one. It's hard to imagine the thrill of amassing nearly 90 million TikTok followers — or becoming a television star, or winning an NBA scoring title — coming anywhere close to having made something as wonderful as music like this.



DANIEL ZUCHNIK/GETTY IMAGES

Addison Rae performed last week during the Spotify release party.



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The Washington Post

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BOOK WORLD

Famed Broadway producer Seller tells his story

BY THOMAS FLOYD

As the producer behind “Rent,” “Avenue Q,” “In the Heights” and “Hamilton,” Jeffrey Seller has an eye for turning an unconventional musical into a hit. After all, none of those contemporary classics — about Bohemian artists, inappropriate puppets, a striving immigrant community and a go-getting treasury secretary — seemed poised for mainstream appeal. Yet each show won over audiences, snatched the best-musical Tony and entrenched itself in Broadway lore.

In “Theater Kid,” Seller tells another story of unlikely success: his own. Although it’s an accessible tale of familial strife, ambition and industry-shaping influence, the 60-year-old’s path from theater-loving Midwesterner to Broadway impresario is also packed with insider nods and insight. You may be tickled to learn, for instance, that Kimberly Belflower, the playwright behind the current Broadway hit “John Proctor Is the Villain,” babysat Seller’s kids. Or perhaps you’ll be scandalized by the reveal that Joel Grey lip-synched “Cabaret” performances when he was too sick to sing.

“Rent”-heads will be particularly interested in Seller’s behind-the-scenes dish. Over four meticulous chapters, he presents an anatomy of a Broadway smash. His characterization of the late “Rent” writer Jonathan Larson as a neurotic, ahead-of-his-time genius leaps off the page. The show’s roller-coaster journey — from ambitious mess to budding masterpiece to overthought mishmash to canonical classic — makes for a fascinating study in identifying, supporting and achieving greatness.

To those familiar with the offstage tragedy, the events of Larson’s final weeks and sudden death — at age 35, on the day previews were set to start — unfold with pit-in-your-stomach dread. And Seller’s recollection of how the “Rent” team simultaneously mourned Larson and cemented his legacy is a vital account of artistic perseverance.

The final of the book’s three “acts” satisfyingly — if fleetingly — explores Seller’s other theatrical triumphs. The “Avenue Q” chapter, fixated on that scrappy show’s upset over “Wicked” at the 2004 Tonys, is an engaging deconstruction of an awards show stunner. Seller’s insights into Lin-Manuel Miranda’s breakout “In the Heights” underline the parallels between Larson



Jeffrey Seller, second from left, with Kevin McCollum, left, Steve Wynn and Robyn Goodman in 2005. Seller was producer for “Avenue Q.”

and the generational genius he inspired. The last chapter, focused on “Hamilton’s” transcendence, offers a blow-by-blow recap of Vice President-elect Mike Pence’s visit to the Richard Rodgers Theatre shortly after the 2016 election and the plea for empathy that actor Brandon Victor Dixon read from the stage.

Describing President Donald Trump, whose Kennedy Center takeover prompted “Hamilton” to pull out of its 2026 stop there, Seller doesn’t mince words: “Our country elected a misogynistic, racist, ignorant narcissist who expressed admiration for some of the world’s most violent fascists but didn’t even know that Abraham Lincoln was a Republican.”

While Seller dutifully delivers his show business reflections, “Theater Kid” is more of an origin story than a tell-all. The first “act” chronicles Seller’s tumultuous upbringing in a lower-class neighborhood of Oak Park, Michigan, billed as “Cardboard Village.” His father, portrayed as a combustible man with money problems and a weakness for

infidelity, looms particularly large to an adopted child who grew up with identity issues. “I glowed on the outside,” Seller writes, “but on the inside, faint feelings of isolation and loss that I could neither define nor voice lay dormant, waiting to express themselves in the future.”

Seller also goes into detail on the euphoria of discovering his sexuality, as well as the paralyzing fear that accompanied being a gay man amid the AIDS epidemic. It’s far from the only occasion when Seller offers personal introspection that, in the book’s back half, lays the groundwork for his professional exploits. For those wondering what, exactly, draws a theater lover to a career not as an actor or a playwright or a director but a producer, Seller’s mélange of experience — as a young director who found his way into the business as a publicist and book-ing agent — offers an inspiring road map.

“My job was to say yes, to nurture the artist, not to tell the artist what to do,” he says of

producing. “To be there when the artist asked for suggestions. Twelve years of psychoanalysis taught me to *listen*. Artists want to feel heard. And eventually they are going to say, ‘What do you think?’”

“Theater Kid” will resonate with any reader who has tried to manifest their dream job via sheer pluck and commitment. Even if Seller proves oddly evasive about his post-“Rent” personal life, and quotes a few too many wooden conversations from memory, those quibbles don’t overwhelm the book’s merits.

As Seller’s experience makes clear, no work of art is chiseled to perfection. It’s honed and workshopped and rethought, then handed over to the audience when the clock runs out. After decades overseeing such endeavors from the wings, Seller earns his moment to step into the spotlight and take a bow.

Thomas Floyd is a writer-editor covering arts, sports and pop culture for The Washington Post.



THEATER KID
By Jeffrey Seller
Simon & Schuster
368 pp. \$29.99

Suspended journalist Terry Moran will not return to ABC News

Social media post that was critical of Trump, Miller spurred dismissal

BY JEREMY BARR

Veteran ABC News correspondent Terry Moran, who was suspended Sunday after a late-night social media post in which he criticized members of the Trump administration, will not return to the network, a source with knowledge of the situation who was not authorized to comment publicly told The Washington Post.

After Moran posted about President Donald Trump and his White House Deputy Chief of Staff Stephen Miller on the social platform X, the network pulled him off the air “pending further evaluation” after determining that he had violated ABC’s edito-



Terry Moran, pictured in 2007, had been with ABC since 1997.

rial guidelines on neutrality in reporting.

“Trump is a world-class hater,” Moran wrote in the post, which he published just after midnight

Sunday. But he said Trump’s “hatred” is “only a means to an end.”

“Miller is a man who is richly endowed with the capacity for hatred. He’s a world-class hater,”

Moran wrote. “You can see this just by looking at him because you can see that his hatreds are his spiritual nourishment. He eats his hate.”

At the time, the network did not say whether Moran would return to the air after his suspension. But Tuesday, a network spokesperson said his contract will not be renewed, ending a career at ABC that began back in 1997.

“We are at the end of our agreement with Terry Moran and based on his recent post — which was a clear violation of ABC News policies — we have made the decision to not renew,” the spokesperson said. “At ABC News, we hold all of our reporters to the highest standards of objectivity, fairness and professionalism, and we remain committed to delivering straightforward, trusted journalism.”

ABC dealt quickly with the fallout from Moran’s post, as prominent conservatives, includ-

ing Vice President JD Vance and press secretary Karoline Leavitt, pushed for consequences. Some on the left have criticized ABC for punishing Moran, arguing that his comments about Miller and Trump were accurate and that he was being denied his freedom of speech.

A network spokesperson declined to comment Tuesday when asked follow-up questions about when Moran’s contract ends and whether the network still planned to evaluate his conduct.

Moran, who is outspoken on social media, deleted his original post but has not commented on the matter further.

But there is precedent for Moran’s departure from the network. In 2017, the network suspended investigative correspondent Brian Ross over what it said was a “serious error” in his coverage of Michael Flynn, who had been picked as Trump’s first national security adviser. Ross left ABC the following year.

Minister must learn to juggle conversations with parishioners

Miss Manners

JUDITH MARTIN, JACOBINA MARTIN AND NICHOLAS IVOR MARTIN

in the lobby for a few minutes to chat.

I find myself often in an embarrassing situation that I don’t know how to handle: Suppose I’ve been chatting with someone, let’s call them Person A, for just a minute. Then I feel someone, Person B, touch my shoulder or arm to get my attention. I turn to see that it’s another friendly person who wishes to chat.

Dear Miss Manners: I am a ministry leader at my church and am well-known within the congregation. After the church service, many people like to stay in the lobby for a few minutes to chat.

Now, my body is still facing Person A, with whom I wish to continue talking, but my head is turned to chat with Person B, who has interrupted our conversation.

I find this situation terribly awkward and disrespectful to Person A. Sometimes, when I finally manage to end the interaction with Person B, Person A has already left.

I feel awful when this happens, and it occurs far too often.

I don’t understand how Person B can feel it’s acceptable to interrupt an ongoing conversation, but at the same time, I don’t know how to ignore someone who is physically trying to get my attention.

Can you please advise me on how to handle this situation?

Ah yes, the ministry two-step. Listen raptly until Person A reaches the end of a sentence.

Say, “Excuse me just one second.” Turn to Person B. Say, “I was just talking to Person A, won’t you join us?” Turn back to Person A, opening up the circle to include Person B. Say (to Person A), “You were saying ...”

And do this all so quickly that neither Person A nor Person B has a chance to take over.

Fortunately, as a ministry leader, you are used to commanding attention.

Dear Miss Manners: I was “the other one” in my relationship with the person I loved. Even

aside from the marital infidelity, the relationship would have been considered scandalous by my lover’s family because I am the wrong race, gender, social class, age, whatever (pick one).

My loved one died, leaving me grieving in isolation. I posted condolences, attended the funeral quietly and sometimes visit the grave alone. I need to do so as part of the grieving process; I am near recovery now and distancing myself from the death.

Even so, the relatives have begun making pointed inquiries about me.

I have ignored the questions so far, primarily because doing otherwise would be a betrayal of my loved one’s wishes and reputation.

My obvious sin aside, am I now doing the proper thing?

That will depend on your guess as to the motivation behind the inquiries, as well as how much time has passed.

Miss Manners would only expect you to welcome overtures from well-meaning family members for whom any thoughts of scandal or sin were buried with the deceased.

New Miss Manners columns are posted Monday through Saturday on washingtonpost.com/advice. You can send questions to Miss Manners at her website, missmanners.com. You can also follow her @RealMissManners.

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How to help a hoarder without shaming

Asking Eric

R. ERIC THOMAS

Dear Eric: I have a friend of several decades and recently learned she is a hoarder. We always met

outside our homes for coffee or lunch. I just assumed it was more convenient.

A few months ago, she texted to tell me she’s been embarrassed for me to find out her “secret.” She also asked me for help. I was thrilled and offered to help, but she refused to make a commitment.

Later I found out her therapist insisted she reach out to a friend for help. She also confessed she had no intention of letting me near her house. Her mother and daughter are quick to express their disgust at her “problem,” making her shame worse.

I feel nothing but compassion for my friend. I’d leave the problem alone except my friend does a fair amount of animal rescue, particularly cats and kittens. She said one of the rooms in her house is covered with uncleaned feces and mice droppings. I’m worried about her health. Pushing my friend will only make her withdraw. I can’t call authorities as we live in a small town, and she is a well-respected educator. Do you have any suggestions?

— Hoarder’s Friend

Friend: There are avenues for help but, as with any other compulsive behavior, she has to be willing to take a step toward them. You might give her the book “Buried in Treasures: Help for Compulsive Acquiring, Saving, and Hoarding” by David F. Tolin, Randy O. Frost and Gail Steketee, and even ask if she’d be willing to do a “book club” with you about it.

Additionally, it may be time to reach out to someone else who has more extensive training. I know you don’t want to expose her to public scrutiny or embarrassment, but the threat to her health and the health of her pets may necessitate bringing in some authorities. Shame can be managed, but the loss of life can’t, and many people who hoard live in places that pose extreme risk for fire.

Your local or state health department will have resources for people who hoard. I encourage you to reach out.

Dear Eric: I have two casual friends who long ago moved to different parts of the country but who have sent me messages every couple of months for many years. These are not friends I would ever visit or even call on the phone, and they seem to feel the same.

They have written that they “want to keep in touch,” yet their messages contain nothing more than a greeting followed by a perfunctory response, like “been busy,” when I ask what they’ve been up to.

I used to offer details about work, my hobbies, my spouse and where I’ve traveled on vacations, without acknowledgment or reciprocation on their part.

Frankly, I don’t see this as keeping in touch at all. Would it be rude, after all these years, to stop writing them back?

— Why Bother

Why Bother: Some people, especially in the age of a quick text message or email, are satisfied with a simple greeting. Others, like yourself (and me, frankly), want a little more substance in the correspondence.

The sentiment is lovely, true, but if it’s feeling more empty than fulfilling for you, it’s fine to pivot.

You have a few options. You can reply with equally perfunctory well-wishes, thereby managing your expectations of the friendship and avoiding resentment. You can, as you suggested, let it peter out by not replying. Or you can address it directly — “I’d love to hear more about what’s going on with you. Care to give me an update?”

In answer to your question, I don’t think it’s especially rude to let the sporadic texts go unanswered, but it does leave a loose social thread. Better, sometimes, to say what’s on your mind.

Send questions to R. Eric Thomas at eric@askingeric.com or P.O. Box 22474, Philadelphia, PA 19110. Follow him on Instagram and sign up for his weekly newsletter at erichthomas.com.

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TELEVISION

Table of television schedules for 6/12/25, listing channels, times, and program titles such as 'The Bachelor', 'Jeopardy!', and 'The Tonight Show'.

SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

9x9 Sudoku grid with some numbers pre-filled, including 8, 7, 1, 4, 5, 3, 8, 9, 6, 6, 9, 4, 1, 1, 7, 7, 3, 3, 2, 4, 5, 5, 8, 1, 7, 4, 3, 5, 2, 7, 6.

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★☆

Play more games online. We have more than 100 card, puzzle and word games to challenge you. Includes QR code and wapo.st/games link.

Game Break. Get our gaming newsletter with daily reminders and other insights. wapo.st/newsletters

PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION. A 9x9 grid showing the completed numbers for the previous puzzle.

SCRABBLE GRAMS. Includes word racks (A1, I1, H1, B3, S1, D2, L1), scores (PAR SCORE 150-160, BEST SCORE 217), and a list of words.

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS. A crossword puzzle grid with clues: 1. Baseball, 5. Employed for a job, 6. Raised mass, 7. Copy, 1. Free from harm, 2. Four-sided monument, 3. Defensive fortification, 4. Way to ascend. Includes a BONUS section.

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION. Shows the solution for the previous Scrabble Grams puzzle, including racks and scores.

HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | JUNE 12: You are energetic, self-contained, intelligent and enthusiastic. You give yourself wholeheartedly to your interests. This is the final year of a nine-year cycle, which means it's time to take inventory of your life and let go of the people, places and things from the past that might have held you back.

CANCER (June 21-June 22) Tread carefully today. The Moon is opposite your sign, which means you have to be ready to compromise with others. Nevertheless, because the Moon is dancing beautifully with Venus, relations with friends, as well as members of groups, will be warm and cordial.

relatives and neighbors. You also might feel protective of a loved one. Look for ways to improve your immediate surroundings; this will please you. Be inventive. SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 22-Dec. 21) Listen to your moneymaking ideas today. You might be on to something worthwhile. You might see ways to make money that are related to the arts, jewelry or clothing. Meanwhile, if shopping today, you'll love to buy beautiful things for yourself and others.

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

ACROSS 1 Fire (up) 4 Sound of an ungentle landing 8 Ready to pour 13 "Little Red Riding Hood" tool 14 Grey vodka 15 Boatload 16 reel 17 "Elixirs that stir passion" 19 Fish sauce quality 21 Takes a turn? 22 "Let's kick it up a ..." 25 Worn-down pencil 26 Jargon suffix 27 "Steinbeck novella featuring George and Lennie" 31 Not post- 32 Hindu festival 33 Gave the star treatment to 37 Morrison who said, "The function of freedom is to free someone else?" 39 Like cereal sitting in milk 42 Clip 43 Compress 45 Warmth 47 Pro's opposite 48 "Franchise whose characters have 'cutie marks'" 52 Rapper Nas X 55 Particle 56 Rounds in tournaments 57 "That was off topic ..." 60 Cultured 63 "Appreciate every moment" 66 WC 67 Put some chips on the table 68 Capitol Hill staffers 69 Cash dispenser 70 Wine vessels 71 Some "Modern Family" figures 72 Marina Rey, California

12x12 crossword puzzle grid with numbers 1 through 72 indicating starting positions for clues.

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DOWN 1 Italian meat sauce 2 Test 3 List that may include black bean chili and mushroom pot pie 4 All well 5 lane 6 Tech support caller 7 Rely (on) 8 National Black Cat Day month 9 Get just right 10 Treasure stash 11 Nosy neighbor in "WandaVision" 12 Entourage 14 Bug 18 Reproductive cell 20 Pronoun used in mock outrage 23 Co. leaders 24 Angel hair topper 27 Elects (to) 28 Gift tag word 29 "See ya in the morning!" 30 trapped: stuck at home because of a tot's sleep schedule 34 Tex-Mex dish with an edible bowl 35 Nobel Prize subj. 36 Say no to 38 Belief system 40 Obtains 41 Home of Grace Hopper College 44 Some Subaru 46 Lures 49 "Completely false!" 50 "Such a shame" 51 Food in "Sweeney Todd" and "Waitress" 52 Lavender kin 53 Tony winner 54 Elevates 58 chic 59 Branch of Islam 61 Repetitive learning method 62 Romantic initialism spelled out by the starts of the answers to the starred clues 64 Out of the ordinary 65 Hi-graphics

WEDNESDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION

Completed crossword puzzle grid with words filled in, including 'CATS', 'TORMADO', 'AMPERER', 'ALAN', 'REORDER', 'HEALER', 'WALTZINGMATHILDA', 'EMOISSUEALEC', 'DONUTHOLESWAM', 'TSAARTKORE', 'ACTIOMENOPT', 'CHILDLIKEWONDER', 'HAMNUNSISTO', 'EREANDRANG', 'SABGIVESAHOOT', 'CLANGRETAOLI', 'STORYBOOKENDING', 'TENDEROERANKA', 'PRESTOMDSBEST'.

BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE NORTH ♠ J4 ♥ 652 ♦ AK1098 ♣ 843 WEST ♠ Q9732 ♥ QJ74 ♦ Q63 ♣ J EAST ♠ K108 ♥ 98 ♦ J75 ♣ Q10972 SOUTH (D) ♠ A65 ♥ AK103 ♦ 42 ♣ AK65 The bidding: SOUTH WEST NORTH EAST 1 ♠ Pass 1 ♦ Pass 1 ♥ Pass 2 ♦ Pass 2 NT Pass 3 NT All Pass Opening lead — ♠ 3

"Don't listen to her," the Queen of Diamonds told Alice at the Mad Hatter's. "My cousin is, as we say, a few cards short of a full deck." The Queen of Hearts had boasted that she was the most potent card in Wonderland, and no king or ace dared capture her; the Queen of Diamonds insisted that losing a trick could be better than winning one. When the Hatter played at 3NT, Alice led a spade as West. The Hatter held up his ace and won the third round. At Trick Four he led a diamond. Alice was about to play 'second hand low' when she felt the Queen of Diamonds' intense gaze. So Alice put up her queen. The Hatter was helpless. If he ducked to keep a link with dummy, Alice would cash her good spades for down one. When instead he took the ace, dummy's long diamonds were dead; the result was down two. "See?" said the Queen of Diamonds. "If you play low on the

first diamond, declarer plays dummy's 10 and wins four diamonds and nine tricks in all." And so it was. DAILY QUESTION You hold: ♠ A 6 5 ♥ A K 10 3 ♦ 4 2 ♣ A K 6 5 You open one club, your partner responds one spade and the player at your right overcalls two diamonds. What do you say? ANSWER: Some partnerships use "support doubles" in this situation; a double would show three cards in spades (and a bid of two spades would show four-card support). That treatment is controversial and doesn't appeal to me. Anyway, a bid of two hearts here would be fine.

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— Frank Stewart © 2025, TRIBUNE CONTENT AGENCY, LLC.

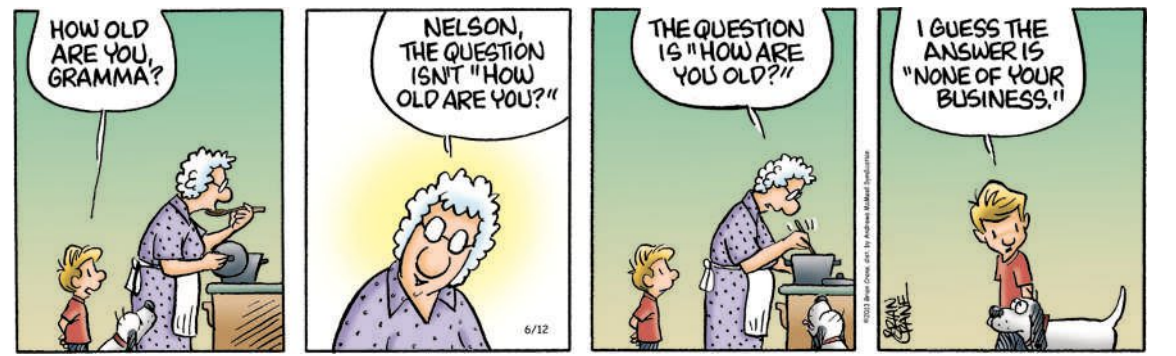
CLASSIC DOONESBURY

GARRY TRUDEAU



PICKLES

BRIAN CRANE



RED AND ROVER

BRIAN BASSET



AGNES

TONY COCHRAN



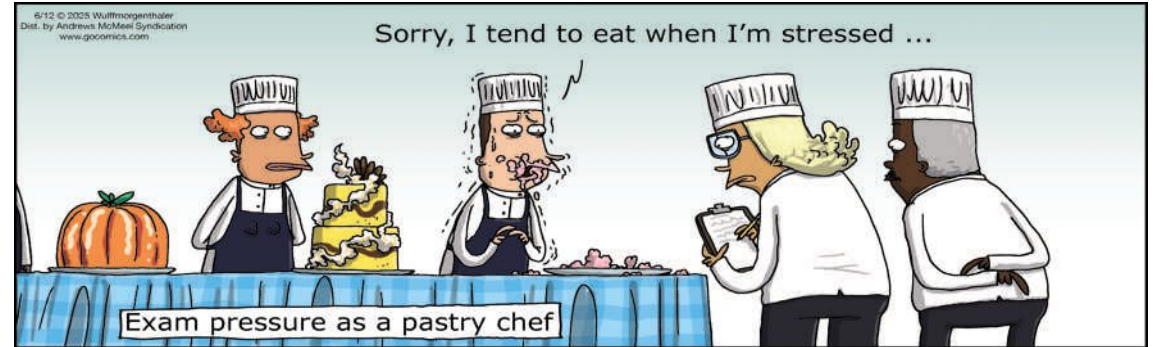
FRANK AND ERNEST

TOM THAVES



WUMO

MIKAEL WULFF & ANDERS MORGENTHALER



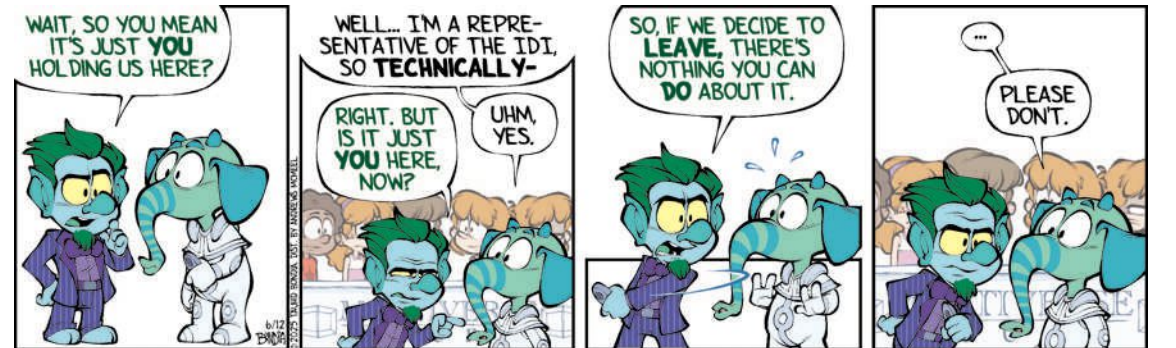
CLASSIC PEANUTS

CHARLES SCHULZ



CRABGRASS

TAUHID BONDIA



RHYMES WITH ORANGE

HILARY PRICE



MARK TRAIL

JULES RIVERA



LIO

MARK TATULLI



MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM

MIKE PETERS



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

CHRIS BROWNE



BALDO

HECTOR CANTU & CARLOS CASTELLANOS



BLONDIE

DEAN YOUNG & JOHN MARSHALL



SALLY FORTH

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE



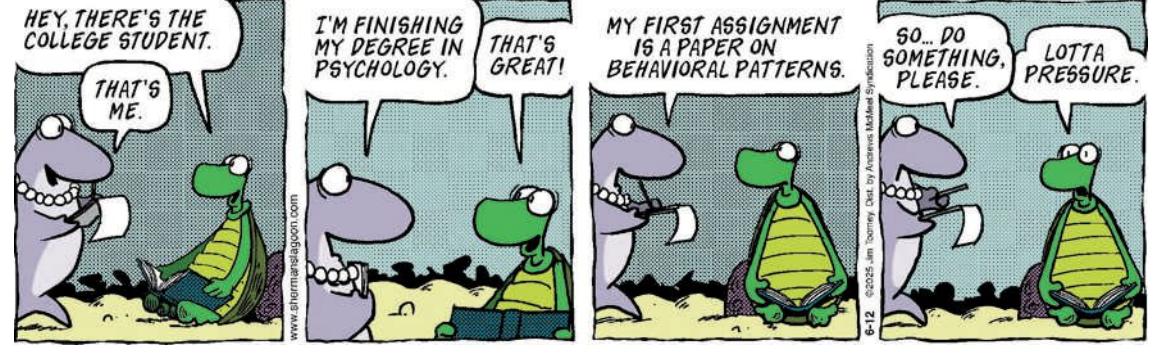
BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!

TIM RICKARD



SHERMAN'S LAGOON

JIM TOOMEY



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS



CURTIS

RAY BILLINGSLEY



MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL



ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN



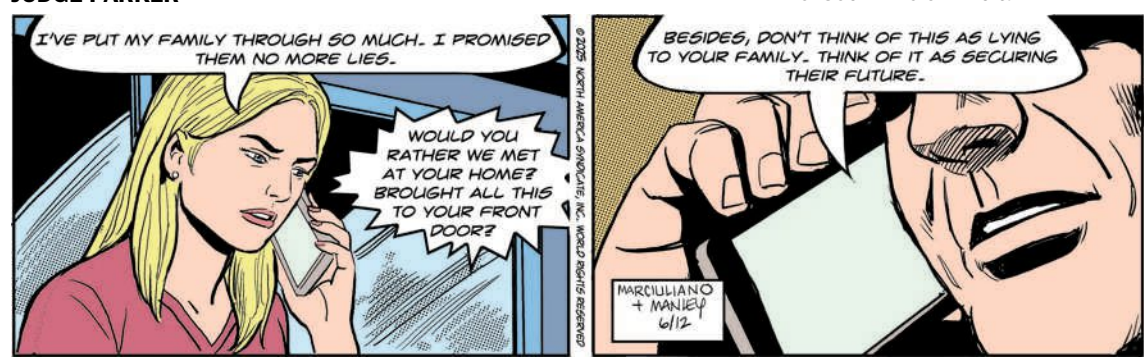
HEART OF THE CITY

STEENZ



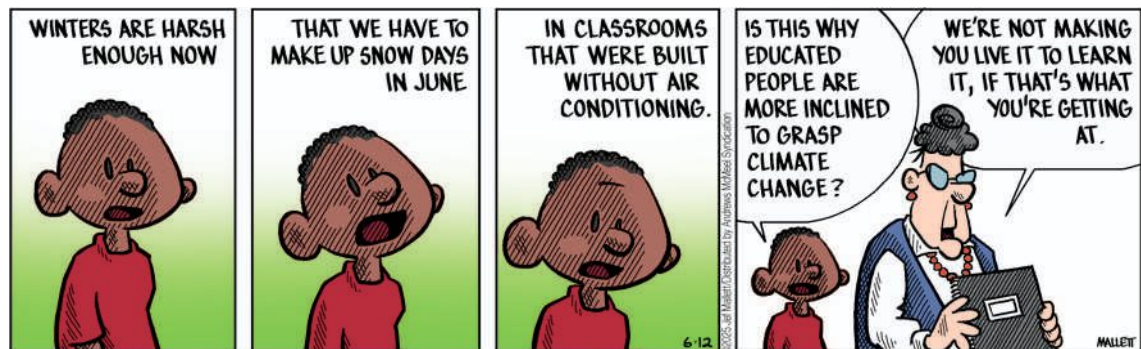
JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY



FRAZZ

JEFF MALLETT



SIX CHIX

BANNERMAN, XUNISE, KONAR, LAWTON, PATRINOS & PIRO



GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS



BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK



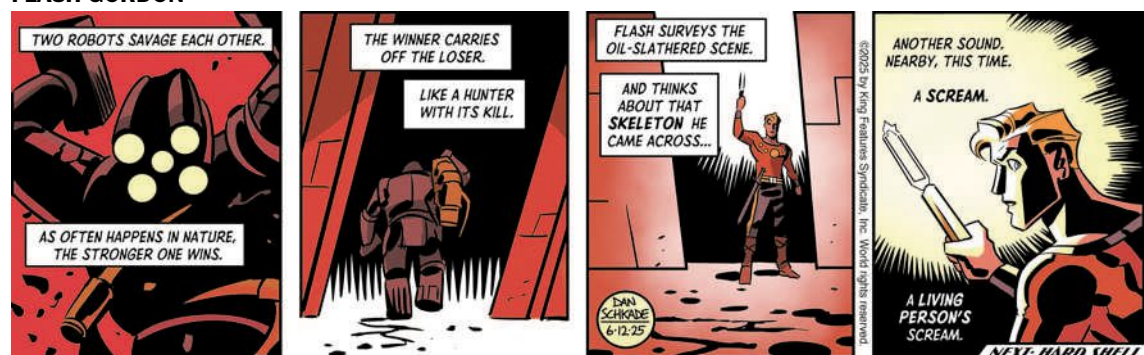
DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER



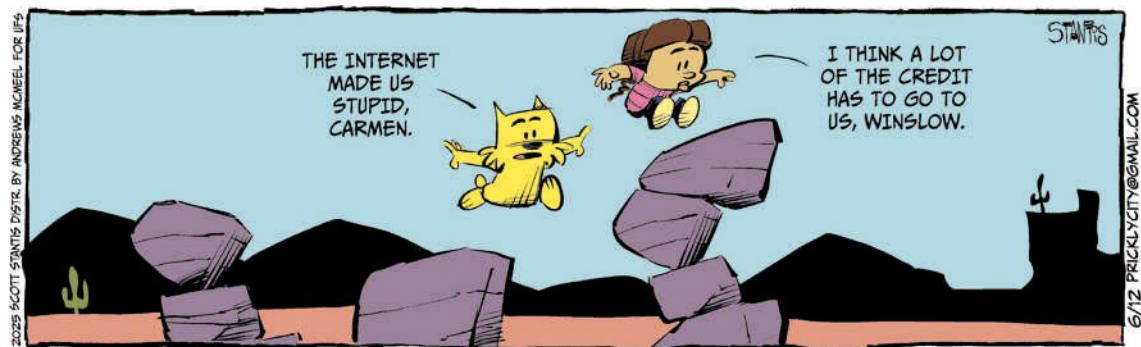
FLASH GORDON

DAN SCHKADE



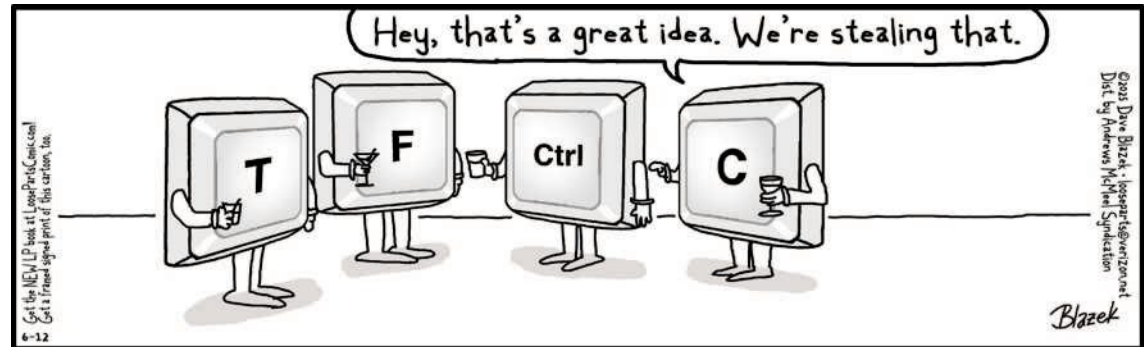
PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS



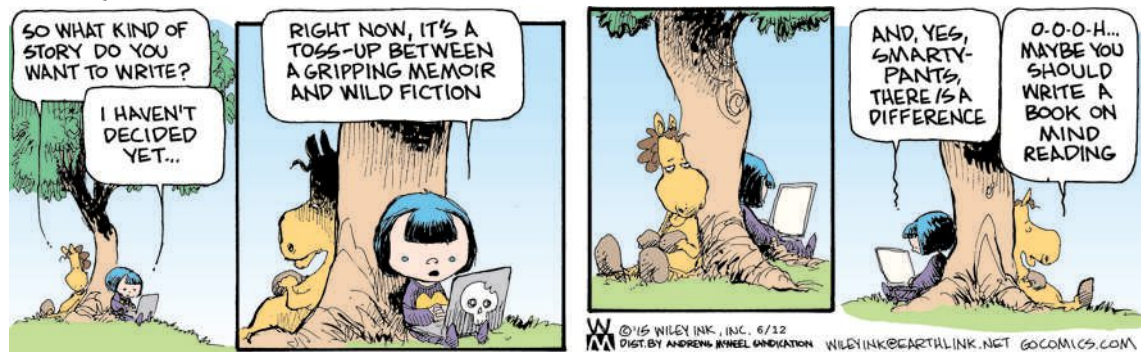
LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK



NON SEQUITUR

WILEY



BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT



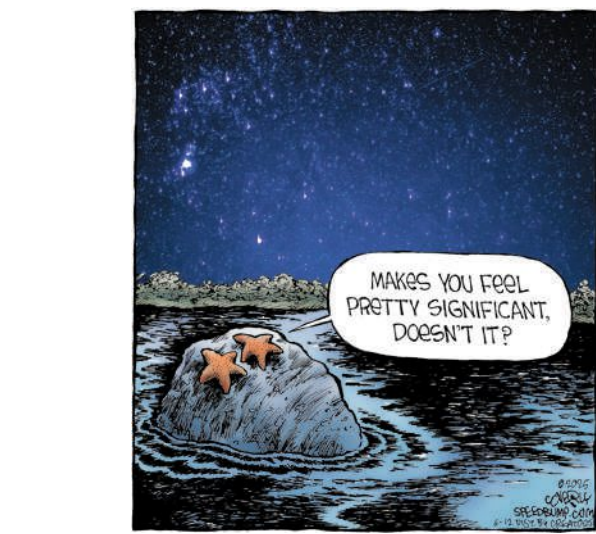
BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE



SPEED BUMP

DAVE COVERLY



DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM



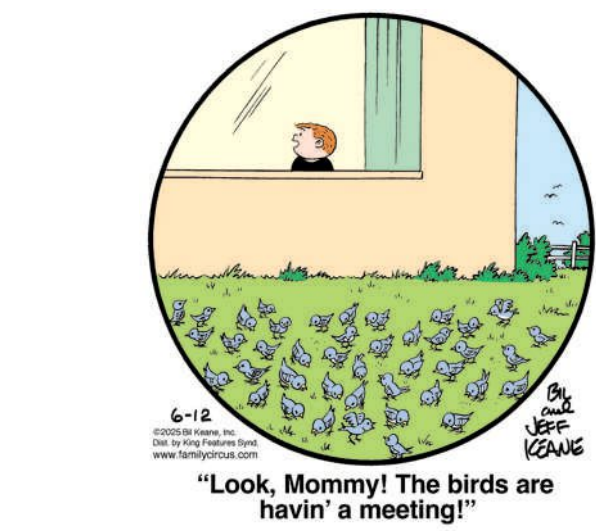
ON THE FASTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK



FAMILY CIRCUS

BIL KEANE



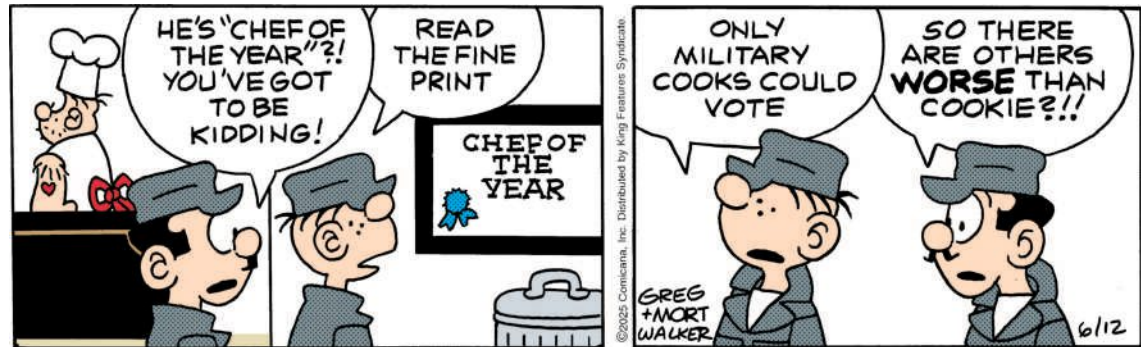
REPLY ALL LITE

DONNA A. LEWIS



BEEBLE BAILEY

GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER



PRO BASKETBALL

The Knicks' coaching search begins with a string of rejections from teams with coaches they're keen on. **D2**

SOCCER

We're less than a year away from the North American World Cup. Check out what to know about the event. **D5**

HIGH SCHOOLS

The Loudoun County girls' soccer team, unbeaten in 21 games, storms into the Virginia Class 4 semis. **D6**



BILL STREICHER/IMAGN IMAGES

This weekend at Oakmont, defending U.S. Open champion Bryson DeChambeau will try to become just the seventh player to win the event at least three times.

Driven to experiment

Even with two major titles and millions of fans, DeChambeau may never be satisfied

BY RICK MAESE

OAKMONT, PA. — Bryson DeChambeau is a nerdy golfing colossus with two major championships, a booming YouTube channel and the leader of the free world on speed dial. A near-pariah not long ago for his brash confidence and his role in splintering the sport, he's now the closest thing golf has to a transcendent star, with the supernatural ability to both hit golf balls and schmooze with virtually anyone.

But what if he wasn't a golfer? "He might be trying to put people on Mars," suggested Chris Parra, one of his college coaches at SMU. "People say it's uninhabitable, right? He'd want to prove them wrong. He loves proving people

wrong." That's one hypothesis. Another: "I've always said if he didn't have this, he'd be a cocaine addict on the side of a road somewhere," his estranged childhood coach, Mike Schy, said with a laugh. "A lot of people forget that he was a physics major — one of the hardest majors you could probably do. My fear was always: What is he going to do when he leaves school and has like eight hours a day that he's got to fill?"

And DeChambeau? "Well, I'd be on the side of the street or I'd be in a research lab, something like that," he joked Tuesday. "Just kidding. I would say I'd probably be doing something around biomechanics."

DeChambeau is part scientist and part showman, part behemoth and part robot. Both loathed and loved, he'll be a main character this week at Oakmont Country Club, where the 31-year-old Californian-turned-Texan is trying to defend his U.S. Open title and become just the seventh player to win the event at least three times, a group that includes golf royalty Bobby Jones, Ben Hogan, Jack Nicklaus and Tiger Woods.

DeChambeau is unlike any of them. Or any other golfer. Possibly any other human. During this year's Masters, he couldn't sleep one night and wandered onto the backyard putting green of a local couple, striking up a conversation with

SEE DECHAMBEAU ON D5

U.S. Open: Through Sunday at Oakmont Country Club | First round: 6:30 a.m., USA Network | Tee times, **D6**

After her 'surreal' rise, Benzan's a G League GM

Former Terps standout, just 27, takes charge of Salt Lake City Stars

BY KAREEM COPELAND

Katie Benzan used to play a game with her older brother, envisioning different NBA scenarios.

Whom would LeBron James play best with? How would Stephen Curry fit alongside so-and-so? Common banter for a couple of basketball junkies.

Years later, she finds herself in position to evaluate players and

build a real team. On Tuesday, the former Harvard and Maryland standout, who briefly played for the Washington Mystics, was named general manager of the Salt Lake City Stars, the G League affiliate of the Utah Jazz. The 27-year-old is the youngest GM in the league and the youngest female GM in G League history.

Benzan didn't see this coming so quickly after she joined the Jazz organization in 2022, but she has rapidly risen through the ranks and could be on a path to bigger NBA front-office positions.

"It still feels a bit surreal to say," she said. "I don't get overwhelmed too often. ... But I do

SEE BENZAN ON D3



JOHN MCDONNELL/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

"I feel great," Commanders cornerback Marshon Lattimore said Wednesday. "... I just want to get out there and be explosive."

Lattimore is out to prove last year was an anomaly

Commanders cornerback played 'timid' following injury, midseason trade

BY NICKI JHABVALA

Marshon Lattimore was off last season. The hamstring injury that sidelined him for much of his first year with Washington affected his play and his transition to the Commanders.

The numbers on the field said plenty. The film showed him even more.

"I could tell in my game when I watched film. I could tell in how I

was stepping," Lattimore said Wednesday after the Commanders' minicamp practice. "I looked timid in my game. Now, just being out there these past two days, I feel way better."

The cornerback, who arrived via trade from New Orleans in early November while still rehabilitating the injury, struggled in most of his five games with the Commanders. But Wednesday, in his first public comments since last season ended, Lattimore said he feels great and is eager to prove himself on the field.

"Just the burst and getting out of my breaks and all of that," he said. "That [injury] takes a lot out of you, and it takes a long time to

SEE COMMANDERS ON D3

Indiana initiates home rule in Game 3

PACERS 116, THUNDER 107

Stifling defense paves way for 2-1 lead in Finals

BY CANDACE BUCKNER

INDIANAPOLIS — Nearly unbeatable when the games get tight, the Indiana Pacers again thrived under pressure Wednesday night, earning a 116-107 victory over the Oklahoma City Thunder in Game 3 of the NBA Finals at Gainbridge Fieldhouse. It was the Pacers' ninth win of the postseason in games considered as clutch and gave them a 2-1 series lead.

Game 4 is Friday night in Indianapolis.

Tyrese Haliburton scored 22 points, but his effort was buttressed by Thunder miscues (19 turnovers for 21 Pacers points) and help throughout Indiana's roster, including a game-high 27 points from reserve forward Benedict Mathurin. Indiana outscored the Thunder, the overall No. 1 seed after a 68-win

SEE NBA FINALS ON D2

Game 4: Thunder at Pacers

Friday, 8:30 p.m., ABC
Indiana leads series 2-1

Nationals' June swoon at the plate continues

METS 5, NATIONALS 0

BY ANDREW GOLDEN

NEW YORK — There were few positives to take away from the Washington Nationals' approach at the plate during a 5-0 loss to the New York Mets on Wednesday night at Citi Field. The Nationals finished with just six hits, five of which were singles. They swung early in counts with little to show for it. They had few extended at-bats. And, again, they chased often.

The Mets, meanwhile, grabbed an early lead against Jake Irvin on Pete Alonso's RBI double in the first. In the third, Irvin left a curveball to Juan Soto over the middle of the plate and Soto crushed it for a two-run homer. Brandon Nimmo hit solo homers in the fifth and seventh innings to

SEE NATIONALS ON D3

Nationals at Mets
1 p.m., MASN

THE DAY IN SPORTS

PRO BASKETBALL

Knicks not permitted to speak with coaches

The New York Knicks were denied permission to speak with coaches **Jason Kidd** of Dallas, **Ime Udoka** of Houston and **Chris Finch** of Minnesota in a slow start to find **Tom Thibodeau's** replacement.

All three coaches are under contract and their organizations declined to make them available for interviews with the Knicks, two people with knowledge of the details said Wednesday. The people spoke with the Associated Press on the condition of anonymity because the interview process was to remain private.

The Knicks fired Thibodeau on June 3 despite reaching the Eastern Conference finals for the first time in 25 years. They reached the playoffs four times in Thibodeau's five seasons and had won at least 50 games in each of the final two.

They appear to be trying to find out whether any coaches they like who have jobs might be added to their list along with the ones who are available. ...

Boston Celtics all-star **Jaylen Brown** had arthroscopic surgery on his right knee, and the team said he is expected to be available when training camp starts "without limitation."

The Celtics said Brown had a minimally invasive procedure to clean out his knee. ...

Former NBA all-star center **DeMarcus Cousins** was suspended for the rest of the season in Puerto Rico's basketball league and his team terminated his contract after a brawl with fans during a game earlier this week.

The 34-year-old, who played for seven teams during his NBA career, made an obscene gesture, exchanged words and grabbed the arm of a fan sitting courtside Monday night before being taken away by his teammates. ...

David Greenwood, who was one of **John Wooden's** last recruits at UCLA and went on to win an NBA title with the Detroit Pistons during a 12-year pro career, died at 68.

He died Sunday in Riverside, California, after battling cancer, UCLA said.

COLLEGE BASEBALL

Virginia picks Pollard to replace O'Connor

Chris Pollard was hired as Virginia's baseball coach after spending the past 13 seasons at ACC rival Duke.

Virginia Athletic Director **Carla Williams** announced the successor to **Brian O'Connor**, who left June 1 to take over at Mississippi State.

Pollard went 420-296 at Duke and led the Blue Devils to seven NCAA regionals, four super regionals and two ACC tournament championships. Duke hosted a super regional this season, losing in three games to Murray State.

Pollard is 806-614-3 in 26 seasons as a head coach. He also has coached at Pfeiffer (2000-04) and Appalachian State (2005-12). As he did at Duke this year, Pollard led Appalachian State to the NCAA tournament during his final season with the Mountaineers in 2012.

The Blue Devils are coming off back-to-back 40-win seasons for the first time in program history.

Pollard takes over a Virginia program that went to 18 NCAA regionals, nine super regionals and seven College World Series in 22 seasons under O'Connor.



REMO CASILLI/REUTERS

With apologies to the Angels

Chicago native Pope Leo XIV sports a White Sox cap Wednesday during his weekly general audience in St. Peter's Square.

SPOTLIGHT: COLLEGE SPORTS

Female athletes appeal NCAA settlement

BY BEN NUCKOLS

Eight female athletes filed an appeal Wednesday of a landmark NCAA antitrust settlement, arguing that women would not receive their fair share of \$2.7 billion in back pay for athletes who were barred from making money off their name, image and likeness.

U.S. District Judge Claudia Wilken approved the settlement last week, clearing the way for direct payments from universities to athletes and the end of the NCAA's amateurism model.

The athletes who appealed the settlement competed in soccer, volleyball and track. They are Kacie Breeding of Vanderbilt; Lexi Drumm, Emma Appleman, Emmie Wannemacher, Riley Hass, Savannah Baron and Elizabeth Arnold of the College of Charleston; and Kate Johnson of Virginia. They have standing to appeal because they previously filed objections to the proposed settlement.

They argue agreement violates federal antidiscrimination law and harms women's sports

Ashlyn Hare, one of the attorneys representing the athletes, said in a statement that the settlement violates Title IX, the federal law that bans sex-based discrimination in education.

"We support a settlement of the case but not an inaccurate one that violates federal law. The calculation of past damages is based on an error that ignores Title IX and deprives female athletes of \$1.1 billion," Hare said. "Paying out the money as proposed would be a massive error that would cause irreparable harm to women's sports."

The settlement figures to financially benefit football and basketball stars at

the biggest schools, who are likely to receive a big chunk of the \$20.5 million per year that colleges are permitted to share with athletes over the next year.

Some athletes in other sports that don't make money for their schools could lose their partial scholarships or see their roster spots cut.

"This is a football and basketball damages settlement with no real benefit to female athletes," Hare said. "Congress has expressly rejected efforts to exempt revenue-generating sports like football and basketball from Title IX's antidiscrimination mandate. The NCAA agreed with us. Our argument on appeal is the exact same argument the conferences and NCAA made prior to settling the case."

The appeal was filed by law firm Hutchinson Black and Cook of Boulder, Colorado. It would be heard by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

— Associated Press

TELEVISION AND RADIO

MLB	
1 p.m.	Washington at New York Mets » MASN, WJFK (106.7 FM)
1 p.m.	Texas at Minnesota » MLB Network
4 p.m.	San Francisco at Colorado » MLB Network (joined in progress)
6:30 p.m.	Detroit at Baltimore » MASN2, WYYY (97.9 FM), WSNB (630 AM)
7:30 p.m.	New York Yankees at Kansas City » MLB Network

STANLEY CUP FINALS	
8 p.m.	Game 4: Edmonton at Florida » TNT

GOLF	
6:30 a.m.	U.S. Open, first round » USA Network
3 p.m.	LPGA Tour: Meijer LPGA Classic, first round » Golf Channel

TENNIS	
5 a.m.	ATP/WTA: Rosmalen Grass Court Championships, early rounds; ATP: Stuttgart Open, early rounds; WTA: HSBC Championships, early rounds » Tennis Channel

PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL — CANADIAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE	
8:30 p.m.	British Columbia at Winnipeg » CBS Sports Network

PROFESSIONAL SOFTBALL	
8:30 p.m.	Athletes Unlimited: Volts vs. Bandits » ESPN2

WOMEN'S COLLEGE TRACK AND FIELD	
7 p.m.	NCAA outdoor championships, first day » ESPN

Unflappable Pacers seize 2-1 lead in the NBA Finals

NBA FINALS FROM D1

regular season, 32-18 in the final quarter to secure the victory.

For the informal fan, this year's Finals might feel like a starless exhibition — unless viewers really want to see what that guy from the AT&T commercials does for his day job.

In the first half, even the series' most well-known players took a back seat to the kind of player only a purist would love.

Shai Gilgeous-Alexander, the star of those TV spots, won the MVP award for his work in the regular season and even made history by scoring the most points (72) through two games for a first-time Finals player. But he began Game 3 as Chet Holmgren's sidekick. Holmgren was the Thunder offense as he scored 13 points. Gilgeous-Alexander didn't hit the scoreboard until

2:27 remained in the quarter — without getting the satisfaction of watching his shot fall through since Pacers center Myles Turner blocked the layup off the glass for goaltending.

Indiana trailed by eight after the first quarter needed to find a counter, quickly, Coach Rick Carlisle, notoriously mum as it relates to sharing his game plan, stayed true to character ahead of the pivotal matchup.

"I'm not going to talk about strategy," he said hours before tip-off for probably the 38th time this postseason.

Maybe Carlisle just didn't want to state the most obvious strategy, the one everyone expected: unleash bench players Mathurin and T.J. McConnell and get out the way.

The Pacers had trailed for most of this series, and it remained that way until McConnell and his



MADDIE MEYER/GETTY IMAGES

Tyrese Haliburton (22 points) helped Indiana move within two wins of the franchise's first NBA title.

chaos took over. In the second quarter, he disrupted inbound plays (he had three steals in his first six minutes on the floor), zipped passes to open three-point

shooters (four assists during that same time frame) and played and acted like a madman, firing up the crowd and pushing the Pacers to their first lead.

Mathurin, the recipient of a pair of McConnell assists, poured it on like a starter with 14 points in just 10 minutes of action in the first half. Thanks in large part to

The 2015 team won the national championship.

Virginia went 32-18 this season and missed the NCAA tournament for the first time since 2019.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

After camp absences, Sanders says he's okay

Colorado football coach **Deion Sanders** posted on social media that "everything is okay" after he was not able to attend camps in Boulder so far this spring.

The coach's health has come into question because of his extended absence. Sanders wrote on social media that he was "truly blessed for the abundance of well wishes, for all the thoughts and all of the prayers. Thank you thank you thank you!"

Sanders later added that he's "excited to get back to Colorado to be at home with my staff, team [and] all associated to our program." He said that once he arrives back in Boulder he will give updates.

The school had no comment or a reason for his absence. Citing a source that it did not identify, ESPN reported Tuesday that Sanders has been ill and out of the office.

The 57-year-old Sanders has dealt with issues surrounding his left foot since having two toes amputated in 2021 because of blood clot issues while coaching at Jackson State.

He missed media day in 2023, his inaugural year at Colorado, after a procedure to remove a blood clot from his right leg and another to straighten toes on his left foot. ...

A federal judge ruled against cornerback **Corey Coley Jr.**'s request that he be granted a fifth year of eligibility to play at North Carolina State and earn name, image and likeness money.

Coley is one of several players suing the NCAA over its rule that college athletes may play only four seasons within a five-year period.

He sought an injunction that would allow him to play this fall, but U.S. District Judge **James C. Dever III** denied the request, writing that "the balance of hardships does not favor Coley."

Coley played three seasons at Maryland before transferring to N.C. State, where he played six games in 2024 before suffering a season-ending injury.

TENNIS

WTA implements rule for fertility procedures

Professional players who take time off from competition for a fertility procedure such as egg or embryo freezing will have their ranking protected under a WTA Tour policy.

This follows the introduction in March of paid maternity leave and grants for fertility protection measures in women's tennis.

Under the new protected ranking rule covering absences for fertility procedures, players can use the special ranking to enter up to three tournaments. Players already were eligible for ranking protection while pregnant or other ways of becoming a parent.

"For any woman, the conversation of family life versus a career is nuanced and complex," 2017 U.S. Open champion **Sloane Stephens** said in a statement released by the tour. "The WTA has now created a safe space for players to explore options and to make the best decisions for themselves."

— From news services

Nationals stymied by Mets left-hander Peterson as their June swoon continues

NATIONALS FROM D1

pad the Mets' lead.

"More than anything, I'm pissed off about it," Irvin said about his outing. "I'm going to use it as fire to keep working and figure stuff out. Disappointed? Hell, yeah. Concerned? Never."

Irvin wasn't sharp, but the batters shouldered much of the blame for the loss. The Nationals threatened Mets starter David Peterson with a pair of singles to open the seventh, but the lefty regrouped to strike out Andrés Chaparro and Nathaniel Lowe before Alex Call grounded out. In the eighth, Luis García Jr., who had doubled, was thrown out at home trying to score on a single by Jacob Young.

Peterson needed just 106 pitches to complete the shutout, lowering his ERA to 2.49. Irvin needed 100 to get through five innings.

The Nationals (30-37) have scored 15 runs in their nine June games. The MLB-best Mets (44-24) have hit 23 home runs this month.

"The boys are playing hard, but we got to start hitting," Manager Dave Martinez said. "We got to come back tomorrow and score some runs."

If you're looking for silver linings, James Wood was 2 for 4. The 22-year-old slugger came into Wednesday batting .115 in June after closing May on a seven-game hitting streak, a stretch that coincided with the Nationals' best offensive performances of the season. But since the calendar flipped to June, Washington has cooled.

Before Wednesday's game,



Jacob Young watches as a fan tries to catch Brandon Nimmo's home run in the fifth inning Wednesday.

Wood was visibly frustrated as he took batting practice. After he swung at and missed a pitch, he shook his head. After he fouled off a pair of pitches into the net, he leaned back and looked to the sky. Once batting practice con-

cluded, he tossed his bat to the side.

His numbers for the month reflect that frustration: 5 for 30 with one RBI, four walks and 10 strikeouts. In eight June games before Wednesday, Wood chased

more (24.7 percent) than in May (20.8 percent). He also struggled to hit fastballs.

From the first game of the year through the end of May, Wood hit .347 with a .661 slugging percentage against all fastballs — four-

seamers, two-seamers and cutters. Wood was only hitting .083 with a .167 slugging percentage in June entering Wednesday's game.

"I've been a little swing happy in some cases and a little passive in other cases," Wood said. "Just got to try and go up there and work an at-bat. Just pay attention to the game and see what's going on and have team at-bats."

In Wood's first at-bat, he watched a first-pitch sinker from Peterson land for a strike over the heart of the plate. He didn't see a better pitch the rest of the at-bat and eventually struck out when he chased a slider away. In his second at-bat in the fourth, he ripped a sinker through the right side of the infield right past the outstretched glove of second baseman Brett Baty.

"He was a little bit earlier," Martinez said. "Stayed on the fastball and was able to put some good swings on it."

That single was the Nationals' second hit of the night. Their third was a single in the seventh by Amed Rosario, who was batting in front of Wood. Peterson made an adjustment, throwing Wood a pair of sliders. Wood's single moved Rosario into scoring position, but Peterson shut down the rally from there.

Wood struck out on three pitches in the ninth. He took a sinker for a strike, swung through a sinker and whiffed at a four-seam fastball.

"It was a lot of sinkers to most of our lefties for the most part," Wood said. "He just did a good job of keeping them down. He was throwing sinkers at the bottom and the sliders off of that. ...

NATIONALS ON DECK

at New York Mets

Thursday 1:10 MASN

vs. Miami Marlins

Friday 6:45 MASN

Saturday 1:05 MASN2

Sunday 1:35 MASN2

vs. Colorado Rockies

Monday 6:45 MASN

Tuesday 6:45 MASN

Wednesday 6:45 MASN

June 19 1:05 MASN

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)

You got to wait him out a little more, but credit to him."

Notes: Reliever Derek Law (right forearm inflammation) threw a 25-pitch simulated game before Wednesday's game and topped out at 93 mph. Law should have another simulated game soon before the team determines his next steps. Third baseman Paul DeJong was one of the hitters who faced Law during the simulated game. A day earlier, he took batting practice for the first time since getting hit in the face with a pitch. ...

Mason Thompson (Tommy John surgery) threw a simulated game Monday in West Palm Beach, Florida. Martinez said Thompson will have one more rehab outing and, if all goes well, the Nationals could send him on a minor league rehab assignment.

A 'surreal' promotion has Benzan, 27, taking control of an NBA G League team

BENZAN FROM D1

have moments on the phone with my mom where I'm like, 'Oh, my gosh, is this real?'"

This wasn't the game plan for Benzan once her playing days ended with a three-game stint in the WNBA in 2022. She knew she wanted to stay involved in basketball, and a move to broadcast journalism seemed to provide a pathway.

Then she got an opportunity with the Jazz in 2022 as a basketball operations generalist, which put her in draft meetings, the scouting room and discussions with strategy and analytics teams. Duties included scheduling flights and logistics, arranging credentials for scouts and making sure scouting reports were accurate. Two years later, Benzan was promoted to assistant GM of the Stars and coordinator of pro scouting for the Jazz.

Benzan said her younger self probably wouldn't believe the way things have unfolded.

"I've just always been the type of person to just live in the present," she said. "Even just going back a couple years, it was more just — finish out the 'W' run

as well as possible and we'll figure out the next steps afterward."

The Jazz provides various paths of advancement from the G League program. Steve Wojciechowski was recently promoted from head coach of the Stars to an NBA assistant under Will Hardy. The previous Stars coach, Scott Morrison, made the same jump. Former Stars GM Marquis Newman was promoted to Jazz director of pro scouting, which opened the spot for Benzan.

Jazz General Manager Justin Zanik said he saw something in Benzan during her initial days and took notice of the ways she approached tasks. He remembers her constructing a draft project evaluating 15 prospects with video — something he didn't ask for. In addition to her responsibilities with the Stars, she will continue in her role as manager of pro scouting for the Jazz.

"The last three years, it's kind of been a steady progression of giving her more and more responsibility," Zanik said. "And she's handled each step with a breeze. And while some people may think this is quick, she is



Katie Benzan played three seasons at Harvard before transferring to Maryland, where she helped the Terps win the 2021 Big Ten title.

absolutely ready for it. It's a big job."

The primary goal for the Stars is to develop players for the NBA team. The Jazz has the fifth, 21st,

43rd and 53rd picks in this month's draft. If it makes all of those picks, several of those players are likely to spend time with the Stars.

Benzan is charged with forming the roster around them, including players signed as free agents with one-year, minimum-salary contracts or managing those on two-way contracts, which allow them to play for an NBA team and its G League affiliate. Benzan already is involved in hiring the Stars' next coach and regularly deals with players and agents.

While team development is her main goal, Benzan also wants to focus on winning after the Stars earned their first playoff victory last season. She's still developing an outline for what she ultimately wants her rosters to look like, but she has two non-negotiables: IQ and toughness. That's to be expected, considering the type of player she was.

"You can go learn the CBA," Zanik said. "There's things that you can be taught, and then there's things that you just have to kind of have instincts for — how to deal with people no matter what their position was. And she's a gracious, gracious person and has a demeanor that works very well with others, whether that's managing up or managing

down or with peers. She's got that."

Benzan played three years at Harvard. She was named first-team Ivy League three years in a row and led the conference in three-point percentage in 2017-18. She transferred to Maryland and helped the Terps win the Big Ten, advance to the NCAA tournament's Sweet 16 and become the highest-scoring team in the nation. She led the nation in three-point percentage in 2020-21 and was named an Associated Press honorable mention all-American. She and an Iowa freshman named Caitlin Clark dueled with nine three-pointers apiece in a 111-93 Maryland victory in 2021.

Benzan went undrafted after graduating but was picked up by the Mystics and became a fan favorite in her brief time on the floor. That was her lone year in the WNBA, and her future was uncertain. Then came a move to Utah that changed the trajectory of her career.

"I've always learned best that way — just throw me in the deep end and either swim or sink," she said with a laugh. "So far I've swam."

Lattimore wants to prove his value to Commanders

COMMANDERS FROM D1

heal. I was just trying to battle through that. Now that I've had a full offseason, I feel explosive."

Lattimore didn't suit up for Washington until Week 15 because of the injury. He wasn't targeted once in coverage in his debut against his former team, the Saints.

His subsequent outing, against the Philadelphia Eagles, didn't go as smoothly. Lattimore gave up five catches and a touchdown in coverage and was flagged three times for pass interference before exiting early because of the hamstring injury.

Lattimore sat out the final two games of the regular season and returned for the playoffs, during which he allowed 10 catches for 154 yards and a touchdown in coverage. In his five games with the Commanders, he was flagged five times for pass interference, setting up 20 points for the opponents.

Lattimore acknowledged he was pressing to prove himself.

"I just wanted to prove that they made the right decision, obviously," he said. "So I just wanted to get out there and show what I could do. I was hurt, but I don't want to make excuses. I was out there. ... If I was good enough to play, I can be evaluated on that. It is what it is. I just want to get out this year and show what I can do."

After the season, General Manager Adam Peters expressed con-

fidence in Lattimore and reiterated his injury hindered his adjustment.

Lattimore said it wasn't until he allowed his body to rest and then resumed his training that he started to feel like himself. He avoided heavy lifting and kept his workouts focused on regaining explosiveness.

"Just getting a full offseason to get healthy, I feel great," he said. "I've been working a lot to be in better shape than I was last year, obviously dealing with the injury. ... I just want to get out there and be explosive."

Brown carted off field

Wide receiver Noah Brown was carted off the practice field after going down during one of the final seven-on-seven reps. Brown caught a short pass over the middle from Marcus Mariota and stayed on the ground for a bit before slowly standing and limping off the field.

Brown threw his helmet in frustration after reaching the sideline, then stood, hunched over, with team athletic trainers by his side. He then got on the cart and was wheeled to the facility.

The details and the severity of his injury are not yet known. Teams do not have to disclose injury information during the offseason.

Wideout Michael Gallup is also injured — he has a strained hamstring, according to a person with knowledge of the situation — and



Commanders wide receiver Noah Brown was carted off the field following a seven-on-seven drill during Wednesday's minicamp practice.

was not on the field Tuesday or Wednesday.

The upcoming break before training camp could be enough to help Gallup get back on the field. Should Brown be dealing with anything serious, the Commanders could add to their receiving corps before camp.

Reaves gets another year

While they continue working on a new deal for wide receiver Terry McLaurin, the Commanders gave safety and special teams

ace Jeremy Reaves a one-year extension, keeping him under contract through 2026, according to a person with knowledge of the deal.

Reaves, 28, is one of the longest-tenured and most respected Commanders players, joining the franchise's practice squad after the Philadelphia Eagles waived him in 2018. An undrafted free agent out of South Alabama, Reaves was cut by Washington multiple times in his first four seasons with the club before sign-

ing to the active roster in 2022.

That season, after serving as Tress Way's punt protector, Reaves was voted first-team all-pro and was selected to the Pro Bowl as a special teams player, capping a remarkable rise.

Reaves's 2023 season was cut short by a knee injury, but he returned in 2024 and was voted one of the team's postseason captains.

"This is a true Commander, one of our heavy hitters and an absolute all-around BMF [bad

motherf---er] in every way," Coach Dan Quinn said. "... He affects all sides of the ball, and that's kind of the best part about our team. It's not like, 'Hey, I'm just over here with the defense or just on the special teams.' We're one team, and I love that. And Jeremy represents that about as strongly as anybody could. Now, the performance side, man, you feel him with the speed and the tackling and the toughness. We really value what he brings to us, on and off the field."

BASEBALL

National League

Table with columns: EAST, W, L, PCT, GB, L10 STR. Rows include New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Atlanta, Miami.

Table with columns: CENTRAL, W, L, PCT, GB, L10 STR. Rows include Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh.

Table with columns: WEST, W, L, PCT, GB, L10 STR. Rows include Los Angeles, x-San Francisco, San Diego, Arizona, x-Colorado.

American League

Table with columns: EAST, W, L, PCT, GB, L10 STR. Rows include New York, Toronto, Tampa Bay, Boston, Baltimore.

Table with columns: CENTRAL, W, L, PCT, GB, L10 STR. Rows include Detroit, Minnesota, Cleveland, Kansas City, Chicago.

Table with columns: WEST, W, L, PCT, GB, L10 STR. Rows include Houston, Los Angeles, Seattle, Texas, Athletics.

Mets 5, Nationals 0

Table with columns: NATIONALS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Abrams, Rosario, Wood, Chaparro, Lowe, Galif, Adams, Garcia, Jac, Young.

Pirates 5, Marlins 2

Andrew McCutchen hit a milestone three-run homer in the fifth inning to help Pittsburgh beat Miami.

McCutchen's blast was his 241st in 12 seasons with the Pirates, moving him past Hall of Famer Roberto Clemente into third place on the franchise's career list.

Table with columns: MARLINS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Edwards, Ramirez, Hernandez, Lopez, Wagaman, Nix, Myers, Sanchez, Fortes, Hicks, Sanoja, Stowers.

Table with columns: PIRATES, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Cruz, McCutchen, Reynolds, Horwitz, Gonzalez, Frazier, Canario, Davis, Hayes, Kiner-Falefa, Bachar.

Table with columns: MIAMI, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Fortes, Hernandez, Horwitz, Faller, Martinez, Quantill, Bednar, Scherzer, Santana, Bacchar.

Table with columns: PITTSBURGH, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Fortes, Hernandez, Horwitz, Faller, Martinez, Quantill, Bednar, Scherzer, Santana, Bacchar.

Table with columns: PIRATES, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Faller, Ashcraft, Santana, Ferguson, Bodnar, Frazier, Canario, Davis, Hayes, Kiner-Falefa, Bachar.

Table with columns: MIAMI, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Fortes, Hernandez, Horwitz, Faller, Martinez, Quantill, Bednar, Scherzer, Santana, Bacchar.

Guardians 11, Reds 2

Carlos Santana slugged his sixth career grand slam as Cleveland beat Cincinnati, snapping the Reds' five-game winning streak.

Santana's third-inning slam came on the 15th anniversary of his major league debut. It was his eighth homer of the season and made it 5-0.

Table with columns: REDS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Friedl, Espinal, De La Cruz, Encarnacion, Martinez, Trevino, Joe, McClain, Hampson.

Table with columns: GUARDIANS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Thomas, Espinoza, Zambrano, Ramirez, Santana, Fry, Ryan, Nunez, Rodriguez, Naylor, Martinez, Rojas.

Table with columns: CINCINNATI, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Arias, Ramirez, Espinal, Rodriguez, Friedl, Allen, Llodolito, Richardson, La Sorsa, Barlow, Gibaut.

Table with columns: GUARDIANS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Allen, Espinoza, Zambrano, Ramirez, Santana, Fry, Ryan, Nunez, Rodriguez, Naylor, Martinez, Rojas.

Table with columns: CINCINNATI, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Arias, Ramirez, Espinal, Rodriguez, Friedl, Allen, Llodolito, Richardson, La Sorsa, Barlow, Gibaut.

Diamondbacks 5, Mariners 2

Eugenio Suarez hit a go-ahead grand slam, Eduardo Rodriguez pitched into the seventh inning, and Arizona swept a three-game series from Seattle.

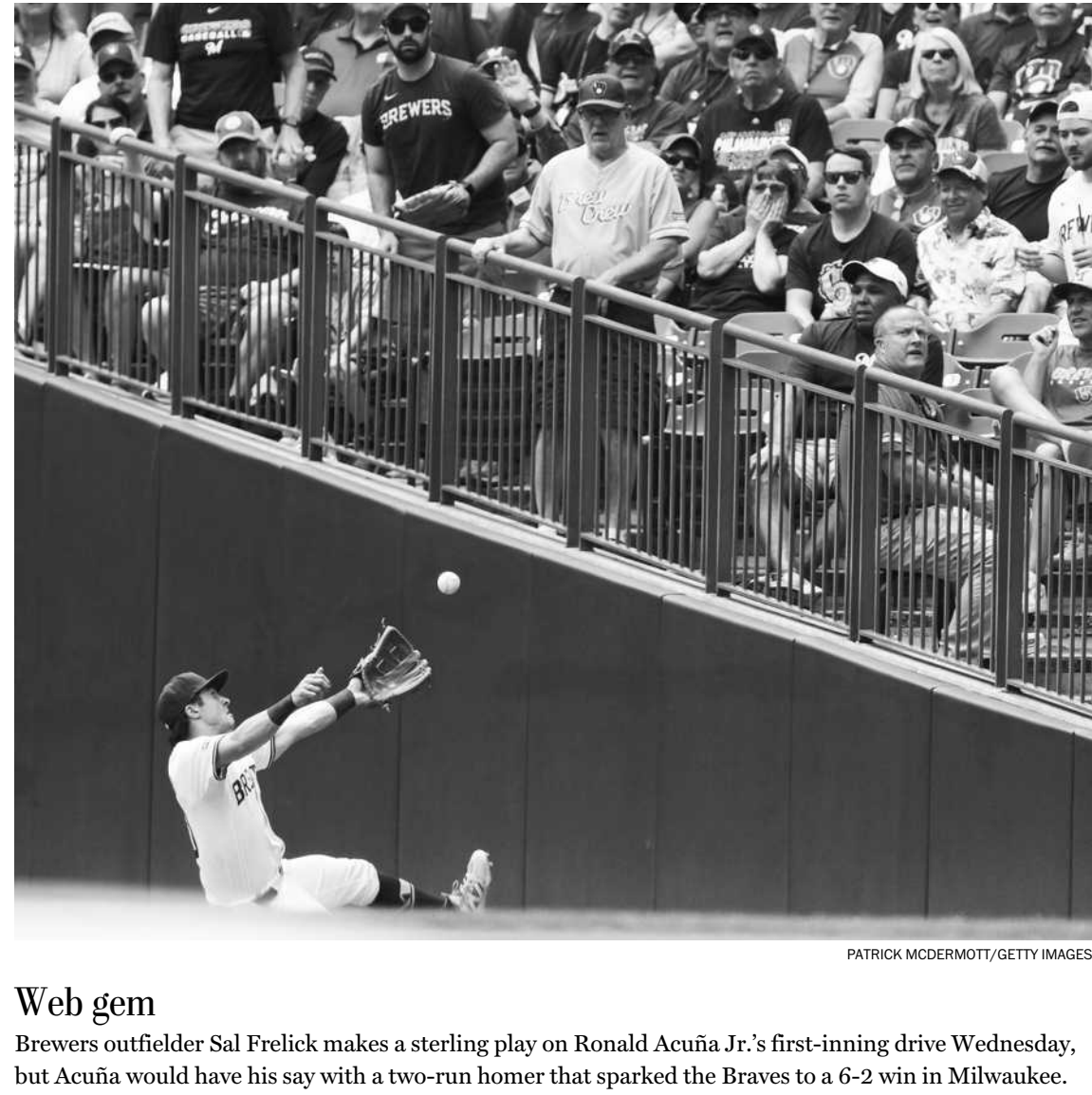
Arizona trailed 2-0 after five innings but scored five runs in the sixth for a second straight game to take control.

Table with columns: MARINERS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Crawford, Soderstrom, Raleigh, Arzarena, Polanco, Garver, Solano, Moore, Canzone, Williamson, Mastrobuoni.

Table with columns: D'BACKS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Carroll, Marte, Perdomo, Soler, d'Arnaud, Adell, Gurril, Smith, Tawa, Thomas, Herrera.

Table with columns: SEATTLE, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Judge, Wilson, Ramirez, Kirk, Pena, Aranda, O'Hearn, Camerino, DeGrom, Strickland, Albers, Devers, Flores, Suarez, Schwarber.

Table with columns: SEATTLE, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Judge, Wilson, Ramirez, Kirk, Pena, Aranda, O'Hearn, Camerino, DeGrom, Strickland, Albers, Devers, Flores, Suarez, Schwarber.



PATRICK MCDERMOTT/GETTY IMAGES

Web gem

Brewers outfielder Sal Frelick makes a sterling play on Ronald Acuna Jr.'s first-inning drive Wednesday, but Acuna would have his way with a two-run homer that sparked the Braves to a 6-2 win in Milwaukee.

Blue Jays 5, Cardinals 2

Ernie Clement homered and Spencer Turnbull worked two scoreless innings for the win in his Toronto debut as the Blue Jays turned back St. Louis for a three-game sweep.

Clement finished with three hits but did not take the field in the ninth inning after suffering an apparent leg injury.

Table with columns: BLUE JAYS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Bichette, Guerrero, Kirk, Herrera, Sprague, Clement, Schmeitzel, Straw, Gorman, Jones, Sweeney.

Table with columns: PHILLIES, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Turner, Schwarber, Bohm, Jones, Kepler, Realmluto, Stott, Kemp, Rojas.

Table with columns: CHICAGO, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Phipps, Castro, Brown, Cabrera, Pomeroy.

Table with columns: PHILLIES, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Luzzardo, Lazar, Mercado, Turner, Schwarber, Bohm, Jones, Kepler, Realmluto, Stott, Kemp, Rojas.

Table with columns: PHILLIES, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Luzzardo, Lazar, Mercado, Turner, Schwarber, Bohm, Jones, Kepler, Realmluto, Stott, Kemp, Rojas.

Dodgers 5, Padres 2

Teoscar Hernandez broke a sixth-inning tie with a three-run homer and Michael Conforto also went deep as Los Angeles took two of three in a battle of division rivals.

Table with columns: DODGERS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Ohtani, Betts, Freeman, Kim, Muncy, Pages, Conforto, Hernandez.

Table with columns: PADRES, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Tatís, Bogaerts, Machado, Merril, Sheets, Bogaerts, Machado, Merril, Sheets.

Table with columns: ANGELS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Neto, Schanuel, Trout, Ward, Soler, d'Arnaud, Adell, Rengifo, Newman.

Table with columns: ATHLETICS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Eward, Rooker, Urias, Henderson, Jolly, Adell, Bido, Atkies, Sears, Holman, Bido.

Table with columns: ANGELS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Eward, Rooker, Urias, Henderson, Jolly, Adell, Bido, Atkies, Sears, Holman, Bido.

Eflin changes it up and offense awakens

ORIOLES 10, TIGERS 1

BALTIMORE — Three weeks ago, Zach Eflin was dominated by the Washington Nationals. He threw his changeup, one of his best pitches, just 7.5 percent of the time as he allowed eight runs.

Since then, the Baltimore Orioles right-hander has relied heavily on his changeup, throwing the pitch more than 20 percent of the time in each of his past four starts. And Wednesday night against the Detroit Tigers, he relied on it even more to lead the Orioles to a 10-1 victory at Camden Yards.

Meanwhile, the Orioles exploded for a season-high 16 hits and scored their most runs since Opening Day. The last time Baltimore won by five or more runs was April 16.

But Eflin's showing against the American League's top team was especially impressive considering the Orioles' desperation for a strong start. He used his changeup 31 percent of the time. When the Tigers managed to connect with the pitch, their average exit velocity was just 86.8 mph.

It's not as if Eflin's changeup is more devastating this season; he has gained just one inch of horizontal break and two inches of vertical break compared with last year. And against the Tigers, his spin rate was actually lower than his season average. But the Tigers managed just five hits against him.

The Orioles needed a strong showing. With reigning AL Cy Award winner Tarik Skubal slated to start Thursday's series finale, Baltimore couldn't afford to lose another game — and its seven-run outburst in the eighth inning ensured that wouldn't happen.

— Baltimore Sun

Red Sox 4, Rays 3

Rookie Marcelo Mayer hit two of Boston's four solo home runs as the Red Sox outlasted Tampa Bay.

Abraham Toro added a go-ahead homer in the fifth inning and Jarren Duran had one back in the first to help Boston secure its second series win against the Rays this season.

Table with columns: RAYS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Lowe, Diaz, Bogaerts, Camerino, Mangum, Thaiss, Garcia, Heim, Wallis.

Table with columns: RED SOX, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Duran, Devers, Toro, Narvaez, Anthony, Story, Mayer, Campbell, Hamilton, Rafaela.

Table with columns: LOB: Tampa Bay, Boston, Rays, Duran, Devers, Toro, Narvaez, Anthony, Story, Mayer, Campbell, Hamilton, Rafaela.

Table with columns: RANGERS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Smith, Langford, Seager, Semien, Castro, Carter, Jung, Lee, Heim, Vazquez.

Table with columns: RANGERS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Smith, Langford, Seager, Semien, Castro, Carter, Jung, Lee, Heim, Vazquez.

Twins 6, Rangers 2

Byron Buxton launched a 479-foot home run, the second-longest in the majors this season, to power Minnesota past Texas.

Buxton's three-run shot to center field off Jack Leiter was the longest of his 144 career homers, and it gave the Twins a 3-2 lead in the third inning.

Table with columns: RANGERS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Smith, Langford, Seager, Semien, Castro, Carter, Jung, Lee, Heim, Vazquez.

Table with columns: TWINS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Buxton, Lamach, Jeffers, Wallner, Bader, France, Castro, Carter, Jung, Lee, Heim, Vazquez.

Table with columns: TEXAS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Buxton, Lamach, Jeffers, Wallner, Bader, France, Castro, Carter, Jung, Lee, Heim, Vazquez.

Table with columns: TEXAS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Buxton, Lamach, Jeffers, Wallner, Bader, France, Castro, Carter, Jung, Lee, Heim, Vazquez.

Table with columns: TEXAS, AB, R, H, B, I, BB, SO, AVG. Rows include Buxton, Lamach, Jeffers, Wallner, Bader, France, Castro, Carter, Jung, Lee, Heim, Vazquez.

NOTES

PERSONNEL DEPT. Diamondbacks: Closer Justin Martinez landed on the 15-day injured list with a sprained ulnar collateral ligament in his right elbow.

Giants: Placed C Patrick Bailey on the 10-day IL with a strained neck and selected the contract of C Logan Porter from Class AAA Sacramento.

Royals: Placed all-star LHP Cole Ragans back on the IL after one dismal start against the Cardinals, this time with a left rotator cuff strain, and activated reliever Lucas Ercg from the IL.

Rangers: Signed reliever Craig Kimbrel, who was waived by the Braves last week, to a minor league contract.

Tigers: RHP Jackson Jobe, the club's first-round draft pick in 2021, will have season-ending Tommy John surgery.

Twins: Reinforced their injury-decimated pitching staff by claiming LHP Joey Wentz (4.15 ERA in 26 innings) off waivers from the Pirates.

Yankees: DH Giancarlo Stanton (epicondylitis in both elbows) went 2 for 3 as the slugger began a rehab assignment at Class AA Somerset on Tuesday.

BY THE NUMBERS

10.94 Career number of at-bats per home run in June for Phillies slugger Kyle Schwarber, which ranks third in MLB history for players with at least 600 at-bats behind Babe Ruth (10.64) and Mark McGwire (10.80).

TODAY

Table with columns: NATIONALS AT METS, 1:10. Rows include Soroka, Senga, Giants at Rockies, Cardinals at Brewers, Pirates at Cubs, Heaney, Tallion.

NL games

Table with columns: NATIONALS AT METS, 1:10. Rows include Soroka, Senga, Giants at Rockies, Cardinals at Brewers, Pirates at Cubs, Heaney, Tallion.

NL scores

Table with columns: TUESDAY'S RESULTS. Rows include Miami 3, Pittsburgh 2; Chicago Cubs 8, Philadelphia 4; San Francisco 6, Colorado 5; San Diego 11, L.A. Dodgers 1.

AL games

Table with columns: TIGERS AT ORIOLES, 6:35. Rows include Skubal, Kremer, Rangers at Twins, Yankees at Royals, Warren, Lugo, White Sox at Astros, Martin, Valdez.

AL scores

Table with columns: TUESDAY'S RESULTS. Rows include Detroit 5, Baltimore 3; Boston 3, Tampa Bay 1; Texas 16, Minnesota 4; N.Y. Yankees 6, Kansas City 2; Toronto 5, St. Louis 2.

Interleague scores

Table with columns: TUESDAY'S RESULTS. Rows include Cincinnati 1, Cleveland 0; Toronto 10, St. Louis 9; Cleveland 11, Cincinnati 2; Toronto 5, St. Louis 2.

VIRGINIA SOCCER QUARTERFINALS

Loudoun County girls keep on rolling

Undefeated Captains are one of 13 area teams in the state semifinals

BY NICKY WOLCOTT

After losing just five players to graduation and adding several key pieces, Loudoun County girls' soccer coach Chelsea O'Bruba told her team before the season that she thought it could be special.

Fast-forward three months to June, and it's easy to see why. The Captains haven't lost any of their 21 games on their way to district and region titles. On Tuesday, they hosted a state quarterfinal for the first time since 2019.

Facing Blacksburg, No. 6 Loudoun County rolled to a 5-2 win and advanced to the Virginia Class 4 semifinals.

"I'm just happy for them because they're a testament to what actually happens when you put aside your ego and you are working for a game that you love to play," O'Bruba said.

Loudoun County has incorporated plenty of young talent into its rotation, with all five freshmen on the roster earning a starting spot at some point this season. But it was an experienced group of players who helped the Captains get off to a strong start Tuesday.

Senior Emily Horst received a low cross from junior Kate Andres, took a touch and found the bottom right corner to open the scoring for Loudoun County in the 22nd minute. Junior Charli Perrelli doubled the Captains' advantage directly from a corner kick in the 26th minute before junior Keera Lawlor made it 3-0 with a powerful volley just 49 seconds later.

The Bruins responded with two goals, but the Captains (20-0-1) answered to maintain their three-goal advantage.

Piper Berger headed in a cross from a corner kick to get Blacksburg on the board in the 31st minute, but Perrelli scored her second goal to give the Captains a 4-1 lead at halftime. Berger added the Bruins' second goal less than a minute into the second half, but Horst restored the Captains' three-goal cushion after getting on the end of a deflected cross in the 44th minute.

Loudoun County recorded five or more goals for the eighth time this season and has outscored its opponents 84-7.

The Captains are two wins from their first unbeaten campaign since 2015 and their first state title since 2018.

"The way we play is just really selfless, and you can see that in the way we just combine throughout the whole field," Horst said. "Nobody's dribbling the entire field. There's a lot of

crossing going on, a lot of people making these selfless runs, which really helps us. We're just playing for each other and playing for an end goal."

Loudoun County will face Atlee in a Class 4 semifinal at 11 a.m. Friday at Monticello High in Charlottesville. Woodgrove, which made its first state semifinal since its title-winning 2019 season, plays Jamestown at 9 a.m.

Loudoun County was one of three Northern Virginia schools to have its girls' and boys' teams qualify for the state tournament. It was the only local school to host both quarterfinal matches.

The boys fell to Blacksburg, 1-0, in the second game of Tuesday's doubleheader. Loudoun County (17-3-1) has won three straight Class 4 Region C titles, but its season ended in the state quarterfinals for a second straight year.

Thirteen Northern Virginia teams will play in state semifinals Friday.

In Class 6, No. 2 Gar-Field, Herndon and Wakefield advanced on the boys' side; No. 5 South County, No. 7 Freedom (South Riding) and No. 9 Yorktown advanced in the girls' bracket. In Class 5, the No. 1 Riverside and No. 6 Lightridge boys moved on, and the No. 1 Independence girls won in overtime. The Meridian boys and the Brentsville District girls qualified in Class 3.

VIRGINIA GIRLS' LACROSSE SEMIFINALS

After a reset, Yorktown takes charge

BY BENNETT SOLOMON

Entering Tuesday's Virginia Class 6 semifinal at Battlefield, Yorktown girls' lacrosse coach Jenny Keimig figured the game would come down to possession and draw controls.

Facing a gritty opponent that was riding an eight-game winning streak, the Patriots struggled to keep up early. Yorktown lost multiple draw controls, and the Bobcats set the tempo in the opening 10 minutes. But when Battlefield's Alexis Polivka scored her team's fourth straight goal, Keimig made a key adjustment.

"You can't score if you don't have possession," she said. "So we made a few tweaks on our mid-field line and started getting draw controls and had shooting opportunities."

Yorktown quickly found a groove offensively and began to execute its game plan. Along with success in the circle, the Patriots generated more shots and put pressure on Battlefield's goalie. They cut their deficit to one by the end of the first quarter and pulled ahead in the second.

Behind seven different goal scorers, Yorktown held off Battlefield, 12-10, to advance to its second consecutive Class 6 championship game. The Patriots have

reached the final in three of the past four seasons.

"There's really no better team," said senior captain Coco Rigoli, who had three goals, three assists and three draw controls. "We're all so close, and we're doing it for each other. We know that every game, we're going as hard as physically possible. And today, we just walked out on the field and we knew we were going to win it and make it to the championship."

Yorktown (20-1) outshot the Bobcats (17-4) 30-16 and won 63 percent of its draw controls.

The Patriots will face Madison — a 15-7 winner over Cosby on Wednesday night — in the Class 6 title game at 12:30 p.m. Saturday at Douglas Freeman High in Richmond. Yorktown's lone defeat this season came to the Warhawks in the Class 6 Region D final.

"We know going in, no game is guaranteed," Rigoli said. "We're going to go out as hard as possible. Especially in state championship games, emotions are high. Anything can happen. We know we have to go out and give everything on the field. If we give it all, we've got that."

Riverside storms into final

In Class 5, Riverside routed Kellam, 16-1, on Monday to advance to the final. The Rams will

face Douglas Freeman, which has won the past four state titles, at 12:30 p.m. Saturday at Mills Godwin High in Richmond.

Riverside won its lone title in 2018, and its most recent championship game appearance came in 2022. This year, the Rams (18-3) will get a chance at revenge after falling to Douglas Freeman in the 2021 and 2022 title games. But Coach Kristan Ash said her team has another source of motivation.

"This is a team that is playing for each other right now," Ash said. "They're all really locked in. They're playing together. I think they're peaking at the right time, and there's no feeling of slowing down. ... I think we are rolling up with a strong group of girls that are playing for each other and they're not going to back down."

Freeman defeated Lightridge, 16-8, in the other semifinal, eliminating the Lightning for a second straight year. Lightridge (16-5) was hurt in the circle: Freeman won 17 of 24 draw controls.

"I'm extremely proud of the way that our team played as a team and stayed in it together," Lightridge Coach Kere Harper said. "They gave it their best until the last whistle."

In Class 4, Dominion (15-3) fell, 16-2, to defending champion Western Albemarle.

VIRGINIA BOYS' LACROSSE SEMIFINALS

West Potomac has a chance for a first

BY MATT COHEN

It was time for Grant Maloney to go to the student section. Moments earlier, the West Potomac senior had raced across the field to hug his teammates after the biggest win in program history. Before that, he had scored the goal that completed a second-half comeback and delivered a 9-8 win over Battlefield in a Virginia Class 6 boys' lacrosse semifinal Tuesday.

The students chanted Maloney's name and embraced him in a hug across the top of a chain-link fence. After his last game on his high school field, Maloney took in a program-changing moment.

"We always fight, baby," he said. "We're always fighting."

Tuesday's appearance in the state semifinals already was the deepest run in West Potomac history. With the win, the Wolverines (16-6) will get a shot at their first state title.

Battlefield (17-4) controlled the first half and led 7-3 at halftime. West Potomac coaches said they made second-half defensive adjustments, and those

resulted in the Wolverines outscoring Battlefield 6-1 after halftime. Maloney tied the score at 7, and after it was tied again at 8, he notched the winner with 4:11 to play.

"So many years, there wasn't a culture of winning," West Potomac Coach John Stamos said. "Now they have a culture of winning. We've always had the talent. It's just bringing it out."

The end was fitting, as if the winning tally had to come from Maloney. A senior leader, he will play at Jacksonville University next year as one of the handful of West Potomac alumni to reach Division I lacrosse. He won the Patriot District player of the year award as he scored more than 50 goals as a midfielder.

Senior attacker Brendan Murray added four goals Tuesday.

Stamos said his team's ascension required developing a stronger youth program and getting some players who might usually go to a private school to stay with the local public option.

After the win, he had much to say about what it took to build his program. But when it came time to huddle up with his

players and explain what this win meant, he was speechless. And as the celebration began, he realized the work wasn't done.

"I'm clicking gears and it's like, 'Oh, Jesus, we've got three days to get ready,'" Stamos said.

The state championship game is 10 a.m. Saturday at Douglas Freeman High in Richmond. West Potomac will face Cosby, which defeated visiting Robinson, 5-2, on Wednesday night.

Independence cruises

Independence (18-2) rolled into the Class 5 final by beating Kellam, 15-3, on Monday. The Tigers will face Douglas Freeman at 10 a.m. Saturday at Mills Godwin High in Richmond.

Loudoun County returns

Loudoun County, winner of 11 in a row after falling to Independence in April, beat Meridian, 12-11, on Tuesday to advance to the Class 4 championship game. The Captains will face Salem at 10 a.m. Saturday at Charlottesville High. This is the second straight year Loudoun County reached the title game; it lost to Atlee in last year's final.

Scoreboard section containing Pro Basketball, Hockey, and Soccer results. Includes NBA playoffs (Eastern Conference Pacers eliminated Knicks, Western Conference Thunder eliminated Timberwolves), Stanley Cup playoffs (Eastern Conference Panthers eliminated Hurricanes), MLS (Philadelphia, Cincinnati, etc.), and various other league scores.

NBA Playoff Leaders and WNBA sections. NBA Playoff Leaders lists players like Antetokounmpo and Jokic. WNBA section includes game results for New York, Indiana, Chicago, and Connecticut.

U.S. Open TEE TIMES and WNBFA sections. U.S. Open lists tee times for events in Oakmont, Pa. WNBFA section includes game results for New York, Indiana, Chicago, and Connecticut.

10TH HOLE-FIRST HOLE and 10TH HOLE-FIRST HOLE sections. 10TH HOLE-FIRST HOLE lists scores for various players. 10TH HOLE-FIRST HOLE includes names like Zac Blair and Scott Vincent.

PRO FOOTBALL United Football League playoffs and HIGH SCHOOLS sections. United Football League playoffs lists USFL Conference Championship and NFL Championship Game results. HIGH SCHOOLS lists Wednesday's results for girls' lacrosse and boys' lacrosse.

AUTO RACING NASCAR Cup Series POINTS LEADERS and COLLEGE BASEBALL World Series sections. NASCAR Cup Series lists points leaders like William Byron. COLLEGE BASEBALL World Series lists Charles Schwab Field as the site.

WTA ATP STUTTGART OPEN and WTA ATP STUTTGART OPEN sections. WTA ATP STUTTGART OPEN lists tennis results like Iga Swiatek. WTA ATP STUTTGART OPEN includes player names and match scores.

What's for dinner? Search our database of tested recipes by ingredient or name. washingtonpost.com/recipes The Washington Post logo.

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LOCAL LIVING



The good (enough) earth

Inside an exhausting, expensive, happy failed attempt at homesteading **PAGE 3**

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HOW TO

I hate the recessed lights in my kitchen. What are my options?

BY JEANNE HUBER

Q: My townhouse was built with can lights in the ceiling. What are my options to replace them? In the kitchen, I am always cooking in my shadow and can't see anything!

A: A smart lighting plan directs light to where you cook or wash dishes and accounts for the fact that you need to be there, too. But when you're working with lights that are already in place, it's much more difficult to find a solution that doesn't entail a lot of expense and mess.

"Lighting is all about having electricity where you need it," said Sidney Genette, owner of Lighting Designs, a Seattle company that helps design lighting plans for residential and commercial customers. So while it's theoretically possible to relocate or add recessed lights, that's probably not a good solution because you'd need a good electrician as well as pros to patch and repaint the ceiling.

Short of that, one solution would be to add a hood with a built-in light over the stove. Or, depending on how your kitchen is laid out, you could add a plug-in task light or have an electrician wire in one that you mount to the side of a nearby cabinet or to the wall. Make sure it's shaded, though, so the glare doesn't get in your eyes. Pendant lights hung to one or both sides of where you stand might also work. And if upper cabinets are nearby, adding lighting under the overhang could help.

You might also be able to get better results from the can lights without remodeling, Genette said. If your can lights are recessed well into the ceiling, they produce light that streams down in a cone shape. By installing an LED retrofit kit, you can convert the can to a lens-type fixture that spreads light across the ceiling. The more even light might help illuminate the area where you cook and make the shadow less harsh. Plus, unless you already have LEDs in the can lights, the new fixtures should help reduce energy use.

If your cans have screw-in bulbs, you can make the switch yourself if you are comfortable working on a ladder. If the cans have wired-in ballasts or



ISTOCK

The placement of lighting is just as important as the kind of lighting. A good design takes into account where in a room time is often spent.

fluorescent lights that attach differently, you'll need an electrician. Either way, you probably won't need to patch or even repaint the ceiling.

If you have screw-in bulbs, get a retrofit kit that's sized for the diameter of the trim rings on your current lights and has a connector that screws into an Edison bulb base. One example is the Halo integrated LED recessed light trim. First, shut off the power at the electrical panel. Then unscrew the bulb and pop out the trim ring, screw in the adapter, and press the fixture into place. Spring arms push against the can light housing to hold the new assembly in place.

The Halo kit allows you to adjust the brightness and color temperature of the light, as well as the angle, which is useful on a sloped ceiling. The controls are built into the fixture, so set them before you install it. If you decide later that you want different settings, you will need to climb back up the ladder, remove the fixture and make the changes — not terribly

convenient, but at least it doesn't cost anything.

For brightness, the Halo model has two options, 600 lumens, equivalent to a typical 60-watt incandescent bulb (if you remember what that was like), or 975 lumens, like a 75-watt incandescent. For kitchens, Genette recommends going with the higher setting. "You want as much light as possible," he said. LEDs don't burn out as quickly as incandescent or compact-fluorescent bulbs, but they do get dimmer over time, and when they get too dim to be useful, you will need to replace the whole fixture. Starting with a brighter light makes the useful life longer.

Color temperature, which is usually referred to as "warm" light or "cool" light, affects the ambiance of a room and the sharpness of what you see. The temperatures are measured in degrees Kelvin, with low temperatures having yellowish light and high temperatures having blue light. Genette recommends 2700K, "the color of an old-fashioned incandescent

bulb," for residential use. In a kitchen or other workspace, some people like the crisper look of cooler light, maybe 2900K to 3000K, which is similar to what a halogen bulb would produce, Genette said. For use in a home kitchen, he strongly recommends against 3500K or anything higher because it will make the room seem harsh and cold. The Halo model adjusts as high as 5000K but also has a temperature setting called D2W, for "dim to warm." Used with a compatible dimmer switch, it allows you to adjust the light to 3000K when you're working, then turn it down to 1800K when you're entertaining or enjoying the meal.

If you have screw-in lights now, you can install retrofit kits in just one or two cans to test whether the change will make a big enough difference in your kitchen to warrant switching all of them. If you have a dimmer switch, test with it set at maximum power, Genette said. But all lights controlled by a single switch should be the

same, Genette said, so once the test is done, change the rest of the lights or reinstall the old setup in the can you tested. If you have numerous can lights in your kitchen, you might want to choose a model to test that's sold in multiples, which can result in a significant savings.

Or if you want something altogether different, there are many ways to get light where you want it. In a kitchen with just a single overhead light, for example, it's possible to replace that fixture with a track system that has multiple lights positioned where they work best.

Figuring out lighting can be tricky. If you can't come up with a good solution on your own, consider hiring a lighting designer to come to your house. Genette makes house calls — \$300 for a two-hour consultation.

Have a problem in your home?

Send questions to localliving@washpost.com. Put "How To" in the subject line, tell us where you live and try to include a photo.

LOCAL LIVING

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Full homesteading is not for us. But our attempt was a happy failure.



PHOTOS BY KATE MEDLEY/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Mike Riggs and Mollie Kotzen had big plans when they bought a house on three acres in North Carolina. But eventually they realized that they were more fulfilled by gardening when they did not have the pressure of full homesteading.

BY MIKE RIGGS

Everybody knows that drought is bad for growing things, but it wasn't until last year that I learned heavy rain following drought is also bad, at least for tomatoes. The dry weather causes their skin to lose elasticity, and the sudden increase in moisture causes them to swell and burst. The fruit is still edible if you pick it fast enough, but a tomato becomes bug bait as soon as its insides are exposed. Crops don't wait, and they often don't keep.

This is one of the many lessons we've learned since leaving our concrete stamp in Philadelphia for three green acres in North Carolina in 2022. My wife and I initially relocated to be closer to family and because we wanted a

yard where our kids could play. But as we acclimated to the greenery of the Piedmont, our appetites grew. We wanted more than a yard; we craved the full pastoral.

And so we bought a property with a large perennial pollinator garden, fruit trees, numerous trellises, a lengthy blueberry hedge, nine large raised beds and the pièce de résistance: a Lord & Burnham greenhouse built over the top of the walkout basement. We saw the house for the first time on a Wednesday. By Sunday, we were under contract and fantasizing about a homestead, where we would strive for self-sufficiency: growing and raising most of what we eat.

But three years later, most of the produce and all of the animal pro-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Riggs says that while he is not cut out for homesteading, he still spends a lot of his time gardening.



PHOTOS BY KATE MEDLEY/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Mike Riggs and Mollie Kotzen play with their sons, ages 3 and 1.

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

tein our family of five eats comes from Costco, Walmart or our local farmers market. Homesteading was simply not for us — though it did reinforce for me the miracle of modern agriculture.

How many square feet of raised beds do you need to meet a toddler's strawberry demand? I still don't know. We dedicated 80 square feet to strawberries last season. The bugs ate half our harvest, and the other half was roughly what our kid could eat in a week.

Have you ever grown peas? Give them something to climb, and they'll stretch to the heavens. Have you ever shelled peas? It is an almost criminal misuse of time. I set a timer on my phone last year. It took me 13 minutes to shell a single serving. Meanwhile, a two-pound bag of frozen peas from Walmart costs \$2.42. And the peas come shelled.

The work of homesteading is never-ending and constantly undermined. I rebuilt our composting system but forgot to put chicken wire under the bottom, which

allowed a possum to dig a tunnel inside it. The house came with 1,200 feet of deer fence surrounding the gardens, but deer fence doesn't last forever. It has fallen in some places, and the deer can now jump over it. They like to eat the blueberry bushes, which I spent 20 hours pruning last year.

In addition to possums and deer, we've faced unrelenting assaults from across the eukaryotic kingdoms: the tomato hornworm caterpillar, the cabbage looper caterpillar, the squash vine borer, the aphid, the thrip, the earwig and the sowbug; cucurbit downy mildew, powdery mildew, collar rot, black rot, sooty mold, botrytis gray mold and stem canker; the nematode, the gray garden slug, the eastern gray squirrel, the eastern cottontail rabbit and the groundhog. All of these organisms reside in the North Carolina Piedmont and like to eat what we eat. Many of them work toward this existential goal while humans sleep, which is why the North Carolina State Agriculture Extension advises growers to inspect their plants at night. No, thank you. And even



Riggs and his youngest son inspect the farm's blackberries.

when we manage to keep the critters out of the beds, we're still at the mercy of the skies.

And all this self-sufficiency costs money. Our property came with wooden raised beds, but since everything, everywhere, is hurdling at a constant rate toward death and decay, those need to be replaced (\$1,000-plus). The greenhouse needs to be cooled in the summer, requiring new motors for our thermostat-controlled louver system (\$165), and heated in the winter with propane (\$2.80 a gallon last year, \$3 the year before). To avoid overextending our well — there's no city water in the county — we plan to buy a 500-gallon cistern for capturing and storing rainwater (\$800) and an automated drip irrigation system (\$300). Then there are what economists call nondurable inputs: fertilizer, mulch, compost and seeds (a few hundred dollars per growing season).

What's more, you can't grow everything all the time. Self-sufficiency means eating foods straight from the garden only when they are in season. Hardcore homesteaders don't eat fresh blueberries in January.

Many homesteaders enjoy living this way. They are problem solvers. They love working in the dirt and the sun and finding new

ways to cook tromboncino squash. Knowing where their food comes from gives them peace of mind; growing it themselves fills them with pride. These two feelings empower them to eat jarred tomatoes for half the year. I honor their truth. But we part ways when the conversation turns to the superior virtue of spending the bulk of one's time and money avoiding the grocery store.

In our third growing season, my wife and I have accepted that we are not cut out for homesteading. The realization liberated us. We don't have to maximize yields or lose sleep over pests. We don't have to replace or even use every raised bed. The greenhouse can sit empty; the blueberry hedge can grow wild. Our two young kids can dig for pill bugs while my wife and I weed. When they're ready to go inside or do something else, we can pause our work, no matter how much is left.

This was not an option for my ancestors. In the early 1900s, one of my paternal great-grandfathers moved from urban Illinois to a homestead in Oklahoma. Our only picture of him was taken shortly before the Dust Bowl destroyed his farm. After his farm failed, he abandoned my great-grandmother and their children and migrated to California with thousands of

other Okies. When my crops fail, I go to Whole Foods. I have options my great-grandfather couldn't dream of, and as a result, my kids will have a better life than my grandfather did.

Embracing the economic interdependence that some homesteaders work so hard to avoid has helped us establish a healthier relationship with the land we live on. With less pressure to grow food, we can focus on the rest of the surrounding nature. Just last week, we saw the first monarch caterpillars. The pipevine caterpillars have already built their chrysalises and will soon emerge as blue swallowtail butterflies. Somewhat ironically, we garden just as much. This season, we're growing tomatoes, hot peppers, tomatillos, strawberries, basil, dill, watermelon, ground cherries, cucamelons and squash. I also plan to build two trellis systems for the Concord grapes we planted last year.

How much of it we'll get to eat remains a mystery, but not a pressing one. A good heirloom tomato is a good heirloom tomato, even if we didn't grow it ourselves.

At Home newsletter: Go to the Home & Garden page to subscribe to our email newsletter, delivered every Thursday.



KATE MEDLEY/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Blueberries also grow on the farm, but Mike Riggs and Mollie Kotzen are no longer preoccupied with battling pests for them.

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How to reduce visual clutter for a calmer, more functional home

BY JOLIE KERR

Much is made of clutter: common sources of clutter, the effects of all that stuff on how we live our lives, the importance of reducing clutter, how to stop clutter before it starts. Then there are the seemingly endless methods, techniques and approaches to dealing with clutter — the KonMaris, the poop rule. (If something was covered in poop, would I still keep it?)

If there wasn't already enough clutter content cluttering up your cluttered psyche, do you know that there are different *kinds* of clutter? There are, and an oft-overlooked form of clutter may be keeping you from living your best life. It is visual clutter, and it is everywhere.

What is visual clutter?

Visual clutter is “anything that disrupts the calm and intentional flow of your home,” says Molly Heartfield, the founder and CEO of Heart & Co. Home Organizing and Design. “It’s the pile of mail on the counter, or the random cords peeking out from behind furniture.”

Corey Pence, a senior manager of in-home organizing services at the Container Store, describes visual clutter as an “overwhelming or excessive amount of visual elements in a space that make it difficult to focus on important information or executing tasks.” Too many objects, colors, shapes or details competing for attention can overwhelm the brain. Note: Visual clutter is not synonymous with mess. “Even if items are neatly arranged, visual clutter can make a space feel disorganized or messy and can reduce the overall aesthetic and functionality of the space,” Pence says.

Of course, some people thrive in cluttered environments — visual clutter is only a problem when it's just that: *a problem*. But if you find yourself struggling to get out the door in the morning, or to stay focused while reading this month's book club selection, take a look around your space and ask yourself whether visual clutter could be to blame.

Benefits of eliminating visual clutter

Clutter not only forces the brain to work harder to filter out nonessential information, it creates logistical problems. “It can be hard to navigate a space that feels full,” Pence says. “Reducing clutter makes it easier to move around, access needed items and maintain organization. An uncluttered space is generally more conducive to productivity.”

When our environment becomes less cluttered, our stress



ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL DOMINE/THE WASHINGTON POST;ISTOCK

levels naturally decrease and our ability to relax increases. “Organized spaces make us less likely to feel overwhelmed, which frees our mind to generate new ideas,” Pence says.

Plus, it just looks better. “Less clutter feels more sophisticated, and it also allows the most important elements to stand out,” Pence says. “When you have an uncluttered space, your grandmother’s vase, your favorite crystal or that amazing painting become the star of the show.”

The most common types of visual clutter

The experts we spoke to identified types of visual clutter most often found in each room in the home.

Living room: “Bookshelves and TV consoles are the most common place for visual clutter to accumulate in the living room,” says Ashley Murphy, a co-founder and CEO of NEAT Method. Think of all the physical media (DVDs, magazines, books, records), plus remote controls, gaming systems and knickknacks. But there’s also the floor (cords and cables, children’s toys) and the walls (overcrowded wall art) to consider.

Kitchen: “The countertop is a big culprit in the kitchen for small appliances, knife blocks, bread boxes and utensil crocks to take over,” Murphy says. Pence recommends keeping things you use every day, like a coffee maker or teakettle, on countertops and finding a home for less frequently used items.

“Wall signs and decorative rugs or runners can also contribute to unnecessary visual clutter if not carefully curated,” she says. Other culprits include piles of mail and papers, magnets on the refrigerator, and dish racks.

Bedroom: Clean laundry, in-between clothes, accessories, shoes, bags, jewelry — the bedroom is the keeper of endless potential clutter. “Any chair or bench placed within a bedroom is an ideal place for clutter to pile up,” Murphy says.

Bedside tables are also hot spots where small but essential items like eyeglasses, remote controls, tubes of lip balm and lotion can quickly turn to clutter.

Entryway: Shoes, bags and backpacks, coats and jackets, keys, umbrellas and mail can make a huge mess of your entryway, the first space you see when you walk in your home. “Without a designated home and set limits, they’ll pile up quickly,” Murphy says.

How to reduce visual clutter

While visual clutter can be an overwhelming problem, many of the solutions are quick and easy to implement.

Start with the right furniture: Opt for enclosed furniture. That means storage ottomans, a storage chest instead of a bench and a nightstand or end table that has a drawer.

Use your open shelves wisely: A well-chosen bin will mimic the effects of closed storage on an open shelf. “Select a bin that

blends well with the rest of your decor and looks pretty on display,” Murphy says.

She also recommends using open shelving for storing sets. “If you have open shelves in your kitchen, use them to neatly arrange a matching set of everyday dishes. Your eye will register a matching set as one item instead of a stack of many,” Murphy says. “Anything sitting out on a shelf should be intentionally styled and neatly arranged in order to avoid visual clutter.”

Consider decor carefully: Finding the sweet spot demarcating decor trends like “maximalism” and “intentional clutter” from plain old clutter-clutter is hard to pull off. As House Beautiful breathlessly warns, “The line between messy clutter and intentional clutter is not one you want to cross.” The shelter mag describes clutter as “the accumulation and overflow of stuff,” in contrast to intentional clutter, which it defines as “the curation of beloved objects and collections.” Either way, it’s more stuff in your home and in your line of sight. Proceed carefully.

Edit regularly: “When clutter starts to build or baskets overflow, that’s a sign that category could use an edit,” says Murphy. “Set aside unnecessary duplicates; expired food; items you’re no longer using; and anything stained, broken or missing parts to be tossed, donated or repaired.” Editing doesn’t need to be scheduled, but if routine editing isn’t your style, aim for a quarterly

sweep of clutter hot spots. “We encourage clients to do seasonal reviews of their spaces and let go of what’s no longer serving them,” Heartfield says.

Give everything a home: “If it doesn’t have a designated space, it becomes clutter,” says Heartfield. Zoom in on problem piles with the right storage solution: baskets for mail and remote controls, wall-mounted hooks for keys and bags, cord management kits, a catchall tray on a bedside table.

Establishing dedicated spaces also creates natural limits that tell you when pockets of clutter are getting out of control. “Set limits in the entryway by giving each member of the household a hook for jackets and an opaque shoe bin. Once these fill up, it’s time to relocate excess into personal closets,” Murphy says.

Have a dedicated place for repairs and donations: Establishing a place for everything can extend to items that you plan to part with. “Create a bin specifically for donations and repairs,” Murphy says, “so they have a place to tuck out of sight until you can address them.”

Ultimately, getting control over the visual clutter in your home prioritizes simplicity and organization. “Reducing visual clutter creates an immediate sense of peace and clarity. It lowers stress levels, boosts productivity and helps you feel more at ease in your own space,” Heartfield says. “A decluttered home allows your personality, your favorite pieces and your design choices to shine.”



ILLUSTRATION BY JOSÉ L. SOTO/THE WASHINGTON POST

Your scented plants can only do so much to repel mosquitoes

BY KAREN HUGG

While everyone knows that slathering yourself with a spray that contains DEET can effectively keep mosquitoes at bay, plenty of articles and lists online also offer other solutions — including surrounding yourself with scented plants. Studies do show that citronella, geranium, peppermint and other fragrant plants can indeed help deter mosquitoes, but the bottom line is that just having those scents around probably won't stop the pesky insects from biting you. Here's why.

How scents affect mosquitoes

"Mosquitoes have several olfactory cues to attract them to a host," says Dan Markowski, technical adviser at the American Mosquito Control Association. "The primary one is carbon dioxide, and that's considered a long-range attractant. They can pick that up over many hundreds of feet." Then, as they approach you, he says, they detect body heat and use odors from the skin to determine whether they'd like to bite you or someone else. So when nearby plants emit a scent that masks that human odor and/or



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Mosquitos like to stay in the shade to hide from heat.

confuses a mosquito's olfactory senses, the insect often moves away.

Citronella has been reported to have some ability to do this, Markowski says. Lemon eucalyptus, certain geraniums, lemon-

grass, mint and even catnip can deter mosquitoes to varying degrees, he adds. Marigolds, on the other hand, while widely used in vegetable gardens, don't necessarily repel mosquitoes. Instead, their distinct scent attracts bene-

ficial insects that eat aphids and other pests but not mosquitoes. Scents of herbs and aromatics — including lavender, rosemary, thyme, basil and garlic — also can repel mosquitoes, especially when used in diffusers. But the effectiveness of these plants varies widely, in part depending on where you plant them. "If you've got [plants] in the back of your yard and your deck or patio's 20 feet away ..." Markowski says, the mosquitoes "may stay out of your garden, but they'll come find you on your patio." Placing potted plants close to your body can repel them to a mild degree, but a determined mosquito will fly around the plant and land on you.

Plant oil extraction

There's good reason for that determination, says Chelsea McKinley, plant-health-care specialist at the U.S. Botanic Garden. "They're hungry. They want food." To prevent bites, she says, you'd have to apply a plant's scent directly to your skin. But just rubbing lemongrass or mint leaves on your arms isn't effective. The scent, which exists in the plant's oils, needs to be extracted.

While you might find anecdot-

al advice online on how to grind or boil the leaves, making home remedies isn't safe, largely because of allergy and potency issues. An alternative is to buy natural repellent products made with essential oils, a growing market that includes sprays and creams made from the oils of mint, citronella, lavender and other plants. Brands such as Murphy's Naturals or All Terrain can be found online or in organic food stores.

Still, choosing a repellent can be overwhelming. "The one that has the most research and the highest efficacy in terms of working," McKinley says, "is lemon eucalyptus." For it to be effective, she says, make sure to cover your skin thoroughly; anywhere there isn't oil, mosquitoes are likely to land and bite you. Keep in mind, though, that the scent is often quite pungent, and it can evaporate from the skin in a few hours.

Mosquito type

Another complicating factor is that not all scents, even in their natural oil form, will be 100 percent effective against all types of mosquitoes. "In any given munic-

SEE MOSQUITOES ON 8

Do scented plants repel mosquitos?

MOSQUITOES FROM 7

ipality in the United States, there's 30 to 40 different species," Markowski says. "Some are far more aggressive than others." For instance, salt-marsh mosquitoes in coastal areas can breed in the billions per acre and fly long

distances. They will follow you around with the aim of biting, sometimes multiple times, even during daylight hours.

To learn more about your local mosquito population, try contacting your mosquito abatement district. These local organizations offer information on which mos-

quito species inhabit your area, how abundant they are and what can be done to reduce their numbers. In some cases, district workers will even come to your property and assess it for you. A simple online search on your county and the words "mosquito control" will bring up your local office.

Mosquito reduction strategies

In the end, the best way to reduce mosquitoes is by preventing them from breeding nearby. Remove standing water everywhere on your property, including in gutters, toys, patio furniture and pot saucers. Apply BTI (*Bacillus thuringiensis israelensis*), a mosquito larvae-killing product, to still ponds or bird-baths. "Anywhere there's a teaspoon of water standing for 24 hours," McKinley says, "you're going to get mosquitoes breeding."

Another strategy is to attract the wildlife that eat mosquitoes, including bats and birds, McKinley says. "Creating a habitat that's conducive to that wildlife can help," she says, "but you probably won't see a dramatic reduction." That's because mosquitoes in a neighborhood, especially invasive species, often drastically outnumber the birds and bats visiting one person's backyard. Mosquito traps with fans and funnels have shown good efficacy, especially when multiple neighbors on adjacent properties use them.

Also remember that sun can be deadly to mosquitoes. Markowski recommends reducing shady, humid areas where the insects hide from the heat, including ornamental grasses, dense shrubs, carparks and rocks near ponds.

And the best way to keep a mosquito from biting you? "Get a fan," McKinley says, "a big fan, and have the fan blowing directly on you." Make sure the wind is blowing on all areas of your body, including the legs. "Mosquitoes can't land on you if there's wind," she adds.

Karen Hugg is a professional gardener and the author of "Leaf Your Troubles Behind: How to De-stress and Grow Happiness Through Plants." Connect with her on Bluesky at @karenhugg.bsky.social.



ISTOCK

While mint is a deterrent for mosquitoes, rubbing its leaves on your arms is not effective.

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LEFT: The exterior includes tiered patios and a hot tub. **BELOW:** The glass door of a lower level entrance allows natural light to fall on hardwood floors.



\$3,195,000

2533 N Ridgeview Rd., Arlington, Va.

Bedrooms/bathrooms: 6/6

Square footage: 5,100

Lot size: 0.75 acres

PHOTOS BY CHRIS SPIELMANN

HOUSE OF THE WEEK

Window-filled Arlington home has views of D.C.

BY SOPHIA SOLANO

When John Abraham first saw the 1953 house at 2533 N Ridgeview Road in Arlington, he thought it felt like someone had tried to disguise it. He saw that beneath mid-century paint and carpet was an International Style house designed by a prominent architect with materials rarely used by builders today. He had to have it, he said, “come hell or high water.” The house he has owned for almost two decades is now on the market for \$3.195 million.

The house was designed by Donald Lethbridge, a partner in the D.C. firm Keyes, Lethbridge & Condon that built multiple United States embassies and Washington-area housing developments. He crafted the Ridgeview House, as it is known, with and for John Luria, a developer with whom Lethbridge also built the communities of Pine Spring and Holmes Run Acres in Virginia and Potomac Overlook in Maryland.

The house’s ties to respected mid-century builders was one of the draws for Abraham. “It’s very rare in America to even have a house designed by an architect, and then it’s even rarer to have a good one design a house,” he said.

Lethbridge positioned the house, on more than half an acre, to provide skyline views of Wash-



A 10-by-12-foot window exposes the main level to plenty of natural light.

ington. Today it also has views of Rosslyn. It was designed with lots of windows on the east and west facades that fill the house with sunlight throughout the day. Overhangs help keep the house warm in the winter and cool in the summer. Luria later subdivided property around the house but, at the time it was built, it was the only house in the development.

“It must have been something when it was just this house sitting on top of the hill,” Abraham said.

The steel-frame house was built with concrete floor slabs and a fieldstone foundation.

When Abraham posted the home for sale in 2023 as a “test run” before he was ready to sell, an article about the listing mentioned the house was at one point slated for demolition. The notion makes him laugh.

“It would be the last house standing in Washington under an apocalypse,” he said. “So it wasn’t going anywhere.”

Abraham, himself an architect and the founder of McLean-based firm A2 Design, Inc., bought the house in 2007 and later embarked on a nine-year renovation that touched, he said, “virtually every surface, both interior and

exterior.” Many renovations revealed high-end building materials — like the flagstone patio that bisects the house and spills out to the front and backyard and was, before Abraham’s efforts, doused in urethane.

Abraham added new redwood siding (the older redwood siding had been painted, he said, in part because that wood was less expensive when the house was built), new stairs, custom millwork, a new kitchen, new patios and decks and fresh details to original 10-by-12-foot sliding glass doors.

The two-story house has six

bedrooms, six bathrooms and four fireplaces. It opens from a covered patio with a glass wall to an open floor plan that melds hard lines with warm wood tones. In the kitchen, the countertops are one-piece steel (and recently upgraded during Abraham’s renovation) and a wood-burning Rais stove. The primary bedroom suite, on the main level, has a bathroom with windows that fill the room with diffused light. Exposed and painted brick walls accent the kitchen and dining rooms.

On the lower level, a recreation room with hardwood floors opens to a rear patio. A gym has two walls of mirrors, and a wet bar has a refrigerator.

Outside are overhangs that create 300 square feet of covered outdoor space, patios of flagstone and wood and a hot tub. A driveway has parking for two cars.

Abraham is selling the house to move to Southern California, where mid-century modern homes are more common. He hopes the next owner of this house buys it because they “realize what it is.”

“The longer you’ve been in it,” Abraham said, “the more sort of fascinated you are with the level of craftsmanship and effort that must have gone into building this place.”

BUYING NEW

LeDroit Park building was once a funeral home

BY AMY WORDEN

When Washington was a segregated city, Black communities flourished in the Shaw and LeDroit Park neighborhoods, which were centers of jobs, worship and entertainment that revolved around institutions such as Howard University, the Howard Theater and Hall Brothers Funeral Home.

For nearly 80 years, Hall Brothers served generations of families who crossed the transom of the Victorian townhouse on Florida Avenue to pay final respects to loved ones.

Then gentrification arrived, and younger Hall family members had no interest in continuing in the funeral business. The business, the last of a half-dozen Black-owned funeral parlors along the U Street-Florida Avenue NW corridor, closed in 2019 and the building was sold. A planned conversion to office space stalled during the pandemic, and the building remained vacant and deteriorating. A car ran into the stoop in 2000 and destroyed the brass railings seen in many historic photos of the funeral home.

Enter developer Ethan Arnheim, who bought the property in 2022 and saw an opportunity to preserve many architectural details while creating a seven-unit condominium that offered what many nearby buildings did not: three- and four-bedroom units.

“There is a market for larger units,” Arnheim said. “D.C. needs more space for families.”

Arnheim, who lives in the neighborhood, decided to “lean in” to the funeral home history, naming the building Washington’s Farewell Address as an homage to the city, the first U.S. president and the many farewells that took place in the building.

As part of the LeDroit Park Historic District, the building’s historic facade had to be maintained, which presented a few challenges, including restoring the unusual curved glass windows.

Arnheim invested in custom replacements of some features, including the brass handrails, and used exterior paint colors that matched the originals. He preserved an artistic tile panel in the entry and installed several original art deco wall sconces and pendant chandeliers in a one-bedroom unit on the first floor.

“I hope that the restoration of this property will contribute to the neighborhood’s outstanding

SEE BUYING NEW ON 11



PHOTOS BY BENJAMIN C TANKERSLEY/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



Washington’s Farewell Address

621 Florida Ave NW, Washington, D.C. 20001

Developer: 202 Partners LLC

Architect: Michael Blake, beStudio

Type of home: Condominium

Prices: \$395,000 to \$785,000

Square footage: 495 to 1,240

Condo fees: \$195 to \$315 a month

Number of units: 7

Parking: There is no dedicated parking, but residents can get a zoned street parking permit.

Website: centralpropertiesdc.com

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: The exterior of the Florida Avenue building that for decades housed Hall Brothers Funeral Home. The kitchen in unit 101. A bay window in unit 101 has an original art deco light fixture.

BUYING NEW FROM 10

and historically protected architecture,” Arnheim said.

The building is across from the restored Howard Theater, which showcased jazz legends Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong and Ella Fitzgerald as well as Motown stars James Brown and the Supremes.

Units are laid out like railroad flats, and they are bright and airy with deco-inspired chevron-design cabinets.

The four-bedroom, two-bath loft-style penthouse has a 430-square-foot deck and 20-foot ceilings, exposed brick and wood joists, and views of the Howard and the stone carvings that frame the condo building’s windows.

The three- and four-bedroom units have two bathrooms; one with a shower, the other with a soaking tub and shower. Rooms have space-saving pocket doors and closets have adjustable shelving.

Each unit has stainless steel appliances, including stacked full-size washer-dryers, granite counter tops, European cabinetry with soft door closing and matte black finishes. Owners can choose their backsplash designs.

Arnheim dug out a lower level in the deep lot to accommodate additional units, while preserving the natural light from above.

The building is the first residential dwelling visitors encounter when entering LeDroit Park on Florida Avenue from the west. Shortly after he bought the property, Arnheim contacted Mural Arts and commissioned a bright abstract mural for its exposed west side.

Open-concept kitchens includes granite countertops, stainless steel appliances, under-cabinet lighting and pocket doors.

On a recent tour, Arnheim opened a storage room to reveal an oak newel post that was once part of the elegant stairway next to the funeral home reception room. He said he couldn’t find a way to incorporate the post into the new design but wanted to keep it until he has an idea.

Public Schools: Cleveland Elementary. Cardozo Education Campus is a combined middle

and high school.

Transit: The Shaw-Howard University Metro station, on the Green Line, is two blocks away.

Address: 621 Florida Ave NW, Washington, D.C. 20001

Nearby shops and restaurants: Stores within a short walk include a Whole Foods supermar-

ket and Trader Joe’s. Diners can find brewpubs and ethnic restaurants along the Florida Avenue corridor, among them Shaw’s Tavern gastropub which serves Southern-inspired cuisine and the Royal, a Latin American Restaurant, and Oyster Oyster, a James Beard award-winning res-

taurant with a vegetarian tasting menu and an optional oyster course. The property is across the street from the historic Howard Theater and a short walk to another landmark D.C. music venue, 9:30 Club.

Parks and Recreation: The North Shaw Dog Park recently

opened in a small pocket park, across Florida Avenue from the building. The Park at LeDroit, which has two playgrounds — one for children under 5 and another for older children — a splash pad, community garden, exercise equipment and a dog park, is about a 10-minute walk away.

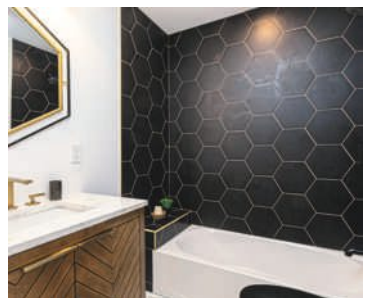
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BENJAMIN C TANKERSLEY/
FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The bathroom in unit 101.

ON PARENTING

My teen says he ‘hates’ his younger sibling. I know he means it.

BY MEGHAN LEAHY

Hi Meghan: I have a tween with ADHD and depression/anxiety (taking medication and in therapy) who is extremely frustrating to their older brother. My older child has lots of friends, including very close ones. The younger child struggles with friendships and has been the victim of bullying at school. The school has been good at addressing these issues as they come up, and my younger child has a therapist. Still, I know they spend a lot of time walking around feeling unsafe.

To complicate matters, they share a room at their dad’s house, and there are additional same-age stepsiblings who live there too. My ADHD kid is often the odd one out and brings drama wherever they go, which grates on their older sibling.

My older child is extremely frustrated by the younger one’s behavior toward him. He knows of his sibling’s issues and the holes that ADHD can cause in social skills. Is there any hope for their relationship? It breaks my heart to hear him tell me how much he hates his younger sibling, when I know he means it.

Is there a book that would help? Do I need to add occupational therapy to my ADHD kid’s list of interventions? We’re to the point of changing custody schedules so the kids have less time together. I grew up with siblings. I am closer to some than to others, but we always had a team or even an “us against the parents” mentality.

Thank you for any suggestions you can provide.

— **Sibling Beef**



ILLUSTRATION BY MARIA ALCONADA BROOKS/THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

Sibling Beef: Thank you for writing in. This is a difficult situation, and there are many big emotions and challenges in this family.

It is impossible to do everything all at once, so, first, sit down and make a list of the priorities. For instance, I know the sibling dynamic is eating at you, but this sentence regarding your tween: “I know they spend a lot of time walking around feeling unsafe” is a huge red flag to me. I’m glad the school is involved, but feeling chronically unsafe doesn’t lead to healing or growth. Being bullied and then staying in the same environment where they see the bullies or the behavior continues means your tween’s nervous system is in dysregulation a good bit of the day. This means their ability to cope, stay patient and reasonable and relate to their older brother is simply not there. If all your tween’s emotional energy has been used up coping at school, there’s no amount of meds or therapy that will totally support him. It’s like triage, all the time.

Depending on how bad things really are

at school, you may need to make some other decisions to help your tween navigate the next couple of years. I don’t suggest this flippantly; I know moving schools or home schooling or finding other options can be a huge drain on family time and resources, but this is an important flexion point in your tween’s life. If they don’t feel safe at school and don’t feel liked at home (by bigger, cooler brother), there is a chance your tween makes some dangerous decisions soon. The brain can only take so much stress before it seeks out relief in whatever way it can, and for teens, that can look like substance use, illicit behaviors, acting out at school or other self-sabotaging behaviors.

As for the situation with the older son, move them into separate rooms at your co-parent’s home. It doesn’t have to be permanent, but we don’t need added anger where both of your kids should feel safe. If that cannot happen, splitting the custody so they are with different parents at different times is a good idea. If we want to improve their relationship, we

need to consider other (even inconvenient) alternatives.

Your older son is having a hard time of it; I don’t blame him for his anger. It is frustrating and dispiriting to have a younger sibling who takes up this much oxygen in the family! If you get a chance, take your older son out to dinner and just let him vent. Don’t offer defenses or explanations, and definitely do not ask your older son to be more understanding. The goal of listening to him is to be a soft place for his anger to land and to offer support.

Finally, before pouring money into another therapist for the tween, I strongly recommend family therapy. There’s already a tremendous amount of resentment; finding an objective, compassionate and wise third party will support everyone finding better ways to communicate, work toward goals and, most of all, feel seen and heard.

Send parenting questions to Leahy at onparenting@washpost.com.

Home Sales

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

These sales data recorded by the D.C. Office of Tax and Revenue were provided by Black Knight Inc.

NORTHEAST

Allison St., 1329, \$838,000.
Brookland Grove Dr., 427, \$1.01 million.
C St., 1206, \$740,000.
Cherry Rd., 3148, No. 39, \$410,000.
D St., 819, No. 36, \$854,500.
Downing St., 1507, \$500,000.
Eastern Ave., 710, \$500,000.
Eckington Pl., 1625, No. PH211, \$403,000.
F St., 332, \$1.35 million.
Hamilton St., 24, \$776,000.
Irving St., 1335, \$505,000.
L St., 626, \$960,000.
M St., 2209, No. 7, \$299,900.
Monroe St., 1512, \$1.32 million.
New Hampshire Ave., 5618, \$900,000.
Owen Pl., 1113, \$810,000.
Queen St., 1330, \$899,900.
Rhode Island Ave., 1011, No. 6, \$183,900.
S St., 14, No. 205, \$285,000.
South Dakota Ave., 3717, \$695,000.
Taylor St., 824, No. 4, \$245,100.
Trinidad Ave., 1638, No. 3, \$725,000.
First St., 1625, \$1.27 million.
Fifth St., 410, No. 16, \$794,900.
Eighth St., 919, \$799,000.
12th St., 440, No. 10, \$555,000.
16th St., 217, No. 2, \$485,000.
21st St., 4320, \$540,000.
35th St., 312, \$375,000.

NORTHWEST

Aberfoyle Pl., 3272, \$1.9 million.
Allison St., 637, \$1.15 million.
Aspen St., 1369, \$929,740.
Berkeley Terr., 4751, \$1.7 million.
Butterworth Pl., 4931, \$1.28 million.

Calvert St., 4815, \$1.99 million.
Champlain St., 2328, No. 416, \$1.67 million.
Chesapeake St., 4501, \$1.6 million.
Columbia Rd., 753, No. 1, \$509,000.
Connecticut Ave., 3701, No. 128, \$300,000.
D St., 631, No. 1033, \$680,000.
Dumbarton St., 2702, \$1.01 million.
Ellicott St., 4447, \$2.21 million.
Fairmont St., 1202, No. 1, \$505,000.
Georgetown Ct., 3926, \$1.4 million.
Hamilton St., 651, \$540,000.
Illinois Ave., 4404, \$1.06 million.
Irving St., 610, No. T01, \$390,000.
Kalmia Rd., 1355, \$1.18 million.
Kenyon St., 710, No. 2, \$1.04 million.
West Lane Keys, 3039, \$3.48 million.
Livingston St., 3901, \$2.15 million.
M St., 910, No. 806, \$489,000.
Manor Pl., 432, No. 1, \$774,900.
Monroe St., 1202, \$1.1 million.
N St., 226, No. 1, \$750,000.
New Hampshire Ave., 1330, No. 411, \$345,000.
New Jersey Ave., 1620, \$1.22 million.
New Mexico Ave., 3101, No. 214, \$530,000.
Newton St., 1354, \$625,000.
Oliver St., 3110, \$1.19 million.
Oregon Ave., 7030, \$1.31 million.
Palisade Lane, 5020, \$3.38 million.
Piney Branch Rd., 6320, \$1.51 million.
Prospect St., 3255, No. 5, \$7.35 million.
Q St., 2527, No. 102, \$430,500.
Quackenbos St., 259, \$530,000.
Randolph St., 443, \$750,000.

Rittenhouse St., 3361, \$1.98 million.
S St., 2107, No. C, \$619,000.
Shepherd St., 428, \$520,000.
Somerset Pl., 712, \$620,000.
Sutton Pl., 3245, No. C, \$985,000.
Tracy Pl., 2503, \$3.1 million.
U St., 1742, No. 102, \$523,500.
W St., 149, No. 11, \$395,000.
Whittier Pl., 1419, \$650,000.
Woodley Rd., 2515, \$1.75 million.
First St., 1827, No. 2, \$505,000.
Fourth St., 1551, \$1.01 million.
Fourth St., 5008, \$550,000.
Seventh St., 777, No. 608, \$325,000.
Eighth St., 6427, \$780,000.
10th St., 1328, \$1.58 million.
12th St., 1923, No. 2, \$850,000.
12th St., 7435, \$1.04 million.
14th St., 1133, No. 1101, \$515,000.
14th St., 4120, No. B2, \$243,047.
17th St., 1902, \$1.31 million.
18th St., 1601, No. 1011, \$330,000.
20th St., 1301, No. 602, \$330,000.
24th St., 922, No. 309, \$261,000.
29th St., 1217, \$1.6 million.
32nd St., 5330, \$1.06 million.
34th St., 1667, \$1.7 million.
41st St., 5312, \$975,000.
45th St., 3020, \$1.5 million.

SOUTHEAST

Astor Pl., 5220, \$645,000.
Bay St., 1722, \$1.07 million.
D St., 808, \$1.59 million.
E St., 1324, No. 101, \$495,000.
Hilltop Terr., 4456, \$544,900.
Kimi Gray Ct., 5035, \$490,000.
North Carolina Ave., 719, \$1.62 million.
Pennsylvania Ave., 1346, \$859,000.
Savannah Pl., 2022, \$162,450.
U Pl., 2202, \$275,000.
First St., 4118, \$330,000.

Fourth St., 1300, No. 305, \$580,000.
Eighth St., 10, \$1 million.
11th St., 900, No. 211, \$840,000.
15th St., 3401, \$680,000.
25th St., 1714, \$700,000.
37th St., 2010, No. B, \$250,000.

SOUTHWEST

M St., 300, No. N405, \$305,000.
Fourth St., 800, No. S516, \$312,000.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

These sales data recorded by the Maryland Department of Assessments and Taxation were provided by Black Knight Inc.

ASHTON AREA

Harbour Town Dr., 16530, \$1.29 million.

ASPEN HILL AREA

Barkwood Dr., 14525, \$720,000.
Briarwood Terr., 14306, \$575,000.
Cherry Valley Dr., 4500, \$875,000.
Grenoble Dr., 13208, \$510,000.
Lake Terr., 14804, \$801,000.
Parkvale Rd., 14205, \$671,500.

BARNESVILLE AREA

Barnesville Rd., 17925, \$615,000.

BETHESDA AREA

Autumn Gate Lane, 8122, \$1.1 million.
Battery Pl., 8910, No. 6, \$468,000.
Bradmoor Dr., 8907, \$850,000.
Burdette Rd., 8300, No. 402, \$1.37 million.
Cromwell Dr., 6113, \$1.65 million.
Eagle Ridge Dr., 9613, \$2.45 million.
Ewing Dr., 9527, \$2.2 million.
Fulbright Ct., 7806, \$1.62 million.

Hampden Lane, 4901, No. 404, \$3.85 million.
Lakeview Dr., 7420, No. W209, \$290,000.
Lone Oak Dr., 6415, \$1.73 million.
Melvorn Dr., 6103, \$1.9 million.
Oak Forest Lane, 7100, \$1.73 million.
Radnor Rd., 7804, \$2.2 million.
River Trail Ct., 6604, \$1.7 million.
Scarsdale Rd., 4800, \$1.9 million.
South Chelsea Lane, 4620, \$1.35 million.
Stoneham Rd., 6311, \$720,000.
Tisdale Terr., 6413, \$880,000.
Westlake Terr., 7401, No. 1106, \$240,000.
Wilson Lane, 6626, \$1.8 million.

BOYDS AREA

Bear Creek Dr., 14112, \$835,000.
Wildman Ct., 18004, \$976,000.

BROOKEVILLE AREA

Owens Rd., 2511, \$1.06 million.

BURTONSVILLE AREA

Athey Rd., 14930, \$531,000.
Stepping Stone Lane, 3821, \$441,500.

CALVERTON-COLESVILLE AREA

Baker Dr., 12800, \$565,000.
Caitlin Ct., 1409, \$900,000.
Colesville Manor Dr., 302, \$752,000.
Fairland Rd., 2246, \$445,000.
Piano Lane, 3004, No. 43, \$248,000.
Summer Hill Dr., 12914, \$675,000.
Two Farm Dr., 12921, \$840,000.

CHEVY CHASE AREA

Brookside Dr., 6209, \$3 million.
Connecticut Ave., 8551, No. 602, \$1.84 million.
Friendship Blvd., 5500, No. 1025N, \$150,000.
North Park Ave., 4550, No. 609, \$740,000.
Summit Ave., 7201, \$3.02 million.

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Home Sales

HOMES FROM 1

Willard Ave., 4515, No. 2219S, \$290,000.

CLARKSBURG AREA

Brick Haven Way, 22436, \$650,000.
Deets Alley, 1007, \$845,000.
Frederick Rd., 22821, \$685,000.
Harrier Way, 13503, \$504,990.
Overlook Park Dr., 23610, \$642,500.
Petrel St., 13210, No. 3403, \$549,990.
Plover St., 22212, \$489,990.
Verdant Oak Alley, 60, \$629,900.

CLOVERLY-EDNOR AREA

Cutstone Way, 14523, \$901,000.
Tindlay St., 15405, \$677,000.

DAMASCUS AREA

Damascus Park Lane, 10454, No. M18, \$298,000.
Jockey Club Terr., 23917, \$635,000.
Ridge Manor Terr., 10109, No. 4000-J, \$300,000.

DERWOOD AREA

Carnegie Ave., 16200, \$605,000.
Fairborn Ct., 7802, \$359,000.
Muncaster Mill Rd., 6604, \$643,500.

FOUR CORNERS-BURNT MILLS AREA

Baden St., 209, \$570,000.
Cherry Tree Lane, 9810, \$600,000.
Franklin Ave., 18, \$430,000.
Lorain Ave., 10308, \$810,000.
Moss Ave., 9939, \$570,000.
Sutherland Rd., 10146, \$639,000.

GAITHERSBURG AREA

Bac Pl., 9401, \$704,000.
Bluebird Terr., 9229, \$360,000.
Bryan Ave., 315, \$212,000.
Cross Country Lane, 18623, \$373,000.
Fence Post Ct., 18027, \$510,000.
Gingerbread Ct., 8808, \$710,000.
Guildberry Dr., 18422, No. 102, \$205,000.
Sandy Lake Cir., 9232, \$400,000.
South Westland Dr., 16628, \$760,000.

GAITHERSBURG-NORTH POTOMAC AREA

Armstrong Pl., 51, \$965,000.
Bucksfield Rd., 106, No. A, \$632,500.
Diamondback Dr., 510, No. 272, \$425,000.
Fields Rd., 9701, No. 200, \$210,000.

Golden Ash Way, 28, \$734,500.
Hibiscus Ct., 30, No. 14, \$400,000.
Keeneland Cir., 14633, \$450,000.
Letterman Ct., 4, \$850,000.
Mentmore Pl., 14717, \$976,000.
Orchard Dr., 41, \$502,000.
Pleasant Meadow Dr., 11516, \$1.08 million.
Quelway Ct., 9, \$1 million.
Quince Orchard Blvd., 740, No. P2, \$200,000.
Ridgepoint Pl., 110, \$650,000.
Salk Cir., 420, \$1.58 million.
Sheets Farm Rd., 12104, \$1.23 million.
Sullnick Way, 11501, \$493,000.
Tschiffely Square Rd., 434, \$635,000.
Wye Oak Dr., 13320, \$880,000.

GERMANTOWN AREA

Birdseye Terr., 12114, \$424,000.
Chalet Dr., 18131, No. 24-202, \$225,000.
Cricket Hill Dr., 17813, \$855,000.
Dairymaid Dr., 13205, No. 61, \$222,000.
Finegan Farm Dr., 14913, \$1.57 million.
Jump Dr., 14036, \$465,000.
Nutmeg Pl., 18507, \$358,000.
Pickering Ct., 41, No. 101, \$280,000.
Rayfield Dr., 19461, \$612,000.

ShIPLEY Terr., 20244, No. 6-A-301, \$226,000.
Split Rock Lane, 18518, \$407,000.
Treebranch Terr., 18908, \$415,000.
Wheatridge Dr., 17913, \$770,000.

KENSINGTON AREA

Culver St., 9624, \$1.26 million.
Everett St., 3803, \$1.38 million.
Freeman Pl., 10311, \$949,000.
Kincaid Terr., 3929, \$485,000.
Lund Pl., 11417, \$731,000.
Thornwood Rd., 10104, \$800,000.

LAYTONSVILLE AREA

Belle Hollow Way, 9408, \$500,000.
Hickory Ridge Lane, 25104, \$690,000.
Ripplemead Dr., 21509, \$1.2 million.
Vista Ridge Rd., 25112, \$1.2 million.

MONTGOMERY VILLAGE AREA

Battery Bend Ct., 16, \$556,000.
Crested Iris Way, 19730, \$428,000.
Fern Hollow Way, 9531, \$452,500.
Greenside Terr., 19812, \$484,000.
Keiffer Way, 18800, \$786,400.

Marston Lane, 9620, \$318,000.
Pier Point Pl., 18718, \$295,000.
Stedwick Dr., 19167, \$402,000.
Village Walk Dr., 19520, No. 3-102, \$269,900.

MULLINIX AREA

Mullinix Mill Rd., 26417, \$510,000.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ESTATES-HILLANDALE AREA

Sierra St., 9407, \$585,000.

NORBECK-LAYHILL AREA

Bel Pre Rd., 3810, No. 9-37, \$210,000.
Camelback Lane, 2609, No. 6-11, \$205,000.
Dahill Rd., 4206, \$510,000.
Farnborough Ct., 3131, No. 260D, \$250,000.
Garrett Park Rd., 4205, \$231,950.
Gould Rd., 12602, \$537,000.
Interlachen Dr., 15100, No. 4, \$320,000.
Interlachen Dr., 15101, No. 1-702, \$170,000.
Jingle Lane, 12816, \$639,000.
Matey Rd., 12916, \$575,000.
North Leisure World Blvd., 2900, No. 211, \$318,000.
North Leisure World Blvd., 3100, No. 802, \$250,000.
North Leisure World Blvd., 3200, No. 511, \$255,000.

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