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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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With snap French elections, a risky bet

Macron gambles voters are not truly prepared to let the far right govern

BY EMILY RAUHALA, ANTHONY FAIOLA, ELLEN FRANCIS AND ANNABELLE TIMSIT

BRUSSELS — Preparing to host the world for the Olympics, facing threats of terrorist attacks and a war of words with Russia, France is now also shaping up as an epic battleground between the West's political center and its far right.

In European Parliament elections Sunday night, the far right surged in nations including Germany and Austria, but nowhere with more impact than in France. The National Rally there clobbered the ruling centrist coalition so badly that President Emmanuel Macron dissolved the French National Assembly and called snap legislative elections. His bet: that voters might be angry at him, but they're not prepared to allow the pick of Marine Le Pen — the fiery doyenne of French nationalist, Euroskeptic, anti-immigration politics — to head a new French government.

It's a bet that carries a high risk. Already, the uncertainty was reflected in the French stock market Monday. The mayor of Paris called the dissolution of Parliament ahead of the Olympics "extremely disturbing."

The morning after the once-every-five-years European Parliament elections, populist and anti-immigrant parties across Europe were reflecting on a mixed night. Pro-European parties appeared to

SEE FRANCE ON A7

E.U. elections: Centrists, Greens falter as far-right parties gain. A6



JEHAD ALSHRAFI/AP

A man mourns over the body of a relative killed in an Israeli airstrike, at a morgue in al-Aqsa Martyrs Hospital. The Saturday raid in the Nuseirat refugee camp freed four Israeli hostages and killed at least 274 Palestinians, according to the Gaza Health Ministry.

Toll from rescue adds to scrutiny of Israel

Eyewitnesses said they were shocked at scale, intensity of daytime assault that left hundreds dead

BY MIRIAM BERGER, HAJAR HARB AND LOVEDAY MORRIS

JERUSALEM — The human toll from Israel's hostage rescue on Saturday has renewed questions about whether the country is doing enough to protect civilians in its war against Hamas in Gaza.

The daytime raid in the Nuseirat refugee camp freed four Israeli hostages and killed at least 274 Palestinians, according to the Gaza Health Ministry, and injured hundreds more.

It was not clear how many of

the dead were combatants, or how many were killed by Israeli fire, but they included "many" women and children, the Health Ministry said, as well as civilians recently displaced by Israel's military offensive in the southern city of Rafah.

Eyewitnesses said they were shocked at the scale and intensity of the Israeli assault, even after eight months of punishing war, and the carnage overwhelmed Gaza's broken hospital system.

The Israeli captives were held by Hamas under armed guard in the densely populated refugee

camp, apparently in family homes, consistent with testimonies from former hostages released during a short-lived cease-fire in November. In this instance, and throughout the war, Israel has said militants are responsible for the deaths of innocents, a consequence of hiding prisoners and military infrastructure in civilian areas.

"Every civilian life lost in this war is a result of how Hamas has operated," Israel Defense Forces spokesman Peter Lerner told ABC on Sunday.

But Hamas's tactics do not excuse Israel from legal culpa-

bility, according to experts in international law, which requires militaries to take all possible precautions to prevent civilian harm. The principle of proportionality prohibits armies from inflicting civilian casualties that are excessive in relation to the direct military advantage anticipated at the time of the strike.

"The fact that your adversary is breaking international humanitarian law does not change your obligations," said Adil Haque, a law professor at Rutgers Law School. "The foreseeable harm to

SEE GAZA ON A8

Blinken turns up heat on Hamas

DIPLOMAT BACK IN REGION FOR TALKS

Concerns that militants, Israel could scuttle deal

BY JOHN HUDSON AND KAREN DEYOUNG

TEL AVIV — Secretary of State Antony Blinken on Monday urged world leaders to pressure Hamas to accept a cease-fire deal, saying the latest proposal represents the best opportunity to secure the release of all remaining hostages in Gaza, end the war and "alleviate the terrible suffering of Palestinians."

"My message to governments throughout the region, to people throughout the region: If you want a cease-fire, press Hamas to say yes," Blinken told reporters in Cairo as he prepared to board a plane to Israel.

The top U.S. diplomat said Hamas is the only obstacle to securing an agreement, despite concerns that both the militant group and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu may find ways to scuttle the three-part proposal first made public by President Biden on May 31.

The stakes for Blinken's latest trip to the Middle East are high as the war in Gaza drags down Biden's poll numbers and the president prepares for his first debate against his expected Republican opponent, former president Donald Trump, in a few weeks.

SEE BLINKEN ON A9

Aid concerns: Groups warn they face looting, danger in Gaza. A8



WESLEY LAPOINTE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A boat passes the remains of the Francis Scott Key Bridge on the Patapsco River on Monday. Some early estimates after the March collapse said a full reopening of the shipping channel could take up to a year.

Baltimore shipping channel fully reopens

BY MICHAEL LARIS

After a colossal cleanup effort, federal and state authorities fully reopened the main shipping channel to the Port of Baltimore on Monday, transforming a site of ferocious destruction into a symbol of resilience after an errant container ship downed the Francis Scott Key Bridge in March and killed six workers.

Authorities restored the feder-

al channel to its original 700-foot width and 50-foot depth, providing a moment of hope after a painful period in Baltimore.

"Yet again, Baltimore was counted down and out," Mayor Brandon Scott (D) said in an interview. "And yet again, Baltimore proved the world wrong."

Disruptions from the March 26 bridge collapse have cost the Baltimore region's economy about \$1.2 billion, said Anirban

Basu, an economist with Sage Policy Group, a Baltimore-based consulting firm. That takes into account a sharp drop in port activity immediately after the disaster and more moderate losses as smaller channels kept a reduced quantity of goods flowing — as well as all the spending on clearing the channel itself.

It wasn't easy getting here. Multiple layers of government

SEE BALTIMORE ON A12

ELECTION 2024

Biden tries to hold on to crucial bloc in Wis.

BY THEODORIC MEYER

MONROE, WIS. — Diane Solberger is worried that President Biden is not capable physically or mentally of serving another term — but despite her misgivings she is prepared to vote for him to keep former president Donald Trump from returning to the White House.

"He seems a little feeble," Solberger said of Biden. "But at this point I'll take that."

Solberger, a 66-year-old retiree who lives in this small Wisconsin city, is part of a crucial demographic for Biden's reelection campaign: White voters

without bachelor's degrees. Support from White voters without degrees is key in battleground state

without bachelor's degrees.

These voters have been moving toward Republicans for decades, and they make up the core of Trump's support. He won them by 30 points nationally in 2020, according to an average of three post-election estimates.

Biden still trails Trump by big margins with these voters, but he seems to be holding on to more of

them in Wisconsin than in other swing states. He lags Trump by 13 points among White voters without degrees in Wisconsin, vs. 27 points in Michigan and 21 points in Pennsylvania, according to Washington Post averages of recent polls.

Biden's reelection odds increasingly hinge on winning all three of those states as he struggles with Black and Hispanic voters frustrated with his handling of the economy. Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin each have fewer racial minorities and higher shares of White voters without degrees than other

SEE WISCONSIN ON A16

JAMES M. LAWSON | 1928-2024

Architect of civil rights nonviolence in 1960s

BY PAUL W. VALENTINE

The Rev. James M. Lawson, a United Methodist minister who became a principal tactician of nonviolent protest during the civil rights movement, leading sit-ins, marches and Freedom Rides that withstood attacks by mobs and police throughout the 1960s, died June 9. He was 95.

He died of cardiac arrest en route to a Los Angeles hospital, said his son J. Morris Lawson III.

As a young Methodist missionary, Rev. Lawson traveled to India, where he studied the principles of civil disobedience practiced by the anti-colonialist leader



In the civil rights era, the Rev. James M. Lawson trained others in the tactics of passive resistance.

er Mohandas K. Gandhi in his campaign against repressive British rule.

He also spent 13 months in prison after refusing to register for the draft during the Korean War and was a graduate student at Ohio's Oberlin College in 1957 when the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the Atlanta minister and

civil rights activist, came to campus to speak.

King shared a zeal for Gandhi's teachings and implored Rev. Lawson to put his beliefs into practice in the segregated American South.

"Don't wait! Come now! We don't have anyone like you down there," he pleaded, according to author David Halberstam's history of the civil rights movement, "The Children."

The next year, Rev. Lawson headed to Vanderbilt University's divinity school in Nashville, where he was one of the few Black people on campus. He

SEE LAWSON ON A5

IN THE NEWS

Apple enters AI arms race The tech company announced a major deal with OpenAI, the maker of ChatGPT, and showed off features it collectively dubbed "Apple Intelligence." A11

Probation agent's slaying Maryland prosecutors detailed the fatal stabbing they say was carried out during a routine visit. B1

THE NATION Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. discussed the U.S. political divide on purported secret recordings. A2
Cash-strapped colleges worry about the impact of a financial aid fiasco on fall enrollment. A3

THE WORLD The Kremlin has suddenly undertaken an aggressive crackdown on military corruption in a bid to be sure government spending reaches the battlefield in Ukraine. A9

THE ECONOMY Like it or not, AI chatbots use your data to learn, but you can take steps to stop them, Shira Ovide writes. A10
A federal judge blocked an Agriculture Department disaster relief program from giving preferences to minority and female farmers. A12

THE REGION The District's Downtown Holiday Market faces an uncertain future amid a dispute over the management of the popular annual event. B1
A woman was indicted on 135 counts in a case alleging that she ran a sprawling sex trafficking operation. B1

SPORTS Still recovering from an abuse scandal, the National Women's Soccer League is treading carefully as teenagers upend the league. D1

HEALTH & SCIENCE A body-focused edition tackles bionic eyes, women's hearts, knee surgery and more. E1

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