"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

National Edition
Upper Midwest: Partly to mostly cloudy. Heavy thunderstorms. Flooding downpours and damaging wind gusts possible. Highs in 80s to near 90. Weather map, Page A20.

VOL. CLXXI ... No. 59,474 ©2022 The New York Times Company MONDAY, JULY 4, 2022 Printed in Chicago $3.00

Russia Seizes A Prized City From Ukraine

Eastern Province Now in Moscow's Hands

This article is by **Thomas Gibbons-Neff, Kamila Hrabchuk** *and* **Vivian Yee.**

The last major city held by Ukraine in the heavily contested eastern province of Luhansk has fallen, military officials on both sides said Sunday, giving Moscow a milestone victory in its campaign to capture the Donbas, the mineral-rich region bordering Russia that has long been in President Vladimir V. Putin's sights.

The industrial city of Lysychansk, on a rise overlooking the Siversky Donets River, had held out for a week after Russia seized control of Sievierodonetsk, its twin city across the river. But as Russia inundated Lysychansk with artillery fire and strangled its supply lines, building on months of bombardment and weeks of ferocious street fighting that reduced both cities to grayed-out husks, Ukrainian defenders were forced to retreat.

That left Russian soldiers posing for pictures outside Lysychansk City Hall, chanting, "Lysychansk is ours" and waving the flag of the Donetsk People's Republic — the pro-Moscow separatist state that Mr. Putin claimed to be protecting when his forces invaded Ukraine, a video posted on Twitter on Sunday showed.

Western military analysts had expressed little doubt that Moscow would eventually prevail in the twin cities, but with their loss undeniable, pressure redoubled on the United States and its allies to get the more powerful weapons they have promised Ukraine to the front. For nations in the West, however, the next phase of the war will prove to be a test not just of military logistics but of solidarity. As the conflict drags on, their own citizens are feeling the economic pain, and unity among the allies may be hard to sustain.

Russia now faces new challenges of its own. It controls more than a fifth of Ukraine — much of it cities in name only, skeletal remains emptied of people after months of shelling — but it will need to replenish depleted forces and ammunition as it wages what promises to be a fierce, drawn-out ground war.

On Sunday, Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, denied that Lysychansk was completely in Russian hands. At a news conference with Australia's prime minister, who was visiting Kyiv, Mr. Zelensky said fighting was taking place on the outskirts of the city.

But videos posted on social media appeared to show Russian troops in the city center, and residents who fled the region in recent days said the bulk of the Ukrainian forces in Lysychansk left on Friday.

Hours after Russia's military proclaimed victory in the city, the Ukrainian military acknowledged that it had pulled out its forces there. "The continuation of the defense of the city would lead to fatal consequences," it said in a statement on Facebook. "In order to

Continued on Page A9

SCOTT OLSON/GETTY IMAGES

STRIKES KILL CIVILIANS Russian barrages on a mall and other residential areas in Sloviansk, Ukraine, left at least six people dead.

U.S. Veterans Are Giving Ukraine a Quiet Assist

Providing Training and Advice Unsanctioned by the Pentagon

By DAVE PHILIPPS

A democracy came under attack. The United States saw a threat to an ally and also to the entire world order, but it feared that sending troops could spark a nuclear war. So, instead, it supplied weapons. And a small number of American Special Operations trainers started quietly working with the local military.

That was the situation in South Vietnam in 1961, a few years before full-blown U.S. military involvement, when the American presence was limited to a military "advisory group."

It is also the situation in Ukraine today. As a bloody conflict churns on, small teams of American Special Operations veterans are training Ukrainian soldiers near the front lines and, in some cases, helping to plan combat missions.

There is a notable difference, though. In Vietnam, the trainers were active-duty troops under the control of the Pentagon. In Ukraine, where the United States has avoided sending any troops, the trainers are civilian volunteers, supported by online donations and operating entirely on their own.

"This is why I became a Green Beret," said Perry Blackburn Jr., a retired Army Special Forces lieutenant colonel who spent 34 years in uniform in Iraq, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Egypt, Somalia and Jordan. He is now in Ukraine as a civilian doing what he once did in the military: training local forces to fight a common enemy.

"To not use my talents in a real time of need would be a waste," said Mr. Blackburn, 60, who was one of a handful of Special Forces soldiers who rode into Afghani-

Continued on Page A9

OLAFUR STEINAR GESTSSON/NPPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Fleeing Bullets in a Copenhagen Mall

A gunman opened fire in Denmark's largest shopping center, killing at least three. Page A11.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump Intent Out in Open

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — He was not speaking metaphorically. It was not an offhand comment. President Donald J. Trump had every intention of joining a mob of supporters he knew to be armed and dangerous as it marched to the Capitol. And there had even been talk of marching into the House chamber himself to disrupt Congress from ratifying his election defeat.

For a year and a half, Mr. Trump has been shielded by obfuscations and mischaracterizations, benefiting from uncertainty about what he was thinking on Jan. 6, 2021. If he truly believed the election had been stolen, if he genuinely expected the gathering at the Capitol would be a peaceful protest, the argument went, then could he be held accountable, much less indicted, for the mayhem that ensued?

But for a man who famously avoids leaving emails or other traits of evidence of his unspoken motives, any doubts about what was really going through Mr. Trump's mind on that day of violence seemed to have been eviscerated by testimony presented in recent weeks by the House committee investigating the Capitol attack — especially the dramatic appearance last week of a 25-year-old former White House aide who offered a chilling portrait of a president willing to do almost anything to hang onto power.

More than perhaps any insider account that has emerged, the recollections of the aide, Cassidy Hutchinson, demolished the

Continued on Page A15

STRATEGIC SHIFT IN BID TO REGAIN ABORTION RIGHTS

STATE AND LOCAL FOCUS

Legal and Political Fight Borrows From Tactics of Opponents

By KATE ZERNIKE

Trying to recover from their staggering loss in the Supreme Court, abortion rights groups have mounted a multilevel legal and political attack aimed at blocking and reversing abortion bans in courts and at ballot boxes across the country.

In the week since the court overturned Roe v. Wade, litigators for abortion rights groups have rolled out a wave of lawsuits in nearly a dozen states to hold off bans triggered by the court's decision, with the promise of more suits to come. They are aiming to prove that provisions in state constitutions establish a right to abortion that the Supreme Court's decision said did not exist in the U.S. Constitution.

Advocates of abortion rights are also working to defeat ballot initiatives that would strip away a constitutional right to abortion, and to pass those that would establish one, in states where abortion access is contingent on who controls the governor's mansion or the state house.

And after years of complaints that Democrats neglected state and local elections, Democratic-aligned groups are campaigning to reverse slim Republican majorities in some state legislatures, and to elect abortion rights supporters to positions from county commissioners to state Supreme Court justices that can have influence over the enforcement of abortion restrictions.

"You want all the belt and suspenders that you can have," said Nancy Northup, president of the Center for Reproductive Rights, which litigated Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization, the case the Supreme Court used to overturn Roe. While the Supreme Court said it wanted to end five decades of bitter debate on abortion, its decision has set up a new fight, one that promises to be long and equally bitter.

Although abortion rights supporters say their strategy is promising, the path ahead is slow and not at all certain. Polls show that Americans overwhelmingly say that the decision to have an abortion should be made by women and their doctors rather than state legislatures. But Republican-controlled state legislatures have passed hundreds of restrictions on abortion over the last decade, and legislative districts are heavily gerrymandered to protect Republican incumbents. Litigation in state courts will be decided by judges who in many cases have been appointed by anti-abortion governors.

Abortion rights groups say their cases relying on state constitutions offer a viable path forward to establish Roe-like protections in states. Even in conservative

Continued on Page A17

Blind to Red Flags, I.R.S. Certified Fake Charities

This article is by **David A. Fahrenthold, Troy Closson** *and* **Julie Tate.**

The "American Cancer Society of Michigan," state authorities say, was a fake charity. And not even a good fake.

It was not in Michigan, for one thing. When the group applied to the Internal Revenue Service to become a tax-exempt nonprofit in 2020, it listed its address as a rented mailbox on Staten Island.

76 Groups at a Mailbox on Staten Island

It was not the American Cancer Society, either: In fact, the real American Cancer Society had already warned the I.R.S. that the leader of the sound-alike group, Ian Hosang, was running a fraud.

The I.R.S. approved the group anyway. Soon after, it also approved another operation run by Mr. Hosang: "the United Way of Ohio," which was also registered to the Staten Island address.

Mr. Hosang, 63, is now accused by prosecutors in New York of operating a long-running charity fraud that has astounded nonprofit regulators and watchdogs — and raised concerns about the I.R.S.'s ability to serve as gatekeeper for the American charity system.

Continued on Page A15

Murky Path From Russian Propagandist to Jan. 6

By MIKE McINTIRE

In security footage from Jan. 6, it is easy to overlook the thin man wearing a red Trump hat who flitters into the U.S. Capitol Building to record the mayhem with his phone.

He blends in with the mob, seemingly unexceptional by the chaotic standards of that day. But what he did afterward was far from routine.

Within 24 hours, the man,

American Is in Moscow as 'Political Refugee'

Charles Bausman, gave his recordings and commentary to a Russian television producer for a propaganda video. He then decamped to Moscow, where, appearing on a far-right television network owned by a sanctioned oligarch, he recently accused American media of covering up for neo-Nazis in Ukraine.

"We must understand that in the West," Mr. Bausman told Russian viewers, "we are already in a situation of total lies."

For Mr. Bausman — an American alumnus of Phillips Exeter Academy and Wesleyan University who speaks fluent Russian — it was the latest chapter in a strange odyssey. Once a financial executive who voted for President

Continued on Page A8

The Washington Post

Mostly sunny 90/72 • Tomorrow: T-storms 87/71

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, JULY 4, 2022

GOP needs support of women for next move

Any antiabortion law could hinge on a growing House conference

By Marianna Sotomayor

After serving in Congress for almost a decade, Rep. Ann Wagner (R-Mo.) finally saw the opportunity to move antiabortion legislation that she has proposed one step closer to becoming law.

Rep. Jackie Walorski (R-Ind.) is hoping to advance her legislation that would increase reporting about abortion pills, while also beginning to look at what other regulations can be used on such drugs.

And freshman Rep. Julia Letlow (R-La.) reminded colleagues last week that the Supreme Court ruling overturning the right to an abortion means that Republicans should go beyond protecting the unborn by also proposing policies that support women and their families.

After last week's Supreme Court ruling, some Republican leaders immediately called for ratifying a nationwide ban on abortion, arguing that it was the logical next step in the right's multi-decade quest to outlaw abortion. But if Republicans retake the House in this year's midterm elections, they are

Democrats counter Roe ruling: Decision both creates rallying cry and reveals divergences.

Akron police release video of officers' fatal barrage

By Andrew Seng, Brittany Shammas, Praveena Somasundaram and Kim Bellware

AKRON, OHIO — Police on Sunday released body-camera footage showing officers firing dozens of rounds at a Black man who left his car while fleeing a traffic stop one week ago, a killing that has sparked outrage, investigations and demands for accountability.

Akron Police Chief Stephen Mylett said he did not know the exact number of rounds fired at Jayland Walker, 25. But, Mylett added, the medical examiner's report indicates more than 60 wounds on Walker's body.

The police chief described the footage, which was blurred to obscure Walker, as "difficult to watch" and "shocking." He said he would reserve judgment until hearing from the officers involved. Evidence indicates that Walker had fired a gun during the car chase, Mylett said.

"When an officer makes the most critical decision in his or her life as a police officer, when they fire an arm at another

"I made good money — last year I made almost $100,000 — and I can't believe this happened to me. But with prices the way they are, it can literally happen to anybody."

Jessenia English, who was evicted after losing her job. She and her partner sent their kids to stay with relatives and moved into their SUV.

Sabrina Barger-Turner and her older son, Aiden Turner, 18, in her car in Maryland. She has been living in hotels with her two sons since her lease was terminated in 2020, after she struggled to pay her rent on time, and sometimes she's had to sleep in her car.

As inflation grows, so does housing crisis

Skyrocketing costs for rent, gas and food are driving more people out of their homes

By Aron Solotaroff and Rachel Siegel

The sheriff arrived at 6 a.m. in early June to tell Jessenia English what she already knew: She was being evicted.

She'd lost her job as a project manager near Sacramento in April, then fell behind on rent as $5-a-gallon gas and higher costs for food and utilities depleted her monthly budget. By the time she lost her home two months later, she owed $2,150 in rent and late fees, and her bank account was nearlygone.

She received $1,500 in housing assistance from the county, but that didn't go very far in an area where the average asking rent has ballooned to nearly $2,600 a month. After a week in a hotel, English and her partner sent their three children to live with relatives while they slept in their Hyundai SUV and showered at the gym.

"I made good money — last year I made almost $100,000 — and I can't believe this happened to me," she said. "But with prices the way they are, it can literally happen to anybody."

Rising housing costs, combined with persistent inflation for basic

THE FORGOTTEN DEAD

Died in a penthouse. Buried on an island of the poor.

The largest U.S. public cemetery, created for the destitute, now serves a surprising range of people

By Mary Jordan

NEW YORK — Valerie Griffith's final journey began on a battered ferry, a floating hearse bound for a most unusual island.

Nobody lives on Hart Island, a scruffy crescent-shaped sliver of land in Long Island Sound that New York's inhabitants call "Forgotten Island," "Haunted Island" and "Isle of Tears."

For 150 years, it's been known as the place where the city buries its penniless — not art collectors like Griffith.

But on Dec. 7, 2020, Griffith's coffin arrived at Hart Island's dock and was loaded onto a truck for a quick drive to a trench the size of a tennis court. There, on a cold and wet morning, gravediggers lowered her simple wooden coffin into the muddy ground. No relative or friend was present and there was no mention of her remarkable life: how the English-born Griffith had helped the U.S. military during World War II, exposed antisemitism in the United States and married an American spy.

Griffith was simply No. 14 in plot No. 414.

Into the same mass grave, workers stacked 150 more coffins, three deep.

A burial trench, at center, on Hart Island in the Bronx in April 2020. The island serves as New York's pauper's field, where the city buries its penniless.

Russia controls key city in east

POSSIBLE TURNING POINT IN REGION

Ukraine says forces withdrew to save lives

By Anna Nelle Tabbot, Victoria Bobby, Anna Nelle C. Chapman and Nick Minnoff

Russia claimed control Sunday over the key city of Lysychansk, the last major Ukrainian foothold in the Luhansk region — signaling a potential turning point in Moscow's campaign to take all of eastern Ukraine. Ukrainian officials said their forces had withdrawn from Lysychansk after fierce fighting to preserve lives from the Russians' relentless assault.

The slow Russian advance across the region it has targeted since the invasion began in February has been facilitated by overwhelming artillery power that has leveled cities and towns and left a trail of wounded and dead, prompting comparisons with the devastation of World War I in Europe.

Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu said in a statement that Russian troops and pro-Kremlin separatists of the self-declared Luhansk People's Re-

Some seek a recalibration of Ukraine assessments

By Dan Lamothe and Karoun Demirjian

The shifting nature of the war in Ukraine has prompted a split among analysts and U.S. lawmakers, with some questioning whether American officials have portrayed the crisis in overly rosy terms while others say the government in Kyiv can win with more help from the West.

The growing conjecture comes more than four months after Russia's invasion and its failure to seize the capital. Russian President Vladimir Putin has since narrowed the objectives, focusing on capturing the industrial Donbas region in eastern Ukraine while launching thousands of artillery rounds each day at outgunned Ukrainian forces.

President Biden, speaking Thursday at a summit of NATO leaders, said the United States is "rallying the world to stand with Ukraine" and pledged to support the cause "as long as it takes." Biden said he did not know "how it's going to end, but it will not end with a Russian defeat of Ukraine in Ukraine."

U.S. officials acknowledge that