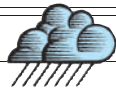


# The Washington Post

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, MAY 7, 2024 • \$3

## Retirement programs face bleak outlook

Report says Medicare and Social Security will be insolvent by 2036

BY JACOB BOGAGE AND JULIE ZAUZMER WEIL

Social Security and Medicare will run out of money in just over a decade, a new report warned Monday, putting fresh pressure on Congress to address the nation's financial health as federal debt rises and the population ages.

The trustees for the massive retirement programs project that Social Security will be insolvent by 2035, and Medicare by 2036, which would force benefit cuts. That's better than many experts had expected, though — last year, federal actuaries said the programs could go belly-up sooner. The report said the roaring job market and low unemployment rate means more workers are contributing to the programs, shoring up their finances even while record numbers of retirees enroll for benefits.

But that improvement may not last and can't change an overall bleak picture, the trustees said, and Congress still must act to stabilize the programs to prevent cutting off benefits from tens of millions of seniors or plunging the nation into insurmountable debt.

"This isn't a report where everything is fine and wonderful. It almost shows you how much we're living on a razor's edge," SEE SOCIAL SECURITY ON A7

FAQ: What the budget outlook for Social Security means for you. A7

## DEI efforts undergo a corporate rebranding

Amid legal threats, some firms drop the term and focus on inclusion for all

BY TAYLOR TELFORD AND JULIAN MARK

Last year, Eli Lilly's annual shareholders letter referenced the acronym for diversity, equity and inclusion 48 times. This year, "DEI" is nowhere to be found.

In March, Starbucks got shareholder approval to replace "representation" goals with "talent" performance for executive bonus incentives. At Molson Coors, "People & Planet" metrics have displaced environmental, social and governance (ESG) goals, and the acronym DEI has disappeared altogether.

Amid growing legal, social and political backlash, American businesses, industry groups and employment professionals are quietly scrubbing DEI from public view — though not necessarily abandoning its practice. As they rebrand programs and hot-button acronyms, they are reassessing decades-old anti-discrimination strategies and rewriting policies that once emphasized race and gender to prioritize inclusion for all.

SEE DEI ON A6

## RUSSIA, REMASTERED



NANNA HEITMANN/MAGNUM PHOTOS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## Putin's militarized new nation

As Vladimir Putin persists in his bloody campaign to conquer Ukraine, the Russian leader is directing an equally momentous transformation at home — re-engineering his country into a regressive, militarized society that views the West as its mortal enemy.

Putin's inauguration on Tuesday for a fifth term will not only mark his 25-year-long grip on power but also showcase Russia's shift into what pro-Kremlin commentators call a "revolutionary power," set on upending the global order, making its own rules, and demanding that totalitarian autocracy be respected as a legitimate alternative to democracy in a world redivided by big powers into spheres of influence.

"Russians live in a wholly new reality," Dmitri Trenin, a pro-

An ultraconservative, anti-Western society is emerging under longtime leader's forceful hand

BY ROBYN DIXON IN MOSCOW

A star with a Z, which has come to represent the Russian military, stands near a memorial honoring World War II heroes in Moscow.

Lashing out at the West: Russia announces tactical nuclear drills. A15

Kremlin analyst, wrote in reply to questions about an essay in which he argued that Russia's anti-Western shift was "more radical and far-reaching" than anything anticipated when Putin invaded Ukraine but also "a relatively minor element of the wider transformation which is going on in Russia's economy, polity, society, culture, values, and spiritual and intellectual life."

In "Russia, Remastered," The Washington Post documents the historic scale of the changes Putin is carrying out and has accelerated with breathtaking speed during two years of brutal war even as tens of thousands of Russians have fled abroad. It is a crusade that gives Putin common cause with China's Xi Jinping as well as some supporters of former president Donald Trump. And it raises

SEE RUSSIA ON A18

## Hopes revive for deal on Gaza

HAMAS AGREES ON CEASE-FIRE PLAN

Israel to negotiate even as it presses Rafah attack

This article is by Karen DeYoung, Susannah George, Hajar Harb, Heba Farouk Mahfouz, Hazem Balousha and Kareem Fahim

Hamas said Monday it agreed to a Qatari-Egyptian cease-fire proposal and Israel said it would send mediators to negotiate, reviving hopes of an extended pause to the fighting in Gaza even as Israel vowed to press on with its long-awaited military campaign in Rafah.

Early Monday, the Israeli military ordered tens of thousands of civilians in southern Gaza to "evacuate immediately" and said it would act with "extreme force" there, sending a surge of fear through more than a million Palestinians sheltering in the area. Hours later, as displaced families rushed to pack their belongings once more, panic gave way to celebrations, after Hamas announced it had informed Arab mediators that it would approve the cease-fire proposal.

But the path to any final agreement is likely to be a winding one, and there will be no immediate

SEE ISRAEL ON A13

Reaching out: Holocaust survivors offer hope to victims of Oct. 7. A12

Report to Congress: Biden faces tough call over Israel's actions. A14

## Protesters face tactics not seen in decades

Tolerant no more, campus leaders turn to mass arrests, expulsions

BY LAURA MECKLER AND HANNAH NATANSON

As pro-Palestinian student protests surged in the past week, universities responded with consequences not imposed en masse for decades: suspensions, expulsions and arrests, hoping to tamp down a spiraling movement that has inflamed passions on all sides.

Experts reached back to student protests against South Africa's apartheid regime in the 1980s and even further to the Vietnam War in the 1960s and early '70s for comparisons. Nothing since then has come close to this sort of disciplinary crackdown.

For students and school leaders alike, the stakes are high. School leaders face intense scrutiny over their handling of a deeply political issue. Students face the prospect of losing a semester's worth of credit and tuition money and, for some, the possibility of not graduating on time. Some students might find their financial aid jeopardized.

SEE PROTESTS ON A4

Columbia: School cancels its main commencement ceremony. A3

## Washington Post wins three Pulitzer Prizes

Honors for AR-15 series, imprisoned columnist Vladimir Kara-Murza, editorials on autocracy

BY JEREMY BARR

The Washington Post was awarded three Pulitzer Prizes on Monday, including a win in the national reporting category for an immersive series on the political salience and cultural impact of the AR-15 rifle that used chilling imagery and 3D animation to convey the full scale of the weapon's deadly capabilities.

Editorial writer David E. Hoffman was recognized for his series on the rise of autocracy around the world. Vladimir Kara-Murza — a Russian political activist and Post contributing columnist who has been imprisoned in Russia since April 2022 for speaking out against the invasion of Ukraine — won the commentary category for essays he wrote from behind bars.

ProPublica, a nonprofit investigative reporting organization, won the public service honor — considered the gold medal of the Pulitzers — for its examination of the relationships between Supreme Court justices and the billionaire donors who have lavished

SEE PULITZERS ON A6



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Silvia Foster-Frau, third from left, Peter Wallsten, fourth from left, and other Post staff members celebrate after winning the Pulitzer Prize for national reporting for a series on the AR-15 rifle.

## IN THE NEWS

**Threat of jail time** The judge overseeing Donald Trump's New York trial found him in contempt of court and warned the former president he was flirting with detainment. A8

**Charges dropped** A Virginia prosecutor has withdrawn the cases against five officers in Irvo Otieno's death at a mental hospital. B1

**THE NATION** Black Americans' desire to vote in this year's election is down sharply compared with 2020, a Washington Post-Ipsos poll found, a potentially troublesome sign for President Biden. A2

**THE WORLD** Two women are seeking Mexico's presidency, but the race is about the man in power. A10  
**Chinese President Xi** Jinping visited France during his first trip to Europe in five years. A11

**Russian authorities** detained a U.S. Army soldier on criminal misconduct charges. A15

**THE ECONOMY** Businesses are partnering with states to make it easier for families to find available child-care slots in an industry ripe for disruption. A17

**THE REGION** The Loudoun County sheriff called for school resource officers on elementary campuses as the district assesses its safety protocols. B1  
**With early voting** in Virginia's 10th District underway, candidates jockeyed for position in a crowded field. B1

**STYLE** Violence, rumors and court cases have shadowed music mogul Sean Combs, but they have yet to slow his ascent. C1

**HEALTH & SCIENCE** People who make "good enough" decisions, instead of "perfect" ones, are often happier, research suggests. E1

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OBITUARIES.....B4  
OPINION PAGES.....A21  
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WORLD NEWS.....A10

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The Washington Post  
Year 147, No. 53844

