

## Delays ahead for U.S. Steel decision

Fear of job losses in Pa. leads Biden to postpone blocking a takeover bid

BY JEFF STEIN AND DAVID J. LYNCH

White House officials are signaling that President Joe Biden will not imminently move to block Nippon Steel's bid to acquire U.S. Steel amid mounting concerns over the political and economic consequences of nixing the deal, according to three people with knowledge of the matter.

The White House last week had been preparing to announce that the president would formally block the Japanese company's proposed \$14.9 billion acquisition of U.S. Steel on national security grounds. But after vocal opposition to the idea, White House officials have now indicated that such a decision is unlikely in the short term and may not be made until after the 2024 presidential election, according to the people, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe confidential conversations.

The president remains opposed to the deal, officials said. No announcement was ever scheduled. But the pace of internal deliberations has slowed.

White House spokeswoman Saloni Sharma disputed that there had been a change of plans, saying an announcement was never imminent and that the president remains committed to waiting for a recommendation from an interagency review board, as the law requires.

The delay of any announcement, however, comes as investors, Pennsylvania Democrats and some members of the steelworkers' union warned that the deal's collapse could spark an economic calamity for Pennsylvania's beleaguered steel belt.

SEE U.S. STEEL ON A12



PHOTOS BY ALLISON ROBERT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## A WWI salute delivered in bronze

25-ton sculpture 'A Soldier's Journey' in D.C. is the culmination of more than a decade of effort

BY KATIE SHEPHERD

The 58-foot-long bronze sculpture follows the story of an unnamed World War I soldier, beginning on the day he takes his helmet from his daughter's hands and ships out. It shows anguished scenes of war, with soldiers fighting alongside nurses who tend their injuries. And finally, a homecoming.

Years in the making, the 25-ton sculpture called "A Soldier's Journey" is the centerpiece of the National World War I Memorial and was unveiled Friday evening in a park at 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, just blocks from the White House.

As the sun set on a breezy Washington evening, a crowd of veterans, military enthusiasts and others gathered to see the memorial. Observers lined barri-

cades on Pennsylvania Avenue to watch the program. Some wore re-creations of World War I uniforms. The U.S. Army Band "Pershing's Own" played the national anthem.

"This mammoth, epic, 60-foot-long bronze is about humans," artist Sabin Howard said. "It is a memorial about us, we the people. It is a project that represents the everyman, the ones who make this country possible. And as I stand here in front of you, I am an example of why this country carries so much potential. It is the freedom to choose what we will do with the God-given gift of life. It is a country that grants us free will."

The massive sculpture took about a decade to complete from inception to reveal. Forged in Stroud, England, it is now the

SEE MEMORIAL ON A7



TOP: The centerpiece of the National World War I Memorial in Washington, "A Soldier's Journey," is unveiled on Friday. ABOVE: Musicians at the program in Washington, where some observers wore re-creations of World War I uniforms.

## Russia expels British envoys

MOSCOW ALLEGES SPYING, SABOTAGE

Putin warns against deep strikes with West's arms

BY ROBYN DIXON

Russia on Friday accused six British diplomats of spying and announced it had stripped them of accreditation, a move that came as Western leaders were discussing whether to allow Ukraine to strike military targets deep inside Russia using long-range Western weapons.

On a day when President Joe Biden and British Prime Minister Keir Starmer met at the White House to discuss their approach to the Russia-Ukraine war, President Vladimir Putin also warned that if Ukraine fires Western missiles deep into Russia, it would mean that Russia was at war with NATO and would respond accordingly.

Russia's Federal Security Service (FSB) said Britain's Foreign Office was coordinating "the escalation of the political and military situation" in Ukraine to ensure Russia's defeat in the war. It said the diplomats were "threatening the security of the Russian Federation."

The British Foreign Office described the FSB's accusations as

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White House visit: Biden affirms Ukraine support with Starmer. A10

## Putin using media firm for covert operations

Blinken: RT's activities aim to weaken U.S. and other democracies

BY CATHERINE BELTON

Secretary of State Antony Blinken said Russian state media company RT is being deployed by the Kremlin to conduct cyberintelligence and covert influence operations across the globe as well as to help procure weapons for Russia's war against Ukraine.

State Department officials warned Friday that the newly exposed covert Russian disinformation operation to influence public opinion in the United States represents only a small fraction of Moscow's efforts to undermine democracies globally through its state propaganda arm RT.

Announcing new sanctions against RT's parent companies, Rossiya Segodnya and TV-Novosti, that aim to cripple funding for RT and its operations, Blinken said new information showed that these entities "are no longer merely fire hoses of Russian propaganda and disinformation. They are engaged in covert influence activities aimed at undermining American elections and democracies, functioning like a de facto arm of Russia's

SEE PROPAGANDA ON A9

### ELECTION 2024

## Harris's meme masters taking TikTok by storm

'Feral 25-year-olds' tap rhythms of online culture for quick-reaction virality

BY DREW HARWELL

After Tuesday night's debate, as former president Donald Trump worked the reporters in the spin room in Philadelphia, Vice President Kamala Harris's TikTok team was busy appealing to a different crowd.

In the digital "war room" at campaign headquarters in Wilmington, Del., they hit the button on their piece of resistance shortly after midnight: A six-second video that mocked Trump's performance by showing his lectern inhabited by a laughably dramatic "Dance Moms" star. "I thought I was ready to be back. I thought I was stronger than this but obviously I'm not," she lamented. "I wanna go home."

Viewed more than 7 million times, the video was produced by a small TikTok team — all 25 and under, some working their first jobs — given unfettered freedom to chase whatever they think will go viral. Over the past eight weeks, Harris's social media team has

helped supercharge her campaign, harnessing the rhythms and absurdities of internet culture to create one of the most inventive and irreverent get-out-the-vote strategies in modern politics.

They have trolled Trump inside his own social network, Truth Social. They have made viral memes out of bags of Doritos and camouflage hats. In 2016, a single Hillary Clinton tweet might have required 12 staffers and 10 drafts; today, many of Harris's TikTok videos are conceived, created and posted in about half an hour.

"This campaign empowers young people to speak to young people," said Parker Butler, the 24-year-old director of Harris's digital rapid response content, a team that watches all of Trump's speeches and can blast a clip onto social media at a moment's notice. "And we're here to put in the work."

Trump also has leaped forcefully

SEE HARRIS ON A4

Debate bump: Harris uses buzz to make gains in redder areas. A5

New advisers: Harris adds Obama and Clinton campaign veterans. A5

Internet pounces: Trump's pet-eating claim sparks meme war. A14

## Plan to label ultra-processed foods is latest front in fight against obesity



HARUKO HAYAKAWA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Your food may soon come with warnings.

The Food and Drug Administration plans to propose labeling this fall for the front of food and drink packages to help Americans make healthier choices to address exploding obesity rates, years after other countries took similar action.

The labels are supposed to flag products containing high levels of sodium, saturated fat or added sugars — common features of

## Warning: FDA may flag that snack

BY LAUREN WEBER AND RACHEL ROUBEIN

ultra-processed foods that make up more than half of the calories Americans consume each day.

But the labeling options under consideration by the FDA are not clear enough to protect Americans' health, some nutrition experts and lawmakers say, including Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), chairman of the Senate health committee who has proposed a stricter system.

"Other countries understand

SEE LABELS ON A13

## IN THE NEWS

**Boar's Head plant** After a listeria outbreak, the Jarratt, Va., facility will close indefinitely, affecting hundreds of workers. A14

**Missing Virginia woman** A lawyer for the Manassas Park man charged with concealing the body of his wife, Mamta Bhatt, argued in court that she remains alive. B1

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**Drought concerns** grow in the region amid a month featuring almost no rainfall, with areas west of the District particularly affected. B1

**STYLE** Writer-actress Natasha Rothwell steps into the leading role with her Hulu comedy series, "How to Die Alone." C1  
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The Washington Post  
Year 147, No. 53974

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# A challenger to the undemocratic electoral college gains momentum among states



**Federal Insider**

JOE DAVIDSON

American exceptionalism, has resulted in presidential candidates who win the popular vote, only to lose the election because of often anonymous electors. Now, an alternative is gaining traction.

Before getting to the consequences of the current anti-majoritarian operation and a look at the alternative, here's a quick reminder of the odd way Americans pick presidents.

The electoral college is "a process, not a place," as described by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), which coordinates electoral college functions. Political parties in each state select electors. The winner of the popular vote in each state gets all the electors' votes in 48 states and the District. Only Maine and Nebraska award electoral votes proportionally. The number of electors in each state equals the number of senators and representatives in the state. The District has three electors, despite having no senators or voting representatives in the House.

Five times in U.S. history, and twice since 2000, popular vote losers won the White House. Most recently that was to the joy of Republicans, but their victories had fatal consequences.

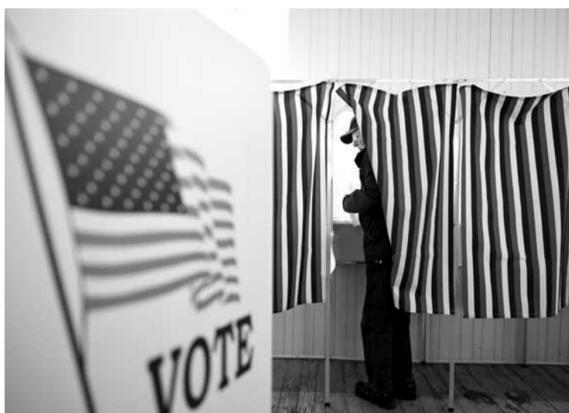
George W. Bush won in 2000, and the victory later enabled him to authorize the Iraq invasion, based on bogus information, which led to the deaths of more than 4,400 Americans and 32,000 U.S. military injuries. Estimates of Iraqi deaths approach a half-million.

Donald Trump's 2016 electoral college win, despite losing the popular vote, was followed by his 2020 popular vote and electoral college defeats. He inspired the violent Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol by his insurrectionist supporters who sought to stop the process that made him a certified loser. Seven deaths were linked to the attack, according to a bipartisan Senate report.

"The current system presents a growing threat to the peaceful transition of power. It also strips us of our individual power," said Robert Reich, a University of California at Berkeley public policy professor who was labor secretary during the Clinton administration. "If you're a New York Republican or an Alabama Democrat, presidential candidates have little incentive to try and win your vote under the current system."

He made those remarks in a video advocating the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact. Rather than engaging a long, cumbersome and difficult constitutional amendment process to eliminate the electoral college, the campaign seeks to significantly modify the process.

Unless blocked by the courts, the National Popular Vote would take effect when states with electoral votes totaling at least 270 — the number needed for victory — agree to participate. That's just over half of all 538



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

**A voting booth during the New Hampshire primary in January. Under the National Popular Vote plan, the presidential candidate with the most popular votes would get all the electoral votes.**

votes. "Then, the presidential candidate receiving the most popular votes in all 50 states and DC will get all the electoral votes from all of the enacting states," according to the campaign, ensuring majority will rules.

So far, 17 states and the District, with a combined 209 electoral votes, have approved the National Popular Vote. Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, signed legislation accepting the National Popular Vote for his state last year. The presidential campaigns of Vice President Kamala Harris, the Democratic nominee, and Trump did not respond to questions about the electoral college.

"I'm increasingly confident that we are watching the last election under the current system," said Patrick Rosenstiel, a National Popular Vote senior

consultant. "We can have a national popular vote election in 2028." Maryland was the first state to join in 2007. The last was Maine in April.

Rosenstiel is optimistic about the 2028 timeline, because, he said, "the proposal has passed at least one legislative chamber in seven additional states with 74 electoral votes, more than the 61 electoral votes needed for the proposal to take effect."

His optimism is bolstered by strong public support for a more democratic system that ensures the candidate with the most popular votes wins. Sixty-five percent of adults in a 2023 Pew Research Center survey favored that. Among the coming generation, 18 to 29 years old, that jumps to 70 percent. But there is a wide ideological and partisan split. Just 36 percent of conservatives and 47 percent of

people identifying as Republican or GOP-leaning want to change the current system. That compares with 88 percent of liberals and 82 percent of Democrats and Democratic-leaning people favoring changes.

The strong, overall favorable rating is driven by endemic problems with the electoral college. Its undemocratic conflict with majority rule has been demonstrated in the victories of John Quincy Adams in 1824, Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876 and Benjamin Harrison in 1888, who lost the popular vote before Bush and Trump followed.

Furthermore, the electoral college formula gives disproportional weight to some states and disadvantages others. That leads to presidential candidates concentrating heavily on the battleground states, while the rest get little attention.

As with so much in America, there also are historical and current racial implications. Noting the overwhelming 82.5 percent White population in sparsely populated Wyoming and the much more diverse 35.2 percent White population in heavily populated California, Reich said that "voters in Wyoming have four times more power than the typical voter in California."

That phenomenon is not limited to those two states, said Wilfred U. Codrington III, a constitutional law professor and co-director of the Floersheimer Center for Constitutional Democracy at the Cardozo School of Law in New York City. "What is clear," he wrote in a Brennan Center for Justice article reprinted from the Atlantic, "is that more than two centuries

after it was designed to empower southern whites, the Electoral College continues to do just that. The current system has a distinct, adverse impact on Black voters, diluting their political power. Because the concentration of Black people is highest in the South, their preferred presidential candidate is virtually assured to lose their home states' electoral votes."

An e-book by the right-wing Heritage Foundation places those arguments in its "myths and misinformation" category. Electoral college benefits listed by the think tank include preserving federalism, encouraging broad coalitions and moderation, discouraging voter fraud and promoting election legitimacy, though Trump didn't find this last point persuasive.

Through the "genius and foresight" of the Constitution's framers, Heritage wrote, "they designed an electoral system that has the ability to adapt to modern-day America and work even better than they could have anticipated."

The Pew poll shows a strong majority of America disagrees.

Yet despite the overwhelming support for change, Aaron Scherb, senior legislative affairs director at Common Cause, a national pro-democracy organization that supports the compact, wasn't as optimistic as Rosenstiel is about a new system during a telephone interview.

"It's challenging to find the next tranche of states" that might adopt the National Popular Vote, he said. To get there, it might take "a Republican presidential candidate to lose the electoral college, but win the popular vote."

## The Washington Post

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### Opinion:

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Published daily (ISSN 0190-8286).  
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Washington Post, 1301 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071.  
Periodicals postage paid in Washington, D.C., and additional mailing office.

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# Afghan women defy Taliban, attend med school in U.K.

After roadblocks in their homeland, students are awarded free tuition

BY DANIEL WU

Zahra Hussaini didn't give up on her dream of becoming a doctor when a car bomb exploded outside a school near her home in Kabul in 2021, killing dozens of schoolgirls and sparking fears that her classrooms might be next.

She didn't give up months later, when the Taliban took over Afghanistan, nor when the regime banned female students from attending universities in late 2022, months before she was set to complete her first year of medical school.

It took another 18 months of uncertainty — and a rewriting of student funding laws in the Scottish Parliament — but next week, Hussaini's dream will continue more than 3,000 miles away. She and 18 other female Afghan medical students are resuming their studies at Scottish universities after a British nonprofit concluded a years-long effort to bring Afghan women to the country and enroll them in schools.

"It [is] going to be a new chapter of my life," Hussaini, 20, told The Washington Post.

Lorna Norgrove, a trustee of the Linda Norgrove Foundation, the nonprofit that campaigned to bring Hussaini and her peers to Britain, said the effort was the first of its kind in Scotland. It was made possible by Scottish lawmakers amending educational policies to secure free tuition for the Afghan students, Norgrove said.

"It's a great achievement," she said. "And it's just a relief to have them here."

The Linda Norgrove Foundation was founded by Lorna and John Norgrove and named after their daughter, an aid worker who



COURTESY OF THE LINDA NORGRÖVE FOUNDATION

**Female students from Afghanistan pose with members of the Linda Norgrove Foundation in Scotland.**

was kidnapped in Afghanistan and killed in a rescue attempt in 2010. The organization had previously sponsored roughly 100 scholarships for women studying in Afghan universities, including Hussaini, when the Taliban took over the country.

As the Taliban began imposing restrictions on girls' education, the Norgroves watched nervously from Scotland.

"Our students have gone from being trainee doctors to facing a closed existence, consigned to cooking, cleaning and looking after children," John Norgrove said in a statement in September 2023.

In high school, Hussaini had already endured the terror of one of Kabul's grisliest school attacks. The bombing, which left more than 90 people dead, and other attacks on students in Afghanistan had spurred her to want to become a doctor. After living through that, she said, the Taliban's prohibitions on women's education were too much to bear.

"It made even the pain or the suffering [hurt] much more," Hussaini said.

The Taliban's steady rollback of women's freedoms has forced Afghan women and girls to take desperate, clandestine measures to continue their education, The Post has reported. Some attend underground schools. Others learn languages and take classes online. The Norgroves lobbied for students sponsored by their foundation to be allowed to come to Scotland through a resettlement scheme for Afghan refugees and secured approval from several universities to admit around 20 students.

In 2023, the Norgroves were stonewalled when the British government informed them that the students wouldn't be eligible for the country's resettlement scheme, and would need to apply for student visas and pay out-of-state tuition of around \$65,000, the foundation said.

Hussaini and her peers

couldn't afford that. Neither could the Linda Norgrove Foundation. Privately, Hussaini also worried about passing the necessary language exams and continuing her studies in another country, in English.

"At the beginning, it looked kind of impossible," she said.

Hussaini's family gathered their savings to pay for her to take English lessons. In her spare time, she downloaded digital copies of English textbooks, printed them and recited them in front of her mirror.

The Norgroves, meanwhile, pursued their own long-shot bid to fund the students' education. Scottish residents who are undergrads at Scottish universities have their tuition funded by the state — a privilege that was also extended to some evacuated Afghan refugees in the country, but not to those entering on student visas. Could the foundation's Afghan students be given an exception to receive the same funding once

they arrived?

"Last October, we thought, 'Right, we'll have one last-ditch dance,'" John Norgrove said. The foundation urged supporters to write to their members of parliament about the issue.

Buoyed by support from Scottish Parliament members, the Norgroves' appeal eventually compelled the government to amend Scottish legislation to grant free tuition to Afghan women who've had their studies interrupted, the Scottish government announced in August.

"I think everybody on both sides of the government actually thought that this was just the right thing to do," said Matthew Forbes, head of international affairs and security policy at Britain's Scotland Office.

Hussaini and her peers applied for their student visas at the British High Commission in neighboring Pakistan, completed the necessary paperwork and English language tests, and finally set off to continue their studies in August. They arrived in Scotland on Aug. 19 and traveled on taxis and trains to the four universities that had accepted them.

Hussaini, who is now enrolled in the University of Glasgow's medicine program, has spent the weeks since adjusting to her new surroundings. Her neighbors and the university staff who helped her move in were friendly, and London's Afghan restaurants feel like home, she said.

She has also overcome her anxieties about studying in English.

"I am the girl who could not speak in front of two people in a very small class," Hussaini said. "But now I can speak like in a live program in [the] U.K. It was a kind of victory for me, that finally my hard working paid off."

Hussaini's classes haven't started yet, but she's already thinking ahead to when she reaches her goal of becoming a doctor.

"I really want to go back to Afghanistan and work and serve my own people," she said.

## DIGEST

### COLORADO

#### Paramedic convicted in McClain death freed

A Colorado paramedic convicted in the death of Elijah McClain, a Black man whose name became part of the rallying cries for social justice that swept the U.S. in 2020, is being released from prison after a judge reduced his sentence to four years of probation Friday.

Judge Mark Warner ruled that "unusual and extenuating circumstances" in the case justified reducing the five-year prison sentence for Peter Cichuniec, the Denver Post

reported.

Warner is the same judge who sentenced Cichuniec to prison in March.

McClain was walking down the street in a Denver suburb in 2019 when police responding to a suspicious person report forcibly restrained him and put him in a neck hold. His final words — "I can't breathe" — foreshadowed those of George Floyd a year later in Minneapolis.

Cichuniec and a fellow paramedic were convicted in December of criminally negligent homicide for injecting McClain with ketamine, a powerful sedative blamed for

killing the 23-year-old massage therapist. Cichuniec also was convicted on a more serious charge of second-degree assault for giving a drug without consent or a legitimate medical purpose.

McClain's death and others have raised questions about the use of ketamine to subdue struggling suspects, and the prosecution sent shock waves through the ranks of paramedics across the United States.

"We are disappointed the court reduced his sentence today, but we respect the court's decision," the office of Colorado Attorney General Philip Weiser said in a statement.

Colorado's mandatory

sentencing law allows a court to modify a sentence after a defendant has served 119 days in prison if the judge finds the case is exceptional and involves "unusual and extenuating circumstances."

— Associated Press

### CALIFORNIA

#### Pair convicted in birth tourism scheme

A jury on Friday convicted a Southern California couple of running a business that helped pregnant Chinese women travel to the United States without revealing their intentions to give

birth to babies who would automatically have American citizenship.

Michael Liu and Phoebe Dong were found guilty of one count of conspiracy and 10 counts of money laundering in a federal court in Los Angeles.

The case against the pair went to trial nine years after federal authorities searched more than a dozen homes across Southern California in a crackdown on so-called birth tourism operators who authorities said encouraged pregnant women to lie on their visa paperwork and hide their pregnancies and helped the women travel to deliver their babies in the United States.

Liu and Dong were charged in 2019 along with more than a dozen others, including a woman who later pleaded guilty to running a company known as "You Win USA" and was sentenced to 10 months in prison.

Prosecutors alleged Liu and Dong's company "USA Happy Baby" helped several hundred birth tourists between 2012 and 2015 and charged the tourists as much as \$40,000 for services including apartment rentals during their stays in Southern California.

Liu and Dong are scheduled to be sentenced on Dec. 9.

— Associated Press

## POLITICS &amp; THE NATION

## With Harris in race, GOP casts Calif. as liberal hellscape

The state's defenders acknowledge issues but pin attacks on jealousy

BY REIS THEBAULT

LOS ANGELES — Donald Trump has some thoughts about America's wealthiest, most populous and most culturally influential state.

"A symbol of our nation's decline."

"The place is failing."

"Crime ridden."

"Ruined."

In the words of the Republican presidential ticket, California is teetering on the brink of apocalypse, pushed to the edge by Democratic leaders and their far-out policies.

All this California calumny reveals a GOP strategy that dates back decades but has reached new heights in recent months. Since President Joe Biden dropped out of the race and the Bay Area's own Kamala Harris became the Democratic nominee, Republicans have sought to put California on the ballot, framing the election in part as a referendum on America's partisan perceptions of the Golden State.

Trump, Vance and other Republicans have relied on stereotypes old and new to turn California into a watchword for liberal lunacy and government overreach. In doing so, they have latched on to state problems — many real, some imagined — magnified them and blamed them on liberal leaders who they say have treated California as a laboratory for leftist ideas.

"Attacking California is attacking more than just a geographic place," said Mike Madrid, a Republican political consultant from California and co-founder of the anti-Trump Lincoln Project. "It's attacking a set of cultural values."

Even California's most ardent defenders are quick to acknowledge that the state isn't perfect and some of the criticisms are based in fact, if exaggerated for political impact. Mayoral candidates in deep-blue cities have lodged critiques similar to, but far less extreme, than Trump's.

Housing is perhaps the most pressing and visible challenge, and California leads the nation in unsheltered homelessness. The state's homicide rate is lower than the U.S. average, but violent crime overall is higher. Gas prices are typically among the most expensive in the country in part due to state taxes.

Its population has dropped in recent years by about 1 percent overall, state figures show, though the number of residents last year rebounded somewhat after three years of minimal declines. Its government recently faced a massive budget deficit.

Yet for the 39 million people who call this state home and enjoy its natural beauty, diversity, economic prowess and strong social safety net, real life bears little resemblance to the hellscape conjured by the country's leading Republicans. "It's hardly 'Blade Runner' here," said Anthony Rendon, a Democrat from Los Angeles and the former speaker of California's State Assembly, referring to the classic film's dystopian depiction of his hometown.

The attacks on the Left Coast's largest state can be traced back to the 1984 Republican National Convention, when President Ronald Reagan's ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, inveighed against "San Francisco Democrats." In praising a former California governor, she coined a scornful phrase destined to be repeated in countless GOP



APU GOMES/GETTY IMAGES



MARIO TAMAYO/GETTY IMAGES



RICH PEDRONCELLI/AP

**TOP: Elysian Park in Los Angeles this month. Republicans have blamed California's problems — many real, some imagined — on its liberal leaders. ABOVE LEFT: People watch the presidential debate between Vice President Kamala Harris and former president Donald Trump on Tuesday in West Hollywood, Calif. ABOVE RIGHT: Harris, then attorney general, looks over seized guns in Sacramento in June 2011.**

ads and stump speeches over the next 40 years.

While California — and San Francisco in particular — has produced a roster of political heavy hitters since Kirkpatrick leveled her slur in service of the Gipper's reelection, the state did not spawn another legitimate contender for the White House until Harris's recent ascension.

Harris was born in Oakland, raised largely in Berkeley and elected district attorney in San Francisco before working in Sacramento as California's attorney general and in Washington as its junior senator. If she prevails in November, she would be the first Democrat from the state to win the presidency.

As politics have become more polarized and the country more geographically sorted, the attacks on California have become more personal and acerbic. The trend accelerated during Trump's first presidency, when the state became a resistance stronghold and the chief antagonist of his administration. Things have gotten so bad that some Republicans have cast California as an unusually un-American entity, akin to a foreign adversary.

In the presidential race, the broadsides are two-pronged, strategists on the left and right say: Republicans are hoping to paint California as the picture of Democratic mismanagement —

and to hold Harris personally responsible for it, even if she never served as governor or as a legislative leader.

"When you look at swing states in particular, an attack on California can make some sense," said Beth Miller, a Sacramento-based political consultant who worked for former California governor Pete Wilson (R) and advised business executive Carly Fiorina's 2010 GOP Senate run in the state. "We are a little bit out of step with mainstream America. It's something that California is proud of."

But some of the splashy policies pushed by state leaders — like banning the sale of new gas-powered vehicles by 2035 to counter climate change — could leave voters in the Midwest bewildered and nervous, Miller said. Those measures have been promoted by Democrats, who hold complete control over the legislature and the governor's office, muting the voices of minority Republicans.

Trump seems to be counting on a backlash. In one recent speech, he repeatedly referred to Harris as "Comrade Kamala" — a smear that labels her a communist — and claimed of California: "It's just unbelievable what's happened to that state. ... They've just let it go to hell, and she's going to do the same thing to the United States."

Trump has a long track record of saying outrageous, inaccurate and contradictory things about

California and its leadership.

In the same speech last month in Asheboro, N.C., Trump asserted that San Francisco was "the best city in the world, probably 15, 18 years ago, 20 years ago." Each of those periods coincides with Harris's time as the city's district attorney, meaning he was paying her leadership an apparently inadvertent compliment.

And this year, Trump made the bizarre and false claim that residents of Beverly Hills "don't have water" and are told "you can only brush your teeth once a day."

Meanwhile, Vance — a former San Francisco venture capitalist who used to enjoy weekends volunteering in his neighborhood's community garden — has blamed "San Francisco liberals" for everything, including ruining the city and the country's migration crisis.

Even the state's Republican Party has called Harris "a radical California Democrat" and has asserted that in San Francisco, "businesses close and people move away with no plans to return."

But condemnations of California omit a few key facts. For instance, there were 6 million Trump voters here in 2020 — more than in any other state. The Trump company still owns seemingly profitable property here, and in addition to being the nation's largest economy, the state is home to more billionaires than

anywhere else in the country.

Indeed, Democrats and Republicans alike regularly frequent the "California ATM," the state's high-powered fundraising circuit. In 2020, Californians led the nation in contributions to the Biden and the Trump campaigns and could be poised to repeat the feat this cycle.

Vance stopped in Los Angeles on Sunday for a \$3,300-per-person dinner, and Trump is in California this week for a pair of fundraisers in L.A. and the Bay Area, where top tickets are reportedly going for \$500,000 per couple — return trips to the ATM that come just weeks after the former president said, "You barely can go into California anymore."

Trump reiterated his complaints about the state and an opponent he again called "Comrade Kamala" at a news conference at his golf course in Rancho Palos Verdes overlooking the blue Pacific. He also said without offering proof that in a fair November election, he would win the state — which he lost in 2020 by 29 percentage points and more than 5 million votes.

In such a sprawling place, there will inevitably be plenty of evidence to support arguments on both sides of the Golden State debate, said Dan Schnur, a professor of political communications and a longtime California strategist for candidates such as Sen.

John McCain (R-Ariz.).

And it's not just Republicans, he added. Democrats do the same thing when they criticize conservative states like Texas, Alabama or Mississippi.

"What both parties are doing is trying to stoke their supporters' fear of something different and unfamiliar," he said. "And it's an easy geographic shorthand."

One response? A sticks-and-stones approach.

"Look, we've got the beaches, we've got the mountains, we've got Hollywood, we've got Silicon Valley," Schnur said. "Let them rage."

Harris appears to be doing just that, looking to insulate herself from criticism rather than engaging in a back-and-forth about her state's merits. She has stressed that she would be "a president for all Americans" and has emphasized her law enforcement background while downplaying the jurisdictions she served.

"She's not saying, 'San Francisco district attorney.' She's saying, 'District attorney,'" Madrid said. "She's not saying, 'California attorney general.' She's saying, 'Attorney general.'"

Harris has also consistently referred to herself as "a daughter of Oakland," rather than invoking the city's northern neighbor where she spent much of her childhood. That city happens to sport a reputation for radical politics that earned it the nickname "Berkeley."

For the past decade, Harris has lived with her family in Los Angeles, occasionally identifying as a "Sangeleno," a portmanteau she coined to describe her roots in both Northern and Southern California. More recently, at the Democratic National Convention, she mentioned her brief stints living in Illinois and Wisconsin, and she emphasized her working-class upbringing.

"She is running to be the president of our entire country," said Jane Kim, director of the California chapter of the Working Families Party, which endorsed Harris. "It makes sense that she would focus on the threads of her story that would resonate to people regardless of where they're born."

Some of the problems plaguing California are national, Kim said, while others are symptoms of the state's success — the influx of wealth has driven up home and other prices and created especially stark income inequality, for example. "It's more complicated than saying, 'California has failed,'" Kim said. "We are a leader of ideas in so many ways."

On a recent afternoon in Brentwood, the ritzy westside Los Angeles neighborhood where Harris and second gentleman Doug Emhoff live when not in Washington, that wasn't a concern. This was Harris's home turf.

"It feels cherry-picked," Katherine Stephens, a 33-year-old therapist, said of the onslaught against her adopted state. "I don't know, they're just jealous. It's insecurity. I'm sorry you didn't have the bright idea to move here."

Stephens and a friend had spent the sweltering September day biking to the Brentwood Country Mart, an upscale market a couple miles from Harris's home and a long way from the wasteland of Republican recriminations.

Tom Early, a retired physician administrator who has lived in Los Angeles for 50 years, said California has long been subjected to this sort of criticism, dating back to the days of the Berkeley-born Free Speech Movement and the Haight-Ashbury hippies.

"It's easy for other states to look at California and say, 'Haha,'" Early, 76, said as he sat outside the market at lunchtime. "But where is there a better place to live than here?"

## More testing could have proven Starliner's safety, stuck astronauts say

Boeing and NASA have struggled to find out what went wrong

BY HANNAH ZIEGLER

The two NASA astronauts who flew to the International Space Station in June on Boeing's troubled Starliner said on Friday that officials probably could have reached a point where they deemed the spacecraft safe enough to ride back to Earth, but they "just ran out of time" to conduct more tests.

"We had to decide: Is Starliner

coming back with or without us?" astronaut Barry "Butch" Wilmore said in a media briefing from the International Space Station. "And we just did not have enough time to get to the end of that runway."

Friday was the first time Wilmore and astronaut Sunita Williams had discussed their mission since Starliner, the Boeing spacecraft that carried them to the space station, landed safely on Earth without them last week. The pair left for their test mission in early June, but during Starliner's flight, several thrusters on its service module stopped firing and its propulsion system suffered multiple helium leaks.

Since then, Boeing and NASA have struggled to determine

what went wrong. On Aug. 24, NASA made the stunning decision to keep Williams and Wilmore in space until February — extending their mission from eight days to eight months.

Now they will be spending fall and much of the winter in space and will miss the holidays on Earth. They'll be watching November elections from afar but said they recently requested mail ballots.

The astronauts will return to Earth on one of SpaceX's Dragon capsules. The decision to return Starliner to Earth without its crew dealt a massive blow to Boeing, which vigorously defended the spacecraft's safety and argued that it could bring Wil-

liams and Wilmore home despite the thruster and helium issues.

Wilmore said he is "absolutely not" let down by the issues Starliner has encountered since he and Williams departed for the space station. The crew was prepared to run into snags as part of the test flight, but he acknowledged that changes need to be made to Starliner before it is ready for future manned flights.

"We've got lessons learned that we will go through," Wilmore said. "We will be involved in those discussions, and the things that need to change will change."

Williams, who is also on her third space flight, agreed it was the right decision for the crew to wait for Dragon's return mission.

A crew currently at the space station arrived on a different Dragon capsule that is docked to the station, giving the astronauts a chance to explore it before their own return trip, she said.

The astronauts — both retired Navy captains — will continue working alongside other crews at the space station while spending another six months orbiting Earth at 17,500 mph. Both remain in contact with their loved ones at home, but Williams said it was hard at first to not fret over missed fall and winter plans with her husband and two dogs.

"I was a little bit nervous, to be honest with you, to say, 'Okay, I'm not coming home,'" Williams said. "The up part is we're here

with our friends, we've got a ride home and we're looking forward to the next couple months."

The pair have more than 500 days in space combined between them. That wealth of previous experience has made it easier to adapt to life on the space station, Williams said.

Wilmore, 61, is looking forward to arriving home to his wife and two daughters, but the feeling that space is his and Williams's "happy place" hasn't faded, he said.

"I don't look back and say, 'Woulda, shoulda, coulda.' I look back and say, 'Going forward, how can I fix? What can we do to make this better?'" Wilmore said. "That's our mindset right now."

## ELECTION 2024



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

HARRIS FROM A1

ly into social media, seeing it as critical to grabbing voters' attention in an age of mass distraction. But while Trump has posted attacks on Harris' intelligence, warnings of economic "disaster" and grim polemics about how America's "FUTURE IS AT STAKE" — "We're a nation in decline," he says in one video, holding handcuffs aloft. "Nobody is safe. Absolutely nobody" — the Harris team has adopted a more playful approach, chasing virality with snarky, upbeat and oddball content delivered at internet speed.

Harris' "digital rapid response" team, as it's called, is active on every major social platform, posting family photos on Facebook, hours-long speeches on YouTube and Spanish-language calls to action on WhatsApp. On debate night, they hosted live-streamed watch parties on Twitch, walloped Trump's untruths on Threads and X, and hyped Harris's most fiery lines on Instagram and TikTok.

"They really run it like a fan account," said Rachel Karten, a social media consultant who writes Link in Bio, a newsletter about online culture. "It's not like it's coming from a campaign. It's like: We talk like you. Even the caption is like: 'You have to watch this.'"

The online rollout has helped Harris circumvent the tough questions and uncertainties of the traditional political press, allowing her to reach millions of voters who turn to social media as a news source. By the time Harris sat for her first big TV interview as the Democratic nominee, she had already appeared in dozens of social media videos, giving direct-to-camera monologues about *Roe v. Wade*, chatting on the phone with the Obamas and talking with her running mate Tim Walz about "White guy tacos" and the guitar skills of Prince.

The approach seems to be paying off. The Harris campaign has gotten 100 million more views than Trump on TikTok, despite having half as many followers, according to an analysis of data from Zelf, an online measurement firm.

It's also gotten under Trump's skin. He posted a Truth Social video this month saying his campaign had "the greatest social media program in history" and that any claims of Harris's online success were "misinformation": "She's not even a small fraction of what we do. But that's the way they do it, they lie." He has also, without evidence, accused her team of paying for fake followers. The Harris campaign responded, "Rent free" — as in, how they're living, inside his head.

Campaign officials say the digital operation has seen success beyond social media. To some supporters, it's a big reason the 59-year-old politician is generating interest among young voters.

"That's kind of like what charis-

## Wooing young voters, one meme at a time



JULIA NIKHINSON/AP

**TOP: Supporters take photos of Democratic presidential nominee Kamala Harris at a rally in Savannah, Ga., in August. ABOVE: Harris holds a bag of Doritos at Sheetz convenience store in Coralpolis, Pa., in August as vice-presidential nominee Tim Walz looks on.**

ma is today: Can you land well on the internet?" Colton Wickland, 27, said at a rally in Milwaukee last month.

### 'Create the news'

Though only a small fraction of her campaign's 250-person digital operation, Harris's social media team is by far its most visible part, running all her accounts and watching for trend-worthy moments they can spotlight in real time.

Deputy campaign manager Rob Flaherty, who has described them as a pack of "feral 25-year-olds," said the campaign started developing the strategy last year, worried voters had forgotten who Trump was and that the campaign needed "a voice that was more aggressive and hard-hitting" to remind them.

The team faces minimal content-approval checks and "bar-barring objection, we're gonna go. Everything goes on a five-minute warning," Flaherty said. "You just gotta trust your people. Our f---up ratio [is as low] as if there were 19 layers of approval."

A 13-person rapid-response team keeps a shared calendar of all major political events for both Republicans and Democrats and monitors them in shifts to ensure "we are never not watching," said Butler, the team's manager. When an eye-catching moment happens — like when Trump said immigrants had "poisoned" the country — the team races to post a clip of it on social media, working shifts that sometimes go past midnight.

"Campaigns are not just responding anymore," Butler said. "Our job is to create the news."

Each of the team's social media "strategists" specializes in an individual platform, catering to its audience, subculture and slang. One strategist, for instance, is solely responsible for Facebook, where Butler said content for baby boomers thrives.

Lauren Kapp, 25, heads the five-person TikTok team. Every day, she wakes around 6:30 a.m. and starts scrolling the video app so she can be ready for their daily 9 a.m. meeting, when the team breaks down what's trending that day.

A few years ago, Butler and Kapp were both fresh graduates of what Kapp called "the covid class." Butler, a high school debate champ in Texas during Trump's presidency, graduated from American University in 2020 and landed work as a video editor for Biden's campaign. Kapp, who struggled to find a job as a political correspondent after leaving University of California, Berkeley, was hired by the Democratic National Committee as a "vertical video producer" after building a midsize TikTok following under the username "Poli Sci Princess."

Earlier this year, both shifted from the Democrats' online operation to the Biden-Harris team, where their job is not to mimic the cinematic editing and high production values of traditional campaign ads but instead to behave like typical TikTok users: reposting other people's videos, sharing memes and sound bites, and re-

acting to major news moments, such as the particularly spicy dig Walz took at Vance during a speech in Philadelphia ("omg Tim Walz WENT THERE").

They've "stitched" Trump into clips that tee him up as a punchline and split-screen his comments on abortion alongside the mobile game "Subway Surfers" — a common TikTok tactic for keeping overstimulated viewers' attention. One post ranked photos of Walz by "aura points," TikTok slang for a measure of coolness. (Enjoying a state-fair ride with his daughter, Hope, was "+23958 aura.")

The team records and edits the videos on their phones before sending them over Slack to Butler, who typically reviews and signs off in less than 15 minutes. It can look freewheeling, but the team treats its content strategy like a science. Kapp said she won't use any TikTok "trending sound" — the short audio clips that users can apply to their own videos — if it's been used in more than 200,000 videos. "People get bored very easily," she said.

After the Democratic convention, Kapp had just gotten home from Chicago and was trying to think of ways to emphasize Trump's links to the conservative policy doctrine Project 2025 when she opted for a wild juxtaposition: a niche TikTok meme of dolphins and rainbows. The single-image post is now one of their most popular pieces of content, with more than 7 million views. Trump's campaign copied it a few days later.

"You wouldn't anticipate a political campaign to do it, which is what contributed to the virality of it," she said.

TikTok is one of the world's most popular social apps, with 170 million U.S. accounts, and roughly 40 percent of its American users said they use it to keep up with politics or current events, a Pew Research Center survey found last month; Trump's campaign employs a TikTok team of its own.

For Harris, there's an awkward hurdle, however: The Biden administration is currently defending in court a potential nationwide ban of TikTok, arguing the Chinese-owned app is a national security threat. Harris's team uses TikTok on phones with nothing else installed to abide by a federal prohibition of the app on government-owned devices.

The campaign's online engagement has skyrocketed during the Harris era. On TikTok, their "like-to-view" ratio, a measure of viewer engagement, went from about 10 percent during the Biden months to 25 percent, Kapp said.

And though campaigns dating back to former president Barack Obama have taken social media seriously, the Harris team's big innovation has been letting a new wave of Generation Z innovators take control, said April Eichmeier, an assistant professor who studies political communication at the University of St. Thomas in Minnesota.

"The under-25 group right now has never known a world without digital media," she said. "They know how things land on TikTok because that's their culture."

The team's seemingly frenetic and amateurish output conceals a sophisticated strategy, said Lara Cohen, a former executive at X who led some of its top partnerships with media operations and influencers. Each viral video helps them sneak into nonpolitical spaces and reach voters who are undecided or otherwise tuned-out.

"Great ideas die with too long an approval process," said Cohen, now an executive at the creator-service company Linktree. "Someone's going to be too worried to do something edgy. And they're clearly not afraid of that."

### 'Oh he's mad lol'

As the campaign's social media experimentation has exploded, the lines between its online and offline presence have blurred. TikTok-style monologues have appeared in TV ads. Candidate selfies in field offices have appeared, from multiple angles, on Instagram. The campaign's \$40 camouflage "Harris Walz" hat has shown up not just in TikTok videos but on the head of Harris's stepdaughter Ella Emhoff.

Harris and Walz, too, have tried their best to be omnipresent. During the convention, Harris played a name-that-song quiz with a social media show and told another creator that her favorite Chicago food was an Italian beef sandwich. Walz recently appeared on the

short-video show "Subway Takes," in which comedians offer their most controversial or raunchy opinions; Walz extolled the value of home-gutter management.

The goal, campaign staffers said, has been to humanize the candidates in a bitterly contentious race. After a Harris fundraising email said she'd coped with Trump's 2016 election victory by scarfing down "a family-sized bag of nacho Doritos," leading one Fox News guest to complain it was not "the response of an elite leader," Walz's X account posted a video showing him grabbing her a bag between campaign stops. "Every attack on her only seems to make her more relatable," one viral Threads post said.

Rather than characterize Trump as a generational threat, Harris's operation has often worked to cast him as an "unhinged and unserious man" and the butt of a big joke. Last month, when Trump suggested he might back out of this week's debate, the team layered his video clips with the sound of a chicken. And where previous campaigns were reluctant to amplify Trump's attacks, the Harris campaign has repeated them verbatim to mock or defang them alongside quips like "Oh he's mad lol."

Harris's team has gone on the offensive inside Trump's Truth Social, using their 350,000-follower account to needle Trump about his crowd size.

Trump's campaign has derided Harris's strategy as juvenile, with a spokesman saying anyone who thinks "using emojis is some cutting-edge message technique ... [is] severely out of touch with reality."

On TikTok, however, Harris's team has proved so popular that people claiming to secretly run the account has become a meme in itself. To show it's in on the joke, the campaign posted a video featuring Harris's husband, Doug Emhoff, who — when asked who runs the account — dryly replies: "It's obviously me."

The real test will come in November, when the election shows whether sway on social media can produce real-world power. With less than two months until Election Day, Harris's TikTok has shown a pivot toward more substantive fare, including a multi-part series laying out Trump affiliates' links to Project 2025.

They've also worked to capitalize on a new sense of hope among Democrats. One video, built on a trending clip of poignant music typically used for scenic vistas and sunsets, features a voice-over — "Oh, I wasn't sad, I just needed a ..." — then cuts to a buoyant DNC crowd cheering near an American flag.

"They've basically created this digital [fandom] of her," Cohen said. "It sounds corny, but the most successful people online are the ones who feel unfiltered and authentic and real. That's what people rally around."

Dylan Wells contributed to this report.

## ELECTION 2024

## Harris uses momentum to gain ground in redder areas

BY MAEVE RESTON  
AND PATRICK SVITEK

WILKES-BARRE, PA. — On the eve of her debate with Donald Trump, Kamala Harris's advisers were anxious. Within a deeply calcified electorate, her poll numbers appeared to be plateauing. She was facing one of the most experienced presidential debaters in history. Beltway pundits were questioning whether her initial burst of momentum was evaporating.

But the vice president's aggressive performance in Philadelphia electrified her grassroots supporters and helped her notch the coveted endorsement of Taylor Swift as she raised an eye-popping \$47 million in the 24 hours after the debate.

This week, her fans filled arenas in Wilkes-Barre, Greensboro, N.C., and Charlotte, where they queued up outside for hours before she arrived Thursday — shimmying to the hip-hop beats of a DJ near the magnetometers and donning bright green stickers bearing Harris's shorthand for turning the page on the Trump era: "We're not going back."

And as Harris focused this week on expanding her potential paths to victory in November — targeting North Carolina, where Barack Obama was the last Democratic presidential candidate to win in 2008 — the first post-debate poll suggested a small but potentially promising post-debate bounce.

Still, in every speech since Tuesday's faceoff, the vice president has warned her supporters that

the race will remain close until the final days. She and her advisers have repeatedly outlined the hurdles for Democrats — from Republican efforts to restrict the counting of certain ballots to the hundreds of millions of dollars that Trump-aligned super PACs plan to spend trying to define Harris in a negative light.

With early voting slated to begin within days, Harris has toggled this week between events aimed at activating her core supporters — including Black voters in Charlotte and Greensboro — and a push to drive up her margins in tougher territory for Democrats such as Pennsylvania's Luzerne County and Johnstown, a tiny blue dot in western Pennsylvania surrounded by redder areas that have favored Trump in recent elections. Both in Johnstown and Wilkes-Barre — the most populous city in Luzerne County — she criticized the "people trying to divide us as a nation, trying to make people feel small and feel alone."

"We are ready for a new generation of leadership that is optimistic about what we can do together, which is why ... Democrats, Republicans and independents are supporting our campaign," Harris said in Wilkes-Barre after being introduced by a Republican who is backing her. "We need a president of the United States who works for all the American people — that just stops with all the trying to divide us. Like people are exhausted with that stuff. Exhausted."

Headed into the debate, polls showed a dead-even race between

Harris and Trump. But a post-debate poll from Reuters/Ipsos showed Harris leading Trump among registered voters 47 percent to 42 percent. About 49 percent of respondents said Harris "seemed like someone who would listen to me and understand my concerns," compared with just 18 percent who viewed Trump that way. (The poll's margin of error was plus or minus three percentage points for registered voters.)

The Harris campaign sees that theme as a critical avenue for persuading voters who still don't know much about the vice president or are just tuning in to the election. In all of their messaging this week, the Harris campaign has been trying to drive the vice president's message that she would strive to be a president for all Americans while casting Trump as out for himself.

Her newest ad Friday featured lines from her debate closing statement where she told viewers that during her career as a prosecutor, she never asked a victim or a witness whether they were a Republican or a Democrat. "The only thing I ever asked them: 'Are you okay?'" she says in the featured clip. "That's the kind of president we need right now. Someone who cares about you and is not putting themselves first."

Harris highlighted those themes as she tried to reach the many blue-collar voters who have favored Republicans in recent years, with her visits to Johnstown and Wilkes-Barre, a former coal town with a heavy union presence in Pennsylvania's Luzerne County.

Obama won Luzerne County by 9 points in 2012, but Trump claimed victory in the county with a nearly 20-point margin in 2016. Obama similarly narrowly won Cambria County in southwestern Pennsylvania in 2008 after campaigning in Johnstown with the message that special interests and lobbyists in Washington "aren't looking out for you." Eight years later, Trump crushed Hillary Clinton there.

Berwood Yost, the polling director for Franklin & Marshall College in Lancaster, Pa., said Harris's travel to Cambria and Luzerne counties evoked the successful 2022 campaigns of Gov. Josh Shapiro and Sen. John Fetterman, both Democrats.

"I don't know it's in the expectation to win" in those areas, Yost said. "It's in the expectation to appear like you're recognizing an important constituency ... and the political, practical significance is you want to tamp down the margins in those communities."

Harris was joined by Fetterman in Johnstown, where she visited a bookstore and cafe; while Shapiro spoke at her rally in Wilkes-Barre on Friday night.

Tom Aurandt, 68, of Vinco, Pa., was among those waiting for Harris at the Johnstown airport. The registered Republican said he voted for Trump in 2016, and then reluctantly backed Biden in 2020. He is now voting for Harris.

"When Trump came in, I was so disappointed. He just didn't give you someone you could look up to, and I think we really need that and I think Kamala will do that," said Aurandt, a hearing officer for

juvenile court cases.

On the trail, Harris has been feeding off the energy of her crowd as she highlights some of her stronger moments during the debate. In Charlotte, as she delved into Trump's answer on whether he had a plan to replace the Affordable Care Act, some in the crowd interrupted her by shouting "Concepts! Concepts!"

"Oh, you all you watched the debate?" Harris said with a laugh to uproarious applause. "Concepts. Concepts. No actual plan — concepts," she continued. "Understand what's at stake on that. Forty-five million Americans are insured through the Affordable Care Act and he's going to end it based on a concept."

She also noted that Trump dodged a question about whether he'd sign a national abortion ban.

"Donald Trump refused to say that he would veto a national abortion ban. You remember that?" Harris asked. "He refused to answer that question, refused to answer that question. Well, I'm going to tell you, when Congress passes a bill to restore reproductive freedom, as president of the United States, I will proudly, proudly sign it into law."

Trump on Friday continued to raise objections about the debate, calling the host network, ABC News, "crazy left radical lunatics" during a news conference in California. While he ruled out debating Harris again in a social media post Thursday, he suggested Friday he could reconsider.

"I did great with the debates and I think they've answered everything," Trump told reporters.

"But maybe if I got in the right mood, I don't know."

Harris's ready supply of cash has allowed her campaign to be nimble on the airwaves. Since her unexpected entrance into the race July 21, Harris's effort has become a fundraising juggernaut.

The \$47 million that she raised in the 24 hours after the debate followed the news that her campaign raised \$361 million in August, according to aides. That was nearly three times as much as the \$130 million brought in by Trump's coordinated effort.

Harris's campaign said it entered September with \$404 million in cash to spend compared with \$295 million in cash for the Trump campaign.

But Jen O'Malley Dillon, the Harris-Walz campaign chair, wrote in a recent memo obtained by The Washington Post that Democrats are facing structural hurdles that "will require us to continue aggressively raising money."

She argued that the electoral college map this cycle benefits the Republican ticket and predicted the margins will be "razor-thin" in the battleground states.

"Every single battleground state is close, so we need to compete aggressively in every state in order to build a pathway to 270 electoral votes," O'Malley Dillon wrote. "Playing in every battleground requires significant resources — for offices, organizers, TV ads and other investments that keep these states in play."

Nick Keppler contributed to this report.

## Former Obama and Clinton advisers tapped for another historic campaign

BY ASHLEY PARKER

Vice President Kamala Harris is pitching herself as a forward-looking bridge to the future — but she is doing so with a little help from the past.

Since emerging as President Joe Biden's replacement at the top of the Democratic ticket following his disastrous debate performance in late June, Harris has brought on several high-profile veterans of Barack Obama's two presidential campaigns, as well as a top adviser to Hillary Clinton's 2016 campaign.

Now, with Harris seeking to become the first woman — and the first Black and Indian American woman — to win the White House, the question remains if the experienced Obama and Clinton hands can help re-create the Obama magic of 2008. Democrats are hoping they can help Harris and her running mate, Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz, harness newfound enthusiasm for her campaign into electoral success as they did with Obama in 2008, as well as deploy the lessons learned working for historic Black and female candidates to help Harris navigate her history-making bid.

"This is all-hands-on-deck, and it doesn't matter what people did in the Obama campaign or the Clinton campaign or the Kerry campaign," said John Anzalone, a Harris campaign adviser and pollster, who worked on both Obama campaigns and Clinton's 2016 bid. "I don't care where you learned your talents. Everyone who has done these things at a high level ... understands what's at stake. ... I'll carry Walz's briefcase if it will help the mission."

The group includes David Binder, who led Obama's public opinion research operation and is taking on an expanded role in the Harris campaign; Stephanie Cutter, Obama's 2012 deputy campaign manager and now a senior adviser for strategy messaging; David Plouffe, a top strategist on both Obama campaigns and senior White House adviser who has joined as a senior adviser for strategy; and Mitch Stewart, the grassroots strategist on both Obama campaigns and now the senior adviser for battleground states. Jennifer Palmieri, the communications director for Clinton's 2016 campaign, also joined the Harris-Walz campaign last month as a senior adviser to second gentleman Doug Emhoff.

Some of the staffers on the original Biden-Harris campaign are sensitive about the new additions, in part because they view the Obama diaspora as having led the charge to push Biden out — and there are still some private whispers from Obamaworld that the help is much-needed.

"There was a feeling that the B team was in control of the Biden campaign, and now there's a lot more comfort that Kamala Harris is bringing in the A team, and a lot of those people ... were on Obama



President Barack Obama and adviser David Plouffe at a University of Miami arena in 2012. Plouffe has joined the Harris-Walz campaign.

2008 and 2012, and on Hillary," said a former Obama campaign staffer, speaking on the condition of anonymity to share a candid criticism. "These are people who have had to navigate complex racial and gender dynamics in American politics and people who handled that deftly."

But those joining the Harris-Walz campaign — as well as those who have been toiling away for months at headquarters in Wilmington, Del. — say the new hires enhance the final sprint to Election Day. Many point to the fact that most of the new faces were specifically brought in by campaign chair Jen O'Malley Dillon, who held top roles in both Obama campaigns and whom Harris asked to stay on in her role as campaign chair.

Cutter was even more blunt: "I want to say first that there is an experienced campaign team in place and anybody being added now is simply that — additive. The one thing that unites us is our determination to win, and there are no egos."

The Obama hands bring years of experience navigating thorny and racial issues. Obama, after all, became the first Black person to win the presidency and did so, in part, by managing to talk about race in a way that felt inclusive and non-threatening. Strategically, Obama and his team also sought to not make race a cornerstone of

his campaign, believing that voters understood the historic nature of his bid simply by looking at him, and that dwelling on his race would have been counterproductive, several Obama advisers said.

Those who worked for Clinton also learned lessons of what does — and doesn't — work when trying to lift a woman to the highest office.

"Obama understood that if the campaign just devolved into a race war and name-calling, it wouldn't necessarily be good for him," said Lis Smith, a Democratic strategist. "It's a reminder to Democrats in the post-2016 world, where it's become very fashionable to always call Republicans sexist, homophobic, racists, xenophobes, that you don't always need to take the bait on their attacks. ... Sometimes it's just better to rebut them and say whatever they're saying is offensive, and then go back to the issues people care about."

Harris, for her part, has so far very deliberately steered clear of the historic nature of her bid. On CNN in her first sit-down television interview since becoming the Democratic nominee, she stressed wanting to be a president for "all Americans."

Asked about a popular photo of her grandniece, in braided pig-tails, watching her officially accept her party's nomination, Harris called the image "very humbling" and described herself as

"deeply touched" but otherwise did not delve into the symbolism and emotion the photo conjured for so many.

When asked in the same interview about Trump's July comments that Harris had only recently "happened to turn Black," she offered a can-barely-be-bothered seven-word dismissal: "Same old tired playbook. Next question, please."

At the presidential debate in Philadelphia on Tuesday night, Harris again used a back-and-forth on race not to lean into the historic nature of her bid, but to speak in broader, almost Obama-like terms about unifying the nation rather than allowing race to be a divisive force.

"It's a tragedy that we have someone who wants to be president, who has consistently over the course of his career attempted to use race to divide the American people," she said. "You know, I do believe that the vast majority of us know that we have so much more in common than what separates us, and we don't want this kind of approach that is just constantly trying to divide us, and especially by race."

The answers epitomized Harris's playbook: to generally avoid Trump's provocations and to respond, if at all, on her own terms. When Trump first made his comments about Harris turning Black, some Democrats urged her team

high-profile additions, however, is that they are all White — a notable aberration for Harris, who has prioritized elevating people of color and women within her inner circle.

"The thing I'm most worried about with this crop of people is the one characteristic they share is they're all White," said an original 2008 Obama staffer, speaking anonymously to share a candid opinion. "I don't think the conversation about race is the same in the post-George Floyd, 2024 world as it was in the 2008 Obama era."

Palmieri, meanwhile, said she joined the campaign in the final months because "I feel like I learned really valuable lessons during the Clinton campaign and then in working through a lot of research in the eight years since about the kind of questions we have for women candidates and how you best support them. The notion of working for the male spouse of the first Black and female president was really appealing to me."

Experts say that female candidates, for instance, often need to highlight their credentials more than male ones — and someone like Emhoff, Harris's husband, can serve as a compelling validator.

The other aspect of Obama's victory — especially in 2008 — that Democrats hope to replicate is harnessing the authentic, grassroots enthusiasm that exists in the party and then turning that into a movement of loyal foot soldiers.

"In order to win this election and to capitalize on the sort of enthusiasm and energy and everything that we're seeing on the ground since the vice president got to the top of the ticket, you have to have an infrastructure that was built to sustain that," said Quentin Fulks, the Harris-Walz principal deputy campaign manager. "We were on pace building out an infrastructure to do that, and that is why we have been successful capturing this energy and being able to maneuver from one candidate to another candidate, being on the top of the ticket."

Sixteen years after Obama made history as the nation's first Black president — and eight years after Clinton nearly made history as the nation's first female president — the landscape Harris faces has changed, in part because of those who came before her.

"Obama and Clinton had to go and do it first, and I think there's more and more people who are looking at Kamala Harris and what she brings to the table and the future of America more than race," said Anzalone, the Harris pollster and campaign adviser. "When people break barriers, like President Obama did, it clearly makes it different and easier for the next person to come along. So I think that in some ways, all the dynamic traits that Harris brings to it, people tend to see those with more clarity beyond her race or beyond her gender."

One concern about the new

# Potential impeachment of federal judge moves to House

The rare referral from judiciary involves sexual misconduct allegations

BY TOBI RAJI  
AND ANN E. MARIMOW

Federal judiciary leaders have asked Congress to consider impeaching a federal judge in Alaska who resigned this summer after an investigation found he created a hostile work environment in his chambers and engaged in an inappropriate sexual relationship with a former law clerk, a spokesperson for House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-La.) confirmed Thursday.

U.S. District Judge Joshua M. Kindred, who was appointed by President Donald Trump in 2019, gave up his lifetime appointment in July. The report about his conduct detailed two separate sexual encounters in October 2022 between Kindred and the former law clerk shortly after she began working as a federal prosecutor. It says they exchanged nearly 300 pages of text messages over an 11-month period.

The Washington Post could not reach Kindred for comment or learn whether he has an attorney representing him.

Only 15 federal judges have been impeached by the House since 1804, according to data from the Federal Judicial Center. About half of those impeached were then convicted by the Senate.

Most recently, G. Thomas Porteous was impeached on charges of accepting bribes and making false statements and removed from his seat in the Eastern District of Louisiana in 2010. Samuel B. Kent of the Southern District of Texas was impeached on charges of sexual assault in 2009. He resigned, and the Senate dismissed the impeachment.

Judge Alex Kozinski of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit was not referred for impeachment proceedings after he retired in 2017 amid allegations of workplace sexual misconduct. Since he left the bench, leaders of the federal judiciary have sought to encourage reporting and eliminate barriers to holding court officials accountable.

But Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and others have strongly resisted calls from advocates and members of Congress who have backed legislation to try to impose independent oversight and extend anti-discrimination protections to the judiciary's more than 30,000 employees nationwide. A lawmaker who has led those efforts praised the Judicial Confer-



U.S. District Judge Joshua M. Kindred in July 2018.

ence of the United States on Thursday for its actions regarding Kindred.

"I am glad that the Judicial Conference is taking these allegations seriously by certifying this matter to the House for consideration of impeachment," Rep. Hank Johnson (D-Ga.), a member of the House Judiciary Committee, said in a statement. "Unwanted, offensive, and abusive sexual conduct and harassment have no place in America, and we must ensure that our federal court system is held to the same standard as every other workplace."

The report by the 9th Circuit Judicial Council accuses Kindred of discussing his divorce, dating life, sex life and romantic preferences with his law clerks, and also talking about their boyfriends and dating lives, among other topics. Kindred encouraged his law clerks to rate people based on their sexual desirability, the report said, and belittled or ostracized clerks who tried to talk to him about his inappropriate behavior.

The 9th Circuit Judicial Council asked Kindred to resign after concluding that he violated the Judicial Conduct and Disability Act and the Code of Conduct for United States Judges. The council also referred the matter to the Judicial Conference, the policy-making body of the U.S. courts.

Criminal defense attorney Olivia Warren, who has testified before Congress about sexual harassment she experienced as a law clerk, said this summer that it took far too long for judiciary leaders to take action against Kindred. She noted that he continued to work as a judge for more than a year after Chief Judge Mary H. Murguia became aware of the misconduct allegations against him.

Murguia, who initiated the investigation into Kindred, said in a statement accompanying the re-

port that the 9th Circuit takes complaints of misconduct seriously and that federal judges must be held "to the highest standards of integrity and impartiality."

Even though Kindred is no longer a judge, legal ethics experts said it was critical for the Judicial Conference to send a message by taking this serious next step of referring him to the House for impeachment.

"It matters to the public, and it matters as a pronouncement of unacceptable behavior on the part of judges," said Stephen Gillers, a judicial ethics expert at New York University Law School. "It's the equivalent of saying, 'We have no tolerance for this kind of behavior.'"

Rep. Norma J. Torres (D-Calif.), who also has worked to address sexual harassment and workplace misconduct concerns in the judiciary, called the impeachment referral "a welcome demonstration that despite the separation of powers and the full independence of the Courts, our government remains steadfast in executing the law and maintaining the highest ethical standards of conduct within the American judicial system."

Now that the Judicial Conference has acted, the House Judiciary Committee must decide whether to refer the matter to the

full House for an impeachment vote. If a majority of lawmakers vote to impeach, the case would move to the Senate for a trial and require a two-thirds vote to convict. "This should not be partisan," Gillers said. "There's no gain for the Democrats, and there's actual harm to Republicans if they impede it."

A spokesman for Hank Johnson said the lawmaker expects to reintroduce the Judicial Accountability Act next week. The bill, originally introduced in July 2021, provides several safeguards for courthouse employees, including the creation of a commission to oversee a program to prevent workplace misconduct and an office to oversee confidential reporting systems regarding such misconduct.

Deeva V. Shah, an attorney who has represented federal courts employees on matters involving alleged workplace misconduct, said a potential impeachment proceeding could bring transparency to the issue.

"I also hope that this proceeding can open doors to more conversations, and even congressional action, regarding the insufficiency of protections for law clerks and staff who face and report misconduct — at great personal risk — as employees of the federal judiciary," Shah said.

# Poll: Most Americans favor term limits for high court's justices

BY TOBI RAJI

About two-thirds of Americans support imposing term limits on Supreme Court justices, but only 3 in 10 back expanding the size of the court — a proposal advanced by congressional Democrats and court transparency advocates as a way to dilute the power of the high court's current 6-3 conservative supermajority.

The Annenberg Constitution Day Civics Survey also found that 69 percent of Americans believe there should be a mandatory retirement age for the justices.

President Joe Biden called this summer for 18-year term limits for the justices, with future presidents able to nominate a justice every two years. He also supported legislation that would create an enforceable ethics code for the justices, who published their own code last year but did not include a way to investigate potential violations or mete out sanctions.

Vice President Kamala Harris, the Democratic nominee for president, has endorsed Biden's proposals, which came in response to ethics scandals involv-

ing some of the justices and several rulings that overturned long-standing precedents.

GOP nominee Donald Trump and other Republicans dismiss the ideas as efforts to thwart the court's right-leaning majority, which Trump cemented with the appointment of three staunchly conservative justices. That majority has overturned *Roe v. Wade*, ended affirmative action in college admissions, greatly expanded presidential immunity for official acts and weakened the regulatory power of federal agencies.

Nearly half of Americans support allowing the public to vote to overturn Supreme Court decisions on controversial issues, according to the survey. Nearly 8 in 10 support the creation of an enforceable ethics code for the high court, and 82 percent say Supreme Court justices should be barred from participating in cases in which they have "personal or financial interests."

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. announced last fall that the court had agreed to follow an ethics code specific to the nine justices. But the ethics code does

not include an enforcement mechanism or any outside oversight of the justices' individual decisions about whether to recuse themselves from certain cases because of perceived or potential conflicts of interest.

The court adopted its code after news reports revealed that Justice Clarence Thomas had accepted, but did not disclose on his financial reports, years of luxury gifts and trips from Dallas billionaire and Republican donor Harlan Crow, as well as real estate deals and other financial transactions. Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. faced similar criticism for not reporting a 2008 luxury fishing trip arranged by conservative judicial activist Leonard Leo, with private jet travel provided by billionaire hedge fund manager Paul Singer.

Both Alito and Thomas have said disclosure rules at the time did not require reporting private jet travel or luxury accommodations provided by friends.

Confidence in the Supreme Court plunged 22 percentage points — from 68 percent to 46 percent — between 2019 and 2022, according to the Annen-

berg survey. And 7 out of 10 Americans believe the justices are guided by their ideology and do not rule impartially, according to a June poll from the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research.

Alito also came fire under this year after reports of politically provocative flags flown outside his homes. The justice has said that his wife, Martha-Ann Alito, was responsible for flying both an upside-down American flag at their Virginia home in the weeks after the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol and an "Appeal to Heaven" flag at their vacation home in New Jersey.

The justice declined calls for him to sit out two Jan. 6-related cases because those flags have been associated with some people who falsely claimed that the 2020 election was stolen and that Trump had won. Alito said his wife flew the upside-down flag after a neighborhood dispute and that the couple were unaware the "Appeal to Heaven" flag had associations with Trump's "Stop the Steal" movement to overturn the 2020 election results. Both flags have long histories and other

meanings not associated with Jan. 6.

Congressional Democrats and court transparency advocates have pressed the justices to adopt a binding code of conduct to restore public confidence in the institution.

Justice Elena Kagan has said she would support the creation of a committee of judges to examine potential violations of the Supreme Court's ethics code. Having an oversight committee composed of renowned lower-court judges "seems like a good idea to me in terms of ensuring that we comply with our code of conduct going forward in the future; it seems like a good idea in terms of ensuring that people have confidence that we're doing exactly that," Kagan said earlier this week during a conversation at New York University Law School with professor Melissa Murray, co-host of a liberal podcast about the court called "Strict Scrutiny."

Any congressional effort to impose term limits or ethics legislation faces an uphill battle in the Republican-controlled House and narrowly divided Senate. Both proposals would require 60

votes to pass the Senate, where Democrats hold 51 seats.

The survey is conducted annually by the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg Public Policy Center to mark Constitution Day, which falls on Sept. 17. It also probes Americans' knowledge of First Amendment protections, the branches of government and party control of Congress, among other topics.

Freedom of speech was the most recognized right guaranteed under the First Amendment, with 74 percent identifying the protection. However, fewer than half of respondents could name most of the rights protected under the First Amendment, according to the survey.

The center's analysis of the survey results found that the relationship between civics knowledge and support for Supreme Court reforms varies by political affiliation. While the most knowledgeable Democrats and independents are slightly more likely to want to reform the court, the most knowledgeable Republicans are considerably less likely to want to reform the court, according to the survey.

# Nebraska high court allows dual abortion measures on ballot

Voters will enshrine access in the state or codify a 12-week ban

BY ANNIE GOWEN

OMAHA — Nebraska's competing constitutional initiatives on abortion can remain on the November ballot, the state's Supreme Court ruled Friday, paving the way for an unusual, high-stakes battle on the issue to play out in the conservative red state.

The court agreed that a proposed amendment to the Nebraska constitution does not violate the state's single-subject rule, which prohibits a ballot measure from addressing more than one subject.

The Protect Our Rights measure would amend the state constitution to provide "all persons the fundamental right to an abortion without interference from the state" until fetal viability — around 24 weeks.

The initiative "has a singleness of subject" and therefore does not violate the requirement, the justices wrote. They denied a separate petition that asked the court to dismiss the two competing initiatives — the abortion rights question and one that seeks to codify the state's current 12-week ban — if a violation were found.

Volunteers on each side spent months gathering the requisite 123,000 signatures for the citizen-led proposals. Nebraska's Secretary of State Bob Evnen, a Republican who approved both mea-

sures in August, said it was probably the first time in state history that two initiatives on the same topic moved forward in the same election year.

Allie Berry, the campaign manager of Protect Our Rights, called Friday's court decision "a victory for all Nebraskans." In a statement, she decried the "desperate lawsuits" meant to silence Nebraskans "by preventing them from voting on what happens to their bodies."

But Matt Heffron, who helped argue for the opposition as senior counsel for the conservative Thomas More Society, expressed dismay. He said "deceptive language" in the proponents' petition will confuse voters. And if their amendment passes, he warned, it will allow for "unregulated late-term abortion presided over by non-physicians — and that's a sea change."

The Supreme Court had to rule by Friday, the deadline for the state's ballot certification.

The decision came amid a flurry of last-minute legal activity in several states with abortion initiatives on the November ballot where voter turnout could sway the electorate. In total, voters in nine other states will decide such measures this fall.

In Missouri, the state's Supreme Court on Tuesday ordered a proposed amendment on abortion rights to be put back on the ballot. The decision reversed a lower-court judge who ruled last week that the proposal was invalid because it did not properly note which laws it would repeal. In Arkansas, abortion rights supporters did not fare as well, with a



Abortion rights supporters protest in front of the Nebraska Capitol during a 2022 rally in Lincoln. Abortion rights opponents had argued that an initiative to expand access was worded vaguely and rolled too many issues into a single ballot question.

judge last month striking an abortion proposal from the ballot after election officials said the signatures were not submitted properly.

Amid the legal wrangling in Nebraska, the politicking has already begun. Last Saturday, volunteers from Protect Our Rights — wearing that side's signature teal T-shirts — handed out leaflets and spoke to voters in one Omaha neighborhood. Their counterparts had staffed a double booth at the State Fair over the Labor Day weekend, with a huge sign overhead that declared "Protecting LIFE at the Polls on Nov. 5."

Protect Women and Children raised \$3.1 million by July 30, the

latest filing deadline, and Protect Our Rights raised \$2.4 million, according to reports filed to the Nebraska Accountability and Disclosure Commission.

In court Monday, opponents of the measure to expand abortion access had argued that its wording is too vague. They also contended that the proposed constitutional amendment rolled too many issues into a single ballot question, addressing abortion rights before and after viability as well as raising questions about how the state should regulate the procedure.

The forces behind the Protect the Right to Abortion petition labeled those efforts a "nuisance" and accused opponents of seek-

ing to undo Evnen's approval in court. In a separate case argued Monday, their lawyers maintained that if the court dismissed one petition due to violations of the "single issue" rule, then it should dismiss the other petition as well.

The other measure, advanced by Protect Women and Children, would amend the state constitution to say that "unborn children shall be protected from abortion in the second and third trimesters" of a pregnancy except in cases of a life-threatening emergency, rape or incest. That essentially would enshrine the current prohibition on abortion after the 12th week of pregnancy into the constitution.

Since the U.S. Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade* in 2022, nearly two dozen states have implemented total or partial abortion bans. On Thursday, a judge overturned North Dakota's near-total law, though the state has said it will appeal. Only Nebraska and North Carolina restrict the procedure at 12 weeks.

The Nebraska legislature passed its ban, along with a ban on gender-affirming treatment for minors, in May 2023. No exceptions are allowed for fatal fetal anomalies, and doctors who perform abortions are not protected from criminal prosecution.

Anu Narayanswamy contributed to this report.

# Secret Service report lays out security failures before Trump rally shooting

BY CAROL D. LEONNIG

A Secret Service investigation has confirmed security breakdowns that paved the way for an attempted assassination of Donald Trump, while also revealing new information — including that agents never directed local police to secure the roof of the building used by the gunman, according to two senior government officials familiar with the probe.

The officials, speaking on the condition of anonymity to describe an internal probe, said the investigation found that agents from Secret Service headquarters and the Pittsburgh field office had an alarmingly slipshod strategy to block a potential shooter from having a clear sight of the Republican candidate for president at the July 13 rally in Butler, Pa.

Agents securing the event had discussed possibly using heavy equipment and flags to create a visual impediment between the Agr International building and the rally stage, the officials said. But supervisors who arrived at Butler the day of the rally found cranes, trucks and flags were not deployed in a way that blocked the line of sight from that roof.

Thomas Matthew Crooks was able to climb atop the building and open fire on Trump, wounding his ear, critically injuring two other people and killing one spectator before being fatally shot by a Secret Service sniper.

The internal probe, known as a

Mission Assurance investigation, is typically used to improve security practices.

The Butler investigation found significant weaknesses in the Secret Service's standard communication system for events where political candidates appear. Unlike the robust communication system for appearances by the president or vice president, which is supported by the U.S. military, the Secret Service uses a command post for event communications that is separate from local police assigned to the event.

In Butler, the investigation found that:

- A Secret Service radio room where agents were supposed to monitor potential threats and get reports of any problems had no way to receive real-time alerts from local police surveilling the crowd and outer perimeter.

- Local police's alert of a suspicious man at the rally before Trump's arrival was not broadcast widely on Secret Service radio. Instead, local counter snipers were instructed to text a photo of the man — who was behaving oddly near the Agr building and carrying a range finder — to just one Secret Service official, limiting the agency's awareness of a man who turned out to be the gunman.

- Secret Service agents never heard local police radio traffic about trying to track down and then spotting that man after Trump began speaking.

The report also found the protective operations office of the

Secret Service was slow to beef up security for Trump as he began campaigning, even after the agency obtained intelligence indicating that there was an Iranian state plot to kill or harm political candidates.

Secret Service acting director Ron Rowe testified to Congress at the end of July that he was embarrassed by the security lapses he had learned about in Butler and pledged the internal review would help strengthen the agency's mission going forward.

The findings of that review may be released to the public next week, the government officials said. Rowe shared a summary in private briefings with the Senate Homeland Security Committee and a House investigative task force Thursday and told lawmakers that he has ordered a number of changes in security plans to address these gaps, one of the officials said.

For example, the agency now co-locates Secret Service agents and local police in the same command center for public appearances of the presidential candidates, the official said.

"I think the American people are going to be shocked, astonished, and appalled by what we will report to them about the failures by the Secret Service in this assassination attempt on the former president," Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D-Conn.), a member of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, told Fox News after Thursday's briefing.

The investigation corroborates several earlier reports from The Washington Post and other news organizations. The Post reported that police in Butler County warned the Secret Service in the hours before the rally that they would not be able to post a patrol car next to the Agr building, but Secret Service agents gave them no other instructions to secure the building. The Post also reported that the separation of the Secret Service radio room and local police command post meant local police concerns about Crooks were not widely shared.

Ahead of the public release of the report's findings, several senior Secret Service agents are announcing their retirements. Mike Plati, assistant director of the Office of Protective Operations, resigned effective Friday, the Secret Service confirmed in a statement.

Also imminently retiring is John Buckley, a senior executive who helps oversee the office that decides what assets to devote to secure public events, according to an email sent to Secret Service staff Friday and reviewed by The Post. A senior agent in the Pittsburgh field office, which crafted the security plan, also has indicated his plans to retire, one of the officials familiar with the investigation said.

Kimberly Cheatle, a veteran agent, resigned as director of the agency days after the shooting amid bipartisan calls for her to step down. She had faced criti-

cism for not providing details about the investigation in the immediate aftermath of the attack and for saying she wanted to wait until the 60-day review was completed.

In response to questions about the report, Rowe said in a statement that the report found numerous errors for which the agency must be held accountable, and that he has begun an agency-wide review to harden the protective bubble around the more than 40 government officials and family members the Secret Service protects. He warned that beefing up this security will cost money.

"The Secret Service cannot operate under the paradox of 'zero fail mission' while also making our special agents and uniformed division officers execute a very critical national security mission by doing more with less," Rowe said.

Though the Secret Service took responsibility for the security failures soon after the Trump rally shooting, the aftermath was filled with bitter recriminations and confusion over whether the service or local law enforcement was responsible for allowing Crooks to access the roof just 150 yards from where Trump was speaking. The failures have drawn bipartisan condemnation from lawmakers investigating the matter.

The attack revealed years of conflicts between the former president and the Secret Service over the level of his protection. Trump's aides have said the Se-

cret Service rebuffed their efforts over the past several years to enhance his security but significantly expanded his protection and equipment after the assassination attempt, with far more snipers, agents and closures around him.

Aides to Trump said last month that they had sometimes canceled or postponed events over concerns that security was insufficient.

Days before the Butler rally, the FBI arrested a Pakistani national for allegedly taking part in a plot on behalf of Iran to kill a politician or government official on U.S. soil, raising worries about Trump's safety.

Trump and his team were told there was a security issue, but not that it was related to Iran, said a person familiar with the situation who also spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss information that has not been made public. Because of the threat, the campaign believed there was more security at the Butler rally and an event a few days earlier in Doral, Fla.

The FBI is leading the investigation into the July 13 shooting, but several other inquiries are pending, including in Congress and the Department of Homeland Security Office of Inspector General. A report is also due in early October by an independent panel commissioned by the DHS to examine the attack.

Josh Dawsey and Maria Sacchetti contributed to this report.

## Family ties helped spur interest in memorial

MEMORIAL FROM A1

largest free-standing high-relief bronze in the Western Hemisphere, according to the World War I Centennial Commission.

The finishing touches were applied on a sweltering August morning, as Howard and his crew filled in the gaps between five-ton pieces of bronze that had been cast at a foundry 3,500 miles away. Blowtorches in hand, they applied chemicals and heat to jump-start the oxidation process that will continue as long as the statue stands exposed to the elements, forming the patina that Howard said gives the memorial "a life of its own." Howard created the piece alongside architect Joe Weishaar.

"The sculpture really shows the richness of our humanity," Howard said. "It's a very human piece."

The work is the culmination of more than a decade of effort to bring a national World War I memorial to D.C. Funding the memorial required the creative efforts of the commission, which tracked down family ties to the war to convince donors to participate.

When the project began, the World War I Centennial Commission was an all-volunteer body, said Meredith Carr, deputy director of the commission. The group had no office space, no operating budget and no payroll. They needed a way to persuade wealthy donors to bankroll a multimillion-dollar project to honor millions of U.S. veterans who were no longer alive.

Carr said the commission's eureka moment came when they began digging through archives of war-era documents, where they found draft cards signed by relatives of several prominent and wealthy American families. They discovered cards signed by the fathers and grandfathers of former presidents, business moguls and celebrities.

When they showed surviving family members those old papers conscripting their ancestors into the war, the commission struck gold.

Suddenly, dozens of influential people wanted to be involved with the commission and the construction of the memorial, Carr said. Former presidents Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama signed on to be honorary co-chairs. Donations came in from the Walton family, who own Walmart; Lilly Endowment Inc.; the NFL; General Motors; the Coca-Cola Foundation; and dozens of other companies, foundations and families with ties to the war.

Carol Moseley Braun, the former senator and U.S. ambassador to New Zealand, said she found



PHOTOS BY ALLISON ROBBERT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



**CLOCKWISE FROM TOP:** Reenactors at the unveiling of the World War I memorial in Washington on Friday. Liam Prius, 7, in a re-creation of a World War I uniform at the ceremony. Sabin Howard, the artist who along with architect Joe Weishaar, created the 58-foot-long bronze sculpture.

herself digging into her family's connection to the war after the commission approached her to become a special adviser and help fundraise for the \$44 million project.

Her grandfather, Thomas Davie, fought in a Black division of the then-segregated U.S. Army. The commission shared her

grandfather's draft papers, signed in his own handwriting and preserved for a century. In the bottom of an old box of photographs, she found an image of a young Davie in uniform that she said was painted in France while he was deployed.

She took a trip to the Western Front in France and visited the

trenches her grandfather would have stood in nearly 10 decades ago. In one corner of an underground room, she saw an altar for prayers and her grandfather's all-Black division carved into the limestone. Across the room, a stairwell was marked by the word "Hell" and an arrow pointing toward the long-abandoned



war zone.

"It was emotionally overwhelming," Moseley Braun said.

A family connection to a war that shaped the modern era spurred many others to collectively funnel millions of dollars into the effort to construct "A Soldier's Journey."

Retired Col. Jennifer N. Pritzker, a billionaire who founded the Tawani Foundation and the Pritzker Military Museum & Library in Chicago, was one of the first potential funders that the commission approached, Carr said. Pritzker gave a \$5 million donation that allowed the commission to set up offices and begin fundraising more seriously.

Pritzker, who served in the Army and has a personal connection to the Great War through grandfathers on both sides of her family, said it was important to

remember the conflict even 100 years later because of its ongoing influence on the modern era.

"I think World War I pretty much defined the world as we see it today," she said.

Pritzker said our maps, borders, civil rights, weapons, technology and even fashion, like the wristwatch and trench coats, owe some credit to World War I. But few people alive today have a direct connection to the conflict. Memorials like the one installed in D.C. can connect people to that past.

"Even if all you do is look at the statues, or read a couple of Wikipedia articles [about the war]," Pritzker said, "these statues and the commission has done something."

Afia Barrie and Michael Ruane contributed to this report.

# THE WORLD



KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY/KOREA NEWS SERVICE/AP

An undated photo provided Friday by the state-sponsored Korean Central News Agency shows leader Kim Jong Un at a facility used to produce nuclear weapons at an undisclosed location in North Korea.

BY ANDREW JEONG  
AND VICTORIA BISSET

## North Korea reveals uranium site as Kim demands more nuclear weapons

Country's leader said there is a need to increase number of machines used to make enriched uranium

SEOUL — North Korea on Friday shared photos of a secretive facility used to produce weapons-grade uranium as leader Kim Jong Un called on his country to “exponentially increase” its nuclear weapons.

Images shared by the state-run Korean Central News Agency showed Kim surrounded by long rows of centrifuges during a visit to the uranium-enrichment facility. The agency did not disclose the date or location of the site.

During the visit, the news agency said, Kim spoke of the need to “exponentially increase the number of self-defense nuclear weapons,” as well as the importance of increasing the country's number of centrifuges, the machines used to make enriched uranium. He said a modern centrifuge type has reached the final stage of planning and will strengthen North Korea's production of weapons-grade nuclear materials.

South Korea's Unification Ministry condemned Pyongyang for its statements on further developing its nuclear capacity and said such development constitutes a clear violation of United Nations Security Council resolutions.

“North Korea must realize that we and the international community will never condone North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons in any circumstance,” the ministry said in a statement Friday. “Any nuclear threat or provocation by North Korea will be met with an overwhelming and strong response from our government and military, based on the solid extended deterrence of the South Korea-U. S. alliance.”

South Korea's Joint Chiefs of Staff said Thursday that it detected multiple short-range ballistic missiles fired from the North toward the sea, according to the Associated Press, days after Kim said he would increase efforts to ready his nuclear force for combat with the United States and its allies.

The images of the facility represent the North's first disclosure of a nuclear facility since it showed a uranium enrichment site in Yongbyon to American scholars led by Stanford University nuclear scientist Siegfried Hecker in 2010, the AP reported. It is unclear whether the facility shown in the images is Yongbyon.

In 2018, Hecker and other Stanford academics said North Korea had enough highly enriched uranium for 23 to 30 nuclear devices, according to the AP. Kim has repeatedly called for increasing the nuclear weapons arsenal since then.

A July estimate published by researchers from the Federation of American Scientists said that North Korea may have produced enough material to build up to 90 nuclear warheads and may have assembled about 50.

“These are the first public images we've had of the inside of a DPRK enrichment facility, so they are pretty extraordinary in that sense,” Darya Dolzikhova, a re-

search fellow with the London-based Royal United Services Institute's proliferation and nuclear policy program, said in an email Friday.

She added that the release of the photos may “help address at least some of the blind spots in our understanding,” given the lack of recent open-source information about North Korea's enrichment program.

Edward Howell, a lecturer in International Relations at the University of Oxford and Korea Foundation Fellow at the London-based think tank Chatham House, noted the timing of Pyongyang's actions this week.

“North Korea has historically

engaged in provocations during U.S. presidential election years, so the recent missile launches should not come as a surprise,” he wrote in an email.

“Kim Jong Un's visit to the uranium enrichment facility, two months prior to the election, suggests not only that Pyongyang's indigenous ability to produce highly-enriched uranium is becoming increasingly advanced, but crucially, that North Korea has no intention to denuclearise, nor does it wish to offer any concessions on its nuclear and missile programmes in the future,” he wrote.

North Korea withdrew from a nuclear weapons treaty in 2003 and carried out its first nuclear test three years later. Since then it has conducted five more: The most recent and most powerful took place in 2017.

The U.N. Security Council and the United States have imposed rounds of sanctions against North Korea.

Bisset reported from London.

### DIGEST

#### MIDDLE EAST

##### Hamas chief thanks Hezbollah for support

Hamas chief Yehiya Sinwar thanked the leader of Lebanon's Hezbollah, Hassan Nasrallah, for his group's support in the conflict with Israel, in the first reported message since Sinwar became Hamas leader in August.

Iran-backed Hezbollah has been waging attacks on Israel in a conflict across the Lebanese-Israeli border that has been taking place in parallel to the Gaza war.

Sinwar thanked Nasrallah for a letter he sent expressing condolences for the death of Ismail Haniyeh, the former Hamas leader killed in Tehran in July.

In the early days of the conflict, former Hamas leader Khaled Meshal hinted at frustration over the scale of Hezbollah's intervention, thanking the group but saying “the battle requires more.”

— Reuters

#### CAMBODIA

##### Ministry decries U.S. sanctions

Cambodia's foreign ministry on Friday expressed “deep regret over the unjust decision” by the United States to impose sanctions on one of the country's top tycoons, who has been implicated in allegations of

forced labor, human trafficking and lucrative online scams. The tycoon, Ly Yong Phat, is

Cambodian senator and a member of the ruling Cambodian People's Party of

Prime Minister Hun Manet. The ministry suggested that the action could hurt bilateral

relations. Phathas not faced trafficking charges.

— Associated Press

#### AFGHANISTAN

##### 14 killed by gunmen in deadly attack

Gunmen killed 14 people in a Shiite-majority area in central Afghanistan in one of the deadliest attacks in the country this year. Six other people were wounded in the assault.

The Islamic State group claimed responsibility before the Taliban acknowledged the shootings, which took place Thursday and targeted Hazara Shiite people as they traveled between the provinces of Ghor and Daikundi.

— Associated Press

**South Africa's President Cyril Ramaphosa defended the durability of his unity government, after a dispute over a contentious education bill exposed tensions between his African National Congress and its coalition partner. The Democratic Alliance (DA) says the bill violates South Africans' right to teach and learn in their mother tongue.**

**The Dutch government aims to implement a raft of measures to limit migration, days after Germany announced new border controls to keep out unwanted migrants. The new government said it would declare a national asylum crisis, enabling it to take measures to curb migration without parliamentary consent.**

— From news services



DMITRI LOVETSKY/AP

The Orthodox faithful carry religious images during a procession Thursday in St. Petersburg that marked the 300th anniversary of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery. On Sept. 12, 1724, Peter the Great transferred Nevsky's remains from the town of Vladimir to St. Petersburg.

# Putin says strikes deep in Russia with Western weapons would mean wider war

RUSSIA FROM A1

“completely baseless” and said Russia revoked the diplomats’ accreditation last month in retaliation for earlier British action “in response to Russian state-directed activity across Europe” and in the United Kingdom. “We are unapologetic about protecting our national interests,” it said.

Putin’s threat underscored Moscow’s unease about the impact that a decision allowing Ukraine to target Russia using some long-range weapons might have on the strategic balance in the war. “The issue is not whether to allow the Ukrainian regime to make strikes on Russia or not. The issue is to decide whether the NATO states are directly involved in the military conflict or not,” Putin said.

Such a move would change “the very nature of the conflict,” he said in a television interview late Thursday. “This will mean that all NATO states, the United States, the European countries are fighting with Russia. And if so, then given the change in the very essence of this conflict, we will make corresponding decisions based on the threats that will be created for us.”

At the White House, Biden and Starmer reaffirmed their support for Ukraine but declined to publicly address whether the United States would pave the way for Ukraine to use Western-made weapons to strike deeper inside Russia.

“The United States is committed to standing with you to help Ukraine as it defends against Russia’s onslaught of aggression,” Biden told Starmer at the outset of their meeting. “It’s clear that Putin will not prevail in this war. The people of Ukraine will prevail.”

Starmer said it was vital that the two allied nations work in tandem. “I think the next few weeks and months could be crucial, very, very important, that we support Ukraine in this vital war of freedom,” the prime minister said.

But the leaders said little publicly about the questions hanging over their meeting — whether American allies might allow Ukraine to use their weapons to launch long-range attacks, and whether the United States might support that move and at some point even allow U.S.-made weapons to be used the same way.

Biden largely ignored shouted questions from reporters, including over the long-range missiles. Responding to a question about Putin, he said, “I don’t think much about Vladimir Putin.”

The official White House summary of the meeting stressed the opposition of the American and British leaders to the support that some countries are giving Russia.



A Russian police officer patrols outside the British Embassy in Moscow on Friday, when Russia said it was expelling six British diplomats.

ALEXANDER NEMENOV/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

“They expressed deep concern about Iran and North Korea’s provision of lethal weapons to Russia and ... China’s support to Russia’s defense industrial base,” the statement said.

Earlier in the day, John Kirby, the White House national security spokesman, suggested there would be no shift in Washington’s reluctance to let Ukraine use U.S. weapons that way.

“There is no change to our view on the provision of long-range strike capabilities for Ukraine to use inside Russia, and I wouldn’t expect any sort of major announcement in that regard coming out of the discussions, certainly not on our side,” Kirby told reporters.

He largely declined to comment, however, on whether the United States would support the British or French if they decided to authorize Kyiv to launch long-range strikes with the weapons they have provided. “We have and will continue to have meaningful conversations with our allies ... about what we’re all doing to support Ukraine, about what can be done, what should be done, the

pros and the cons of all these moves,” Kirby said.

In response to Putin’s remarks on NATO, Starmer told British reporters that Russia’s invasion was illegal and that Ukraine has a right to defend itself.

“We don’t seek any conflict with Russia. That’s not our intention in the slightest. But they started this conflict, and Ukraine’s got a right to self-defense,” he said.

Ukraine has repeatedly dismissed such threats from Russia, maintaining that Putin never follows through. On Friday, Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk also recommended not getting too worried over the Russian leader’s remarks.

“I would not attach excessive importance to the latest statements from President Putin,” Tusk told a news conference. “They rather show the difficult situation the Russians have on the front.”

Kirby agreed that Putin’s statements are unreliable, while adding a note of caution.

“It’s hard to take anything coming out of Putin’s face at his word,” Kirby said. But he emphasized that the United States carefully

watches potential Russian threats.

“He starts brandishing the nuclear sword, yes, we constantly monitor that kind of activity,” Kirby said. “He obviously has proven capable of aggression. He has obviously proven capable of escalation over the last now going on three years.”

Throughout the war, Kremlin and senior Russian officials have spelled out red lines, for example the supply of F-16 warplanes to Kyiv or any invasion of Russian territory, and these have been crossed without major repercussions.

Until recently, Kremlin officials seemed to be playing down the matter, stating that the decision to lift restrictions on using Western weapons for long-range strikes into Russia had already been made.

But on Friday, speaking after the responses from Starmer and Tusk, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov sought to reinforce the gravity of Putin’s warning in comments to journalists during a regular conference call.

“The statement that Putin

made yesterday is very important,” he said. “It is extremely clear, unambiguous and does not allow for any double readings. We have no doubt that this statement has reached its addressees.”

The Russian daily Kommersant also suggested that this time around, Putin is serious. In an article headlined “Vladimir Putin drew his red line,” Kommersant reported that such strikes would be classified as NATO strikes against Russia.

“Previously, Russian officials, including Vladimir Putin himself, have repeatedly said that NATO countries are directly or indirectly involved in the confrontation between Russia and Ukraine, but this is the first time this topic has been raised so harshly and unequivocally,” Kommersant reported.

The war against Ukraine, planned as a short, sharp operation, has instead turned into a long, bloody war of attrition, which British intelligence recently estimated has cost Russia more than 610,000 soldiers killed or wounded in action.

Ukrainian President Volod-

myr Zelensky and other officials have been pressing Washington for months to lift the restrictions against using Western missiles to target military sites such as airfields where Moscow bases the planes that have launched devastating strikes that knocked out much of Ukraine’s energy infrastructure as well as killed civilians.

“Anyone who simply looks at the map and sees where Russia is launching strikes, where it is preparing forces and holding reserves, where its military facilities are located, and what logistics it uses — anyone who sees all of this clearly understands why Ukraine needs long-range capabilities,” he posted on Telegram.

At a conference Friday, Zelensky also said that he would soon brief Biden on his victory plan to end to war and bring about a “reliable peace.”

Biden was asked Tuesday whether the United States was ready to lift the restrictions. “We are working that out right now,” he said.

A British government statement ahead of Friday’s White House meeting accused Russia of escalating the war, notably by importing Iranian ballistic missiles for use against Ukraine, calling it “a significant escalation ... bolstering Putin’s capability to continue his illegal war.”

The FSB said expelling the six diplomats is a first step in response to “the numerous unfriendly steps taken by London.” It said it found “signs of spying and sabotage” by the six British diplomats from the political department of the Moscow embassy.

An FSB officer who appeared on state television on Friday morning said British diplomats being expelled had met with journalists from the Novaya Gazeta newspaper and from the rights group Memorial.

Memorial, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, has, like hundreds of media, civil society organizations, journalists and activists, been declared a “foreign agent” by Russian authorities.

“It’s a classical British spy. It’s fun watching him, but it can’t be tolerated any further,” the FSB officer said.

“We got sick and tired of tolerating this circus as they went jogging ... across Moscow and through urban forests, their one-day visits to neighboring towns for the purpose of sitting on a bench for several hours in the frost, or multiple changes of public transport and taxis to escape from security services in order to visit some gathering of foreign-agent NGOs that lobby for migrants’ interests,” he said.

State television broadcast the names and photographs of the accused diplomats.

## U.S. issues warning on Russian media firm

PROPAGANDA FROM A1

intelligence apparatus.”

The sanctions, which come in addition to last week’s Treasury Department actions against 10 top RT executives and its designation of RT as a “foreign mission,” were not an action against the state outlet for the content of its reporting, the State Department said, but were aimed at its covert influence campaigns.

“Covert influence activities are not journalism,” the State Department said in a statement. “The United States will always stand for freedom of expression.” Unlike the European Union, which banned RT in 2022 following Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, the United States had previously required RT only to register as a foreign agent.

Blinken said the United States, together with the British and Canadian governments, would instruct its diplomats to inform governments about RT’s expanded capabilities and was calling on “every ally, every partner” across the globe to treat the activities of RT “as they do other intelligence activities within their borders.”

The head of the State Department’s Global Engagement Center, James P. Rubin, likened the diplomatic outreach over RT to the campaign the Trump administration waged against Huawei, the Chinese telecommunications provider, over fears that it could be used to gather intelligence.

RT has become increasingly entrenched as a channel voicing Kremlin propaganda in Latin America, Africa and the Middle



Secretary of State Antony Blinken said a Russian state-owned media outlet, RT, is conducting covert influence operations across the globe.

SHAWN THEW/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

East, and it has gone underground to operate through a web of front companies in the West, according to RT’s editor in chief, Margarita Simonyan.

In comments posted on Telegram, Simonyan responded to Blinken by saying, “We have done this, are doing this and will do this.”

In an interview Sunday with Russian state television, Simonyan mocked U.S. claims that RT got its orders from the Kremlin, saying: “All the employees of RT and the editor in chief only obey the orders of the Kremlin! All other orders are toilet paper!”

The Russian state media outlet is currently being deployed in

Moldova, Blinken said, to subvert next month’s presidential elections including through attempts to foment unrest, with Simonyan and other RT employees coordinating with the Kremlin.

RT has also been transformed into a cyberintelligence outfit, he added. The Russian government embedded an entity within the media company in the spring of 2023 “with cyber-operational capabilities and ties to Russian intelligence,” Blinken said.

In addition, he said, RT is being used to crowdfund support for the Russian military online, helping procure weaponry including sniper rifles, drones and

radio equipment.

The Justice Department last week indicted two RT employees, accusing them of laundering nearly \$10 million through shell companies to covertly run a Tennessee-based media firm that posted thousands of videos seeking to sow division in the United States and undermine support for Ukraine.

The media outfit, subsequently identified as Tenet Media, garnered millions of views as it paid hundreds of thousands of dollars per broadcast to popular right-wing influencers to parrot Kremlin propaganda lines. In response to the charges, and the levying of U.S. sanctions against

senior RT employees, Simonyan boasted of setting up “guerrilla” information operations in Western countries, including the United States.

The State Department said Friday that RT had mirrored those tactics across the globe to covertly “recruit and pay social media personalities and provide them with unbranded content to disseminate and promote” as part of increasingly sophisticated disinformation operations.

“RT employees are leveraging intelligence tactics, front companies, and network technologies to obfuscate their role in these covert efforts,” the State Department said.

In one example cited by Blinken, the Russian state media company was secretly running a social media platform in Africa named African Stream, which was launched in January 2023 claiming it would promote African voices over “colonial-era and Western-oriented narratives.”

“In reality the only voice it gives is to Kremlin propagandists,” Blinken said.

In Germany, RT had hidden its involvement in the running of an English-language outlet called Red, which promoted the activities of pro-Palestinian protesters at Berlin universities. Blinken said Red was the successor to a now-defunct RT-linked outlet named Redfish that was frozen as a result of the European Union’s ban of RT.

RT’s activities have been just one prong in an extensive campaign by Russia to promote a pro-Kremlin agenda and sow division in Western democracies, part of a second front in its war against Ukraine that current and former senior Western officials said has become almost as important for Moscow as its military operations.

The United States last week shut down 32 internet domains being run by Kremlin-directed political strategists Ilya Gambashidze and Nikolai Tupikin, as part of an operation called Doppelgänger that cloned the sites of legitimate American media outlets, creating fake webpages undermining support for Ukraine.

Fiona Hill, a senior director for European and Russian affairs on the National Security Council in the Trump White House, said it had become increasingly important to take action against RT.

“There has to be concerted action against RT,” she said in an interview. “This isn’t about free speech. This is a full information war. This is the kind of dilemma we are facing all of the time about how to balance freedom of speech against subversion. ... It is probably one of the biggest dilemmas of our epoch.”

# Biden and Starmer meet amid a storm over Ukraine arms

U.S. policy on scope of weapons use is weighed against threat by Putin

BY MATT VISER  
AND ROBYN DIXON

President Joe Biden and British Prime Minister Keir Starmer met at the White House on Friday amid rising tensions with Russia, reaffirming their support for Ukraine but declining to publicly address urgent questions over whether Biden will pave the way for Ukraine to use Western-made weapons to strike deeper inside Russia.

"The United States is committed to standing with you to help Ukraine as it defends against Russia's onslaught of aggression," Biden told Starmer at the outset of their meeting. "It's clear that [Russian President Vladimir] Putin will not prevail in this war. The people of Ukraine will prevail."

Starmer said it was vital that the two allied nations work in tandem. "I think the next few weeks and months could be crucial, very, very important, that we support Ukraine in this vital war of freedom," the prime minister said.

But the two leaders said little about the biggest questions hanging over their meeting: whether American allies such as Britain might allow Ukraine to use their weapons to attack military targets deep inside Russia. Putin this week warned sharply against such a move, raising the stakes for Biden's decision on whether to support it and whether at some point to allow U.S.-made weapons to be used the same way.

Hours before the meeting at the White House, Putin accused

six British diplomats of spying and announced it had stripped them of accreditation. Putin also threatened that if Ukraine were to fire Western missiles into Russia, he would treat it as an attack by NATO and would respond accordingly, a posture that threatened to escalate the war.

"If this decision is made, it will mean nothing other than the direct involvement of NATO states, European states, in the war in Ukraine," Putin said in a television interview late Thursday.

Vasily Nebenzya, the Russian ambassador to the United Nations, warned the U.N. Security Council on Friday about the use of Western weapons deep inside Russia. "The facts are that NATO will be a direct party to hostilities against a nuclear power," Nebenzya said. "I think you shouldn't forget about this and think about the consequences."

From the outset of the war in February 2022, Biden has sought to balance his support for Ukraine with his desire to prevent the conflict from spiraling into a broader confrontation. With only four months left in office, Biden's delicate decision-making on the war will increasingly play into a foreign policy legacy that is likely to revolve in large part on his handling of the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

That task has meant dealing with a variety of foreign leaders. Starmer, who was elected prime minister only two months ago, arrived at the White House in a motorcade on Friday afternoon, and he and Biden entered the Oval Office for photos before meeting in the Blue Room for their extended strategy session.

Biden grew testy when a British reporter shouted a question, before the president could begin speaking, about what he says in



TOM BRENNER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**President Joe Biden meets with British Prime Minister Keir Starmer at the White House on Friday. Biden said the U.S. and Britain need to work in tandem in the effort to help Ukraine fight Russia.**

response to Putin's threats. "I say, 'You be quiet until I speak. Okay? That's what I say,' he said.

Biden then welcomed Starmer to the White House and thanked him for his leadership in backing Ukraine. But he largely ignored shouted questions from reporters, saying at one point in response to a question about what he thinks of Putin, "I don't think much about Vladimir Putin."

The official White House summary of the meeting stressed the opposition of the American and British leaders to the support that some countries are giving Russia. "They expressed deep concern about Iran and North Korea's provision of lethal weapons to Russia and ... China's support to Russia's defense industrial base," the statement said.

Russia has made threats against NATO when Western nations have ramped up their support for Ukraine, but he has generally failed to follow through. Starmer told British reporters ahead of his meeting with Biden that Ukraine had a right to defend itself against an illegal Russian

invasion.

"We don't seek any conflict with Russia. That's not our intention in the slightest," Starmer said. "But they started this con-

*"The United States is committed to standing with you to help Ukraine."*

President Joe Biden, to British prime minister Keir Starmer

flict, and Ukraine's got a right to self-defense."

The British government also accused Russia of "a significant escalation" by imported ballistic weapons from Iran, saying that it was "bolstering Putin's capability to continue his illegal war."

Biden and Starmer were also expected to discuss tensions in the Middle East, focusing on attempts for a cease-fire deal and

the release of hostages in Gaza. The British announced this month that they were suspending some arms exports to Israel, citing "a clear risk" that the arms might be used in "serious violation of international humanitarian law."

Heading into the meeting, John Kirby, a spokesman for the National Security Council, said that there would be little shift from the United States on allowing Ukraine to fire long-range missiles into Russia.

"There is no change to our view on the provision of long-range strike capabilities for Ukraine to use inside Russia, and I wouldn't expect any sort of major announcement in that regard coming out of the discussions, certainly not on our side," he said in a briefing with reporters.

Kirby declined to comment directly on whether the U.S. would signal support for allowing the British or French to authorize use of their weapons for such long-range attacks.

"We have, and will continue to have, meaningful conversations with our allies ... about what we're

all doing to support Ukraine, about what can be done, what should be done, the pros and the cons of all these moves," Kirby said.

Regarding Putin's warnings about NATO, he said that "it's hard to take anything coming out of Putin's face at his word" but added that the U.S. carefully monitors any Russian threats.

"He starts brandishing the nuclear sword, yes, we constantly monitor that kind of activity," Kirby said. "He obviously has proven capable of aggression. He has obviously proven capable of escalation over the last now going on three years."

The meeting at the White House occurred after Secretary of State Antony Blinken met with British foreign secretary David Lammy on a recent trip to Kyiv, a joint visit in which they heard from Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky.

Zelensky has been pressing for months for Western leaders to lift restrictions against using long-range missiles to target military sites in Russia.

Biden was asked Tuesday whether the United States was ready to lift the restrictions. "We are working that out right now," he said.

But administration officials said Friday that those reviews are still ongoing, with uncertainty over when or whether there might be any change in policy.

At the same time, some senior congressional leaders have been urging Biden to make such a shift, saying Ukraine needs a freer hand.

"In light of Putin's increasingly horrific attacks on civilian targets, it's time to lift restrictions on the use of long-range U.S.-provided weapons to allow Ukraine to reach high value Russian military targets," Sen. Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.) said in a recent statement. "On the expectation that the Ukrainian government has demonstrated how these new authorities fit within its broader campaign strategy, I hope that the Biden Administration will swiftly grant these permissions to the Ukrainian Armed Forces."

Karen DeYoung and Missy Ryan contributed to this report.

# Eiffel's descendants say 'non' to keeping rings on iconic tower

BY JULIETTE FEKKAR  
AND ELLEN FRANCIS

PARIS — One of the selling points of the Paris Olympics was that it wouldn't involve lots of expensive new construction. The plan to stage competitions in temporary spaces won praise — and turned the city's landmarks into a stunning stage.

But now, after a successful Summer Games, some Paris officials want a memento.

Mayor Anne Hidalgo is pushing to keep the Olympic rings on the Eiffel Tower. She also wants to keep the hot air balloon that lifted the Olympic cauldron into the sky during the Games.

"We have built and then lived and shared a historic moment," she told local news outlet Ouest-France. "I want this festive spirit to remain!"

The proposals, though, have elicited logistical, legal and cultural objections — including from the descendants of the tower's creator, French engineer Gustave Eiffel. The problem is not about keeping Olympic emblems, critics say, but about changing a signature of Parisian architectural history.

"You can't disfigure the Eiffel Tower by giving it a sense that isn't its own," said Olivier Berthelot-Eiffel, Eiffel's great-great-great-grandson and president of the Association of the Descendants of Gustave Eiffel.

He told The Washington Post that it was the first time the family had voiced this sort of public opposition to plans for the landmark.

"The Eiffel Tower, a historical symbol of Paris and France, should not be permanently associated with an external organization, no matter how prestigious it may be," the descendant association said in a statement. "On the contrary, the facade of the Eiffel Tower should continue to be used for the temporary promotion of worthy causes."

Originally built for the 1889 World's Fair, the Eiffel Tower conveys "Paris" above all else. But it is also routinely illuminated in support of various campaigns — green for the Paris climate agreement, pink for breast cancer awareness, blue and yellow for Ukraine, and so on. The hashtag #lovewins was displayed in lights after an attack on a gay nightclub in Orlando. The message "Merci, Johnny" went up after singer

Johnny Hallyday's death.

The tower has also been used at times for commercial messaging. From 1925 to 1934, French car company Citroën displayed its name in massive letters going all the way up to the top. The slogan "Fashion loves Paris" has helped promote Paris Fashion Week.

It was an obvious choice to use the tower as a focal point during the Olympics. The monument served as a backdrop for beach volleyball and a pedestal for Celine Dion's moving comeback at the Opening Ceremonies. The Olympic logo, installed between the first and second floors, regularly featured in television broadcasts.

For Hidalgo, it's a "very beautiful idea to combine the Eiffel Tower, a monument designed to be ephemeral for a universal exhibition, with the Games, an ephemeral moment which will also have marked Paris and our country."

"I want the two to remain married," she said late last month.

Other Olympic host cities have mounted the logo on landmarks — on London's Tower Bridge in 2012 and the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 2000, for instance. Both were taken down afterward.

The International Olympic Committee strictly controls depictions of the rings.

Hidalgo, though, maintains she has the IOC's backing, and because the city owns the Eiffel Tower, she said the plan should be able to move forward. She said the intention is to keep the rings at least until the next Summer Games, Los Angeles 2028, and then, "we'll see."

The IOC said in an email that it "warmly welcomes" the intention to "make the legacy of the sensational Olympic Games Paris 2024 accessible to as many people as possible," including by keeping the rings on the Eiffel Tower. It said it was "supporting this initiative by conducting a feasibility study," with results expected in the coming months.

The 30-ton version of the logo there now would be too heavy to safely withstand winter winds, and Hidalgo said she envisions replacing it with a lighter reproduction.

There has been more public surprise than outrage at her plan, but a petition against it gathered more than 42,000 signatures, and political opponents have accused the Socialist mayor of trying to score political points.



MANAN VATSYAYANA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES



MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

**TOP: The mayor of Paris wants to keep the Olympic rings on the Eiffel Tower. ABOVE: Another proposal, to keep the Olympic cauldron at the Tuileries Gardens, presents logistical issues.**

"Respect the Eiffel Tower, defend it against the whims and caprices of the mayor of Paris, avoid burning Parisians' money on useless PR," posted right-wing Paris city councilor David Alphan, an ally of Hidalgo's rival in the next mayoral election in 2026.

Hidalgo, who has been mayor for a decade, put her reputation on the line as one of the biggest champions of hosting the Olympics in Paris — and has claimed victory over the skeptics after the Games were widely considered a success. She and city officials largely dismissed criticism of the

Eiffel Tower plan as typical complaints from Parisians, who bashed plans for the Olympics only to be awed by the event.

The objections from Eiffel's relatives may be harder to wave away.

"We were very happy and proud to have the Olympic rings on the Eiffel Tower during the Games. It was a very nice image. But now the Games are over," said Savin Yeatman-Eiffel, another great-great-great-grandson and the vice president of the association.

"The Eiffel Tower is not a bill-

board," he said. "It's a beautiful structure and a symbol in its own right, and it should stay that way."

The Eiffel family members said they hoped the city would be open to talking. They suggest keeping the rings in the Champ de Mars garden under the Eiffel Tower or near Paris City Hall instead. The descendants have "a right and a duty to make sure the monument is protected and kept in its integrity," Yeatman-Eiffel said.

The city has heard the reservations of Eiffel's descendants, said Pierre Rabadan, the Paris deputy mayor for the Olympics. He said the rings would preserve the connection with "the event which has left a lasting mark on Paris."

"We're not changing the structure of the Eiffel Tower. We're just affixing a symbol," he added. "It's not brand promotion. It's a powerful symbol."

The plan may still face legal complications, said Pierre Noual, a lawyer specializing in cultural history. He noted that the rings, an IOC trademark, are considered advertising, which is generally prohibited on historical monuments. Exceptions made for the Olympics were only temporary, he said.

Legislation could allow Eiffel's heirs to oppose changes that undermine the structure's integrity, he added.

The proposal to keep the Olympic cauldron at the Tuileries Gardens has generated less public

debate — but may present feasibility issues.

The cauldron doesn't involve a real flame. Instead, an illusion is created by clouds of mist lit by LED rays and powered by renewable electricity.

The display proved hugely popular. Spectators quickly snatched up the more than 10,000 free tickets offered each day. And crowds gasped each evening at sunset when the 100-foot balloon elevated what appeared to be a ring of fire.

But the display wasn't designed as a permanent feature and would be expensive to maintain. Ultimately it would be up to the state, which runs the gardens.

At the Palais Royal gardens this week, there were no apparent Olympic haters. Several Parisians who spoke with The Post said that they enjoyed the Olympic rings on the Eiffel Tower but that it was time to bring them down.

Student Camille Salabert said the logo gave the monument "something extra" during the Games, but that "it's time for it to go back to how it was — and maybe show the rings elsewhere."

Paris resident Jean Paul Duvernois was open to keeping the rings up. "It doesn't bother me at all, quite the opposite. I want them to stay until the next Olympics in Los Angeles." Still, he added, "not beyond that."

Francis reported from Brussels.

# ECONOMY & BUSINESS

## Big Tech fights plan to pay more for electric grid upgrades

Ohio utility says other customers shouldn't cover data center costs

BY CAROLINE O'DONOVAN

A regulatory dispute in Ohio may help answer one of the toughest questions hanging over the nation's power grid: Who will pay for the huge upgrades needed to meet soaring energy demand from the data centers powering the modern internet and artificial intelligence revolution?

Google, Amazon, Microsoft and Meta are fighting a proposal by an Ohio power company to significantly increase the upfront energy costs they'll pay for their data centers, a move the companies dubbed "unfair" and "discriminatory" in documents filed with Ohio's Public Utility Commission last month. American Electric Power Ohio said in filings that the tariff increase was needed to prevent new infrastructure costs from being passed on to other customers such as households and businesses if the tech industry should fail to follow through on its ambitious, energy-intensive plans.

The case could set a national precedent that helps determine whether and how other states force tech firms to be accountable for the costs of their growing energy consumption.

Central Ohio, a Rust Belt region that has struggled with the departure of its manufacturing industry, has rapidly emerged as a data center stronghold in the United States. The power company said projected energy demand in central Ohio forced it to stop approving new data center deals there last year while it figured out how to pay for the new transmission lines and additional infrastructure they would require.

The energy demands of data centers have created similar concerns in other hot spots such as Northern Virginia, Atlanta and Maricopa County, Ariz., leaving experts concerned that the U.S. power grid may not be capable of dealing with the combined needs of the green energy transition and the computing boom that artificial intelligence companies say is coming.

On Thursday, the White House announced measures intended to speed up data center construction.



An Amazon Web Services data center sits next to soccer fields in Dublin, Ohio. Central Ohio has become a hot spot for data centers.

PHOTOS BY BRIAN KAISER/BLOOMBERG NEWS/GETTY IMAGES

tion for AI projects, including by accelerating permitting.

Energy customers must sometimes make a monthly payment to a utility that is a percentage of the maximum amount of electricity they predict that they could need. In Ohio, data center companies had agreed to pay 60 percent of the projected amount. But in May, the power company proposed a new, 10-year fee structure raising the charges to 90 percent of the expected load, even if they don't end up using that much.

The major tech companies — all of which are increasing spending on data center infrastructure to compete in AI — strenuously opposed the proposed contract in documents filed last month.

"While I acknowledge the challenges AEP Ohio faces due to the substantial increase in load requests from data centers, it is essential that any solution adopted by the Commission provides a fair and equitable solution," wrote energy consultant Brendon Baatz in testimony submitted to the Ohio regulator on behalf of

Google. "With its discriminatory focus on data centers, AEP Ohio is asking the Commission to pick winners and losers in the local economy by imposing unfavorable terms for basic electric service on a single industry."

Amazon Web Service's energy expert Michael Fradette said in his own testimony that asking companies to predict how much power their data centers will need over a 10-year period with a high degree of accuracy is "unreasonable," because actual consumption will depend on factors such as future technological advancement, customer demand and "volatility of weather."

Tech companies have good reason to fight the Ohio proposal beyond local cost increases, University of California at Berkeley economics professor Severin Borenstein said. Other utilities around the country that are also concerned about the "volatility" of data center development will be closely watching this case, he said, potentially making such fights "a much more common

negotiation."

An evidentiary hearing in the case is set for Sept. 30. A spokesperson for AEP Ohio said the company is "hopeful that a resolution is reached that keeps economic development moving forward in our service territory." Amazon, Microsoft, Google and Meta declined to comment for this story. Amazon founder Jeff Bezos owns The Washington Post.

### 'Skin in the game'

Over the past five years, central Ohio's data center boom has been driven by the availability of plentiful water, fiber internet and, according to Meta's comments on the proposed tariff hike, "the reliable and affordable electric service provided by AEP Ohio."

But data centers notoriously require a lot of electricity to run the high-powered computers inside and the cooling systems that prevent them from overheating. According to testimony from AEP Ohio Vice President Lisa Kelso, there are 50 pending requests from data center customers seeking electric service at more than 90 sites, a potential 30,000 megawatts of additional load — enough to power more than 20 million households. That additional demand would more than triple the utility's previous peak load in 2023, she said.

Between 2020 and 2024, the data center energy load in central Ohio increased sixfold, from 100 to 600 megawatts, her testimony reads. By 2030, that amount will reach 5,000 megawatts, according to the utility's signed agreements, she testified. "Central Ohio's total load will more than double from approximately 4,000 MW to 9,000 MW over the course of a decade," it continues, "and AEP Ohio's Top 5 customers will all be data center customers by 2030."

Meeting that demand will require AEP Ohio to build new transmission lines, an expensive and time-consuming process. According to testimony by AEP Vice President Kamran Ali, building that infrastructure is a "big undertaking and a major construction project" that could take be-

tween seven and 10 years to complete.

Chief among the power company's concerns, according to the documents, is what will happen if it invests billions of dollars into new grid infrastructure only for the data centers to leave for greener pastures, or for the AI bubble to burst and the facilities to need much less power than initially projected. If the power company spends big on new infrastructure but the power demand it was built to serve doesn't materialize, other customers — including business and residential payers — will be stuck with the bill, the utility said.

AEP Ohio's proposed tariff hike is an attempt to "require data centers to make long-term financial commitments — to have more skin in the game," AEP Vice President Matthew S. McKenzie said.

Melissa Lott, a professor at Columbia University's Climate School, said it's reasonable for utilities to worry that data centers may not stick around. Compared with more conventional energy-hungry facilities like auto factories, data centers are more mobile, she said. "It's much easier to relocate those services than it is to relocate a manufacturing facility that needs cooling water from a local river or a workforce of hundreds of thousands of people."

AEP Ohio's testimony in the case also questions whether data centers bring as much to local communities as factories or other high-energy-load businesses. Since 2019, non-data center businesses have created approximately 25 jobs for every megawatt of power requested, while data centers have created less than one job per megawatt, according to Kelso's testimony.

The tech companies rejected this criticism, saying the number of jobs they create is not relevant to how much power they have a right to purchase, and highlighted their other contributions to local economies. Google said it had created more than 1,000 jobs in Ohio in the past year, investing \$6.7 billion since 2019. Amazon said its cloud computing division

had created more than 4,500 jobs in the state with an investment of \$10.3 billion over eight years, and it plans to spend \$7.8 billion more in coming years. Meta, meanwhile, said it had spent \$1.5 billion on data center projects in the state.

Microsoft, which recently created a "Livable Licking County" fund of undisclosed size for workforce development near its data centers in one central Ohio hot spot for the facilities, said in its testimony that the power company should treat all of its customers "equally" and "not discriminate based on factors that are irrelevant."

### Finding a compromise

Central Ohio is not the only place in the United States where utilities are reevaluating how to charge their biggest customers. This year in Virginia, the power company proposed a rule that would allow it to negotiate custom contracts with any business using more than 200 megawatts of power, not just data centers, according to public filings. And in July, Indiana proposed a tariff aimed at funding new infrastructure that would extend contracts, introduce fees for backing out, and raise minimum payments for any customers using more than 150 megawatts.

South Carolina is considering rules that would prohibit utilities from offering data centers lower rates, while in May, the Southeastern power company Duke Energy signed a tariff deal with individual data center companies aimed at paying for renewable energy generation.

But Google argues that Ohio's proposal stands out in "singling out a specific industry." Amazon said in filings that it pays fees as high as 75 percent of projected demand in some states but that Ohio's proposal to bill it 90 percent goes too far.

Stanford Climate and Energy Policy Program Director Michael Wara said AEP Ohio's move to treat data centers differently from other customers is "extremely unusual," and could set a national precedent. "If Ohio does this and it gains traction as an idea, you can see other state commissions copying them," he said.

But Columbia's Lott said that some states could still feel the need to attract data center developments that bring utilities new business that helps pay for routine electric grid upgrades. "We are going to get some kind of idea of where the compromise is between the long time frames of electric utilities and the short time frames of tech companies," she said.

Should the Ohio tariff be approved, Microsoft and Google both threatened in their testimony to leave Ohio. "If AEP Ohio's proposal is adopted," wrote Google's Baatz, "it would create an unfavorable environment for data center development in the state, potentially causing companies to reconsider their investment plans."

But while the tech companies can technically take their power-hungry data centers elsewhere, pressure on the electric grid is mounting all over the country, and many communities are already grappling with how to accommodate it, making it incumbent on the Big Tech companies to find a way to work with utilities in Ohio and elsewhere.

After all, as Amazon's Fradette wrote, "Without a reliable source of power, our business would not exist."



Transmission lines and electricity infrastructure next to a construction site for an Amazon Web Services data center in Hilliard, Ohio.

### DIGEST

#### STOCK MARKET

##### Stocks close out on year's best week

U.S. stocks closed out their best week of the year with more gains and climbed to the cusps of their records.

The S&P 500 rose 0.5 percent to 5,626.02 for a fifth straight gain — just shy of its all-time high set in July. The Dow Industrial Average added 0.7 percent to 41,393.78 and at one point got within 30 points of its record set last month. The Nasdaq composite rose 0.7 percent to 17,683.98.

The unanimous expectation on Wall Street is the Fed will deliver the first cut to interest rates in more than four years on Wednesday, and traders are rekindling hopes it may offer bigger-than-usual relief.

The housing market has been contending with high mortgage

rates, though they've been easing since the spring with Treasury yields on expectations for coming rate cuts.

Technology stocks were generally the market's main drivers this week, particularly Nvidia and other big technology stocks that struggled earlier this summer on concerns their prices had shot too high in the frenzy around artificial intelligence. Nvidia rallied 15.8 percent despite slipping 0.1 percent.

— Associated Press

#### SPORTS BETTING

##### Proposed bill forbids bets on college athletes

The federal government would ban in-game advertising and bets on college athletes under a sports betting regulation bill proposed by two northeastern legislators.

Rep. Paul Tonko of New York and Sen. Richard Blumenthal of Connecticut introduced the bill Thursday. It's designed to address what they say are the harmful effects of the rapid expansion of legal sports betting in the U.S. since 2018.

The measure also would forbid the use of credit cards to fund online gambling accounts. The industry has adopted sports betting practices that include some limits on advertising.

— Associated Press

#### WELLS FARGO

##### Bank shores up crime risk management

Wells Fargo has agreed to work with U.S. bank regulators to shore up its financial crimes risk management, including internal controls related to

suspicious activity and money laundering. Wells Fargo shares rose 2.4 percent Friday.

The agreement comes just seven months after the Biden administration lifted a consent order on the bank that had been in place since 2016 following a raft of scandals, including the opening of fake customer accounts.

The agreement announced this week requires the bank to take "comprehensive corrective actions" to improve compliance with the Bank Secrecy Act and U.S. sanctions programs.

The scandal tarnished the reputation of the San Francisco bank, which analysts and investors considered one of the nation's best. Wells Fargo overhauled its board of directors and management, paid more than a billion dollars in fines and penalties and spent eight years trying to show the public that the

bad practices were a thing of the past.

— Associated Press

#### ALSO IN BUSINESS

**23andMe will pay \$30 million and provide three years of security monitoring to settle a lawsuit accusing the genetics testing company of failing to protect the privacy of 6.9 million customers whose personal information was exposed in a data breach last year. The accord also resolves accusations that 23andMe did not tell customers with Chinese and Ashkenazi Jewish ancestry that the hacker appeared to have specifically targeted them, and posted their information for sale on the dark web. It also expects about \$25 million of the cost to be covered by cyber insurance coverage. According to the company, the hacker accessed 5.5 million DNA**

Relatives profiles, which let customers share information with each other, and accessed information for another 1.4 million customers who used a feature called Family Tree.

**Chinese courier delivery firm BingEx, which brands its services as "FlashEx," has filed to go public in the United States, a regulatory filing showed on Friday. Several high-profile companies are trying to test investor appetite for IPOs following a prolonged downturn due to rising interest rates and geopolitical turmoil. The number of Chinese companies that have pursued stock market flotations in the United States has dropped in the past few years, after ride-hailing giant Didi Global was forced to delist its shares in late 2021 following a backlash from China's regulators.**

— From news services

# Boeing workers cast lopsided vote for first strike since 2008

It's another blow for the aerospace giant reeling on multiple fronts

BY RACHEL LERMAN, LORI ARATANI, LAUREN KAORI GURLEY AND IAN DUNCAN

SEATTLE — Thousands of Boeing workers walked off the job Friday after resoundingly rejecting management's contract offer, shutting down airliner production and threatening further damage to the aerospace giant as it struggles to overcome financial and safety problems.

Members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers District 751 expressed more than a decade's worth of pent-up anger as 96 percent of those casting ballots voted in favor of the strike — far more than the two-thirds needed. It's the first strike by Boeing machinists since 2008.

The strike risks derailing Boeing's recovery from a series of legal and regulatory crises and could cost the cash-strapped company an estimated \$1 billion per week, according to analysts. Union members play key roles in assembling some of the company's best-selling aircraft. Already, the company is being threatened with a downgrade of its credit rating.

The most direct impact is on Boeing's assembly plants in Washington, especially in Everett and Renton. An extended work stoppage could also impact Boeing suppliers and possibly shrink its share of the aerospace market.

However, less than 24 hours into the strike, there appeared to be signs of progress. On Friday evening, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, an independent federal agency created by Congress to resolve conflict between employers and unions across industries, announced the two sides agreed to resume meetings next week with the help of a federal mediator.

Speaking at an analysts' con-

ference Friday, Brian West, Boeing's chief financial officer, said the company is eager to return to the negotiating table, adding that new chief executive Kelly Ortberg, who spent time talking to workers on the factory floor this week, is working with his team to come up with a new offer.

West called the deal that members rejected "unprecedented" while acknowledging it fell short. The tentative contact would have included a 25 percent raise and improved health care and retirement benefits.

"Over the last few days, it became very clear, loud and clear ... that the offer didn't meet the mark and it was not acceptable," he said.

Leaders of the union representing more than 33,000 workers have not yet said when they will be ready to resume negotiations. Union members said they have been frustrated for years with Boeing's tactics, including threats to move airliner production out of the region.

"I think this 96 percent spoke very loudly about what the workers want and what they're not going to settle for," said Julie Dye, a 17-year Boeing employee who wore a shirt from the 2008 strike as she stood on a street corner near the company's Renton factory, carrying a picket sign.

In California, Boeing workers on temporary assignment at a 737 Max storage facility in Victorville picketed Friday morning under the blazing desert sun, while inside the facility, managers and outside contractors continued maintenance and quality assurance work on aircraft.

Alex Mutch, a striking aircraft inspector, said he had been saving up for the strike since he was hired five years ago.

"We have been left hanging on a leash for almost 16 years and missed out on a lot of opportunities for cost-of-living adjustments, especially with the rate inflation has gone up," Mutch said. "My grocery bill has doubled since I moved down here. Not to mention the cost of rent."

A group of longtime Boeing machinists waving "On Strike Against Boeing" signs said while



Boeing factory workers wait to vote on their first full contract in 16 years at an International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers District 751 union hall in Renton, Wash., Thursday. They rejected the proposed deal, with 96 percent voting in favor of striking.

the deal offered solid wage gains for newer hires, they railed against the loss of their pensions in a contract negotiation in 2014.

For Robert Nesselth, a 36-year Boeing employee who has been on strike five times and temporarily lives in a nearby RV park while away from his family in Washington, said the cancellation of his pension translates to more than \$1,000 less a month in benefits once he stops working.

"Our main thing is that over the last 15, 20 years, we've made a lot of concessions to the company because times were tough," Nesselth said. "What Boeing is offering doesn't let us catch up at all. The company really underestimates how much employees are tired of being used and abused."

After a string of tense, marathon negotiating sessions over the past several weeks, the IAM and Boeing announced Sunday that they had reached a tentative four-year agreement. In a key provision, Boeing would commit to building its next new aircraft in Washington state, a major union demand.

Optimism, however, proved short-lived. On Monday, IAM

President Jon Holden told the Seattle Times that members would probably reject the deal. Opposition grew as workers staged rallies and took to social media to vent their frustrations with the company's offer.

A copy of a flier obtained by The Washington Post urged members to "VOTE TO REJECT BOEING'S BAD DEAL," circulated at many of the company's plants. Machinists also were angered by the elimination of their annual bonus program.

Under the agreement, the average pay for machinists would have risen from \$75,608 to \$106,350 per year without overtime, according to the company. But workers said the offer failed to take into account the high cost of living in the Seattle region and the years that employees had gone without significant raises.

"Four years is not enough to make up for the last 16," Boeing worker Roger Ligrano said before he voted. He said he was voting to strike, in part, to give union members more time to understand a deal.

Although acting Labor Secretary Julie Su has been in contact

with both sides, the Biden administration is not seen as likely to intervene. Unlike 2022, when the White House coordinated a response to a rail strike, this labor action does not have immediate effects on the national economy.

Dino Kritikos, managing director for Fitch Ratings, said the company has little room to maneuver.

"Boeing's investment-grade credit rating has limited headroom for a strike," he said. An extended strike beyond a week or two, he said, "could have a meaningful operational and financial impact, increasing the risk of a downgrade."

The IAM strike in 2008, a 57-day walkout, cost Boeing about \$1.5 billion a month, according to Moody's.

Boeing has struggled to recover from major safety, financial and legal setbacks that began in January when a door panel of a 737 Max jet blew out of the fuselage in midair, leaving a gaping hole. Multiple investigations into the calamity uncovered serious shortcomings in the company's manufacturing and safety oversight systems and led the

Federal Aviation Administration to limit the number of 737 Max jets Boeing could build until it meets certain quality and safety milestones.

In May, the Justice Department announced that Boeing had failed to meet the conditions of an agreement that shielded the company from criminal prosecution in connection with a 2018 crash of a Boeing Max jet in Indonesia and a 2019 crash in Ethiopia that killed a combined 346 people. Boeing agreed to plead guilty to one count of criminal fraud in connection with the case — a settlement that must still be approved by a federal judge.

The company also has experienced major setbacks with its Starliner space program, which has been plagued by delays and cost overruns. The space capsule returned to Earth earlier this month, but without two astronauts it had carried to the International Space Station after NASA decided it was too risky to use the Boeing craft.

Ortberg, the former chief executive of Rockwell Collins, took over the top job last month, pledging a new beginning.

# Facing outrage, Biden unlikely to immediately block Nippon Steel's bid

U.S. STEEL FROM A1

Shares of U.S. Steel have risen by more than 12 percent over the past two days of trading, as investors grew more optimistic that the deal would survive.

"People certainly don't think we're where we were Tuesday of last week. Everybody was like: 'We're dead. It's over. We're done.' There's definitely a sense we'll probably get a chance to fight till November 5th. What happens November 6th is still up in the air," said one U.S. Steel shareholder, who supports the merger and who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a politically controversial subject.

The United Steelworkers union (USW), which endorsed Biden for reelection and endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris in her presidential bid, has opposed the transaction from the outset.

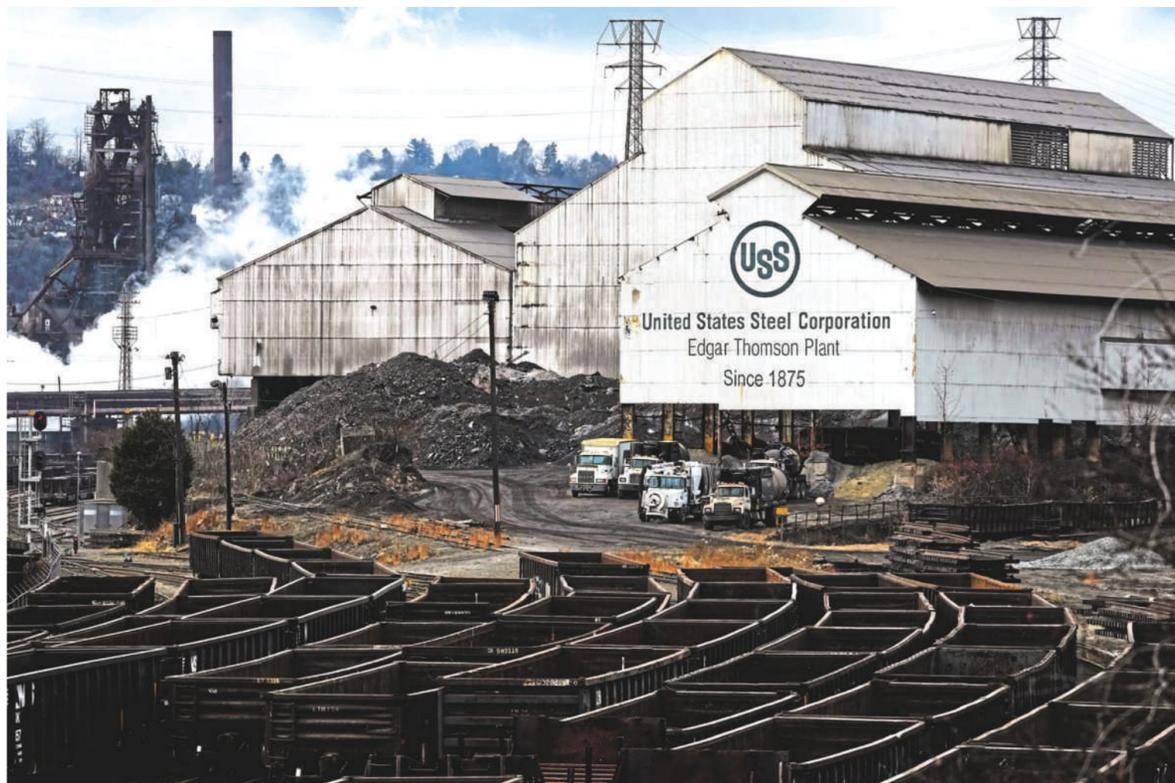
White House officials have said they are waiting for a recommendation from the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS), the interagency board that reviews foreign transactions for national security implications. The panel is chaired by Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen and includes six other Biden cabinet secretaries as well as other political appointees who take direction from the president.

Since March, Biden has publicly opposed U.S. Steel being owned by a foreign firm.

"The president's position is that it is vital for US Steel to remain an American steel company that is domestically owned and operated. The President told our steelworkers he has their backs, and he meant it," Sharma said in a written reply. "As we made clear last week, we have not received any recommendation from CFIUS."

The proposed corporate acquisition has assumed outside importance given its potential political impact on the 2024 election.

Biden's opposition to Nippon Steel's acquisition of the onecentennial U.S. Steel aligned with the position of USW. David McCall, president of the labor organization, has described the deal as a threat to his members' long-term job prospects and pension secu-



A decision by the president to block Nippon Steel's takeover bid for U.S. Steel might not come until after the election, three sources said.

*"Everybody in the country is not one issue. But when you're at a swing state, right now the biggest issue in this state is U.S. Steel. It could cost the election in Pennsylvania."*

Chris Kelly (D), mayor of West Mifflin, Pa.

But a move that the White House may have hoped would bolster its chances of winning Pennsylvania's 19 electoral votes has instead triggered significant opposition among Democrats in western Pennsylvania's steel belt.

"The White House was prepared to act precipitously and I think they were surprised by the pushback they got from all quarters," said one person close to the process, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak to the media.

On Thursday, USW leadership told its members that Nippon Steel would favor U.S. Steel's non-union operations in Arkansas rather than its unionized workforce that operates Pennsylvania's traditional blast furnaces.

But in towns near Pittsburgh, many steelworkers and their neighbors were upset by word of the president's apparent plan to kill the deal, which they see as the best chance for U.S. Steel's outdated mills to survive.

"Nobody from his administration, or any of the administrations, have bothered to come to talk to the workers, the ones that are going to be affected by this," said Democrat Chris Kelly, mayor of West Mifflin, Pa., home to one of the U.S. Steel facilities that Nippon Steel has pledged to modernize.

Without Nippon Steel's cash, U.S. Steel has warned that it might close some of its aging facilities in the Mon Valley. The loss of such an important corporate employer and taxpayer would result in tax increases on

other businesses or a reduction in public services, he said.

"Everybody in the country is not one issue. But when you're at a swing state, right now the biggest issue in this state is U.S. Steel. It could cost the election in Pennsylvania," Kelly said.

The company's share price plummeted Sept. 4 in the wake of news reports that Biden had decided to kill the Nippon Steel takeover. U.S. Steel stock lost roughly a quarter of its value that day in 30 minutes of trading as investors absorbed the news.

Over the past week, the White House heard from business community representatives and the Japanese government about the likely negative fallout from the president's decision to quash the deal. Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro (D) and his team have also

been in communication with the administration, and "his top priority has been protecting Pennsylvania workers," said Manuel Bonder, a spokesman for the governor.

In the Mon Valley, a few miles southeast of Pittsburgh, the company's steelmaking heritage dates to 1901. Nippon Steel has promised to spend \$1 billion updating the facilities there, including by replacing a mill that produces steel to make automobiles and appliances.

"This deal is very important to the community. There's a big disconnect between local elected officials here and what seems to be our federal representatives," said Republican Sam DeMarco, an at-large councilman in Allegheny County, home to the steelmaker's Mon Valley Works.

About 11,500 local residents either work for U.S. Steel or for local businesses that depend on its plants, he said.

"It would be devastating to see them leave," DeMarco said.

U.S. Steel CEO David Burritt warned on Sept. 4 that there would be "unavoidable consequences" if Nippon Steel's \$14.9 billion bid collapsed. "Thousands of good-paying union jobs" would be in danger, according to a company statement.

Also at stake are \$2.7 billion that the Japanese company has pledged to invest in U.S. Steel's aging facilities and the company's commitment to keeping its headquarters in Pittsburgh.

The business community also raised concerns this week about the president's handling of the deal. In a Sept. 11 letter to Yellen, the CFIUS chair, seven business groups — six from the United States and one from Japan — complained that "political pressure" was corrupting the government's review of the Nippon Steel deal.

If the United States routinely approved or rejected proposed investments by foreign companies on the basis of domestic political concerns, other countries would do the same to American businesses, said the letter from groups including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Global Business Alliance.

## LABELS FROM A1

that childhood obesity is a major health crisis," Sanders said. "We've got to do the same."

Nearly 20 percent of U.S. children are obese, nearly four times the rate in the 1970s before the proliferation of ultra-processed food, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Several studies have identified these industrially produced, hyper-palatable foods as risk factors for chronic diseases shortening life spans in the United States.

Food companies are pushing against the addition of labels to the fronts of packaged foods and dispute the FDA's argument that doing so can affect Americans' food choices and obesity rates. Industry representatives warn that such requirements would drive up food prices. They question whether the FDA has the authority to enact such sweeping changes and say companies have grounds to potentially sue the federal government over limiting commercial free speech.

The FDA says it is considering two potential labeling options:

One would signal high levels of added sugars, saturated fat or sodium, which the agency defines as having 20 percent or more of the recommended daily amount per serving.

The other features colors signaling how much saturated fat, sodium and added sugars per serving the food contains. If an item contains 5 percent or less of the daily value of any of those nutrients, a green "low" label is placed next to it. If the food is at or over 20 percent for that nutrient, it gets a red "high" label. Everything in between gets a yellow "medium" label.

Experts say both U.S. versions are weak and confusing compared with labels used in Chile, which has undertaken one of the most ambitious efforts in the world to fight obesity. The South American country slaps black octagons akin to stop signs on foods high in calories, saturated fat, sodium or sugar. (The Chilean nutrient thresholds are based on 100 grams of food — not per serving, as in the United States.)

Researchers at the University of North Carolina Global Food Research Program analyzed common American snacks such as Goldfish crackers, Cheetos and Cheerios for The Washington Post to show what their packaging could look like under the U.S. proposals compared with how the same product would be labeled in Chile.

For example, Cheerios, advertised in the United States as a cereal that "can help lower cholesterol as part of a heart healthy diet," would receive a yellow label to indicate "medium" sodium levels under one of the proposed FDA options. (It would not qualify for a label under the other FDA option.) Consuming foods with too much sodium can raise the risk of heart disease, stroke and high blood pressure. The product, according to UNC researchers, would receive stop-sign-shaped warnings for high sodium and calories if sold in Chile. The FDA proposals do not include warnings for high-calorie foods.

Under Sanders's proposed legislation, Cheerios would also receive a label identifying it as "ultra-processed."

Nature Valley granola bars, whose packaging promotes their whole grain content, would get a red label to indicate "high" levels of added sugars and two yellow labels for "medium" levels of saturated fat and sodium, under one of the FDA proposals. In Chile, the granola bars get two warning labels for high levels of sugar and calories.

General Mills, which makes Cheerios and the Nature Valley granola bars, said in a statement the company is tracking the FDA proposals. "We remain focused on meeting consumers' nutrition and taste needs," General Mills spokeswoman Mollie Wulff said.

Research shows that easy-to-understand warning labels — such as the ones used in Chile as well as Mexico, Peru, Israel and Uruguay — are most effective in helping consumers quickly identify unhealthy products.

Focus groups of mothers in Chile showed the labels improved their ability to make better nutritional choices for their families. Their children also recognized the black stop sign shapes and told them not to buy food with warning labels because teachers would not accept them as school snacks. Researchers found that the message to eat healthier especially resonated among young children from lower- and middle-class families.

Chile's front-of-package warning labels were associated with significant decreases in the overall calories, sugar, sodium and saturated fat contained in foods purchased by consumers, according to research by the UNC team.

Researchers, in examining the nutritional profiles of products in Chile before and after the labels took effect, found a 7 percent drop in the number of products that

# FDA hopes labels help consumers make healthier choices at the store



PHOTOS BY THE WASHINGTON POST

**TOP LEFT: Cheetos in Mexico and Chile warn of high sodium and calories; a potential FDA proposal, right, would label it "medium" in saturated fat and sodium. TOP RIGHT: Cheerios in Mexico come with labels warning of high calories and sodium. One FDA proposal would label it "medium" in sodium. ABOVE: A label mock-up for Gatorade under a proposal by Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.)**



THE WASHINGTON POST

**ABOVE: Nature Valley granola bars in Chile, left, come with stop-sign shaped labels warning of high sugar and calories. One potential FDA proposal would label it "high" in added sugars. BELOW: Two proposed FDA warning labels. BOTTOM: Warning labels from Chile.**

would be required to carry warning labels, signaling that many companies reformulated their foods.

But such blatant warnings are unlikely to ever grace food packages sold in the United States, nutrition experts and food companies say.

"My strong concern is that if we get a front-of-package labeling that is at best ineffective, that's going to preclude any kind of stronger option for decades, if not for forever," said Lindsey Smith Taillie, associate professor of nutrition at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill who directed the comparisons. "It's underscoring the extent to which the food industry has interfered with public health."

The FDA did not include stop-sign-shaped warnings in the focus groups it conducted to determine which labels consumers thought most clearly identified products containing unhealthy components.

"We focused our research using insights from focus group testing, review of the scientific literature, review of schemes from other countries and to align with our legal authority," said Robin McKinnon, an FDA senior adviser for nutrition policy in the agency's Center for Food Safety and Applied Nutrition.

Goldfish, the popular American childhood snack, would not be considered a high-sodium product in the United States, even though it would bear warnings for "high sodium" and "high calories" if sold in Chile. Instead, the FDA would flag Goldfish for containing "medium" levels of sodium and saturated fat.



Megan Koehler, a spokeswoman for Campbell Soup Company, which makes Goldfish, said the brand's packaging complies with all existing FDA regulations and

requirements. "We are not going to respond to hypothetical scenarios," she said.

Similarly, Cheetos, an orange finger-licking favorite, would not

receive any FDA labels warning of high levels of sodium, even though in Chile it gets warnings for both high sodium and calories. But, like Goldfish, the label would show "medium" levels of sodium and saturated fat.

PepsiCo, which makes Cheetos, did not respond to requests for comment.

Top industry representatives including the Consumer Brands Association and FMI, The Food Industry Association — whose members include General Mills, PepsiCo and Campbell's — told The Post that the labeling options under consideration by the FDA are too subjective, leaving such labels open to legal challenges. The American Beverage Association and other plaintiffs had filed a lawsuit in 2015 against an effort by the city and county of San Francisco to attach warnings to advertisements for sugary drinks. On appeal, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit ruled that the ordinance violated the First Amendment, which protects commercial speech.

"We feel strongly that what consumers are getting should be fact based and that the systems that are just reliant upon symbols or scales can be ambiguous and could be missing a big part of the nutrition story," said Sarah Gallo, a senior vice president of the Consumer Brands Association, about potential FDA food labels.

The association said the labels simply do not work, pointing to data showing obesity rates in Chile have increased since the country put in place the labels in 2016. But the UNC researchers noted that data included the coronavirus pandemic, when obesity rates skyrocketed during lockdowns.

The industry prefers the voluntary labeling system it created in 2011, which effectively delayed the federal effort to mandate warning labels by more than a dozen years. Under that system, food companies can choose to showcase information readily available on the back of a package — such as calorie count and fiber — on the front.

That follows a worldwide pattern of the industry pushing for "the least informative form of front-of-pack labeling," said Mike Rayner, a population health professor at the University of Oxford. Rayner helped lead the charge in Britain for a voluntary food labeling system featuring red, yellow and green colors to indicate how healthy the product is. The food industry will always oppose mandatory labels, he said. "They don't like colors and they don't like warning signs" that are easiest for consumers to understand.

Sanders said Congress needs to stand up to industry pressure in the United States, much like it did

decades ago against tobacco companies when it mandated warning labels on cigarette boxes.

Sanders's proposed legislation would add rectangular labels warning consumers about ultra-processed foods, non-sugar sweeteners and sugar-sweetened beverages as well as octagonal labels for foods that are high in "added sugar, saturated fat or sodium, or any other nutrient of concern."

During a recent phone interview, Sanders read the nutrition facts on the back of a bottle of red fruit-punch-flavored Gatorade — 34 grams of total sugars, he said, amounts to more than eight teaspoons.

"How many people even know what a gram is compared to a teaspoon?" Sanders exclaimed. "Does this label give you the information as the parent or the kid to make good judgments as to whether or not I should purchase this product? It doesn't."

Under his proposal, that Gatorade bottle would receive labels designating the sports drink as an ultra-processed food and a sugar-sweetened beverage.

PepsiCo, which owns Gatorade, did not respond to requests for comment.

In the United States, the First Amendment provides a measure of protection for "commercial speech" such as advertising, with some exceptions for false or deceptive claims. Martin Hahn, general counsel for SNAC International, the lobbying group for the snack industry, said forcing companies to promote the government's view on the nutritional value of products unduly burdens business.

Hahn said "just looking at a single nutrient and saying 'Danger! Danger! Danger!'" is "controversial" and "disparaging" because it's not a holistic look at a person's diet.

Hahn has previously lobbied on behalf of the Consumer Brands Association, which was formerly known as the Grocery Manufacturers Association. He is a part of a group of Hogan Lovells lawyers — one of whom had worked as an in-house counsel for Hershey Company, Kraft Foods and PepsiCo — who questioned the FDA's authority to mandate food labels in an April legal analysis for the Washington Legal Foundation, a free enterprise think tank that received a \$20,000 donation from the Consumer Brands Association in 2017.

In the most recent government funding bill, Congress demanded the FDA submit an explanation of its legal authority to require labels on the front of food packages. Federal officials responded by pointing to previous laws — primarily the 1990 Nutrition Labeling and Education Act — which the agency says gives it the power to ensure nutritional information is displayed in a way the public can "readily observe and comprehend."

The recent Supreme Court decision curtailing the power of federal agencies when a law is ambiguous or Congress does not specify its intentions could bolster industry challenges to government regulations, legal experts say.

Industry groups are also warning consumers that new labeling requirements could drive up prices at the grocery store, an undesirable message for the Biden-Harris administration before the election. (Researchers found that prices did not change in Chile following the mandate that unhealthy foods be prominently labeled.) Health advocates worry the Biden White House will postpone the proposed rule, which has already been delayed almost a year, though administration officials say the measure is a key part of a White House plan to promote nutrition.

The FDA has yet to send a draft of the proposed rule to the White House budget office for review, a required step before public release. White House spokeswoman Kelly Scully noted that front-of-pack labels are "one of the many key deliverables" of the administration's strategy on hunger, nutrition and health.

Even if Biden officials release a proposal as planned in October, it's unlikely former president Donald Trump would continue the effort if he wins the presidency. Under the Trump administration, the United States had pushed back against labels on the front of food packages amid its negotiations over the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Neena Prasad, a primary care physician and Food Policy Program lead at Bloomberg Philanthropies, said it is "extremely concerning" that the United States has not done more to address the nation's exploding rates of diet-related diseases.

"The evidence is so clear. And there are examples from around the world that show what the tools in our toolbox are and what is effective," Prasad said. "One can only conclude that the interests of the manufacturers of these products is a higher priority than public health."

# Va. Boar's Head plant tied to deadly listeria outbreak to close indefinitely

BY JOE HEIM,  
RACHEL ROUBEIN  
AND LAURA VOZZELLA

JARRATT, VA. — Boar's Head Provisions announced Friday that it would indefinitely close its southern Virginia plant at the epicenter of a listeria outbreak that killed nine people and hospitalized at least 57 in 18 states, a move that will cost hundreds of employees their jobs.

The facility in Jarratt, Va., which has been shuttered since late July, had been cited repeatedly by U.S. Agriculture Department inspectors for health and safety violations in recent years. Federal inspectors notified managers at the plant of one or more "non-compliances" on 57 separate days between Aug. 1, 2023, and July 27, 2024. Among the issues cited were "dirty" machinery, flies in pickle containers, "heavy meat buildup" on walls, blood in puddles on the floor, and multiple instances of leaking pipes, clogged drains and heavy dust buildup in certain areas.

"We understand the gravity of this situation and the profound impact it has had on affected families. Comprehensive measures are being implemented to

prevent such an incident from ever happening again," the company said in a statement posted to its website Friday.

The company said its investigation pointed to "a specific production process that only existed at the Jarratt facility," and that was used only to make liverwurst, as the culprit for contaminating the meat product. As a result, the company said, it will no longer produce liverwurst.

About 500 union workers have been affected by the decision, according to a spokesperson for the United Food and Commercial Workers, which represents the employees at the Jarratt plant.

The Boar's Head plant is the largest private employer in Greensville County. Workers at the Jarratt facility learned of the company's decision to close the plant at a morning meeting held at a nearby community center, said UFCW Local 400 spokesman Jonathan Williams.

"Obviously people aren't happy," he said. "It's devastating anytime you lose a job like this."

Williams praised the company for keeping employees on its payroll even while the plant has been shut down. "They really went out of their way to keep everyone

afloat during the process," he said.

Williams released a statement from the union Friday announcing an agreement with the company that would either give workers an opportunity to work at other Boar's Head facilities or provide them with generous severance packages.

The Jarratt plant is a sprawling concrete facility on a country road lined with pine trees. On Friday afternoon the company's sign out front was covered on one side with a purple-and-green cloth banner reading: "Support Boar's Head." Employees seemed to take that message to heart, waving off a reporter who approached seeking reactions to the closing.

"It's very sad," said Carlos Echevarria, an engineer who was on-site for the day as a contractor. "Big deal for the community — 500 people lost their jobs." Echevarria spoke to a reporter from his car, pulled over on the road at the edge of the Boar's Head property. A company worker in coveralls and an orange hard hat approached, scolding him for talking.

The Washington Post contacted more than a dozen additional current and former employees, as well as contractors, but they ei-

ther declined to comment or did not respond.

A USDA spokeswoman called the plant's closure a "business decision" and said the agency will continue its investigation. That includes a review to determine the factors that led to the outbreak, as well as what needs to be improved in the facility. The agency is also taking a "holistic look" at Boar's Head plants across the country.

The company on Friday released a July 31 Notice of Suspension from the USDA to the Jarratt facility that detailed "inadequate controls" to prevent the spread of *Listeria monocytogenes*, the bacteria that causes listeria infections.

The establishment did not have a written plan specifying staff use of personal protective equipment when moving between processing lines, the document states. Inspectors on-site witnessed employees interact with equipment used for different products without changing PPE.

Additionally, officials saw "clear liquid" fall from a patch in the ceiling. A fan mounted to the ceiling was "blowing the leaking clear liquid" near where uncovered hams were stored.

"This indicates your establishment's failure to maintain sanitary conditions," wrote a USDA official, whose name was not released.

Food safety experts have said the pattern of violations raises questions about why the Jarratt plant wasn't closed sooner and suggests a failed food safety system.

"We will not make excuses," the company said Friday.

In the fall of 2022, inspectors warned of "major deficiencies" that could pose an "imminent threat" to food safety, such as rusted equipment, condensation dripping on the floor and green mold on a wall. Despite the violations, the plant continued to operate. Virginia inspectors are in charge of inspecting the plant on behalf of the USDA, which has similar arrangements with more than half of the states.

Boar's Head issued a recall of more than 70 products produced between May 10 and July 29, such as ham, bologna and bacon. A line producing liverwurst was initially closed on July 25. Four days later, the USDA suspended inspection of the plant, resulting in the closure of the facility, the agency said.

A number of lawsuits have been filed against Boar's Head alleging that death or illness resulted from consuming contaminated deli meat produced by the company.

The family of a Newport News, Va., man, Gunter "Garshon" Morgenstein, 88, sued saying he died July 18 from an illness after eating Boar's Head liverwurst. A Minnesota woman, Ashley Solberg, is also suing the company, alleging she became ill when she was 35 weeks pregnant after eating the brand's deli meat in May. And Virginia resident Barbara Schmidt said she was sickened soon after consuming Boar's Head liverwurst in mid-July, resulting in a lengthy hospital stay including six days in an ICU.

Listeria is the third-leading cause of death from foodborne illness, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Older adults, pregnant people and those who are immunocompromised are at high risk for the illness, which is caused by eating food contaminated with the bacteria. It can take up to 10 weeks to develop symptoms such as fever and muscle aches.

Vozzella reported from Jarratt.

# Apple seeks to drop its lawsuit against Israeli spyware pioneer

The company says its disclosures could aid NSO Group and its rivals

BY JOSEPH MENN

SAN FRANCISCO — Apple asked a court Friday to dismiss its three-year-old hacking lawsuit against spyware pioneer NSO Group, arguing that it might never be able to get the most critical files about NSO's Pegasus surveillance tool and that its own disclosures could aid NSO and its increasing number of rivals.

A redacted version of the filing in San Francisco federal court cited a July article in the Guardian, which reported that Israeli officials had taken files from NSO's headquarters. The newspaper said the officials asked an Israeli court to keep the action secret even from those involved in an earlier, still pending hacking suit against NSO filed by Meta's WhatsApp. Israeli ministry of justice communications that were hacked showed that officials were concerned about sensitive information reaching Americans, the newspaper said.

"While Apple takes no position on the truth or falsity of the Guardian Story described above, its existence presents cause for concern about the potential for Apple to obtain the discovery it

needs," the iPhone maker wrote in its filing Friday. Israeli officials have not disputed the authenticity of the documents but have denied interfering in the U.S. litigation.

NSO lost its own bid to dismiss the case in January. The company raised a raft of defenses, blaming Apple for shipping vulnerable software and allowing criminals and terrorists to communicate in secret.

While NSO will probably welcome the suit being dropped, Apple and some of its allies said it came about in part because of NSO's decline.

When the case began, Pegasus was notorious for being used by authoritarian regimes against dissidents, human rights advocates and journalists. The spyware could be implanted into Android phones or iPhones, sometimes without any user interaction, and record everything that happened on the devices without detection. NSO was seen as the leading vendor selling to governments.

The U.S. government has since barred NSO from doing business with Americans, and Pegasus was used against phones of U.S. diplomats overseas. Employees have left the company and started their own or joined others, sometimes taking infiltration strategies with them. The Washington Post reported this month that the U.S.-led crackdown on spyware makers has faltered in part be-



When the case began, NSO Group was considered the leading spyware vendor selling to governments.

cause the number of vendors has multiplied.

"NSO Group is on the ropes, no longer the only firm in town, and nowhere near as formidable as they once were," said Ronald Deibert, director of the Citizen Lab at the University of Toronto and a leading critic of the spyware industry.

While NSO is among the spyware companies who say they will

not sell to enemies of Israel and the United States, Google recently found that Russia had used some of its hacking tools. Experts said it was most likely that Russia had stolen them from an authorized customer.

Apple alluded to such a scenario in its filing as well. It wrote that if it provides its own documents to NSO's lawyers about how it detected the hacks, those

lawyers might get hacked, too. "Because Apple currently uses its threat intelligence information to protect every one of its users in the world, any disclosure, even under the most stringent controls, puts this information at risk," the company wrote.

Another change in the last three years is the strength of Apple's threat detection, making disclosure of details more valu-

able to would-be hackers. Apple has built up its capability in secret, and it has repeatedly exposed new hacking infrastructure as hacking companies adjust.

That has allowed Apple to warn more customers when it detects an effort to install spyware on their devices. Many who have received such warnings have gone to the media, which can assess why they might have been targeted, and to digital rights groups including Citizen Lab, Amnesty International and Access Now, which can analyze the phones and learn more about the methods being used. The combined scrutiny has led to major scandals in multiple countries.

"We think Apple's notifications to users and its continued tracking of NSO and other spyware vendors has been absolutely critical in impacting global accountability and has helped spotlight NSO Group's contributions to widespread human rights abuses," Deibert said. "It has also been enormously beneficial in terms of helping to triage and spur on the investigations" by the nonprofits.

Apple has beefed up security for its users in other ways too. It added an optional "Lockdown Mode" for users, which limits some phone functions but also the ways in which it could be attacked. In December, Apple said it knew of no successful commercial spyware attacks against an iPhone in Lockdown Mode.

## ANALYSIS

# It's Caturday as left and right alike fire off pet-eating memes on social media

But it's no laughing matter in the Ohio town rattled by bomb threats

BY WILL OREMUS

It started as a xenophobic local rumor, became a right-wing talking point on Elon Musk's X, and burst onto prime-time television when Donald Trump uttered it live onstage in Tuesday's presidential debate.

Now conservatives and liberals alike are playing pet-eating for laughs as an online meme.

The claim that Haitians are eating people's pets in Springfield, Ohio — an echo of a racist trope that has been lobbed at other ethnic groups in eras past — has yet to be substantiated by a single confirmed example. But on TikTok and across the internet, it has morphed from a nasty bit of gossip into fodder for irony-drenched humor that is striking chords across the political spectrum, even as it spills scarily into real-world consequences for some.

On Friday, schools and municipal buildings in Springfield closed for the second straight day due to bomb threats, a day after they were shuttered following one such threat that included hateful language toward migrants, according to the city's mayor. Even before that, Haitian families in the city of about 60,000 told the Haitian Times they were feeling unsafe and unwelcome, with some afraid to

send their children to school.

So far, that hasn't stopped politicians and ordinary social media users around the country from remixing and riffing on Trump's comments — some approvingly, others mockingly — with both right and left seeming to think the joke is on their opponents.

Before and after the debate, Trump amplified several fake, evidently AI-generated images of himself with cats, while running mate JD Vance on Tuesday called on "fellow patriots" to "keep the cat memes flowing" — even as Vance admitted it was possible that "all of these rumors will turn out to be false."

Conservatives have gleefully obliged, with U.S. Rep. Nancy Mace (R-S.C.) and the official account of the House Judiciary Committee's Republican leadership among the many who shared manipulated images of Trump with cats. On Friday, Musk reposted a meme from Trump's Truth Social account that showed a cat holding a campaign sign that read, "Kamala hates me."

On the left, however, there's a sense that the bit is backfiring. While the Harris campaign has not posted any cat memes, she responded to Trump's remarks onstage with incredulous laughter, saying, "Talk about extreme." Her running mate, Tim Walz, took his own jab at the claim at a rally in Michigan on Thursday, prompting the crowd to chant, "We don't eat cats."

Now, some of their supporters online are making pet-eating memes of their own.

On TikTok, audio clips of



X owner Elon Musk shared an AI-generated pet image that former president Donald Trump had previously shared on social media.

Trump saying, "In Springfield, they're eating the dogs" and "they're eating the cats" have become the soundtrack to numerous tongue-in-cheek videos that toy with the notion of America's house pets being under attack.

One opens with the caption, "Well ... now that he has exposed the secret of us undocumented immigrants ..." The video shows a

family seated around a dinner table with live house cats on their plates, pretending to shake salt and pepper onto the pets as they prepare to dig in.

In others, pet owners set the audio of Trump's remarks to video clips of their dogs and cats making alarmed facial expressions or bolting from the room. Some of the videos have millions of views.

"It's not surprising at all that people are meme-ifying it," said Whitney Phillips, a media studies scholar at the University of Oregon. While the underlying claims have serious implications, she added, taking Trump's words out of their original context allows people to highlight their absurdity in humorous ways.

That some on the left are embracing the meme rather than

shunning it may be emblematic of the party's tonal shift in dealing with Trump, from righteous indignation to mockery.

Renee DiResta, an author and researcher who studies online manipulation, said Trump gave Democrats "a gift" in the debate by turning what had been an ambiguously ironic right-wing meme into a "serious statement of grievance."

But it's noteworthy that what some on the left see as an obvious gaffe, Vance and others on the right still seem to consider part of a winning message. In an era when social media algorithms refract political information through the lens of each user's partisan leanings, viral campaign moments can become digital Rohrschach tests.

"It's clear the cat thing was a dud with most Americans, yet some people still share it," said Emerson T. Brooking, resident senior fellow at the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensics Lab. "Maybe they spread it because sharing dumb memes is the closest thing many Americans still have to political participation in this country."

While Phillips said she doesn't begrudge people "having fun online," she warned that liberals who think they're cutting Trump down to size risk giving oxygen to a trope that ultimately plays into his hands — and endangers the Haitians who were its original targets.

"When you're making a joke using the frame" of immigrants as cultural invaders, she said, even if you're pushing back on it, "the frame is still amplified."

# FREE FOR ALL

## Money, money, money

Instead of “Cancel Student Debt,” the signs held up by protesters in the photo accompanying Perry Bacon Jr.’s Sept. 3 op-ed, “Republican judges have blocked Biden. If Harris wins, she’ll need a plan,” should say, “I Know I Promised to Pay My Loan Back, but I Don’t Want To” or “Give Me Thousands of Dollars of Other People’s Money.”

P.S. I intended to post this as a comment online, where Bacon’s op-ed was published on Aug. 29, but comments were closed even though his op-ed appeared on Sept. 3. In the print edition, that is. You didn’t know that The Post had a print edition, did you?

**Keith E. Smith, Silver Spring**

## Knowing me, knowing you

In his Aug. 29 op-ed, “Is Virginia turning librarians into spies?,” Marc Fisher gave examples of “when anonymity is okay” and when it is not. Is anonymous online commenting okay?

It would be interesting to hear more about how The Post as an institution thinks about the role of anonymity in public life and discourse, considering The Post allows pseudonyms, which almost every commenter seems to opt for in their posts.

When I bring this up in the comments, I get ferocious pushback. It appears commenters are conflicted because they cherish both anonymity and the openness Norman Rockwell celebrated in his painting “Freedom of Speech.”

**Steven T. Corneliusen, Poquoson, Va.**

## Don’t shut me down

As a 77-year-old who won’t retire, I feared the worst upon seeing the headline “A big problem for young workers: 70- and 80-year-olds who won’t retire.” I was relieved to see that, rather than joining the chorus of voices castigating old people for not bowing out gracefully, this Aug. 26 op-ed by Aden Barton said, “No one wants to force older workers out of jobs.” That isn’t true, but it should be. Expecting old employees to bow out to make way for young ones is as bigoted as expecting married female employees to bow out to make way for male ones.

**Felicia Nimue Ackerman, Providence, R.I.**

## I have a dream

I have a solution for The Post’s woes: Enlist retired baby boomers as volunteer editors for a day! We have decades of experience as print readers. My first improvement would be to relocate Edith Pritchett’s clever New Yorker-style comic from the Opinions pages to the Style section, where it belongs. Then I would bundle a combination of conservative and liberal editorial cartoons in the space now allotted to Pritchett, as you used to do. This would have the associated benefit of sparing The Post from having to place conservative cartoons on the editorial page during the week, a practice that leads print readers to wonder how far The Post is slipping into darkness.

**Stuart Ragland, Columbia**



MAYA SCARPA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**One of urban designer Kristina Hill’s ideas for adapting to rising waters.**

## Waterloo

I’ve come to expect more from The Post than conveying articles in comic book form. The illustrations add nothing, unless you’re trying to appeal to a low-attention-span audience. The waterborne hot dog stands, pools and luxury housing floated in Beatrix Lockwood’s Sept. 3 Tuesday Opinion piece, “The rising waters, the floating hot dog stand,” were rendered even more ridiculous when seen in illustrated form.

Enough precious space has already been sacrificed to large photo spreads. Please spare us; two pages a day of comics is enough.

**Eric Greene, Annapolis**

## The name of the game

To anoint Babe Ruth’s “called” home run in the 1932 World Series as “the most dramatic moment” in Series history is to be unmoored from baseball history.

The untenable claim, as quoted in the Aug. 26 Sports article “Ruth’s ‘called shot’ jersey sets record,” comes from Michael Gibbons, director emeritus and historian at the Babe Ruth Birthplace and Museum in Baltimore. Regardless of the jersey’s extraordinary sale price at a recent auction — \$24.12 million — Gibbons’s hyperbole ignores any number of iconic moments. Some well-known examples:

1956: Don Larsen’s perfect game. Still the only perfect game in Series history.

1954: Willie Mays’s back-to-the-plate, over-the-shoulder catch from deep center field.

1960: Bill Mazerowski’s walk-off, game-winning home run in the ninth inning of the seventh game.

All are just as worthy of “most dramatic” status.

**Steve Horwitz, Odenton**

## The winner takes it all

Regarding the Sept. 3 Retropolis article “Presidential election: A century of celebrity cause célèbre” [Metro]:

How could Jesse Rifkin write of Babe Ruth’s presidential election endorsements and leave out Ruth’s response to sportswriters telling him his yearly salary was higher than President Herbert Hoover’s?

Ruth famously replied, “I had a better year than he did!”

**Robert Shvodian, Bethesda**



ROBERT MILLER/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Tonight I’m loose and fancy-free, ah-ah: Emma Sack and Amit Oski in Old Town Alexandria on July 2.**

## Summer night city

Robert Miller and Joe Heim’s Sept. 8 Metro article, “Summer of love,” documenting moments of affection and connection in the D.C. area, was such a positive and touching photo essay. Could you make this a regular feature? This is a

prime example of why I love The Post. I live in California and subscribe to my city’s daily newspaper, but I never want to miss pieces like this.

**Elizabeth Koehler-Pentacoff, Pleasant Hill, Calif.**

Shame on The Post for publishing “Summer of love.”

In what D.C., and in what year, do Robert Miller and Joe Heim live?

There was not a single photograph of an LGBTQ+ show of affection.

**Craig Gibson, Palm Springs, Calif.**

## Mamma mia

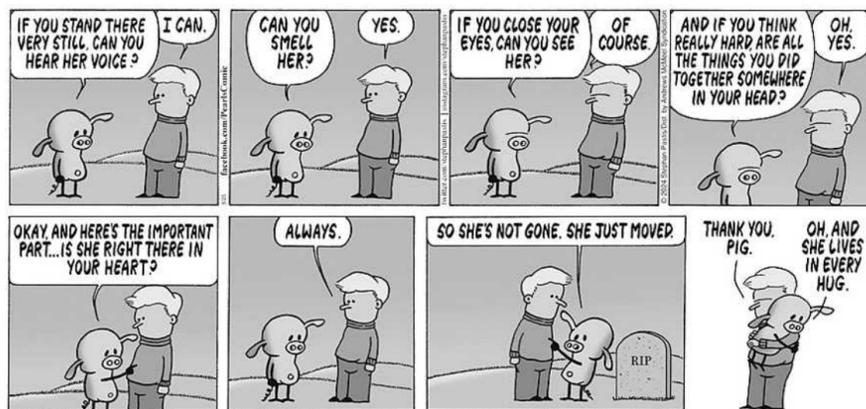
In my decades of reading The Post, I have never read such a lame editorial as “America has two presidential candidates. Let’s compare them.” on Sept. 2.

I’ll not get into every conclusion the Editorial Board drew, but I will say that the claim that “the distinctions between them on policy substance, however, are somewhat fuzziier” is the most out-of-touch conclusion about the two candidates. Vice President Kamala Harris is very clear about her policy stances, as is Donald Trump. And they are opposite each other.

Is The Post sliding back to 2016, when newspapers felt they had to say nice things about both candidates while ignoring Trump’s indecipherable, offensive speeches and plutocratic proposals? This cycle, his rhetoric and promised policies are even worse, being anti-constitutional, more racist and more threatening to the health of women of all ages.

I can’t fathom how you downplayed Trump’s threats while panning Harris’s positive, clear proposals. “The novelty of Ms. Harris’s campaign is wearing thin as an excuse for releasing only the schematics of a platform?” What is happening at The Post?

**Rosemary Luckett, Wilmington, Del.**



STEPHAN PASTIS/ANDREWS MCMEELE SYNDICATION FOR UFS

## Lay all your love on me

What a wonderful surprise to find in the Aug. 25 “Pearls Before Swine” such a tender response to the death of a loved one. It so happened that I had lost a beloved niece the day before, and it helped me

accept her loss. And it made me wonder what was going on in cartoonist Stephan Pastis’s life. Thank you, Pig.

**Page B. Hawk, Washington**

## Does your mother know

As the executive director of a nonprofit organization that has provided parenting support programs for more than 40 years, I was disappointed that The Post did not report on Surgeon General Vivek H. Murthy’s recent Advisory on the Mental Health and Well-Being of Parents.

As a parent himself, Murthy shares a sentiment felt by many parents, which is to feel “blessed to have the privilege of caring” for his two children but also

“constantly wondering if I’m getting it right.” When I felt this way raising tween boys, I was fortunate to find a parenting class. This wasn’t a “normal” thing to do. In fact, an older family member told me that I was “overthinking” it and that she hadn’t needed a parenting class. (I decided not to share my thoughts with her on that comment.) The class turned out to be enormously helpful, so I took more. I credit the program for helping me navigate my boys’ teen years and for my close relationship with both as young adults.

I believe in positive parenting programs so much that I changed careers to lead an organization, the

Parent Encouragement Program. From my new vantage point, I see some parents today who are reluctant to take a parenting class for fear of being judged as a “bad” parent. But parenting programs are for all parents. Much like how childbirth classes bring together expectant parents to prepare for the birthing process, parenting programs bring caregivers together and give them tools to help their children. Normalizing positive parenting programs is one way to answer the surgeon general’s call to support stressed-out parents so more families thrive.

**Kathy Hedge, Garrett Park**



KENT NISHIMURA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**The deep state: Chris Mark in the Phillips-Sprague Mine, near Beckley, W.Va., on July 27.**

## Super trouper

“The canary,” Michael Lewis’s Sept. 5 Opinion essay on a federal employee’s lifesaving work preventing roof collapses in coal mines, was the best article I have read in years.

What a pleasure to see a life so well spent. I loved my work, and clearly Chris Mark, a former miner, loves his.

Now find me someone working on climate change with the same passion. I know they are out there.

**Chuck de Young, Fort Mill, S.C.**

At one time, I held a federal position and was thoroughly impressed by the work (and commitment) of individuals at other agencies as well as my own.

The Post should create a regular feature profiling people on the Partnership for Public Service’s nominee list as well as the winners. Americans have no idea what government workers do in service to the public, how dedicated they are to solving seemingly intractable problems, and how creative they can be in the effort to improve the human condition — not just for Americans, but often with impact the world over.

**Alyce Myatt, Catskill, N.Y.**

I particularly enjoyed “The canary.” It’s a strange breed that works out of sight, without recognition, and couldn’t care less.

**Shannon Smith, Kahului, Hawaii**

## Take a chance on me

Regarding the Sept. 8 editorial, “These are the asteroids that scare scientists. Are we prepared for them?”:

Please be careful when writing about probability. This line was just awful: “The asteroid that wiped out the dinosaurs some 66 million years ago was a once-in-a-250,000-centuries event; Earth is nowhere near due for another.” That’s not how probability works. You don’t get a “bye” just because something already happened. This view leads to mistaken assumptions like “I live in a 100-year flood plain and had two feet of water in my house last year. I’m free and clear for 99 years.” And then folks are surprised when they are flooded two years down the line.

**Frank Fuller, Austin**



OLLE LINDBERG/TT NEWS AGENCY/REUTERS

**Abba-cadabra: ABBA**

## Sos

Regarding the Aug. 31 Style article “Abba and other artists want their songs off Trump’s rally playlist”:

I object to The Post’s rendering of ABBA. You refer to them as Abba, which is never the way the group’s name is written. “ABBA” is an acronym of the band members’ first names, Agnetha, Benny, Björn and Anni-Frid. Would The Post ever refer to NATO as Nato?

**Matt Schmidt, Wellington, New Zealand**

OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Myanmar is about to explode. Is the world ready?

IN 2017, Myanmar government forces razed 392 ethnic Rohingya villages and killed more than 30,000 people, including children. Thousands were raped. Many around the world raised their voices against the slaughter, and the Biden administration labeled it a genocide, albeit not until 2022.

And yet nothing about Myanmar, which remains mired in military rule and civil war, has fundamentally changed. Indeed, today, the Rohingya are again suffering violent ethnic cleansing, and their situation might even be more perilous than it was seven years ago. A historically persecuted Muslim minority in a majority Buddhist country, the Rohingya find themselves under attack not only from forces of the military junta that seized power in 2021 but also from the rebel Arakan army, part of a loose alliance of armed ethnic groups waging an increasingly effective insurgency against the junta.

The Myanmar military has also launched air attacks against Rohingya homes, schools, marketplaces and other infrastructure. To make up for combat losses, it has forcibly conscripted Rohingya men. Meanwhile, the Arakan army has attacked Rohingya civilians in and around Maungdaw Township in southwestern Myanmar. Survivors of an Aug. 5 assault on that Rohingya population center said Arakan soldiers shot civilians trying to

flee. Drones and mortar fire struck thousands of Rohingya who were trying to cross the Naf River into Bangladesh, killing about 180 people. Many others have drowned in the river, their bodies washing up on the Bangladeshi side.

Since the Arakan army and two other ethnic groups calling themselves the Three Brotherhood Alliance launched an offensive late last year, the rebels have made sweeping gains, including seizing military outposts and towns in border areas near China, Thailand, Laos and India. But the military remains entrenched in the capital, Naypyidaw, and the largest cities, including Yangon, so the civil war has settled into a bloody stalemate to which global public opinion has grown indifferent as crises elsewhere — especially Gaza and Ukraine — absorb diplomatic attention and humanitarian resources.

The 2017 campaign against the Rohingya came when the country was still ostensibly run by a civilian government under Aung San Suu Kyi, a former pro-democracy campaigner who was prime minister in an uneasy power-sharing arrangement with the armed forces. Despite withering international criticism — including from her fellow Nobel Peace Prize laureates — she never spoke out against the military's ethnic cleansing or in favor of citizenship rights for the Rohingya. The United States had invested heavily in Myanmar's transition from military dictatorship to democracy and was

loath to push her too forcefully. Finally, the armed forces commander, Gen. Min Aung Hlaing, toppled Aung San Suu Kyi in February 2021, and he clings to power despite pressure from the rebels and rumors of internal military dissension.

The Rohingya are again suffering violent ethnic cleansing and, if anything, their situation is more perilous than it was seven years ago.

The question is whether the United States and the world will respond any more effectively than they did in 2017, when 750,000 Rohingya were forced to flee into Bangladesh, creating what is still the world's largest refugee camp at Cox's Bazar. So far, despite the clear warnings from U.N. agencies and aid groups, the response has been mostly silence and inaction.

Allegations of genocide are being investigated separately by the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court. But the generals running Myanmar have rejected the charges and

still enjoy diplomatic support from China and several of the Southeast Asian countries closely aligned with Beijing, including Cambodia and Laos.

The Biden administration could do more. First, there need to be additional resources and support for the interim government in Bangladesh, which is hosting nearly 1 million Rohingya refugees despite its own internal political problems and struggles with natural disasters. In Myanmar, all sides in the civil war need to feel pressure from their neighbors and patrons, particularly China, to open humanitarian aid corridors. The United States should bolster the ICC by providing satellite imagery that could support charges against both Min Aung Hlaing and the Arakan commanders responsible for the ongoing campaign of violence.

Sanctions need to be further tightened against the ruling junta. Amnesty International recently reported that jet fuel, which keeps the junta's air force flying — and bombing — continues to flow to the regime via Vietnam and China, often on Chinese-registered tankers and using middlemen based in Singapore. More pressure on all countries in the region could help plug the sanctions loopholes. No doubt there's a limit to how much the United States and others can do to stop Myanmar's crimes against humanity; so far, though, they aren't even close to doing everything they could.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Laws and rules make Americans miserable. Who is to blame?

Regarding George F. Will's Sept. 1 op-ed, "Have you committed a felony yet?":

In pinning the blame for the exponential growth of statutes and regulations on "progressivism," Mr. Will referenced a new book by Supreme Court Justice Neil M. Gorsuch for seemingly shocking statistics such as Congress having enacted about 2 million to 3 million words of law each year in the past decade. Mr. Will's employment of such a hair-raising figure once again proves that, in increasingly sinister order, there are lies, damnable lies and statistics.

The period since 2013 includes part of the second Obama administration as well as the Trump and Biden administrations. Democrats held both houses of Congress and the presidency from 2021 to 2023. Republicans controlled both houses from 2015 to 2019 and occupied the presidency for two of those years. During the other years of this period, control of Congress was split. In much of the decade Mr. Will referred to, Republicans could have blocked prolix legislation with a filibuster or a veto. Yet, Mr. Will put all the blame on progressives, which, I assume, means the Democratic Party at large.

But another dive into actual facts shows that, during the first two years of the Trump administration with Republican control of both houses, 443 pieces of legislation were enacted, as opposed to the 365 laws enacted during Joe Biden's first two years with Democrats controlling both houses. So, regardless of which party controls the White House or Congress, millions of words keep tumbling into the federal statutes.

James F. McKeown, Falls Church

George F. Will's recent op-ed praising Justice Neil M. Gorsuch's new book, "Over Ruled: The Human Toll of Too Much Law," epitomized what is both admirable and frustrating about Mr. Will's commentary.

On the one hand, he is an idealist whose conservatism inclines him to advocate honesty, simplicity, hard work and decency. Over the many years that I have read his columns in The Post, I have appreciated his forthright condemnation of hypocrisy, racism, antisemitism and, yes, Donald Trump and Trumpism.

But on the other hand, his passion for "old-school" values and customs often leads him to, in my view, exaggerate his criticisms of the left and underrate the flaws of the right. His analysis of Justice Gorsuch's book reflected this habit of mind.

Yes, liberals are too fond of regulation, prohibition and over-legislating. But Mr. Will's pining for the simpler days of the republic when our laws could be contained in a slim volume ignored the many abuses that engendered these "unnecessary" statutes: cruelty to women, children and minorities; corrupt monopolistic business practices; reckless poisoning of our air and water; and restrictions on some citizens' sacred right to vote. Justice Gorsuch and his "conservative" colleagues on the Supreme Court have sanctioned transparently partisan gerrymandering, expansive power and official immunity for the president, and the blatant undermining of democratic processes by unrestrained corporate lobbying and money.

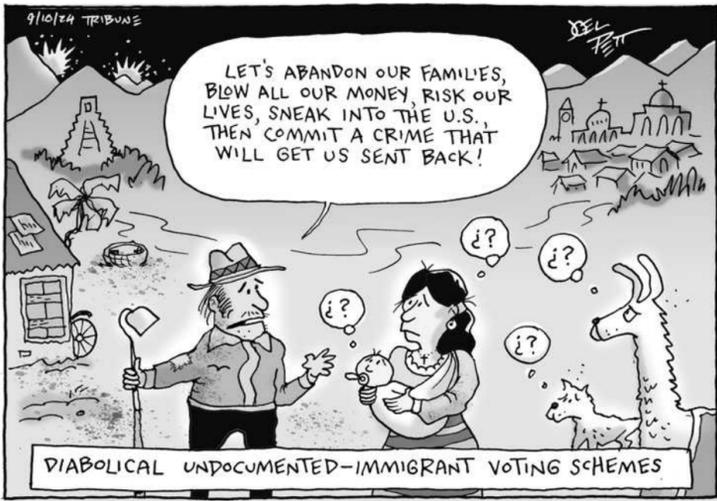
Like Mr. Will, I am a passionate baseball fan. I am sure he would object strongly and articulately to any attempt by even his favorite team to call the balls and strikes in place of an independent, neutral umpire. He would do well to apply that same standard to our government. The stakes are immeasurably greater.

Drew Permut, Bethesda

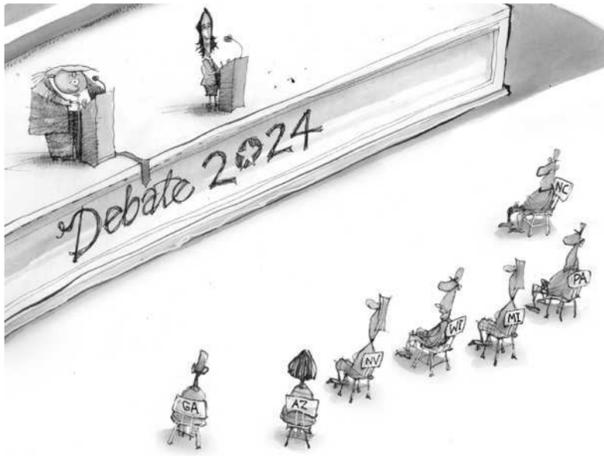
Business busybodies

In a recent op-ed, George F. Will endorsed Supreme Court Justice Neil M. Gorsuch's theory that the United States has over-regulated its citizens, citing, for example, such matters as whether

DRAWING BOARD



JOEL PETT/TRIBUNE CONTENT AGENCY



MATT DAVIES/NEWSDAY

magicians should have licenses. Yet Mr. Will failed to ask why Justice Gorsuch focuses on such things when Justice Gorsuch and his colleagues have endorsed the idea that there is no such thing as a constitutional right of privacy. They support the idea that state governments are free to force a woman to have a child if she becomes pregnant, and thus becomes legally liable for the care of that child for the next 18 years. What hypocrisy! This is a far, far greater intrusion into a person's life than any example Mr. Will cared to mention.

Mr. Will also neglected to admit that if the government does not impose regulations, then businesses will be free to impose their own by, for example, requiring customers to resolve claims in arbitration and forgo their legal rights to go to court instead. Mr. Will, like other conservatives, prefers to ignore the fact that business is as much a danger to a citizen's rights as is the government. They focus on the worms in the apple and ignore the elephant in the room.

Peter Drymalski, Silver Spring

I'm not a fan of Supreme Court Justice Neil M. Gorsuch, but I agree with his observation that "too much law" can create a "Kafkaesque maze" for ordinary people. Such rulemaking isn't confined to government, either. Homeowners associations are notorious for generating absurd and oppressive

rules and regulations. For example, Article IX, Section 14 of the bylaws that govern the HOA of where I live declares, "No baby carriages, velocipedes, bicycles, or other articles of personal property shall be deposited, allowed or permitted to remain on any lot except in the enclosed rear area. The Association may impound all such articles and make a reasonable charge for their return."

Apparently, the HOA wants all children to be glued to cellphones and not playing with toys or riding bicycles. Confiscate that skateboard! Boot that baby carriage!

Steven Sellers Lapham, Gaithersburg

The facts of the Aaron Swartz case

As someone who has closely followed both the Supreme Court's conservative majority's flight away from facts and the government's determined effort to convict Aaron Swartz, I was delighted to learn Justice Neil M. Gorsuch and co-author Janie Nitze had addressed the Swartz case in their recent book. I was disappointed by Ruth Marcus's treatment of the events that led to Swartz's arrest in her Aug. 23 Friday Opinion column, "Justice Gorsuch's book of fish tales."

At the time of the incident, Massachusetts Institute of Technology's campus and its computer network were open to anyone and JSTOR was

configured to allow anyone on the MIT network to have unlimited access. Although the quantity of documents Swartz was able to download was certainly an unintended consequence of these decisions, and JSTOR flagged the volume of his downloads as a violation of MIT's terms of service with the company and a problem for the service's technical stability, an extensive MIT report on the incident challenged the premise that anything he did was criminal. As for Swartz's attempts to hide his identity, he had already experienced FBI harassment when he — again, acting legally — downloaded and made available large quantities of public domain documents from the federal courts' PACER system. As with MIT, Swartz's access was the unintended consequences of access decisions made by large institutions. Being furtive is not a crime, either, even if it is "the kind of behavior that understandably gets prosecutors' attention."

Justice Gorsuch's view that the Swartz prosecution was the result of government overreach is one that is widely shared by those, like me, who agree with very little else that Justice Gorsuch has to say.

Saul Tannenbaum, Boston

America's stake in Mexico's courts

Contrary to the assertions of incoming Mexican administration officials in The Post's Sept. 6 letters, "The U.S. doesn't have standing to criticize Mexico's judicial reforms," I am a citizen of Mexico and I believe that the United States, Canada and The Post have a right to opine on a plan to upend Mexico's judicial system.

The cozy relationship between some U.S. judges and political movements may be weakening trust and democracy in the United States. But the purpose of the Morena party's so-called judicial reform is to swindle the Mexican citizenry into participating in a smoke-and-mirrors con by telling them they have the power to vote-out corruption, thereby strengthening the judiciary. But what these officials didn't say in their letter is that Morena, not the people, will select the supposed "incorruptible" candidates from an unqualified pool of individuals (thereby opening up the electoral process to interference by organized crime).

The standards for candidacy are low: the minimum age of 35 would be eliminated and the acceptable passing grade for a jurisprudence degree would be a "B" (an 80 percent in U.S. terms) with as little as five-years work experience.

This letter also didn't tell readers that the ballot will be 25 pages long and include approximately 4,000 names of which 600 must be selected and handwritten to cast the vote. Would you, American reader, want an underqualified individual, swayed by money or coercion — the reform also includes eliminating the judges' pension plan and reducing their salaries, making them vulnerable to bribery — to decide whether Big Pharma violated your rights when it sold you a defective hip replacement? What if your case involved eminent domain and the judge presiding was the 20-something recent graduate and child of a suspected drug dealer and human trafficker? It sounds like the stuff of fiction. It's not.

Yes, other countries and journalists have a right to weigh in when more than 20 million Mexican jobs in the formal economy are at stake and an autocratic regime is planning major changes right on their doorsteps. Opine away!

Mayra Gutierrez, Houston

Guest opinion submissions

The Washington Post accepts opinion articles on any topic. Submit a guest opinion at [oped@washpost.com](mailto:oped@washpost.com) or read our guide to writing an opinion article at [wapo.st/guestopinion](http://wapo.st/guestopinion).

Letter submissions

Letters can be sent to [letters@washpost.com](mailto:letters@washpost.com). Submissions must be exclusive to The Post and should include the writer's address and day and evening telephone numbers. We are unable to acknowledge submissions; writers whose letters are under consideration for publication will be contacted.

NEWS

EDITORIAL AND OPINION

OFFICERS

## OPINION

EDITH PRITCHETT



COLBERT I. KING

## Trump through the looking glass

Asked about the Jan. 6 insurrection during Tuesday's presidential debate, Republican nominee Donald Trump said, "I had nothing to do with that other than they asked me to make a speech." This statement was contemptuous of reality.

The mob that assaulted approximately 140 police officers and damaged, destroyed and stole government property was summoned to Washington by Trump. It was Trump who sicced the rioters on the U.S. Capitol to disrupt the process of affirming the results of the 2020 presidential election. He told them that the election was being stolen. "If you don't fight like hell, you're not going to have a country anymore," Trump said.

Imagine the person most responsible for provoking the worst assault on the seat of the federal government since the War of 1812 looking the public in the eye and saying, "I had nothing to do with that." Well, it wasn't your imagination. It was one of many lies told by Trump on Tuesday night.

We can't quickly turn from that lie without reviewing the consequences of the damage Trump inspired.

Trump told the audience in Philadelphia about the pro-Trump rioter, Ashli Babbitt, who was killed while trying to break into the House chamber that day. She was "shot by an out-of-control police officer that should have never, ever shot her," Trump said. "Nobody on the other side was killed."

What Trump meant by "out of control" and "the other side" was not immediately clear. But the truth is three police officers died in the aftermath of the attack on the Capitol: one while battling the insurrectionists, two by suicide in the days to follow. Three other people died as a result of medical emergencies suffered during the riot. Two more police officers died by suicide that July.

Trump has said he would pardon Jan. 6 rioters, whom he considers "patriots," if he wins the election. "They were convicted by a very tough system," he said in July.

"A very tough system"? Consider the possibility that it is not tough enough.

In the 44 months since Jan. 6, 2021, according to the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia:

- More than 1,500 defendants have been federally charged with crimes associated with the attack.
- Approximately 915 have pleaded guilty, including about 300 to felonies.

The guilty pleas covered a lot of ground: Assaulting law enforcement. Obstructing law enforcement dur-

ing a riot. Assaulting law enforcement with a dangerous weapon. Seditious conspiracy — that is, conspiring to use force against the United States.

And the weapons used and carried on Capitol grounds by Trump's "patriots" included: firearms, pepper spray, Tasers, a sword, axes, hatchets, knives and makeshift items such as destroyed office furniture, fencing, bike racks, stolen riot shields, baseball bats, hockey sticks, flagpoles and knuckle gloves.

In all, about 965 defendants have had their cases fully adjudicated and have been sentenced for their crimes, including 605 sentenced to prison and 141 sentenced to home detention.

But in one way, the Justice Department has had to scale back its work to impose accountability for this attack on American democracy.

The U.S. attorney's office has taken notice of the June decision in *Fischer v. United States*, in which the Supreme Court ruled 6-3 that the charge of obstructing an official proceeding can be applied only when the defendant "impaired the availability or integrity" of a physical document. Prosecutors reported this week that the decision has prompted a review of cases involving 259 defendants charged with or convicted of obstructing an official proceeding.

The prosecutors note that there are no cases in which a defendant was solely charged with violating the obstruction of an official proceeding statute. They note that every charged defendant faced, or continues to face, exposure to other criminal charges. However, of the 133 defendants whose cases had been adjudicated by the time *Fischer* was decided, the U.S. attorney's office did not oppose dismissal of 40 of the invalidated obstruction charges, in response to defense motions. In only one case to date has a defendant received a sentence reduction because of *Fischer*.

The overwhelming majority of defendants, however, have been found guilty of crimes committed on Jan. 6. And they were not patriots. They were rioters bent on preventing the constitutionally sanctioned peaceful transfer of power. Pardons for them? It's Trump who should beg the nation's pardon for even entertaining such a subversive and treacherous thought.

But what should we expect from someone who, through lies and violence, tried to steal the 2020 election — and who clearly will use power corruptly if once again given the chance.

Work and pray that it ends on Election Day. Vote. Vote. Vote.

## I'm the Palestinian prime minister and here's my plan for Gaza

BY MOHAMMAD MUSTAFA

Five weeks ago marked 300 days of the war on Gaza. Such levels of mass killing, destruction, forced displacement and starvation of our people are unprecedented in recent history.

In Gaza, fear and despair dominate as bombs relentlessly fall. Families huddle together in makeshift shelters, their homes reduced to rubble. Schools and hospitals, once havens, have become targets. Children's cries of terror pierce the night as parents struggle to protect them. The stench of death hangs in the air, with hurried burials offering little dignity. Starvation and privation intensify, with food, clean water and medical supplies scarce and dwindling. War crimes and massacres weigh heavily on a people who have suffered far too long.

Yet amid this devastation, there is resilience, a refusal to surrender to despair. This suffering, a consequence of both war and prolonged occupation, must end for peace and stability to be achieved.

Since its formation in April, my government has been working tirelessly to stabilize the deteriorating situation in the West Bank while also preparing for "the day after" in the Gaza Strip. We are committed to the welfare, security and dignity of our people, and to leading recovery and reconstruction efforts once a permanent cease-fire is achieved. This will take place in parallel to continuing the implementation of essential reforms to consolidate the foundations for an independent Palestinian state.

With a permanent cease-fire, the Palestinian government stands ready to resume responsibility for the Gaza Strip, leading efforts to fully integrate governance across both it and the West Bank. This integration is essential not only for effective relief, recovery and reconstruction in Gaza, but also as a step toward the broader goal of achieving a permanent political agreement in line with international law and a two-state solution.

Our "One Palestine" vision, rooted in the unity of the Palestinian people and our shared identity, is central to this effort. As we steadfastly pursue an end to the Israeli military occupation and the realization of our right to self-determination, these principles will guide the rebuilding and governance of Gaza, addressing the unprecedented humanitarian crisis and laying the foundation for lasting peace and stability.

However, we cannot achieve this alone. The sweeping destruction and vast recovery needs in Gaza demand a coordinated and robust response from the international community. Governing Gaza, restoring essential services, rebuilding homes and infrastructure, and stabilizing the lives and livelihoods of our people will require significant international commitment and support. Without global solidarity and action, the path to recovery and lasting peace will be unattainable.

Supporting and facilitating a nonpartisan Palestinian government is crucial for governing and serving our people across Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Empowering the Palestinian Authority to deliver responsive, transparent and accountable governance is the only legitimate and viable path forward. This approach is essential not only for rebuilding Gaza but also for ensuring that the broader region moves toward an equitable, just and prosperous future.

Our day-after plan for governing Gaza is part of a broader effort to empower the Palestinian government, rebuild trust among our citizens, and reinforce the foundations of democracy at both the local and national levels. It is structured around the following key pillars:

**Relief and early recovery:** Immediate relief and early recovery efforts, under the leadership and strategic coordination of the Palestinian government, will need to be supported by the U.N. Relief and Works Agency, other specialized U.N. agencies, donors and international partners already active in Gaza, in addition to Palestinian private-sector and civil-society institutions. Priorities include debris removal, digni-

fied temporary shelter and the restoration of essential services such as water, sanitation, energy, health and education. Immediate support for livelihood restoration and economic recovery is also critical. These efforts will be closely coordinated with Palestinian ministries and agencies. A Gaza Early Recovery Committee will be established to align all efforts with the government's broader relief, recovery and reconstruction plan.

**Reconstruction and long-term recovery:** An independent agency will be established to lead, coordinate and manage all reconstruction and long-term recovery efforts in Gaza. This agency will operate with full financial and managerial independence and be subject to audits according to the highest international standards. Oversight will be provided by a board of directors comprising respected Palestinian figures, including members of the diaspora. To ensure transparency and accountability, a Gaza reconstruction trust fund will be established at the World Bank, with fiduciary oversight and guidance provided by an international advisory board.

**Security, rule of law and border control:** Restoring security and the rule of law in Gaza will require restructuring its police force as well as reintegrating and rationalizing staff based on capacity and need. This process will include personnel from both before and after 2007, contingent on successful vetting and capacity assessment. Senior police leadership, appointed by the Palestinian government, will also coordinate with the heads of municipal councils to ensure efficient and responsive local governance. International partners will play a crucial role in providing necessary equipment and support for capacity building. Additionally, international security assistance may be sought by the Palestinian government as needed. Border control in Gaza will be managed by the Palestinian Authority, with interim international support from relevant actors, as with the European Union Border Assistance Mission of 2005.

**Integration of institutions and civil service:** Our plan emphasizes the vital need to integrate and harmonize institutions and civil service across the West Bank and Gaza. To facilitate this, we will appoint interim senior leadership for government institutions in Gaza, serving temporarily until permanent managers are selected through a transparent, merit-based process. Staff will be selected based on technical needs, with all personnel decisions adhering to meritocratic and transparent criteria.

**Restoring local government functions:** As an immediate step to restore and reintegrate local governance in Gaza and ensure local ownership of the recovery, I will appoint independent and highly qualified local figures to the municipal and local councils for one year. These councils will be provided with budgets to support local projects that meet urgent needs and deliver tangible benefits to the people of Gaza, under clear guidelines set by my government. At the end of this one-year transition period, local government elections will be held in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to ensure democratic engagement, participation and representation in local governance.

The unprecedented destruction in Gaza demands not only serious global support but also a collective commitment to reconstruction and recovery. We call on our Arab neighbors and all partner nations to stand with us in this monumental effort. Together, we can address the immediate needs of our people, restore essential services, rebuild the economy and rekindle hope.

This path, though challenging, is the only viable way forward — one that lays the foundations for lasting peace, security and prosperity. It is not just about our future as the Palestinian people, our steadfast pursuit of self-determination, and our right to live in freedom and dignity; it is about ensuring stability and a better future for all people in the region.

The writer is the Palestinian prime minister.

# The Washington Post | LIVE

## Upcoming Programs

TUES. SEPT. 17 AT 9:00 A.M.

PRESENTING SPONSOR



### WELL+BEING: BRAIN HEALTH & AGING



#### HOW THE BRAIN AGES

**Jason Hassenstab**, Professor of Neurology and Psychological & Brain Sciences, Washington University in St. Louis  
**Jennifer Schrack**, Professor and Director, Center on Aging & Health, Johns Hopkins University

A neurologist and an epidemiologist discuss the evolution of the brain as we get older and the brain's capacity to respond to change.



#### BOOSTING YOUR COGNITIVE RESERVE

**Tara Parker-Pope**, Well+Being Editor, The Washington Post  
**Robert Klitzman**, Professor of Psychiatry, Columbia University

The Post's Well+Being editor and a top psychiatrist share pro-active steps we can take to keep our minds healthy and assess how social stimulants impact our brain health.



#### SPOTLIGHT: ALZHEIMER'S

**Walter J. Koroshetz**, Director, National Institute of Neurological Disorders & Stroke  
**Monica Parker**, Assistant Professor of Neurology, Emory University

Top brain researchers examine the latest research on Alzheimer's, innovative treatments and disparities in clinical trials.



Content from **AARP**

#### NURTURING MINDS FOR A THRIVING BUSINESS

**Sarah Lenz Lock**, Senior Vice President, Policy & Brain Health, AARP  
**Laura Linnan**, Director, Carolina Center for Healthy Work Design & Worker Well-Being

An examination of why supporting brain health across the lifespan is crucial for both employees and employers, and how fostering a brain-healthy workforce can lead to a more productive and resilient economy.



WED. SEPT. 18 AT 1:00 P.M.

#### ELECTION 2024: THE STAKES

**Dana Milbank**, Author, "Fools on the Hill" & Opinion Columnist, The Washington Post

Milbank shares new reporting from his latest book about the Republican-controlled House and assesses how the 2024 election could affect the balance of power in Washington.



THURS. SEPT. 19 AT 11:00 A.M.

PRESENTING SPONSOR



#### FUTURE OF WORK

**Francine Katsoudas**, Chief People, Policy & Purpose Officer, Cisco  
**Nicholas Bloom**, Professor of Economics, Stanford University  
*Content from JLL: Robbie Hobbs, Chief Product Officer, JLL*

Katsoudas and Bloom examine how innovation in artificial intelligence and the widespread adoption of hybrid work are reshaping the workplace.



FRI. SEPT. 20 AT 9:00 A.M.

#### SUBSCRIBER EXCLUSIVE: FIRST LOOK

The Post's **Jonathan Capehart**, **Hugh Hewitt** and **Eugene Robinson**

Washington Post Live's "First Look" offers a smart, inside take on the day's politics. Jonathan Capehart hosts a reporter debrief followed by a roundtable discussion with Washington Post columnists.

To register for upcoming events and watch recent interviews with Washington Post Live, visit [washingtonpostlive.com](https://www.washingtonpostlive.com) or scan code with a smartphone camera:





PHOTOS BY MICHAEL ROBINSON CHÁVEZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## Lawyer argues that wife is alive

DEFENSE EVOKES GASPS IN COURT

Husband of missing Va. woman wants quick trial

BY EMMA UBER

A defense attorney for the Manassas Park man charged with concealing the body of his wife drew gasps in a courtroom packed with her supporters on Friday when he argued that Mamta Kafle Bhatt is alive.

The claim came as public defender Shalev Ben-Avraham asked that a judge order prosecutors to turn over a video of the missing mother and pediatric nurse leaving work with an unknown woman on July 27, days before her family members say they lost contact with her.

The video, Ben-Avraham argued, suggests that Bhatt was planning to leave on her own and was not harmed by her husband, 37-year-old Naresh Bhatt. Police arrested Bhatt last month after a forensic search turned up evidence of a bloody struggle in the couple's home.

The motion marks the latest strategic move by Ben-Avraham to expedite court proceedings, pressing for swift adjudication as Bhatt remains incarcerated on a single count and prosecutors have suggested that more charges could be forthcoming. On Friday, the missing 28-year-old's supporters again lined the court benches as they have for each hearing, no matter how brief.

Her friends fear she is no longer alive for one main reason: She never would have missed her daughter's first birthday.

Bina Khadkalam said after the hearing that the defense suggesting otherwise made her angry. She said she also felt frustrated.

SEE BHATT ON B2

## Owners of condemned condos get court win

Appellate judges say that the District may be liable in the sales of substandard dwellings; attorneys call it a 'major' victory

BY MEAGAN FLYNN

A group of homeowners who purchased condos under a D.C. government assistance program — only for the condos to soon begin falling apart, leading to their evacuation from the building — got a step closer this week in their pursuit to hold the city accountable.

After the homeowners argued for years that the District government facilitated the sale of uninhabitable condos on Talbert Street in Ward 8, the D.C. Court of Appeals ruled Thursday that the District can be held liable under a consumer-protection law. The three-judge panel sent the case back to the trial court to determine whether D.C. acted unfairly or deceptively when it helped the first-time homeowners move into what turned out to be unstable new homes.

"We do not find it facially implausible that a reasonable home buyer ... could believe that a partially District-funded housing development, made available only to District residents deemed eligible by the District through a District-run housing assistance program, would provide housing that was, at a minimum, habitable," Chief Judge Anna Blackburne-Rigsby wrote for the panel.



TOP: Caitlin Lee and her husband, Ryan Lee, at the entrance of their condominium in a condemned building on Talbert Street SE in January. ABOVE: A sign on the door of a Talbert Street condominium.

Attorneys for the homeowners called the ruling a major victory, noting it appears to be the first time a court has held that the District government should be treated just as any other merchant under the Consumer Pro-

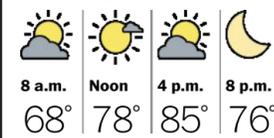
tection Procedures Act, given D.C.'s role in the approval and sale of homes that turned out to be substandard.

"It's pretty significant," LaRuby May, an attorney on the case and a former Ward 8 council

member, whose sister was one of the affected home buyers. Treating D.C. as a merchant under consumer-protection law, she said, "allows for our clients to get justice and allows us to hold the

SEE HOUSING ON B2

### TODAY'S WEATHER



High today at approx. 4 p.m.: 85°  
 Precip: 0% Wind: ENE 7-14 mph

For weather news, go to B6

### THE DISTRICT

Smithsonian puts "Law & Order: SVU" detective's costume on display. B3

### OBITUARIES

James Sasser, a senator and envoy to China in the late 1990s, was 87. B4

## 2 charged with assaulting photographer on Jan. 6

BY DANIEL WU

A pair of brothers were criminally charged Thursday with assaulting a New York Times photographer and stealing her camera equipment as she sought to document the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol.

Philip Walker, of Pennsylvania, and David Walker, of New Jersey, were among the rioters who breached the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, federal authorities charged. Minutes after entering the building, they allegedly assaulted a photographer who had been standing at the top of the east Rotunda stairs and fled with the photographer's equipment.

Although court documents don't name the photographer, the New York Times confirmed that the victim was staff photographer Erin Schaff, who wrote in a story for the Times that her attackers threw her to the floor after grabbing her press pass and seeing the name of her employer.

"I started screaming for help as

SEE JAN. 6 ON B2



JOHN MINCHILLO/AP

Philip and David Walker are also charged with stealing the New York Times employee's equipment.

## Area's drought concerns grow after a dry month

BY IAN LIVINGSTON

Few locations in the D.C. area have seen more than a ground-dampening so far this month, and drought concerns are mounting yet again.

The District has received just 0.02 inches of rain in September, while Dulles Airport hasn't even received a trace.

The ongoing dry spell is one of several so far this year. Western parts of the D.C. area are officially in moderate drought, according to the federal U.S. Drought Monitor. Much of the rest of the area is classified as "abnormally dry." Only areas northeast of the Beltway aren't either in drought or on the verge of it.

In almost all directions, dry conditions have been expanding and growing more intense.

For the Beltway area, thanks to some rain in August and earlier in the summer, the impacts have yet to become too worrisome. But the

cumulative tree stress from the lack of rain may dull fall foliage. Leaves may turn brown rather than more vibrant colors, and many trees may lose their leaves earlier than normal.

### Abnormal conditions

Low-level drought affects much of the west-central half of the D.C. area, focusing from the far western part of the District through parts of Fairfax and Montgomery counties and into Loudoun County and points west. Abnormally dry conditions — one category removed from drought — extend through Southern Maryland and east of the Chesapeake Bay.

Areas west of the Interstate 81 corridor are experiencing the worst of the drought. Much of West Virginia and southeast Ohio are enduring extreme drought, with even a few pockets of exceptional drought, the top-tier category.

SEE DROUGHT ON B3

# Defense attorney suggests missing Va. woman is still alive

BHATT FROM B1

ed that Naresh only spoke once, to acknowledge that he would speak up if he could not understand his Nepali interpreter.

"I was looking at Naresh — if she's alive, if she's hiding, why a husband does not cry for wife" Khadkalam said. "Why is he not screaming for help? Say something, speak up."

In court Friday, Ben-Avraham said prosecutors mischaracterized Naresh Bhatt's initial response to his wife's disappearance during an Aug. 2 welfare check by Manassas Park police. He asked the judge to require that authorities produce documentation that he said would prove police told Bhatt to wait a few days before declaring her missing, because she had left the home for days at a time in the past.

Mamta Bhatt briefly moved in with a friend with her infant daughter earlier this year, and at one point secured her own apartment over trouble in the marriage, her friends have told The Washington Post.

Judge Carroll A. Weimer Jr. approved Ben-Avraham's request for video and material about the welfare check over protest from Prince William County deputy

*"It's rare for the defense to do this, because you might get what you ask for. ... Time will tell if this strategy works."*

**John Fishwick,**  
a former U.S. attorney

prosecutor Matthew Sweet, who characterized the effort as a "fishing expedition" and admonished Ben-Avraham to "stop playing games." Weimer denied another four requests.

In a motion laying out his reasoning, Ben-Avraham accused prosecutors of trying to delay a trial date in December because they lack sufficient evidence to convict Bhatt. An official trial date will be decided Monday.

Ben-Avraham did not respond to requests for an interview.

John Fishwick, a former U.S. attorney who now works in criminal defense, called the legal tactic "rare and risky."

"It's rare for the defense to do this, because you might get what you ask for," Fishwick said. "You

might get a prompt trial and the Commonwealth might have enough evidence to convict you. Time will tell if this strategy works or not."

The fact that Naresh is being held in custody with no bond probably contributes to the defense's eagerness to try the case as soon as possible, Fishwick said.

"The defense is saying let's drop the guillotine today, the trial goes forward as soon as it can — we don't want to give you the benefit of that time to continue to investigate," he said.

Parts of the investigation have emerged in the case's early court dates, with prosecutors revealing Naresh Bhatt used his work computer to search "How long does it take to get married after spouse dies" months before his wife went missing. Prosecutors have also said he purchased knives on July 30, the same day Bhatt's family reported last hearing from her, and went to a Loudoun County Walmart to buy cleaning supplies that authorities suspect may have been used to clean up a crime scene.

Her twice-daily calls to family in Nepal stopped July 30, her brother said. Her co-workers contacted police Aug. 1 — the same day a prosecutor said her phone



KYLE SWENSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

**A memorial for Mamta Kadle Bhatt has been erected at her home.**

last connected to a cellular network near a road in the vicinity of a body of water in Loudoun County.

In the nearly 50 days since, Manassas Park Police Chief Mario Lugo said in an interview, officers have searched Camp Carondelet, Bull Run Trail, Signal Park, Bull Run Park and Mantua Park, among other areas. Lugo said police have not searched that body of water, saying the phone

pinged near the road and not the water.

"We're trying to get some more records to see if that is an area we need to search," Lugo said of the body of water "That's still on our radar. ... We're ready to go if it ever comes up that we need to search that area."

Police are waiting on GPS data from Naresh Bhatt's Tesla, he added, and lab results from potential evidence gathered in the search-

es. The department has urged anyone who interacted with Naresh Bhatt between July 28 and Aug. 5 to contact police.

Community search efforts launched at the outset by friends and supporters of Bhatt have stalled.

Divisions deepened in recent weeks, with tensions flaring over who should have custody of the child, how crowdsourced fundraising money should be spent and whether those who knew of the strain in the marriage had a duty to say more, sooner.

Theories swirling online among the case's international following have resulted in a backlash against some vocal supporters. Nadia Navarro, a former roommate and close friend of Mamta's who took a semester off school to focus on the search for her friend, said she canceled a search planned for last week after facing false accusations and online threats.

"I haven't been able to properly grieve my friend," Navarro said. "I've been advocating for her, I've been fighting for her, but I haven't been able to grieve her. As more people have started to pay attention, there's been more drama. But we should all want the same thing — justice for Mamta."

# Court to decide D.C.'s liability in the sale of new condos deemed uninhabitable

HOUSING FROM B1

District accountable in a way that is unprecedented."

Casey Simmons, a spokeswoman for the D.C. Attorney General's Office, declined to comment on the ruling, citing ongoing litigation.

The lawsuit is part of a years-long saga for the Talbert Street homeowners, who bought the condos in 2017 with the help of D.C.'s Home Purchase Assistance Program — one of the District's major tools to boost homeownership and chip away at generational wealth gaps, particularly among lower-income residents and Black Washingtonians. The nine homeowners in the case are low- to moderate-income Black women.

The condos, developed by Stanton View Development, were built and financed partially through the city's Housing Production Trust Fund, another major tool to offer gap financing to developers to provide affordable housing.

But within weeks of moving in, the new homeowners, many of them single parents, "began experiencing serious issues," according to the ruling. They described openings in the walls and ceilings, bathtubs splitting from the floor, mold, leaks, slanting floors, cracks in the foundation and an odor of sewage — problems that, after further engineering inspections, led to the evacuation of the families, according to the ruling.

An attorney for Stanton View Development, which is named in the suit, did not respond to a request for comment Friday.

May said that for her sister and the other clients, what started as a life or even generational achievement — homeownership — turned into "living in a nightmare."

"This was the District acting as a developer using our tax dollars — \$6 million of tax dollars were put into this project — without having accountability or metrics of quality of the structure," May said. "And as a result, innocent people — in our case, innocent low-income Black women — suffered."

D.C. officials have long insisted that the District government merely acted as a financier and was not at fault for development problems.



PHOTOS BY MICHAEL ROBINSON CHÁVEZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The homeowners repeatedly sought assistance from the developer, condo association and city, according to the lawsuit, but problems worsened. In fact, after May's sister, LaDonna May, contacted the now-defunct Department of Consumer Regulatory Affairs for an inspection, the department fined her more than \$6,000, accusing her of not keeping the condo in good condition.

While a trial court agreed with D.C.'s claims that the city couldn't be held liable under the consumer-protection law, the D.C. Court of Appeals had a different view.

"The District's role extended far beyond the mere provision of funds to include approving the acquisition plan and specifications for the development and then monitoring the construction, controlling the eligibility of home buyers, and approving the various stages of development for the units at issue," Blackburne-Rigsby wrote.

Despite the legal case, D.C. officials have long lamented the homeowners' predicament. The D.C. Council has offered freezes



**TOP: A fissure appears along an exterior wall of a condemned condominium building on Talbert Street SE in January. Residents had to evacuate the building, which is slipping off its foundation. ABOVE: A dead plant and a vertical crack are seen in a unit of the Talbert Street building in January.**

on their property taxes, while Mayor Muriel E. Bowser's (D) administration has offered temporary housing assistance through vouchers, because the condos remain unlivable. The council and the Bowser administration also worked on legislation in April to try to create pathways for new homeownership possibilities for affected homeowners.

"Despite the circumstance being a private matter, Mayor Bowser's mission over the past three years has been to find unique ways in which we could support their recovery," Colleen Green, director of D.C. Housing and Community Development, said at the time. "We know the ultimate dream of so many District residents is to become a homeowner, and our goal as a government is to create pathways toward its fruition."

May gave credit to the Bowser administration for the housing assistance, which she said has been a major relief. But when it came down to it, she said she heard a lot of sympathy from city officials but saw little change in the homeowners' long-term situation, doubting that it would be resolved anytime soon.

They are still paying a mortgage on the unlivable homes, while their temporary housing assistance will be up in months, creating anxieties about homelessness, May said.

"Our clients don't have a broken blender. This isn't a cracked window. This is where they live," May said. "This is where they lay their heads. This is their sacred place. And no one has treated this with the level of urgency that we believe it requires and that it demands."

While the question of the District's liability will go back to the trial court, the D.C. Court of Appeals rejected other claims from the homeowners, such as claims of discrimination or intentional infliction of emotional distress.

"Even the citations and fine levied against Ms. May by the DCRA inspector, which are jarring in the context of her repeated efforts to seek help to address the uninhabitability of her home, do not rise to the level of atrociousness that is 'utterly intolerable in a civilized community,'" as the law requires, Blackburne-Rigsby wrote.

# Brothers charged with assaulting a New York Times photographer on Jan. 6

JAN. 6 FROM B1

loudly as I could," Schaff wrote. "No one came. People just watched. At this point, I thought I could be killed and no one would stop them."

It was not immediately clear whether Philip, 52, or David Walker, 49, had an attorney, and other attempts to reach them Thursday were unsuccessful. The Office of the Federal Public Defender for the District of Columbia did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The brothers are both charged with the felonies of federal robbery, assault with the intent to commit a felony and destruction of property, as well as seven misdemeanors including assault, en-

tering and remaining in a restricted building or grounds, and engaging in physical violence in a restricted building or grounds, the Justice Department said in a statement.

"We are grateful to the U.S. Attorney's Office for the District of Columbia and the FBI for their persistence in pursuing justice in this case," New York Times spokeswoman Danielle Rhoades Ha said in a statement to The Washington Post. "Independent, fact-based journalism is a cornerstone of democracy and attacks against reporters should be a grave concern to anyone who cares about an informed citizenry."

On Jan. 6, 2021, the Walkers allegedly joined the mob spurred

by President Donald Trump that surrounded the Capitol, clashed with U.S. Capitol Police and ultimately forced their way inside the halls of Congress.

Schaff was watching as a crowd of hundreds pushed past the one officer guarding the ceremonial doors to the Capitol Rotunda, she wrote. She was quickly surrounded.

"Two or three" men dressed in black demanded to know who she worked for before they grabbed her press pass. Schaff's attackers ripped one of her cameras away from her and broke the lens of another one before fleeing, she wrote.

"After that I was hyperventilating, unsure of what to do," Schaff wrote. "I knew I needed to get

away from the mob and hide my broken camera so I wouldn't be targeted again."

Investigators allege that Schaff briefly pursued the Walkers to get her camera back and that David Walker pushed her. Surveillance video showed the Walkers exiting the Capitol shortly afterward, with Philip Walker carrying a large object under his jacket, according to charging documents.

Schaff hid her remaining camera and continued to film the mob roaming the Capitol with her phone, "which was all I had left," she wrote. Missing her press credentials, she was briefly held at gunpoint by Capitol Police when authorities began to clear the building.

In an interview with an FBI

agent, Philip Walker later admitted to participating in the riot and fighting an individual in the Capitol, according to charging documents. He told the agent that he believed the person was a member of "antifa" — a loosely knit group of far-left activists — and that he later disposed of the camera he had taken in a body of water, according to investigators.

Nearly 20 journalists were assaulted, and news equipment worth tens of thousands of dollars was destroyed, during the Jan. 6 riot, according to the U.S. Press Freedom Tracker. John Minchillo, a photographer for the Associated Press, was grabbed by his backpack, dragged down a flight of stairs and thrown over a ledge. Four protesters have been

charged in the assault on Minchillo; one was sentenced to 34 months in prison.

Trump, now the Republican presidential nominee, has escalated his overtures to Jan. 6 defendants at recent rallies. During a presidential debate Tuesday with Vice President Kamala Harris, the Democratic nominee, he twice declined to say whether he had any regrets about the riot.

The attack on the Capitol resulted in the deaths of five people, including Ashli Babbitt, a pro-Trump rioter who was killed while attempting to enter the House chamber, and U.S. Capitol Police officer Brian D. Sicknick, who engaged with rioters and died the next day after suffering two strokes.

# Drought concerns grow in the region

DROUGHT FROM B1

Experimental drought indicators, shown below, are a little more friendly for the immediate D.C. area, indicating precipitation conditions not too far outside the norm. They suggest that the serious drought conditions are more confined to West Virginia and points west. In the high country of West Virginia, famous for its fall color, it seems probable that this may be an underwhelming season ahead for leaf-peeping.

## How little rain has fallen

Most of the Washington and Baltimore regions have seen below-normal rainfall this year. Precipitation deficits range from 1.99 inches in Baltimore to 4.79 inches at Dulles to 5.37 inches in Hagerstown.

Over the past month, most of the eastern United States north of the Gulf Coast and east of the Missouri River has witnessed little to no rain. Dry spells are not uncommon in September, but the lack of tropical storm activity in the Atlantic Ocean, until this week, has greatly limited precipitation.

Most of the D.C. area has seen rainfall deficits of 0.5 to 3 inches since mid-August. For the past three months, the deficits are generally between about 1.5 and 4 inches.

For the 12 months between July of last year and this year, the entire region saw below-average rainfall in the Potomac River Basin.

Streamflow on the Potomac River has been below average for a majority of the past several months, other than for occasional spikes after heavy rain events such as the remnants of Hurricane Debby in mid-August.

River levels are below average and falling. However, "there is sufficient flow in the Potomac River to meet the Washington metropolitan area's water demands without releasing water from upstream reservoirs," the Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin said in a report released Thursday.

## Next week could deliver relief

A weather system developing off the Mid-Atlantic coast will bring the chance of some meaningful rain next week as it moves inland.

The National Weather Service has placed the region in a slight risk zone for heavy precipitation between Wednesday and Friday of next week.

The U.S. Drought Monitor predicts drought could persist in parts of the area in the short term, but its longer-range outlook through Nov. 30 calls for the likely removal of drought east of the Blue Ridge by the start of winter.



JAHU CHIKWENDIU/THE WASHINGTON POST

An overhead photo of a stretch of grass in Sterling reflects the state of parched land in the region. Areas west of Interstate 81 are experiencing the worst of the drought, as much of West Virginia and southeast Ohio are enduring extreme-to-exceptional conditions.

## THE DISTRICT

# 'Law & Order: SVU' detective's costume joins the Smithsonian collection

BY PRAVEENA SOMASUNDARAM

After nearly 25 years on television, her outfit of choice is easily recognizable — a blazer, dark jeans and a gold detective's shield.

It's the classic look of Capt. Olivia Benson, the fictional New York City detective at the heart of "Law & Order: Special Victims Unit" played by actress Mariska Hargitay. And now, it'll be part of the sweeping collection of cultural treasures at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

On Monday, the museum held a ceremony to accept the costume with Hargitay and "Law & Order" creator Dick Wolf.

Hargitay wore the clothing in an episode that aired March 21 as part of the TV show's 25th season. NBC Universal's donation of the costume commemorates the country's longest-running prime time television series, which centers on New York City Police Department detectives who investigate sex crimes.

During her remarks at Monday's ceremony, Hargitay — who has publicly shared that she was raped and runs a nonprofit group that advocates for sexual assault survivors — said the costume's display was about more than the TV show, its audience and her role in it.

"It is my profound hope that what is being enshrined here with this donation is the act of listening," Hargitay said. "The act of paying deep and purposeful attention to survivors of sexual assault, domestic violence and child abuse."

Attempts to reach representatives for Hargitay were unsuccessful Wednesday evening.

Smithsonian staff have long wanted to add an item from the "Law & Order" TV franchise to its collections, said Anthea M. Har-



JACLYN NASH, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Mariska Hargitay, a longtime star of "Law & Order: SVU," poses with her iconic costume at the Smithsonian's American history museum.

tig, the Elizabeth MacMillan director at the museum. The procedural first aired in 1990 and has inspired multiple spin-offs. The 26th season of the Emmy award-winning "SVU" series, which has been helmed by Hargitay since 1999, premieres next month.

Monday's donation, which Hargitay said was spearheaded by Wolf, included the jeans, a navy blazer and detective's shield

along with a belt, a pair of boots and earrings that Hargitay wore in "Third Man Syndrome," the eighth episode of Season 25. Its addition comes after the museum in June opened "Forensic Science on Trial," an exhibition about how science has been used in prosecution efforts.

The exhibit features an early sexual assault examination kit, an example of the technology shown

in "SVU."

The costume ceremony and the exhibition opening were not coordinated to be so close together, Hargitay said, but they created a "synergy," highlighting the need for continued advocacy and the nation's backlog of untested rape kits.

"All museums, especially history museums, want to see their work as giving people safe spaces

to have often complicated and challenging conversations," she said — and to make positive change.

Hargitay made the issue of addressing the rape kit backlog a focus of her organization, the Joyful Heart Foundation, putting pressure on states to count and test accumulated kits.

In 2016, the foundation published a report with recommen-

dations for how to notify survivors whose kits have been identified and tested. In the years since, the Joyful Heart Foundation has continued to press the issue and helped give funding to local groups providing resources and support to survivors of sexual assault.

At Monday's ceremony, Hargitay referenced the museum's mission statement, which says its work is for "empowering people to create a just and compassionate future."

"If we are to build that future, who better to listen to than those who have been harmed in order to learn what justice and compassion ought to look like?" Hargitay said.

Hargitay revealed her own experience in an essay she penned for People magazine in January. She had not addressed it publicly for decades, Hargitay wrote, because she "couldn't believe that it happened."

"I think I also needed to see what healing could look like," she wrote, adding that her work with the Joyful Heart Foundation helped her "do the work on the inside," as well.

In her remarks Monday, Hargitay addressed survivors of sexual violence directly.

"We are listening, and your stories matter in the full story of this country," she said. "We hear you. We believe you, and your healing is our priority."

As museum staff and attendees posed for photos beside the costume after the ceremony, Hargitay requested a small change to the gold detective's badge.

"I wear it a little closer to the belt buckle," Hargitay recalled the actress saying.

With gloves on, a museum collections manager adjusted it.

"I mean, talk about playing a character for that long," Hargitay said. "She embodies the captain."

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# OBITUARIES

JAMES SASSER, 87

## Envoy for Clinton opened diplomatic doors to China

BY BRIAN MURPHY

James Sasser, a three-term Democratic senator from Tennessee who as President Bill Clinton's ambassador to Beijing helped reset relations until outrage over Chinese deaths from a NATO attack in Serbia left him besieged inside the U.S. Embassy, died Sept. 10 at his home in Chapel Hill, N.C. He was 87.

The cause was a heart attack, the family said in a statement.

Mr. Sasser gained a reputation as a budget maven in the Senate, where he served from 1977 to 1995, and he also proved to be a deft envoy for the Clinton administration at a time of lingering tensions after China's deadly crackdown on pro-democracy students and others in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Other points of diplomatic friction included human rights concerns and trade disputes, including allegations of copyright piracy, as China's economy surged at a staggering pace. Even before Mr. Sasser arrived in Beijing, his confirmation process garnered added scrutiny after China recalled its ambassador in protest of a private visit to the United States by the president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui. (Beijing views Taiwan as a rightful part of China.)

Mr. Sasser started to open doors after reaching China in early 1996. He set up talks with Chinese officials by Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, national security adviser Anthony Lake and Vice President Al Gore — Mr. Sasser's former Senate colleague in the Tennessee delegation.

Mr. Sasser helped seal trade accords, including the sale of Boeing 777 jetliners to China. Then, in a delicate set of negotiations, he reached an agreement to keep the U.S. Consulate in Hong Kong after the British colony passed to Chinese control in July 1997.

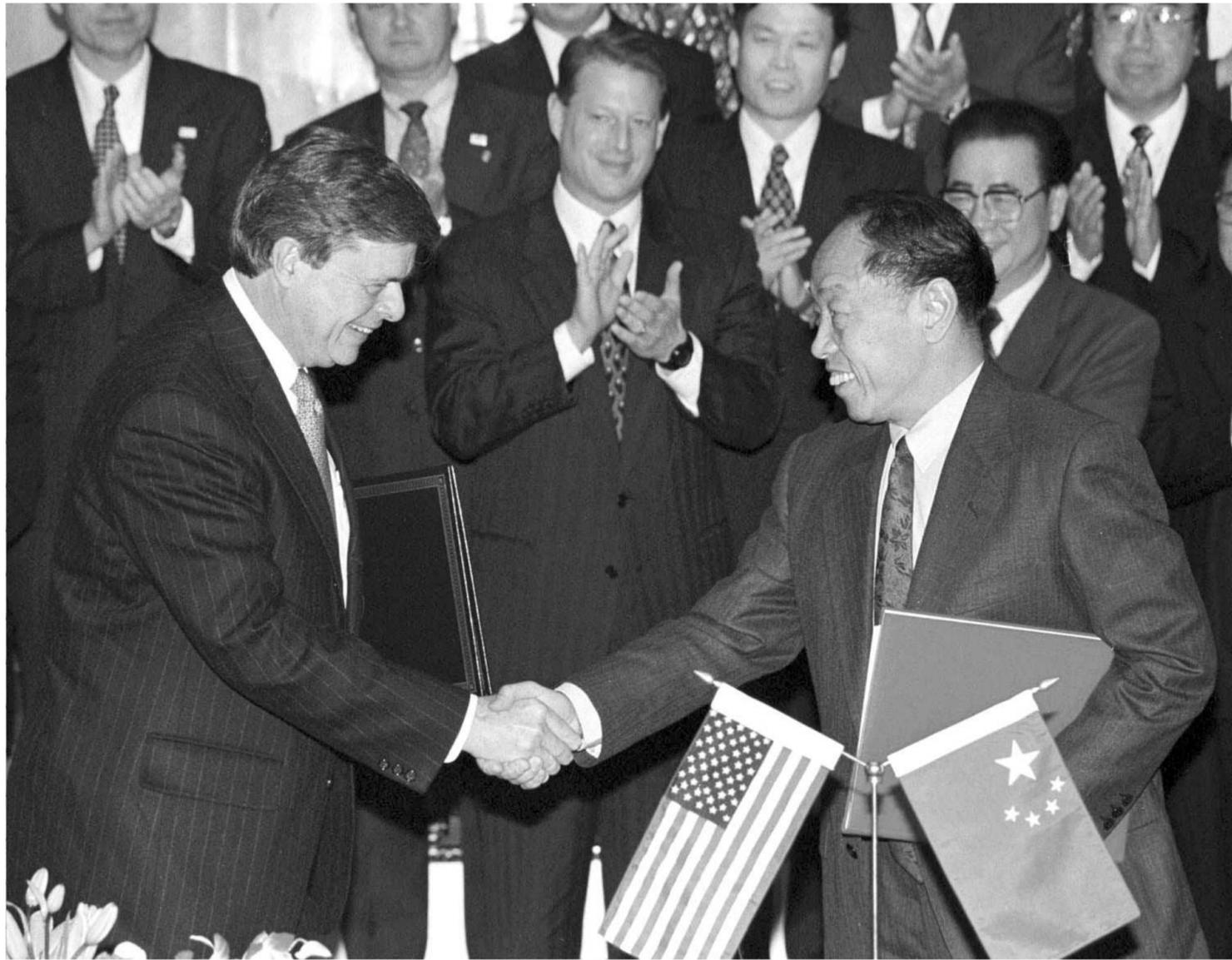
The high points of Mr. Sasser's tenure came with an agreement for mutual visits by the countries' leaders. President Jiang Zemin's seven-stop agenda in late 1997 marked the first state visit to the United States by a Chinese leader in 12 years.

In summer 1998, Clinton made a reciprocal trip to China that Washington considered a critical step in cementing a new rapport. China arrested several reformist activists as Clinton's visit began, in what appeared to be a message of Chinese displeasure over Western demands for greater political openness.

Clinton answered back in a speech at Beijing University. "We are convinced that certain rights are universal, not American rights or European rights or rights for developed nations, but the birthrights of people everywhere," he said.

Nearly a year later, one of the most bitter diplomatic standoffs between the two countries began after NATO warplanes staged U.S.-led attacks on Serbia in response to humanitarian crises, including ethnic Albanians made to flee by Serbian forces. The NATO strikes on Belgrade in May 1999 hit China's embassy by mistake, killing three Chinese nationals whom Beijing described as journalists.

NATO acknowledged the er-



MIKE FIALA/AP

ror, but state-run Chinese media labeled it an act of provocation. Chinese authorities allowed protesters to swarm around the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, which was pelted with rocks, debris and firebombs. Some protesters cried, "Kill Americans." Mr. Sasser and the embassy staff spent four days holed up in the compound — eating military rations and sleeping on the floor — waiting for Chinese security forces to clear the mob.

At one point, news photographers captured an image of Mr. Sasser peeking from behind the broken glass and battered facade of an embassy door. He told reporters by phone that China offered to send police to help him and aides slip away over a back fence. "I told them I was not going to come unless I was in my car flying the American flag," he said. "They concluded they could not arrange that."

Months after the protests ended, Clinton announced that Mr. Sasser had stepped down — his departure had been planned before the unrest — and the president nominated Joseph W. Prueher, a retired Navy admiral, as his successor.

### Senator's driver

James Ralph Sasser was born in Memphis on Sept. 30, 1936. His father was state director of the soil conservation service for

the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and his mother was a homemaker.

In 1958, Mr. Sasser received a bachelor's degree in history from Vanderbilt University. He graduated from Vanderbilt's law school in 1961 and served in the Marine Corps Reserve from 1958 to 1965. He found his first glimpse of political life from the behind the wheel of a Chevrolet. While in law school, he was hired to serve as a driver for Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) when the lawmaker was back in Nashville.

Mr. Sasser recalled that Kefauver discouraged him from getting into politics. Yet Mr. Sasser was riveted by Kefauver's glad-handing style. Kefauver was a graduate of Yale Law School but affected a backwoods persona, sometimes campaigning in a coonskin cap.

"From Kefauver, I learned the importance of retail, personal campaign politicking," Mr. Sasser told the New York Times in 1990.

Mr. Sasser became partner in a Nashville law firm and climbed the ranks of the Tennessee Democratic Party, serving as chairman from 1973 to 1976. That year, in his first Senate bid, he knocked off incumbent Sen. Bill Brock (R-Tenn.), the scion of a Chattanooga candy fortune. During the campaign, Mr. Sasser derided his opponent as "the candy man from Lookout Mountain."



HARVEY GEORGES/AP

**TOP:** With Vice President Al Gore in attendance, Ambassador James Sasser and Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing shake hands in 1997 after signing an agreement to keep the U.S. Consulate in Hong Kong. **ABOVE:** Two decades earlier, Sen. Sasser meets with Vice President Walter Mondale and President Jimmy Carter in the Oval Office to discuss disaster relief and a nuclear reactor project.

"How can a millionaire know the plight of the poor," Mr. Sasser said, "the uneducated, the jobless, the sick?"

In the Senate, Mr. Sasser was seen as an ally of Tennessee's Gore dynasty, mentored by former senator Al Gore Sr. and then serving alongside Al Gore in the chamber for eight years before the Clinton-Gore ticket won the presidential race in 1992.

Mr. Sasser generally favored a muted political style of working within committees and gained standing as a budget expert and deficit hawk. On military and security issues, Mr. Sasser sometimes cut his own path.

He vigorously opposed President Ronald Reagan's support of the anti-Sandinista Nicaraguan rebels, or contras, in the 1980s, fearing the United States could be dragged into another Vietnam-like war. (Reagan later bypassed Congress with an illegal and clandestine plan to sell arms

to Iran and use the money to aid the contras.)

"As the father of a 17-year-old son, I say, Mr. President, let's not rush blindly into that quagmire," Mr. Sasser said in a speech in 1986. "We've done that before."

As the Soviet Union stumbled toward its collapse in 1991, Mr. Sasser was among the most outspoken advocates for significant cuts in defense spending to reflect a post-Cold War world.

In an article in USA Today in July 1990, he pointed the finger at the Pentagon bureaucracy and allies in Congress to push for projects and weapons systems even though they may no longer make sense. "The philosophy was: 'Get it into the pipeline now and proceed as quickly as future outlays permit.' Once the roots spread, it becomes hard to pull up the plant," he wrote.

Mr. Sasser ran for a fourth Senate term in 1994 — with victory possibly putting him in line to become majority leader. A

Republican wave, led by Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia, stood in his way. Mr. Sasser lost to Bill Frist, a Nashville transplant surgeon, as the GOP took control of the House and Senate.

After returning from Beijing, Mr. Sasser was a Washington-based consultant for Chinese and American companies and later taught public policy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Survivors include his wife of 62 years, the former Mary Gorman; two children; two sisters; and four grandchildren.

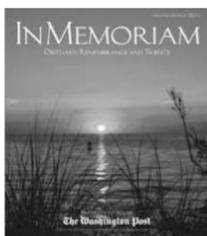
Mr. Sasser said one of his most profound challenges in China-U.S. relations was how many Chinese officials at the time could not grasp American political rhetoric.

"Simply because a senator gets up on the floor of the Senate and says some uncomplimentary things about China," he told The Washington Post, "that's not necessarily government policy."

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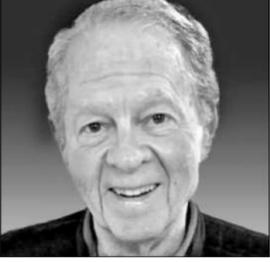
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**DEATH NOTICE**

**DUDLEY**



**EARL CARLYLE DUDLEY JR.**

Earl Carlyle Dudley, Jr., 83, died August 31, 2024, at Westminster-Canterbury of the Blue Ridge in Charlottesville. The son of Earl C. and Susie Hall Dudley, he was born January 8, 1941, in the Philippines, where his father worked for the U.S. Navy. Later that year, he and his mother were the first American casualties of Japanese bombing there, just hours after Pearl Harbor. His parents and he were interned for the next three years. When they eventually returned to the United States, sailing under the Golden Gate Bridge, four-year-old Earl told someone he wasn't excited. "It's just another prison camp." The family settled in Northern Virginia, adding his sister Elizabeth in 1946. Earl graduated from Herndon High School and went on to earn degrees from Amherst College (1961) and the University of Virginia School of Law (1967), where he served as editor-in-chief of the Virginia Law Review. While at Amherst he met Louise Merrill, a student at Smith College, whom he married in Tacoma, Washington, in 1961. Before turning to the law, he worked as a Morrison v. Okon, in which the Supreme Court eventually confirmed the constitutionality of the independent counsel statute, which provides a way to investigate executive branch officials independently of the Justice Department. Earl was recruited in the mid-70s to become general counsel to the U.S. House Judiciary Committee, where he also served as

speechwriter for the chair, Rep. Peter Rodino. He wrote Rodino's speech nominating Jimmy Carter, though though disappointed that the 1976 convention floor was so crowded and noisy that he couldn't see or hear it being delivered. While still practicing law, he taught as an adjunct at Georgetown and at the University of Virginia and as a faculty member of the National Institute of Trial Advocacy. In 1989, having thoroughly enjoyed those experiences and feeling that litigation was a young man's game, he joined the full-time faculty at Virginia law school. He taught there for 19 years, particularly enjoying classes in civil procedure, evidence, constitutional law, and trial advocacy, as well as time spent with students outside the classroom. He continued to be a friend and mentor to many of them years after their graduation. As the dean said at the time of his retirement in 2008, "Earl Dudley is one of the last of the great generalists, one of the last exemplars of the long tradition of lawyers who entered the academy after a full career of accomplishment elsewhere. He was not merely teaching students subjects of importance to law, he was teaching them how to be lawyers.... They took Earl to heart, respected him, admired him, talked to him — really talked with him, as they do not do with many teachers — and sought his advice on every imaginable subject. In the end they loved him." Earl retired in anticipation of doing genealogical research, taking more photographs than captured almost all of Virginia's 95 courthouses on rural road trips with Louise, traveling, and playing more golf. A balky back prevented the latter, but he did write and publish a memoir, *An Interested Life*, and spent hours at the Library of Virginia in Richmond researching his family roots. He is survived by his wife of 63 years; son William C. Dudley (Carola) of Lexington, VA, and daughter Susan Dudley Stout of Charlottesville; three grandchildren, Cole, Ella and Jay, and his sister, Elizabeth Dudley Wilbur (Frederick) of Lovingsville, VA. The family is grateful for the love and support of many friends, caretakers and the wonderful Healthcare 3 staff at Westminster-Canterbury. Interment will be private at Panorama Natural Burial. A reception celebrating his life will be held at Westminster-Canterbury of the Blue Ridge, 1:30 to 3:30 p.m. on Sunday, October 6, allowing time for those who want to receive booster shots before all the hugs. Contributions in his memory would be welcomed by the Class of 1967 Earl C. Dudley, Jr./Richard C. Lowery Scholarship Fund at the UVA law school, the Westminster-Canterbury of the Blue Ridge Foundation, or the Equal Justice Initiative in Montgomery, AL. Condolences may be shared at [www.hill-andwood.com](http://www.hill-andwood.com)

**FOLEY**



**DR. H. THOMAS FOLEY**

Dr. H. Thomas Foley, known to his friends as Tom, died peacefully September 9, 2024 in Silver Spring, MD, from complications of pneumonia. He was born March 27, 1933, in Pittsburgh, PA. In 1954, he graduated with a science degree from the University of Pittsburgh where he met the love of his life, Mary Varas Foley. He went on to graduate from the New York University School of Medicine in 1959. In 1963, he moved with his family to Chilverly, MD and began a career in medical research with the U.S. Public Health Service and the National Institutes of Health. He later became affiliated with the teaching faculty at Georgetown University Medical School, over the years earning admiration and respect from cohorts of students and residents on service at D.C. General Hospital in the 1970s and 1980s. Mid-career, he pur-

sued a J.D. degree at Georgetown University Law Center, graduating in 1977. Thereafter he pursued a medical-legal career, specializing in internal medicine, including staff assignments with the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology on the Walter-Reed Campus. Dr. Foley and his wife Mary Foley raised their two children, Richard and Lisa, in Chilverly where they made their home for over 50 years. In those years, Tom and Mary also loved and cared for a long parade of sweet, lovable and annoying domestic cats. Tom was a devoted council member in the 1990s and was active in the garden club. After retirement, he was Treasurer of the local Meals on Wheels program and was an engaged member of the Friends of the Bladensburg Library, along with many other volunteer roles. He loved playing tennis and bridge. He also loved the musical arts, specifically opera both high and low and dramatic symphonic compositions. He was predeceased by Mary Foley. He is survived by son and daughter-in-law, Richard and Janice Foley of Alexandria, VA; daughter and son-in-law Lisa and Kurt Stand of Greenbelt, MD; granddaughter Paige Foley Marrin and her husband David Marrin of Alexandria; great-grandson Ruckes Marrin; brother Richard M. Foley of Sandusky, Ohio; and step-grandchildren Rosa Squillacote and Karl Stand of New York. A memorial gathering is being planned for late October. For remarks, the family is suggesting a donation to Friends of the Library in Prince George's County, <https://pgcmls.info/friends-of-the-library>, or A Cat's Life Rescue, Mt. Rainier, MD, <https://www.acatsliferescue.org/>

**HARVEY**



**DR. JOHN R. HARVEY**

John R. Harvey, a physicist who served the U.S. government for nearly five decades as an expert on nuclear weapons and U.S. defense policy, died August 27, 2024, in Petoskey, Michigan, a place he loved to visit. He was 77 and had received a diagnosis of colon cancer in December 2021. Dr. Harvey had a lasting impact on U.S. nuclear policy and national security. He devoted his career to preserving the effectiveness and security of the U.S. nuclear arsenal and to developing sound policies governing U.S. nuclear forces and arms control. He served in senior positions at the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy through both Democratic and Republican administrations, drawing on an unusual combination of talents as both a scientist and policymaker. Dr. Harvey was born October 6, 1946 and raised in West Long Branch, New Jersey. He received a BA in physics from Rutgers University, and an MS and PhD in experimental elementary particle physics from the University of Rochester. He began his career at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in 1978 as a staff physicist carrying out assessments of the Soviet nuclear weapons program and serving as a technical advisor to the START negotiations with the Soviet Union. From 1989 to 1995, Dr. Harvey directed the Science Program at Stanford Univer-

sity's Center for International Security and Arms Control. From 1995 to 2001, Dr. Harvey served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Missile Defense Policy, developing and overseeing implementation of U.S. policy governing strategic and theater nuclear, forward and ballistic missile defense. From 2001 to 2009, Dr. Harvey directed the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration. In 2009, then-Undersecretary of Defense Ash Carter convinced Dr. Harvey to return to the Pentagon. From 2009 until his retirement in 2013, he served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological defense programs. He was Dr. Carter's point person on the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review and led DOD's work with the Department of Energy on joint oversight of the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile and the national laboratories. Beyond his contributions to U.S. nuclear security, Dr. Harvey will be remembered for his exceptional personal qualities, which included a foundation of respect and affection from his many colleagues, friends, and mentees. He was passionate about physics, about playing and watching sports (particularly the Washington Nationals), about his country and government service, about R&B music, and about his wife, Sarah, and his four "honorary nieces." Dr. Harvey is survived by Sarah E. Mendelson, whom he married in 2000; his sister Judy Harvey; and his brother Paul Harvey. Private family services will be held at a later date. Donations in Dr. Harvey's memory can be made to Rutgers University's Physics Department and Georgetown University's Lombardi Comprehensive Cancer Center.

**KEATING**



**ELIZABETH CHRYSAN KEATING**

Elizabeth Chryssan Keating passed away September 7, 2024 at the age of 66, after a long battle with cancer. Elizabeth, known as "Betsy" to friends and family, is survived by her loving children Laura (29), Jake (26) and son-in-law Austin Lutz. Betsy is preceded by her ever-loving husband, Jeff, who passed in 2023. Betsy was born December 4, 1957 in Flushing, New York as the youngest of four sisters. She graduated from Molloy University

and led a long and meaningful career as a nurse, helping patients in both New York and Virginia. Betsy's love was felt by the many friends and family she made over her life. Whether it was \$2 beers in New York with her childhood friends, "The Crocodiles". To evening happy hours with neighbors at her home in Reston, Virginia. She enjoyed hosting all kinds of parties and celebrations over the years, never failing to entertain and create memories with those she loved. Betsy was best known for being a kind, endearing, compassionate and strong mother, wife, and friend. Service September 25 at 11 a.m. at Floris United Methodist Church, 13600 Frying Pan Rd., Herndon, VA 20177. In lieu of flowers: SHE BELIEVES IN ME. <https://shebelievesinme.org/donate/> Or the Jeff and Betsy Hamlin Scholarship Endowment in Political Science, Fund #25469. Send to IMU Foundation Inc, Foundation Hall, MSC 8501 1031 Harrison St., Harrisonburg, VA 22807. For more information regarding her service please contact Floris United Methodist Church at [www.florisumc.org](http://www.florisumc.org)

**DEATH NOTICE**

**BERLINSKY**

**MARYANN LOUISE BERLINSKY (Age 84)**  
On September 8, 2024, Maryann Louise Berlinsky, age 84, passed away peacefully at her home in Silver Spring, MD, with her family at her side. Maryann is survived by her devoted husband of 65 years, Gordon, and five children: Robert (Lynne), Teresa Moser (Glenn), Lynne Pettay (John), Sharon Ruckdeschel (David), and Thomas. Maryann cherished her seven grandchildren: Michael Moser, Austin Moser, Matthew Moser, Grace Pettay, Joseph Pettay, Lindsay Ruckdeschel, and Sydney Ruckdeschel. She is also survived by her nieces, nephews, and sister-in-law Michelle Gardner. She was preceded in death by her parents, Harry and Rose Gardner, and her older brother Harry, Born and raised in Washington, DC, she was a graduate of Calvin Coolidge High School and raised her family with Gordon in the DC suburbs. She was a fabulous cook and loved organic gardening, traveling, and spending time with her family. The family spent many years vacationing at Bryce Resort, where Maryann skied and played tennis, golf, and bridge. A private family celebration will be held this fall. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Michael J. Fox Foundation. [www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com](http://www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com)

**MCGANN**



**PHILIP CONRAD MCGANN**

On Tuesday, September 10, 2024, Philip Conrad McGann, 84, resident of Cudjoe Key, FL, beloved husband, father and Pop-Pop passed away from complications from COPD and emphysema at Key West Hospital. He was born to Philip James McGann and Margaret L. Kelso in Cumberland, MD. After his father completed military service, the family settled in Arlington, VA where Phil attended Wakefield High School, graduating in 1959 and spent the next 40 years as a Washingtonian in Northern Virginia.

Phil was preceded in death by son, Philip Gregory McGann and is survived by his 2nd wife of over 43 years, Terry J. Percival, his daughter from his first marriage, Margaret McGann, stepson, Alexander Breakwell (Isabelle) and grandson Clifton McGann. Private service scheduled for a later date. In lieu of flowers, the family kindly asks that for those who are able, make a donation to the following Charities in Phil's name: FloridaKeysFoundation.org and Ocean Conservation Foundation | Key Largo, Florida Keys.

**NASH**

**VINSON FOSTER NASH**  
Vinson Foster Nash, aged 84 passed peacefully on August 21, 2024 in Washington, DC. He is survived by his wife, Onika Dekker; and son, Vinson Ryan Nash. A memorial service will be held at a later date.

**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**

**DEVERS**



**HULDA LOUISE DEVERS (Age 78)**

Hulda Louise Devers, longtime resident of Springfield VA, died peacefully on September 8, 2024 after an extended illness. Louise was born in Washington, DC to Clarence Smith Lunceford and Hulda Ella Lunceford (Saffran) in 1946. She spent 10 years in Washington, before moving to Springfield. Louise was preceded in death by her mother, father, and husband (Lester N. Devers). She was mother to three boys: Herbert Leon Fowler, Jr., James Troy Devers (Tara) and William Shane Devers (Jenny). Grandmother to Nicole Fowler, Amber Mason (Eric), Lawson Grace Devers, Walker Devers, Emerson Devers, Morgan Devers, and Wyatt Devers. She was great grandmother to Jady and Bryson.

Louise had a heart for volunteering. She ran the Women's Auxiliary at the Franconia and Woodlawn Firehouses while her husband Lester was a firefighter at the stations. She also sponsored little league baseball teams and frequently served as team mom. Lou could always be found in the stands cheering on her children and grandchildren. She loved the beach and owned a vacation home in the Myrtle Beach area. One of her favorite activities was walking on the beach and gathering shells for her collection. Another favorite pastime was sharing the accomplishments of her children and grandchildren with everyone. Louise worked as a Realtor in Old Town Alexandria for 40 years. Helping families find homes in the area was her life's work. She was the recipient of numerous real estate awards and was known to bring her sons to the Northern Virginia Board of Realtors' (Inc. Million Dollar (and Multi-Million Dollar) Sales Club Awards Ceremonies. The family will host friends at Demaine funeral home in Springfield on Wednesday, September 18 from 10 a.m. to 12 p.m. followed by a graveside service at Mount Comfort Cemetery in Alexandria at 1 p.m. Donations in lieu of flowers can be made to the Alzheimer's Association, Central Springfield Little League, or the Fairfax County Fire Department-Franconia Station #5 in memory of Louise.

**DONATELLI**



**ANN KIRILIN DONATELLI**

Ann was a vibrant and gregarious presence, known for her boundless energy and her role as the life of every gathering. She was an avid bridge player with countless friends. She served with distinction on the board of the International Eye Foundation and contributed in many ways to Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Washington. Ann's involvement in these organizations was a testament to her compassionate spirit and commitment to helping others. Born and raised in Washington, DC and an alumna of Holy Cross High School and Georgetown Visitation Preparatory School (junior college), Ann cherished her education and friendships she made along the way. Her love for travel was evident in her extensive journeys, with a special fondness for her many trips with her beloved husband, Lou, to Positano, Italy, where together they created many treasured memories. Ann's legacy of warmth, joy and generosity will be remembered by all who knew her. Her spirit will live on in the hearts of her family and friends. A Mass of Christian Burial to honor Ann's life will be held Tuesday, September 17 at Saint Bartholomew Catholic Church in Bethesda, Maryland, at 11 a.m. preceded by a visitation beginning at 10 a.m. in lieu of flowers, the family requests donations be made to Mercy Health Clinic in her memory. May she rest in peace and may her memory be a blessing to all who knew her.

**DEATH NOTICE**

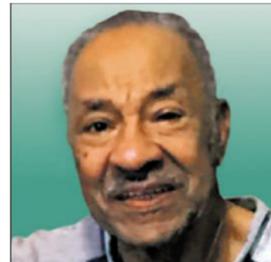
**FELDMAN**



**MARIAN FELDMAN**

Marian Gail Feldman Nee Georges, on September 10, 2024, of North Potomac; Beloved wife of Allen William Feldman; Devoted mother of Zev Maurice Feldman and David Seth Feldman; loving sister of James Georges; cherished grandmother of Amelia Lexi Jordan. Funeral services will be held on Friday, September 13, 2:30 p.m. at Sagel Bloomfield Danzansky Goldberg Funeral Care, 170 Rollins Ave., Rockville, MD 20852. Memorial contributions may be made to a charity of choice. [www.sagelbloomfield.com](http://www.sagelbloomfield.com)

**JONES**



**SIDNEY JONES**

On Wednesday, September 4, 2024, Sidney entered into eternal rest. He is survived by his daughter Kia Jones-Mitchell (Herbert), Tiffany Posey; brother Alfred Jones; grandsons Brian Paige, Sean Ellerbe and DeAndre Posey; great grandchildren Sydney Paige, Brilyn Page, Zoe Ellerbe and Brian Paige Jr. along with a host of other relatives and friends. He was preceded in death by his beloved wife Yvonne Jones. Mr. Jones will lie in state at St. Martin's Catholic Church, 1908 North Capitol St. NW on Monday September 16, from 10 a.m. until service at 11 a.m. Interment at Lincoln Memorial Cemetery.

**STEELE**



**ROBERT LEE STEELE**

On Wednesday, September 4, 2024, Robert Lee Steele peacefully transitioned to eternal rest. He is preceded in death by his beloved wife, Patricia Lynn Steele and son, Derrick Steele. Mr. Steele leaves to cherish his memory, a devoted daughter, Bonita LaLuan Steele, nieces, nephews other relatives and friends. A viewing will be held at Alfred Street Baptist Church, 301 S. Alfred Street, Alexandria, Virginia on Tuesday, September 17, 2024 from 10 a.m. until time of service 11 a.m. Interment, Mt. Comfort Cemetery, Alexandria, VA.

**DEATH NOTICE**

**MONROE**



**ALFRED LEROY MONROE "Mike" (Age 92)**

Alfred L. "Mike" Monroe born November 25, 1931 in Alexandria, VA to Edward and Bertha Monroe, passed away on September 9, 2024. Mike was one of 10 Monroe children all born and raised in Alexandria, VA. Mike married Betty C. Monroe (deceased) his childhood sweetheart on May 25, 1950. They built their family with five children of their own, Michael (Dawn), Beth (Sandy), Mark (Brenda), Bill (Kathy) and Al Jr. (Kim) and 15 grandchildren, Tiffany, Michael, John, Beau, Alexandra, Jason, Erin, Bridgette, Benjamin, Lindsay, Lauren, Mitchell, Julia, Hanna and Aleigh. They had 10 great grandchildren, Ethan, Ava, Waylon, Logan, Hayes, Paxton, Leighton, Madeline, Margaret and Walker. He was a brother to, Edna, Marie, Dots, Shirley, Edward, Willy, Louis, Clarence and George. He was uncle Mike to many nieces and nephews which he enjoyed. When Mike began building his family with Betty he was working as a milkman for an Alexandria dairy, occasionally hustling pool games around town to make ends meet. He

recognized the need to choose another path for his life and his family. In the 1950's Mike and his brothers worked alongside one another as union painters joining the Brotherhood of Painters Decorators and Paperhangers of America. They were joined by many nephews and cousins working successfully in the various disciplines in the union construction crafts. He began his professional and political career in 1960 becoming an elected union official with the Alexandria affiliate, Painters Local Union 890. In the 1960's he was identified for his leadership and received an appointment with the International Union as a General Representative serving the Mid-Atlantic traveling throughout New Jersey to South Carolina. In 1974 he ran for office and was elected General Vice President for the Mid-Atlantic second district of the International Union. In 1984 he ran for office and was elected to the position of General Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union. And in 1992 he was selected by his General Executive Board to become the General President of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades and Allied Trades. In 1994 he was elected by the International Convention delegates to serve a 5-year term as International General President. He retired from the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades being granted the position as General President Emeritus Mike and Betty enjoyed spending time with family. Their shared hobby was the "Sport of Kings" owning and betting on thoroughbred race horses around VA, MD and Florida. For Mike and Betty personally there was nothing better than a day together at Gulfstream Racetrack in Hollywood Florida. Mike Monroe, father, brother, uncle, pop-pop and friend. He lived and shared one great life for 92 years. Monday, September 16, 10:00 a.m. Home, Washington, DC. Tuesday, September 17, 10:00 a.m. visitation and viewing, 11 a.m. funeral service, 11:30 a.m. cemetery service.

**RIGLER**



**DOUGLAS VERNON RIGLER**

Douglas Vernon Rigler passed on at home in Bethesda, MD, on August 22, 2024.

Douglas was born in Brookline, MA, on December 4, 1934, the son of the late Frank Vernon Rigler and Maye Haddix Rigler. As a young boy, he moved with his military family to locations including Hawaii and Virginia. The family of three eventually settled in Annapolis, MD, where Douglas graduated from the nearby Severn School at age 16.

Douglas was appointed to the United States Naval Academy. However, he had to wait a year to enroll because he was younger than the minimum age requirement. Douglas filled that year attending Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, MD. He thoroughly enjoyed his time there and an engaged connected to the university in the ensuing years.

At the Naval Academy, Douglas developed a passion for aviation. Following his graduation in 1956 and flight training, Douglas joined a squadron as a pilot of P2Vs, an antisubmarine patrol bomber. Douglas's years as a Navy pilot included aircraft carrier qualification, patrolling the east coast of North America and more.

Douglas left active duty in order to attend law school. He attended George Washington University Law School and, because of his love of flying, enrolled in the Navy's active reserves. While in law school, Douglas learned from an article in the Washington Post that he had been recalled to active duty. He served his country during the Berlin and Cuban Missile crises. Douglas graduated from GWU Law School as an honors student and an editor of the Law Review.

While attending law school, Douglas met Katherine Curtis. They fell in love and married in 1962. The couple packed numerous adventures, time with family and friends, and travel into their almost 62 years together. Although Douglas was an only child, embraced Katherine's parents, three siblings and extended family, and loved them all deeply.

Douglas and Katherine settled in Bethesda, where they raised their children, Douglas Curtis Rigler and Katherine Brooke Rigler Adams. Much to Douglas and Katherine's

delight and pleasure, his children (including daughter-in-law Penny Rigler and son-in-law Steven Adams) and grandchildren (Samuel Rigler, Garrick Adams, Wilson Rigler, and Charlotte Adams) all live in the area.

A highly experienced litigator, Douglas twice argued in the Supreme Court of the United States as lead counsel selected to speak for multiple parties, including five foreign governments. He also argued in numerous federal courts of appeal and state supreme courts. He served on the International Trade Commission. During service as a member of the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board Panel of the United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Douglas presided over the largest antitrust trial in the history of the agency at that time.

Outside of work, Douglas loved to travel, both nationally and internationally, in his Navy days and subsequently, he visited every continent except Antarctica. He and Katherine twice drove with their young children across the country, seeing friends and family and learning more about the United States.

The White Mountains of New Hampshire were a key travel destination for the family. The first visited the area as a young boy attending camp and later as a homeowner, including a home he sketched out and designed himself. Douglas enjoyed watching the changing mountain weather and the area wildlife, including moose and black bears. Douglas and Katherine are members of the Appalachian Mountain Club's White Mountains 4000 Feet Club, having hiked all of the peaks 4,000 feet or higher in New Hampshire. They very much enjoyed hiking in the White Mountains with family and friends.

Douglas brought his intellectual curiosity and knowledge to countless activities and interests. Douglas had an encyclopedic knowledge of history, art, music and other fields. He was a good person to have on your team in Trivial Pursuit! He was a member of the Edgemoor Club, where he enjoyed playing tennis and swimming laps in the pool. He was an adept amateur pianist and also played bridge, chess, and a license plate game, trying to spot plates from all fifty states in a single month. He made this task extraordinarily difficult to accomplish by requiring that to be counted in the total, the new state had to be geographically contiguous to a state already counted — you have to know your geography! Douglas was an avid reader and participated in two book groups, including one which has been active for six decades. Douglas was a lifelong learner. He is loved and sorely missed by his family and friends.

A celebration of life will take place at Bradley Hills Presbyterian Church on Sunday, November 3, 2024, at 1:30 p.m., followed by a reception in the church's Memorial Hall. The family will hold a private ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery at a future date.

In lieu of flowers, the family invites those who wish to do so to make a donation to the U.S. Naval Academy Foundation, 301 King George St., Annapolis, MD 21402, or to a charity of choice.

**SAYLOR**



**SCOTT DAVID SAYLOR**

Washington, DC native Scott David Saylor, a graduate student living in Morgantown, West Virginia accidentally drowned on July 14, 2024, while swimming at Summersville State Park. He was 44 years old and beginning his fifth and final year toward a Ph.D. in biochemistry and molecular biology at WVU. His laboratory work and professional ambition were focused on curing disease and ameliorating suffering.

Scott was born and spent his early years in Washington, DC. He lived in Oberlin, Ohio; Osaka and Tokyo, Japan; Monterey, CA; San Francisco, California; and most recently, Morgantown, West Virginia. Fluent in Japanese, Scott was honored by Oberlin with a Shansi Fellowship for two years teaching English at a Japanese university. Scott enjoyed cooking Asian food and traveling. He was a compassionate and caring friend, free of social bias, welcoming to all.

A competitive diver and swimmer in his youth, Scott delighted in using his strong physique and skilled strokes to glide for hours across ponds, lakes, rivers and oceans (the Outer Banks and Delaware coast). Although the precise medical trigger of his death is unknown, he surely died doing what he loved.

Scott was also a talented musician, singing and playing piano and guitar, especially songs of Stevie Nicks and other Fleetwood Mac hits. Scott was graduated from Washington's St. Albans School in 1998, and then double-majored in Asian Studies and Chemistry at Oberlin College (2002). He earned a Master of Arts in Translation and Localization Management from the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, California (2008). Scott was self-employed as a Japanese-to-English translator of complex medical and financial matters for over 10 years. He began his doctoral studies and research at West Virginia University in fall 2020.

Scott is survived by his parents, David and Virginia "Jinny" (Lauer) Saylor; his sisters, Elizabeth Saylor and Tracy Piatkowski; brother-in-law Adam Piatkowski; niece, Sophie; and nephews, Ethan, Liam, Ryan and Nicholas. His partner, Roadney Ceballos; and his rescue pups, William and Bradley. All who loved Scott take comfort in knowing he is reunited with his cherished dogs, Vinnie, Heathcliff, and Rodney.

A celebration of Scott's life will take place on Friday, September 27, 2024, at Joseph Gawler's Sons Funeral Home 5130 Wisconsin Avenue 20016 Washington, DC., beginning at 1 p.m. All who loved Scott are welcome to join. [www.josephgawlers.com](http://www.josephgawlers.com)

The Saylor Family wishes to extend its sincere gratitude to all the first responders and search and rescue teams of the West Virginia State Police, West Virginia Division of Natural Resources, and Army Corp of Engineers. Please consider sharing in our appreciation and honoring Scott's love of dogs by making a donation to First Responder Therapy Dogs [www.firstrespondertherapydogs.org](http://www.firstrespondertherapydogs.org)



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# THE WEATHER

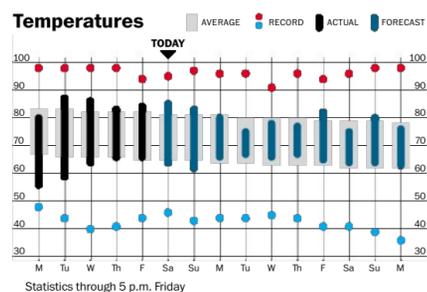
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## Another temperate day

In the morning, fog and clouds should readily dissipate. Sunny and clear skies are probable by midday through the afternoon, boosting high temperatures into the low to mid-80s. Dew points should dip back below the 60-degree mark, optimizing comfort. As skies turn sunny, easterly breezes may get energized, gusting near 20 mph. A stray shower may develop; in the evening, clouds and fog may develop, especially toward sunrise, but otherwise we're fairly clear. Lows will bottom out in the 60s.

Today	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
Morning fog	Mostly sunny	Partly sunny	Rain, humid	Rain, t-storm	Shower, humid
<b>85°</b> 64°	<b>83°</b> 62°	<b>80°</b> 66°	<b>75°</b> 67°	<b>78°</b> 66°	<b>77°</b> 67°
FEELS*: 85°	FEELS: 83°	FEELS: 81°	FEELS: 76°	FEELS: 78°	FEELS: 79°
CHNCE PRECIP: 0%	P: 0%	P: 10%	P: 65%	P: 95%	P: 35%
WIND: ENE 7-14 mph	W: ENE 7-14 mph	W: NE 7-14 mph	W: NE 7-14 mph	W: ENE 7-14 mph	W: E 7-14 mph
HUMIDITY: High	H: High	H: Moderate	H: High	H: High	H: High

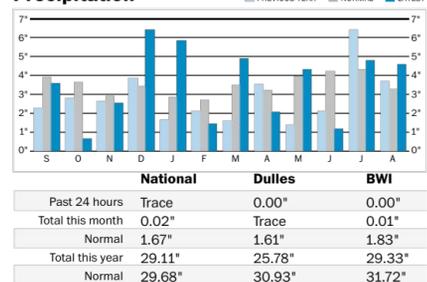
## OFFICIAL RECORD



	National	Dulles	BWI
High	84° 3:33 p.m.	81° 3:47 p.m.	82° 3:57 p.m.
Low	66° 4:00 a.m.	57° 4:25 a.m.	62° 12:58 a.m.
Normal	82°/65°	80°/59°	81°/60°
Record high	94° 1925	94° 1974	97° 1952
Record low	44° 1917	43° 1985	42° 1958

Difference from 30-yr. avg. (National): this month: -3.5° yr. to date: +2.3°

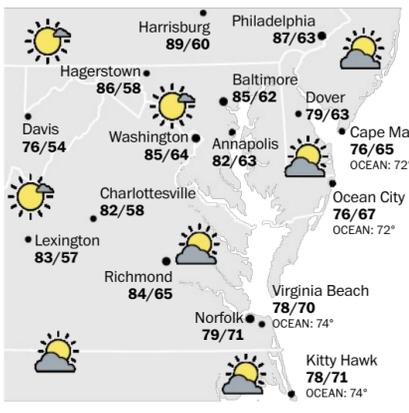
## Precipitation



	National	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	Trace	0.00"	0.00"
Total this month	0.02"	Trace	0.01"
Normal	1.67"	1.61"	1.83"
Total this year	29.11"	25.78"	29.33"
Normal	29.68"	30.93"	31.72"

	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	86/62/s	86/59/s
Albuquerque	91/63/p	86/58/t
Anchorage	54/49/r	59/49/c
Atlanta	75/69/t	77/68/sh
Austin	99/74/p	101/70/p
Baltimore	85/62/s	84/61/s
Billings, MT	78/52/p	84/55/p
Birmingham	78/69/t	76/67/t
Bismarck, ND	84/59/s	85/63/p
Boise	84/56/s	78/54/p
Boston	77/62/s	73/58/s
Buffalo	85/61/s	85/61/s
Burlington, VT	82/61/s	86/64/s
Charleston, SC	82/71/t	83/70/c
Charleston, WV	89/58/p	88/57/s
Charlotte	82/67/sh	80/66/c
Cheyenne, WY	82/49/s	81/51/t
Chicago	87/67/p	88/66/p
Cincinnati	90/66/p	88/64/p
Cleveland	86/63/s	87/62/s
Dallas	98/74/p	97/75/s
Denver	89/56/s	88/58/p
Des Moines	81/66/c	85/63/p
Detroit	83/63/p	84/63/p
El Paso	97/71/p	98/72/p
Fairbanks, AK	57/45/c	57/40/sh
Fargo, ND	83/67/t	88/67/s
Hartford, CT	86/60/s	82/54/s
Honolulu	89/75/sh	89/77/sh
Houston	96/76/p	95/74/s
Indianapolis	89/65/p	89/63/p
Jackson, MS	83/68/s	84/69/p
Jacksonville, FL	85/73/t	85/72/t
Kansas City, MO	84/64/p	85/63/p
Las Vegas	96/73/s	95/69/s
Little Rock	83/71/sh	80/68/sh
Los Angeles	79/63/p	76/62/p
Louisville	90/68/t	90/66/c
Memphis	78/70/sh	75/67/c
Miami	92/77/t	90/77/t
Milwaukee	81/68/p	83/65/p
Minneapolis	77/66/t	85/68/p
Nashville	81/69/t	84/67/sh
New Orleans	92/74/p	90/74/p
New York City	83/66/s	80/63/s
Norfolk	79/71/p	79/67/c
Oklahoma City	93/67/s	92/68/t
Omaha	82/65/c	88/65/p
Orlando	90/75/t	91/75/t
Philadelphia	87/63/s	83/62/s
Phoenix	102/79/p	95/72/t
Pittsburgh	86/60/s	86/61/s
Portland, ME	75/54/s	75/56/s
Portland, OR	71/55/p	71/54/p
Providence, RI	82/59/s	79/55/s
Raleigh, NC	83/68/c	81/66/c
Reno, NV	87/53/p	80/49/p
Richmond	84/65/p	82/61/p
Sacramento	91/57/s	77/55/s
St. Louis	84/70/sh	83/69/t
St. Thomas, VI	90/81/r	91/82/s
Salt Lake City	86/66/p	87/63/p
San Diego	76/66/p	74/65/p
San Francisco	70/55/s	68/55/p
San Juan, PR	93/80/t	93/80/c
Seattle	67/52/sh	65/51/p
Spokane, WA	69/50/p	69/51/c
Syracuse	85/61/s	86/63/s
Tampa	90/77/t	90/77/t
Wichita	89/67/s	90/66/t
Addis Ababa	70/51/sh	72/51/p
Amsterdam	64/49/p	67/55/c
Athens	86/71/s	83/68/s
Auckland	64/56/r	61/48/p
Baghdad	103/81/p	104/77/p
Bangkok	94/81/sh	94/81/t
Beijing	77/59/p	77/59/c
Berlin	65/48/p	66/53/s
Bogota	71/48/p	71/48/c
Brussels	62/43/p	65/50/p
Buenos Aires	65/50/s	64/53/p
Cairo	91/77/s	95/77/p
Caracas	64/68/t	81/67/t
Copenhagen	64/49/p	65/50/s
Dakar	85/78/t	85/79/t
Dublin	66/58/c	64/47/c
Edinburgh	65/54/c	63/45/p
Frankfurt	63/42/c	64/50/c
Geneva	59/45/s	62/47/p
Ham, Bermuda	79/74/r	80/77/c
Helsinki	67/53/sh	63/51/sh
Ho Chi Minh City	87/77/t	88/76/t
Hong Kong	91/79/t	91/81/t
Islamabad	85/69/t	90/67/p
Istanbul	86/70/s	78/63/p
Jerusalem	83/67/s	82/65/s
Johannesburg	87/61/c	86/62/p
Kabul	76/55/sh	77/61/s
Kingston, Jam.	90/81/t	91/82/t
Kolkata	81/76/t	83/77/t
Kyiv	81/64/p	81/62/p
Lagos	83/77/r	84/77/r
Lima	67/58/p	66/58/p
Lisbon	86/66/s	91/69/s
London	67/46/p	69/54/p
Madrid	80/56/s	86/57/c
Manila	85/79/r	88/78/r
Mexico City	78/58/r	78/55/sh
Montreal	80/61/s	82/64/s
Moscow	77/55/p	79/52/p
Mumbai	88/78/sh	89/77/sh
Nairobi	81/54/p	82/56/c
New Delhi	89/76/t	91/76/s
Oslo	64/46/s	64/54/p
Ottawa	82/60/s	83/59/s
Paris	63/43/s	67/48/s
Prague	56/47/r	54/48/r
Rio de Janeiro	92/73/p	82/72/p
Riyadh	106/80/p	107/79/p
Rome	75/53/s	77/56/p
San Salvador	86/71/t	86/71/r
Sancti Spiritus	76/41/s	77/45/s
Sarajevo	55/47/r	53/47/r
Seoul	88/75/sh	89/74/sh
Shanghai	93/81/c	91/81/s
Singapore	91/79/t	88/79/t
Stockholm	62/40/s	61/38/s
Sydney	75/48/p	60/45/sh
Taipei City	91/76/t	94/79/r
Tehran	88/67/p	85/66/p
Tokyo	92/81/s	91/79/c
Toronto	78/62/s	82/63/s
Vienna	51/48/r	53/51/r
Warsaw	70/60/t	72/59/c

## REGION



**Pollen: High**  
Grass High  
Trees Moderate  
Weeds High  
Mold Moderate

**Air Quality: Moderate**  
Dominant cause: Ozone

**UV: High**  
6 out of 11+

**Blue Ridge:** Today, partly sunny; however, sunnier in northern parts. High 63 to 72. Winds east 6-12 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy. Low 53 to 57. Winds east 6-12 mph. Sunday, partly sunny; impacts from a tropical rainstorm expected early next week.

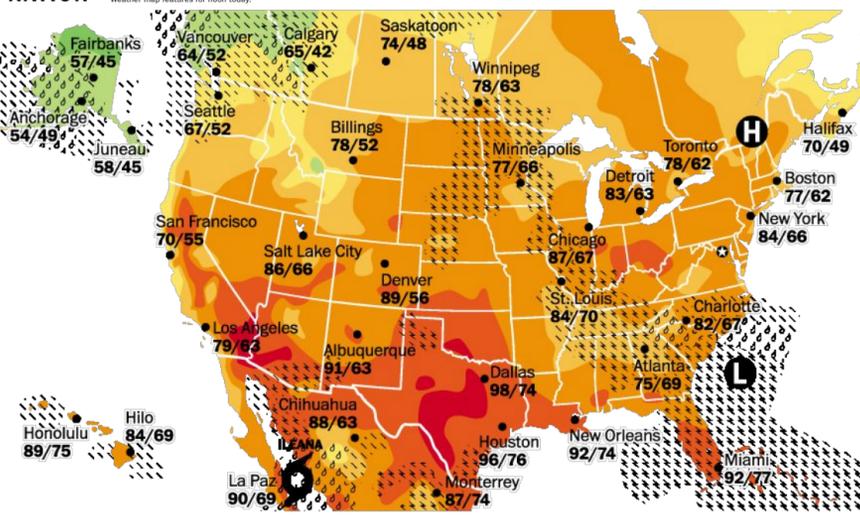
**Atlantic beaches:** Today, partly sunny, breezy. Areas of morning fog; humid in the south. High 75 to 79. Winds northeast 10-20 mph. Tonight, clear, humid. Low 64 to 71. Winds northeast 7-14 mph. Sunday, a shower in spots in the south. High 75 to 79.

**Waterways:** Upper Potomac River: Today, partly sunny. Wind northeast 6-12 knots. Waves 2 feet or less. Visibility unrestricted. Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay: Today, fog in the morning, mostly cloudy. Wind northeast 7-14 knots. Waves 1-2 feet on the Lower Potomac; 1-3 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. River Stages: The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.70 feet today, with no change of 2.70 Sunday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

**Today's tides** (High tides in Bold)

Location	5:00 a.m.	12:24 p.m.	5:44 p.m.	None
Washington	5:00 a.m.	12:24 p.m.	5:44 p.m.	none
Annapolis	2:43 a.m.	9:16 a.m.	2:12 p.m.	8:34 p.m.
Ocean City	4:35 a.m.	10:38 a.m.	5:12 p.m.	11:40 p.m.
Norfolk	12:42 a.m.	6:36 a.m.	12:37 p.m.	7:07 p.m.
Point Lookout	5:43 a.m.	10:28 a.m.	4:19 p.m.	11:19 p.m.

## NATION



Weather map features for noon today.

Tstorms Rain Showers Snow Flurries Ice Cold Front Warm Front Stationary Front

Yesterday's National High: Gila Bend, AZ 105° Low: Daniel, WY 22° for the 48 contiguous states

World High: Yambu, Saudi Arabia 115° Low: Tungkoachen, Russia 11° excludes Antarctica

	Today	Tomorrow
Des Moines	81/66/c	85/63/p
Oklahoma City	93/67/s	92/68/t
Albany, NY	86/62/s	86/59/s
Albuquerque	91/63/p	86/58/t
Anchorage	54/49/r	59/49/c
Atlanta	75/69/t	77/68/sh
Austin	99/74/p	101/70/p
Baltimore	85/62/s	84/61/s
Billings, MT	78/52/p	84/55/p
Birmingham	78/69/t	76/67/t
Bismarck, ND	84/59/s	85/63/p
Boise	84/56/s	78/54/p
Boston	77/62/s	73/58/s
Buffalo	85/61/s	85/61/s
Burlington, VT	82/61/s	86/64/s
Charleston, SC	82/71/t	83/70/c
Charleston, WV	89/58/p	88/57/s
Charlotte	82/67/sh	80/66/c
Cheyenne, WY	82/49/s	81/51/t
Chicago	87/67/p	88/66/p
Cincinnati	90/66/p	88/64/p
Cleveland	86/63/s	87/62/s
Dallas	98/74/p	97/75/s
Denver	89/56/s	88/58/p
Des Moines	81/66/c	85/63/p
Detroit	83/63/p	84/63/p
El Paso	97/71/p	98/72/p
Fairbanks, AK	57/45/c	57/40/sh
Fargo, ND	83/67/t	88/67/s
Hartford, CT	86/60/s	82/54/s
Honolulu	89/75/sh	89/77/sh
Houston	96/76/p	95/74/s
Indianapolis	89/65/p	89/63/p
Jackson, MS	83/68/s	84/69/p
Jacksonville, FL	85/73/t	85/72/t
Kansas City, MO	84/64/p	85/63/p
Las Vegas	96/73/s	95/69/s
Little Rock	83/71/sh	80/68/sh
Los Angeles	79/63/p	76/62/p
Louisville	90/68/t	90/66/c
Memphis	78/70/sh	75/67/c
Miami	92/77/t	90/77/t
Milwaukee	81/68/p	83/65/p
Minneapolis	77/66/t	85/68/p
Nashville	81/69/t	84/67/sh
New Orleans	92/74/p	90/74/p
New York City	83/66/s	80/63/s
Norfolk	79/71/p	79/67/c
Oklahoma City	93/67/s	92/68/t
Omaha	82/65/c	88/65/p
Orlando	90/75/t	91/75/t
Philadelphia	87/63/s	83/62/s
Phoenix	102/79/p	95/72/t
Pittsburgh	86/60/s	86/61/s
Portland, ME	75/54/s	75/56/s
Portland, OR	71/55/p	71/54/p
Providence, RI	82/59/s	79/55/s
Raleigh, NC	83/68/c	81/66/c
Reno, NV	87/53/p	80/49/p
Richmond	84/65/p	82/61/p
Sacramento	91/57/s	77/55/s
St. Louis	84/70/sh	83/69/t
St. Thomas, VI	90/81/r	91/82/s
Salt Lake City	86/66/p	87/63/p
San Diego	76/66/p	74/65/p
San Francisco	70/55/s	68/55/p
San Juan, PR	93/80/t	93/80/c
Seattle	67/52/sh	65/51/p
Spokane, WA	69/50/p	69/51/c
Syracuse	85/61/s	86/63/s
Tampa	90/77/t	90/77/t
Wichita	89/67/s	90/66/t
Addis Ababa	70/51/sh	72/51/p
Amsterdam	64/49/p	67/55/c
Athens	86/71/s	83/68/s
Auckland	64/56/r	61/48/p
Baghdad	103/81/p	104/77/p
Bangkok	94/81/sh	94/81/t
Beijing	77/59/p	77/59/c
Berlin	65/48/p	66/53/s
Bogota	71/48/p	71/48/c
Brussels	62/43/p	65/50/p
Buenos Aires	65/50/s	64/53/p
Cairo	91/77/s	95/77/p
Caracas	64/68/t	81/67/t
Copenhagen	64/49/p	65/50/s
Dakar	85/78/t	85/79/t
Dublin	66/58/c	64/47/c
Edinburgh	65/54/c	63/45/p
Frankfurt	63/42/c	64/



# NATASHA ROTHWELL IS FLIPPING THE SCRIPT

With her Hulu rom-com, the writer-actress takes us on a self-discovery journey

BY ALEXIS P. WILLIAMS

In Natasha Rothwell's fairy tale, the damsel may be in distress, but she eventually figures it out. Sure, someday her prince will come, but he's not the prize. The 43-year-old actor-writer would much rather talk about the mess before the happy ending.

"I have been in therapy for 20-plus years and have done a lot of work," Rothwell said via Zoom on a July afternoon. "So much of how I've seen the process represented is like a before and after. There's no 'Here's that moment in time where I did the same thing I swore I wouldn't do! Here's me f--ing up again!'"

For Rothwell, who calls herself "very much a recovering people pleaser," cleaning up that metaphorical mess meant finding ways to be heard — both in the writers room and on-screen. She eventually did just that on "Insecure," where she was a writer and a scene-stealing breakout star on the critically acclaimed dramedy, which ran five seasons on HBO. And she'll reprise her Emmy-nominated role from "The White Lotus" in the hit show's third season, out next year. But it's only now, in a development deal seven years in the making, that her best-friend charm, *wait-what-did-you-just-say?* zingers, and pop culture-infused humor have finally landed her a leading role, in the new Hulu comedy series, "How to Die Alone," which premiered Friday.

Rothwell said the idea of "flirting with the possibility of what my life could be" if she were more vulnerable, authentic and fearless inspired the series, which she also co-wrote and co-produced. She plays Melissa "Mel" Jackson, a disillusioned, 35-year-old JFK Airport employee who not only has a fear of flying but also of falling in love. The broke Brooklynite is more than content driving handicapped and elderly passengers to their gates while awkwardly working alongside her ex-boyfriend, Alex, whom she secretly still pines for. Although her colleagues working the tarmac say Mel's "got that Lizzo-Rihanna thing going on," she doesn't see it. After finding herself alone in her apartment on her birthday haphazardly putting together Ikea-like furniture (it

SEE ROTHWELL ON C2

"Everything about her says, 'I'm a star, and I'm ready for this,'" Issa Rae says of Natasha Rothwell.

#### MEDIA

Photographers urge Harris campaign to expand pool. C4

#### CAROLYN HAX

They want to keep inheritance from son's cheating wife. C8

DAVID NEEDLEMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

#### THEATER REVIEW

## A well-woven story set in a hair salon

BY NAVEEN KUMAR

The kaleidoscope of colors and textures on display in "Jaja's African Hair Braiding" demonstrates more than the whims of the women who wear them. Style is about making a personal statement that speaks to public perception.

A Beyoncé fan who walks into a Harlem salon asking for the floor-grazing blond braids from the "Formation" video is expressing a pop culture allegiance (and quite a bit of swag). An editorial assistant who wants micro braids, a refined style that can take all day to complete, is a determined striver with no small amount of patience.

In Jocelyn Bioh's vibrant new play, each patron who comes through the door, and each stylist in the shop, SEE THEATER REVIEW ON C3

#### NEW YORK FASHION WEEK

## 'Kamala couture' was the hottest accessory

BY MAURA JUDKIS

NEW YORK — The election was clearly on the minds — and bodies — of people attending New York Fashion Week.

Designer Prabal Gurung sent a coconut tree minidress down the runway. There were "Cat Lady" sweaters at the Batsheva presentation. Jenna Lyons, "Real Housewives of New York" star and former J. Crew creative director, sported the camouflage Harris/Walz hat throughout the week. The label Area showed a "Bans Off Our Bodies" T-shirt with two red hands that appeared to be grabbing a model where her ovaries would be. At Michael Kors, theater producer Jordan Roth toted a navy-blue Harris/Walz purse that, he later explained on social media, was "An Amazon clutch with a bumper sticker on it."

It was "the accessory of the fall," he declared. "Kamala couture."

The prospect of dressing a potential Madam President seems to have ener-

SEE FASHION WEEK ON C8



JEENAH MOON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Ronald Van Der Kemp's show on Sept. 11 featured copious American patriotism, with stars and stripes emblazoning gowns, hats, boots, jeans and stiletto heels.

#### BOOK WORLD

## Couple's saga is as wild as a country song

BY ALLISON STEWART

There's a photo from the 1950s of country singer George Jones standing against a car, squinting into the sun. Maybe it's the uncomfortable half-smile or the way the shadows are hitting his 20-something face — the image is unsettling.

"He looks like pure abyss wearing a George Jones mask, empty and waiting for the spirits to take control," writes Tyler Mahan Coe, author of the superb new biography, "Cocaine & Rhinestones: A History of George Jones and Tammy Wynette."

Jones was indeed on a downward spiral, a descent that would pick up speed some 14 years later, when he took up with Tammy Wynette (nee Virginia SEE BOOK WORLD ON C3

# Rothwell refined her comedic chops on D.C.-area stages

ROTHWELL FROM C1

doesn't go well), she wakes up in the hospital, where we find out she's her own emergency contact. Sprinkle in a little motivational speech, add a dash of questionable (read: illegal) activity and Mel's journey of self-discovery takes flight.

"I wanted to go towards the thing that scared me the most, which at the time was dying alone," Rothwell said. "I wanted to really explore the difference between being alone and loneliness because up until my early 20s I confused them often."

Her beloved rom-coms taught her she needed a man — even if it took "12 years and three months" to figure it out as in her favorite flick "When Harry Met Sally." Her parents' 48-year marriage still gave her all the feels. Leave it to her friends to give her a reality check — even in relationships you could still feel lonely, they told her.

But Mel's malaise, which draws on Rothwell's bouts with anxiety and depression, is only a part of her mess. Rothwell wrote "How to Die Alone" as a "love letter to the unhealed version" of herself — the wide-eyed military brat who switched schools every two years and used comedy as a means to make new friends. The depleted college graduate armed with a theater degree "in the middle of a recession."

Rothwell, who serves as co-showrunner on the series, sought to capture the "beauty" in making mistakes and getting Mel past her "deep fear of changing her life." In the first episode, she flashes her badge to a TSA agent who doesn't pay her the time of day. Passersby bump into her without apology. An overzealous security officer tackles her as she strolls through a beeping metal detector.

"If you live in a world where you are brown and plus-size and a woman, there's not a ton of affirmation about your worthiness to achieve things," Rothwell said. "There's a lot of affirmations about how you can be useful to White protagonists and their stories, how you can spin your magic and do superhuman feats. But there's not a lot of permission or acknowledgment of the smaller wins that co-sign our existence. That's also the burden Mel carries. 'Why would I even try to engage in a world that doesn't even see me?'"

Rothwell has worked to be seen since graduating from the University of Maryland. She cut her teeth performing throughout the D.C. area at venues such as the Studio Theatre, the Kennedy Center and the Olney Theatre. She worked at the Woolly Mammoth Theatre and perfected her comedic skills at the Washing-



DAVID NEEDLEMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ton Improv Theatre. After relocating to the Bronx, to serve as a drama teacher for four years, and performing improv at Upright Citizens Brigade, she was asked to join the coveted writer's room at "Saturday Night Live" during the 2014-2015 season following a noticeable drought of Black female voices.

But Rothwell felt her gut-busting humor was undervalued. That is — until Issa Rae called. Rothwell was the first writer hired to script the comedy "Insecure," and her character, Kelli Prenny, became an instant fan favorite. She's been living in Los Angeles ever since.

"In hiring Natasha for the writers room, I read her initial pilot, which was hilarious," Rae said. "It was called 'Worth the Wait.' I'll

never forget it. It just clued you into her humor. She's incredibly goofy and immature, but also extremely witty and a pop-culture vault."

As the wisecracking, unfiltered accountant Kelli, Rothwell's facial expressions and one-liners quickly became a part of pop culture as go-to GIFs. It seemed like the more times fans quoted, "You know what that is? *Growth*," with her flower-blooming hand gesture, the more roles came Rothwell's way. From the no-nonsense drama teacher Ms. Albright in 2018's "Love, Simon" to the temperamental single mother Rachel in 2020's "Sonic the Hedgehog," the solid supporting star was inching closer and closer toward the spotlight. But as Belinda, the

beleaguered spa manager in "The White Lotus," the actress traded in her headstrong characters for a more emotionally complex role, while still holding her own against fellow funny girl Jennifer Coolidge.

"It woke Hollywood up to what I've known for a long time, which is that I can do it all," Rothwell said of the role that earned her an Emmy nomination for outstanding supporting actress in a limited series. "I just want the opportunity to do it all."

Like Rae and many other Black entertainers, Rothwell launched her own production company — Big Hattie Productions — to get more nuanced, character-driven stories told that reflect the experiences of people of color. Or as its X

**Natasha Rothwell has worked as a writer for "Saturday Night Live" and "Insecure," the HBO series in which she also starred as unfiltered accountant Kelli.**

bio reads, it's "Not your mammy's production company." It will produce stories such as "Who TF Did I Marry," the viral TikTok saga created by internet personality Reesa Teesa about her ill-fated marriage to a "pathological liar." Rothwell is set to star as Teesa in an upcoming TV adaptation.

Her company is named in honor of actress Hattie McDaniel, the first Black person to win an Academy Award, in 1940, and someone Rothwell said "made you acknowledge her existence" in her acclaimed supporting roles. "What would have happened if the camera just turned a little bit in those scenes and we were just focused on Hattie's character?" Rothwell said, panning her hands from left to right like a lens. "I feel really seen by her presence on screen, and I wanted to create a company that would allow others to feel the same way."

Actor Bashir Salahuddin plays Mel's snarky older brother Brian — a seemingly happily married father of two with whom she often clashes. A writer, producer and showrunner with a theater background from Harvard, he co-created the comedy series "South Side" and "Sherman's Showcase" after years of rejection and frequent typecasting as a security guard or a nonspeaking police officer. The "Top Gun: Maverick" star said his role in Rothwell's series is "everything you'd hope for."

"I would get these scripts and be so impressed with the writing that I would be up late at night working on lines trying to make sure that when I showed up I brought my A game," he said.

Following a surge in diverse programming after the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020, "How to Die Alone" debuts at a time when Black-led shows are now few and far between. Last year, HBO Max (now Max) canceled Salahuddin's "South Side" after three seasons. His other project, "Sherman's Showcase," has been on an extended hiatus from IFC since 2022. In January, Max ended Rae's scripted series "Rap Sh!t" after two seasons. "Run the World," "Lovecraft Country," "Grand Crew," "Everything's Trash," "Kindred," "Our Kind of People" and more failed to make it past one or two seasons.

"To be in a position where you have to wait for someone to give you your opportunity is nuts," Rae said. "I'm writing so much of what I want to see, but the other side of it is, obviously, you still need a buyer. Being on the other side of

opportunity so you can grant it to yourself is important and empowering."

Behind the scenes of "Insecure," Rae said she happily obliged when Rothwell asked to direct episodes or sought her advice on show development. Over time, the "Wonka" actress, who used to raise her hand in SNL's writer's room in hopes of getting a laugh, regularly left her "Insecure" peers in hysterics.

"Everything about her says, 'I'm a star, and I'm ready for this,'" Rae said.

All those years in therapy have paid off for Rothwell, who's "recognizing my own agency and becoming a boundary baddie," she said.

For her, self-care is "often listening to my needs in the moment, and sometimes that's a fistful of edibles and watching 'Futura-ama.' And sometimes that's meditating. And sometimes that's a long walk. And sometimes that's putting on my shoes and grabbing a picket sign and hitting the streets."

And sometimes, yes, it's being alone.

"I try to really honor my need for peace and quiet."

Rothwell's new writers room boasts 11 writers — four men and seven women (nine are people of color.) To ensure the "vibes are on point," the walls are decorated with Polaroids of the team on their first day of work. Her creative process can go from deep character dives and sharing inspirational playlists to solving puzzles or playing with Play-Doh.

"I want to make sure people feel safe and respected, but also have the joy of coming in because it's hard work," she said.

Salahuddin said Rothwell's leadership is the show's "secret sauce." But, despite her stacked résumé, he also senses her need to prove herself and validate her storytelling.

"When you're Black and a showrunner or you're the lead, there's a lot of translational work that you have to do, and a lot of that can be frustrating," he said. "Now imagine what Natasha has to do. She still has to be able to present things to leadership [who] may or may not always get it. That is something I think folks need to understand when they watch the show. The mere fact that we're even watching [it] is a testament to her leadership."

After years of people-pleasing and rejection, Rothwell is living her fairy tale — embracing "happily ever after" on her terms.

"I'm thriving, in abundance, limitless, and in disbelief," Rothwell said. "... I'm trying to be present and enjoy this moment. It's 'me season,' and I'm trying to really enjoy the weather."



IAN WATSON/HULU

In her new Hulu series, "How to Die Alone," Rothwell, pictured with co-star Conrad Ricamora, plays Mel, a disillusioned airport employee who not only has a fear of flying but also of falling in love.



DAVID NEEDLEMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

"If you live in a world where you are brown and plus-size and a woman, there's not a ton of affirmation about your worthiness to achieve things," Rothwell says.

## the **GUIDE** to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
<b>THEATRE</b>					
 <b>LAS 22+ BODAS DE HUGO</b> by Gustavo Ott	Thru Sept 29 Thurs- Sat at 8 pm Sun at 2 pm	Why does Hugo keep getting married? This tale of a "beautiful crime" delves into themes of love and hatred, immigration, and the need for refuge.	<b>GALA Theatre</b> 3333 14th Street NW 202-234-7174 <a href="http://www.galatheatre.org">www.galatheatre.org</a>	\$25 - \$50	In Spanish with English surtitles
<b>MUSIC - CHAMBER</b>					
 <b>21st Century Consort</b>	Sunday, Sep 15, 2024 1:30 Pre-concert discussion 2:30 Concert	A Memorial Portrait of Paul Schoenfield with music by the composer	<b>St. Mark's Episcopal Church</b> 301 A Street, SE, Washington, DC	Free	Information at <a href="http://21consort.org">21consort.org</a>

The Guide to the Lively Arts appears: • Sunday in Arts & Style. deadline: Tues., 12 noon  
• Monday in Style. deadline: Friday, 12 noon • Tuesday in Style. deadline: Mon., 12 noon • Wednesday in Style. deadline: Tues., 12 noon  
• Thursday in Style. deadline: Wed., 12 noon • Friday in Weekend. deadline: Tues., 12 noon • Saturday in Style. deadline: Friday, 12 noon  
For information about advertising, call Jason Samuel at 202-334-4776.  
To reach a representative, call: 202-334-7006 | [guidetoarts@washpost.com](mailto:guidetoarts@washpost.com)

# 'Jaja's African Hair Braiding' shows how Black hairstyles can serve as armor

THEATER REVIEW FROM C1

presents a distinct perspective on social spheres occupied by Black women. Directed with fabulous verve by Whitney White, the production that begins a regional tour at Arena Stage following its Broadway premiere last fall is a carefully observed sociological study outfitted as a fizzy comedy.

The braiders at Jaja's are immigrants from Africa — Senegal, Nigeria, Sierra Leone — who trade barbs and intimacies while their nimble hands are at work. Bea (Awa Sal Secka) is both the fiercest and most sensitive, a teeth-sucking gossip with an opinion about everything and everyone — not least of all Aminata (Tiffany Renee Johnson), who is caught up with a trifling man. Bea considers Nddi (Aisha Sougou), who arrived after her last shop burned down, an entitled intruder.

Like family, the women know where to shiv one another during an argument. But they link arms in the face of a common crisis, be it an annoying client or a greater threat to their livelihood.

The customers who visit over

the course of a sweltering summer day are a rotating carousel of personalities and motivations for a fresh style. Mia Ellis plays sweet and inquisitive Jennifer, who sits all day for micro braids. Melanie Brezill and Colby N. Muhammad take on three characters each with head-spinning and often riotous versatility. Yao Dogbe plays multiple men who pass through hawking accessories, making romantic overtures or both.

The uncertain futures of the youngest shop workers show the challenges bound up with their journeys to the United States. Miriam (Bisserat Tseggai), who left behind her baby daughter in Sierra Leone, hopes to go back to get her and rekindle an old flame. Marie (Jordan Rice), whose mother Jaja (Victoire Charles) brought her over illegally, wants to be a writer, but doesn't have the necessary papers (or Jaja's approval) to go to the college of her choice.

Bioh's play is set in 2019, and its treatment of the Trump administration's anti-immigrant stance is especially timely this fall (the tour will continue to Berkeley Repertory Theatre on Nov. 8, and to Chicago Shakespeare Theater



T. CHARLES ERICKSON

**"Jaja's African Hair Braiding," on tour at Arena Stage, offers a vibrant take on social spheres occupied by Black women.**

Jan. 14). There's power in addressing the ugliness of xenophobia with the production's lavish displays of beauty.

Still, the show makes its strongest impression in the lively rhythms of its pattering, everyday conversation. From petty griev-

ances to profound confessions, Bioh's dialogue creates a sort of immersive harmony that makes you want to lean in, and the cast does fantastic work bringing it to life. It's a testament to the tremendous talent assembled here that the play's 90 minutes feel too short, like the first half of what could be a more substantial story.

The production is a gorgeous feat of design, including costumes by Dede Ayite in rich hues and bold patterns that say as much about the characters as their words do. The astounding hair and wig design by Nikiya Mathis not only traverses an array of eye-popping styles but frequently achieves the blink-and-you'll-miss-it magic of time lapse.

Negotiating how we want to be seen in the places we choose to call home means contending with what others assume when they look at us. Sometimes it helps to have a little armor, and allies who are always ready to have your back.

**Jaja's African Hair Braiding**, through Oct. 13 at Arena Stage. 1 hour, 30 minutes with no intermission. [arenastage.org](http://arenastage.org).

## An unsparing look at Jones and Wynette

BOOK WORLD FROM C1

Wynette Pugh). Jones and Wynette were married for five years, vast periods of which they spent pretending, at least in public, not to despise each other. Theirs was the most storied, and stormy, relationship in country music history, and in "Cocaine & Rhinestones," Coe lays the pair



**COCAINE & RHINESTONES**  
A History of George Jones and Tammy Wynette

By Tyler Mahan Coe  
Simon & Schuster  
512 pp. \$35

out like butterflies pinned to a board.

The story, derived from Coe's podcast of the same name, has everything: love, hate, drinking, brawling, split personalities and the abuse of numerous substances, all set against the backdrop of a couple trying desperately to navigate the peaks and valleys of fame.

It's a tale so operatic in scale that toward the end, when Jones allegedly attempts to kill his drinking buddy, Earl "Peanut" Montgomery, it doesn't even seem particularly noteworthy: Jones shot at lots of things — and, allegedly, people. They almost never pressed charges.

If all this sounds like the basis for a familiar country song, it's because Jones and Wynette made it so, blazing a trail of romantic strife that set the standard for a generation's worth of honky-tonk break-up-and-make-up songs

that came after, making even June and Johnny Cash seem like underachievers in the process.

Wynette and Jones's love-story-as-trash-fire has been recounted in numerous memoirs and biographies, and dramatized in the recent Showtime miniseries "George & Tammy" (starring Michael Shannon and Jessica Chastain), though perhaps never with this level of dispassion and detail.

Coe, who draws from a treasure trove of sources, including genre histories, old television and print interviews, and the vast archives at the Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum in Nashville, seems to realize that there is no way to tell this story except to underplay it. "Cocaine & Rhinestones," frequently masterful, is always measured. At its best, it's a work of cultural anthropology with an uncommon sweep. The book isn't just about Jones and Wynette; it's the story of the worlds they came from, and the world they made.

Jones, raised in Texas in an abusive home, developed a reputation for chaos. The bigger his legend grew, the more he drank to cope. He suffered from debilitating stage fright, and frequently performed drunk, or didn't perform at all, which led to the nickname "No Show Jones." He felt undeserving of his fame, and would often light hundred dollar bills on fire or flush them down the toilet. He is said to have never driven the same car twice.

Wynette was raised on a farm in Mississippi, where she spent some of her childhood picking cotton, marrying at 17 to escape. She and Jones were each on their second marriage to other people



KIRK WEST/GETTY IMAGES

**Tammy Wynette and George Jones, pictured performing in 1980 in Chicago.**

when they got together, with several children between them. He was a living legend in Nashville, and less of a celebrity outside of it; she would soon become a cross-over pop star thanks to late 1960s hits "D-I-V-O-R-C-E" and "Stand By Your Man."

These songs helped introduce a recurring motif to Wynette's work, that a woman had no choice but to forgive her man's transgressions, to endure every indignity he served up (with a smile), or else wind up alone. Her music became "shorthand to represent a stereotype of [a] walked-on and cheated-on woman," Coe writes.

Wynette was a drama magnet and energetic liar, so aspects of her life story are difficult to tease out. She is alleged to have done at

least some of the following: fabricate a stalker, fake her own kidnapping, possibly burn down her house, and write "PIG" on her own door in red lipstick and pretend an intruder did it after reading a book on the Manson family.

She had a weakness for fortune hunters (husbands number two and four), pills and other people's spouses. She was generally just a lot. Her marriage to Jones, whom Coe describes as a "walking disaster," was fraught. Together they recorded numerous hits ("We're Gonna Hold On," "Golden Ring") and drove around in a bus with "Mr. and Mrs. Country Music" written on the side. Privately, they both battled substance addiction (booze and cocaine for him, speed and benzos for both). Physical abuse was alleged on both sides.

When Jones and Wynette divorced in 1975, Jones was well on his way to becoming a "veritable

collection of neuroses, rocket-fueled by stress and substance abuse, until he eventually reached full-blown, medically diagnosed schizophrenic psychosis," Coe writes. By the late 1970s, he was living in his car in a Nashville alley and battling several alternate personalities, one named DeeDoodle, who spoke in a voice like Donald Duck and liked to embarrass him onstage.

Wynette, her career flagging, married twice more. On the day she died in 1998, in her kitchen, at 55, her then-husband, George Richey, invited his friends over to smoke and hang out with her body. Her daughters unsuccessfully sued him for wrongful death. (An autopsy performed on Wynette's exhumed body determined that she died of heart failure caused by damage from repeated blood clots.)

"Cocaine & Rhinestones" cen-



**Tyler Mahan Coe**

ters Wynette and Jones (who died in 2013 at 81) in its amiable, conversational narrative, folding them into a broader historical and cultural framework.

There are chapters on everything from the early days of country music (with emphasis on pioneering producers Owen Bradley and Billy Sherrill) to the history of pinball, moonshine, Nudie suits, Spanish bullfighters and the ice trade.

It's finely, densely written and a mile wide, a 500-plus page behemoth of a book (which includes terrific illustrations by artist Wayne White) that never feels long. It doesn't always cohere, but Coe comes as close as anyone could to wrestling its far-flung concepts to the ground.

Wynette and Jones were exhausting characters, and Coe's empathetic but unsparing portrait of them betrays not an ounce of romance. He alludes only briefly to one of the most recent outlandish anecdotes about Jones, the story of the time he rode his lawn mower to the store to buy more liquor because one of his wives had wisely taken away his car keys.

Coe, son of outlaw country star David Allan Coe, who figures briefly in this book, is more interested in sanding down Jones's well-burnished myth than adding to it. "Everybody loves to root for an underdog," he writes, "even if he's truly only fighting against himself."

**Allison Stewart** writes about pop culture, music and politics for The Washington Post and the Chicago Tribune. She is working on a book about the history of the space program.

## Director Coppola sues Variety, claiming defamation

BY ANNE BRANIGIN AND JANAY KINGSBERRY

Francis Ford Coppola has sued Variety, accusing the entertainment trade publication of sullying his reputation after it published an article alleging that the acclaimed director had touched and kissed female extras on the set of his upcoming film "Megalopolis."

The article, published in July, followed up reports by various outlets that Coppola's self-funded sci-fi epic had gone off the rails, raising further questions about the acclaimed filmmaker's professionalism and conduct on what may be his last project.

The suit, which was filed in Los Angeles County Superior Court Wednesday afternoon, also disputes Variety's claim that Coppola acted unprofessionally and, at times, incompetently, on set. The article also alleged that Coppola's cast and crew had no means of reporting complaints about the director.

"Some people are jealous and resentful of genius. Those people therefore denigrate and tell knowing and reckless falsehoods about those of whom they are jealous," the complaint states in its opening paragraph. "Each of these accusations was false and knowing so," it continues. "They were made to harm Coppola's reputation and cause him severe emotional distress."

The lawsuit also names the article's authors, Brent Lang and

Tatiana Siegel as defendants. The 85-year-old director is seeking \$15 million in damages.

Jeffrey Schneider of Variety told The Washington Post, "While we don't comment on active litigation, we stand by our reporters."

The Variety article, published on July 26, quotes anonymous sources who accused Coppola of unprofessional behavior on set. It came two months after the Guardian published a similar story, in which several unnamed sources told the U.K. publication that Coppola pulled women to sit on his lap and would try to kiss "topless and scantily clad female extras" during the filming of a "bacchanalian nightclub scene."

Variety reported that because Coppola funded the \$120 million film himself, there were "none of the traditional checks and balances" on set. The story alleged that Coppola would inadvertently insert himself into shots, ruining them when he leaped up to hug and kiss women on set. The outlet also quoted an unnamed source who said Coppola got on a microphone and told those on set, "Sorry, if I come up to you and kiss you. Just know it's solely for my pleasure."

The story also included video of Coppola appearing to kiss an extra wearing a black dress. An actress on the film, Rayna Menz, later told Variety's sister publication Deadline that Coppola "did nothing to make me or for that matter anyone on set feel uncom-



LEON BENNETT/GETTY IMAGES

**Francis Ford Coppola at the screening of "Megalopolis" on Monday at the Toronto International Film Festival.**

fortable."

But on Monday, another extra on the "Megalopolis" set, Lauren Pagone, submitted a complaint accusing Coppola of sexual harassment and assault. The suit alleges that Coppola kissed her cheek and touched multiple parts of her body without her consent while filming a club scene in Atlanta in February 2023. Coppola's attorneys offered no comment on Pagone's lawsuit.

According to the filing, Coppola provided evidence to Variety that the allegations were false and requested that they be retracted. "Variety refused and doubled down," the lawsuit claims. "It repeated the same allegations and thereby emphasized its malice toward Coppola." Coppola denies he acted un-

professionally while shooting the film, and the lawsuit criticizes Variety for suggesting that "Coppola, as a director, was so incompetent that he no longer understood where cameras were located on the set and no longer understood camera angles."

The complaint also cites a line in the story referring to Coppola's age.

"The average reader would understand that Coppola was so aged and infirm that he no longer knew how to direct a motion picture professionally or efficiently," the lawsuit argues.

The suit disputes reports that the production did not protect alleged victims from sexual harassment. The filing also accuses Variety of "recklessness" by talking to sources who had signed nondisclosure agreements; "defendants knew, therefore, that their sources were unreliable and did not tell the truth when they signed the NDA."

Coppola has tried to bring "Megalopolis" to the big screen for more than 40 years, hoping the dystopian epic will find the same renown as his classics such as "The Godfather" and "Apocalypse Now." He eventually announced he would put down \$120 million of his own money for the project. But since the start of filming in 2022, the production has been mired in reports of on-set conflicts, production issues and budgeting constraints.

According to The Hollywood Reporter, Coppola fired most of his visual effects team in December of that year and the remainder of the department soon exit-

ed — along with crew members that included production designer Beth Mickle and art director David Scott.

Some reports also claimed that the film exceeded its budget, forcing the crew to scale back its plans to debut never-before-seen film technology and pivot to a "less costly, more traditional greenscreen approach," The Hollywood Reporter wrote.

The film's challenges call back to Coppola's long history with production setbacks, most famously on "Apocalypse Now" — widely regarded as one of the greatest films ever made. Last month, the 1979 war film was among Coppola's previous projects referenced in a "Megalopolis" trailer, which intended to remind viewers that some of his most celebrated films were also subject to criticism. But the trailer was pulled within hours of its posting after it was found to have included fake quotes by critics.

Adam Driver, who stars in the film as an architect with the ability to control time, has disputed reports of mismanagement. "I've been on sets that were chaotic and this one is far from it," he told Deadline last year. "I'm very proud to be making this movie with [Coppola], and them, and though I haven't interviewed everyone, I can confidently say that that's the general attitude on set."

The movie also stars Aubrey Plaza, Giancarlo Esposito, Nathalie Emmanuel, Shia LaBeouf, Jon Voight, Laurence Fishburne and Chloe Fineman. It is set to hit U.S. theaters at the end of the month.

# Photojournalists implore Harris campaign to add travel pool slots

BY LAURA WAGNER

The White House News Photographers Association says Kamala Harris's presidential campaign has cut the number of journalists who travel with the Democratic nominee from 13 to nine — an "unprecedented reduction in access," according to a letter addressed to half a dozen Harris staffers and the president of the White House Correspondents' Association.

The Aug. 29 letter, sent to Harris campaign staffers and the vice president's office, acknowledges that the campaign says it needed the seats for security personnel, but it reflects broader frustration from news organizations about limited access to Harris, who has had few moments of unscripted public exposure since becoming the nominee.

"It's unfortunate that the still photographers are the most affected by the negotiations that have happened with the White House Correspondents' Association and the vice president's office," said Doug Mills, a long-

time Washington photographer who has covered presidencies and campaigns for major news outlets and served as a member of the correspondents association's board.

"Each reporter writes a different story. Each photographer has their own eye," Mills said. "This election is too historic to be covered by one still photographer on Harris's plane."

The letter, sent by the photographers association president, Jessica Koscielniak, and signed by six major news organizations — the Associated Press, AFP, the New York Times, Getty, Reuters and The Washington Post — calls on the campaign to reconsider the restrictions or otherwise make additional arrangements for the photographers.

"While we understand the reduction is due to security, further accommodations are required to maintain a fair and free press," the letter says, adding that given the deluge of various trustworthy information available, voters "rely on independent visual journalism for factual representation" of the campaigns.

In a response letter sent Wednesday night, which was first reported by Axios, the Harris campaign said the pool that trav-



JOE RAEDLE/GETTY IMAGES

**Photographers work to capture images of Vice President Kamala Harris on the final day of the Democratic National Committee convention in Chicago on Aug. 22.**

eled with the vice president on Air Force Two had always been nine, not 13. (Thirteen journalists travel with President Joe Biden on Air Force One, but the vice president's plane is smaller. At dispute is whether the correspondents' association should have negotiated the same number of seats on the vice president's plane.)

Still, the campaign said it had worked in good faith with the correspondents' association to ensure a supplemental pool always has the opportunity to travel with the Harris campaign. It also said the campaign had looked into adding additional seats to Harris's plane and explored procuring an additional

"chaser" plane to accommodate journalists, but that both solutions were not viable because of limited resources. (When reached by The Post, the campaign declined to answer questions on the record.)

But there is still sentiment that the WHCA — which has overlapping membership with the WHNPA — didn't advocate strongly enough for photographers.

"If the roles were reversed here and the reporters were limited in their numbers the way the still photographers are, it would not be accepted," Mills said.

Eugene Daniels, who took the helm of the WHCA this year, said the association "has and will always endeavor for more and better press access for all of our members" and that it has worked with the vice president's team to expand the nine-seat allotment on the plane.

"We've also asked the Harris staff about a possible secondary

plane and even changing the configuration of Air Force Two to allow for the three still photographers to be on the plane for every trip. All of those have been explored by the VP's team. Our aim is for every component of the press corps to be represented to the greatest extent, so that we can provide the broadest possible coverage for the American people," Daniels said. "That advocacy will continue."

This isn't the first time news photographers have bumped up against the access restrictions to the vice president. In July, the six news organizations that signed the recent letter considered boycotting photo coverage of Harris's Oval Office meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to protest the vice president's office's decision to restrict photo coverage of the event. In the end, the photographers and the WHCA reached a compromise with the vice president's office on the number of

photographers allowed to cover the meeting and a boycott was avoided.

But frustrations remain. "News photographers were just kind of blindsided by this whole decision and this new policy moving forward," said a longtime Washington photojournalist, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they are not authorized to speak on behalf of their news organization, which is one of the six newsrooms that signed the letter.

A boycott, the photographer said, is a last resort.

"You want to make sure that you advocate for your part of the journalistic profession as strongly as you can, but if you boycotted, you're going from some coverage to no coverage. And the question is, at that point, are you fulfilling your journalistic responsibilities," the photographer said. "We still need pictures right of the vice president campaigning for the presidency."

## LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Adrian Johnson

- ACROSS**
- 1 Car whose interior "looks like Darth Vader's bathroom," per Michael Knight
  - 5 "Figure it out"
  - 14 Shine
  - 16 Hugh Grant film based on a Nick Hornby novel
  - 17 Lively presence in Hollywood?
  - 18 Bends and stretches
  - 19 Georgia O'Keeffe's "Jimson / White Flower No. 1"
  - 20 Otherworldly visitors
  - 21 "Ghosts" actress McIver
  - 22 Sandwiches since 1967
  - 24 Film stock
  - 26 Boxing trainer Dundee
  - 27 Make sense for
  - 29 Common source of revenue for podcasts
  - 30 Spiced coffee-house order
  - 32 Inflatable swan, e.g.
  - 33 2023 Pink album
  - 34 Metric speed meas.
  - 37 Basic shelters
  - 38 Land between the Atlantic and the Pyrenees
  - 40 Shows confidence in, in a way
  - 41 Trapper's task
  - 42 Try to make angry
  - 43 Comm. system in the film "CODA"
  - 45 Passable, at best
  - 46 Follower of an aperitivo
  - 49 Hunt of "Mission: Impossible"
  - 51 Cereal mascot once voiced by Mel Blanc
  - 52 Lacks buoyancy
  - 53 Language

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9/14/24

- whose name translates to "one who hopes"
- 54 Residencia
- DOWN**
- 1 Security org. dismantled in 1991
- 2 Bringer of misfortune, so they say
- 3 Chinese snacks with a marbled pattern
- 4 "I want to go too!"
- 5 Low areas
- 6 Late notice?
- 7 Accessories company with a "one for one" business model
- 8 Nerve center
- 9 French summer
- 10 The Ritz-Carlton owner
- 11 Pardon
- 12 Dishevel
- 13 Builds up
- 15 Olympic chart
- 22 What do ewe say?
- 23 Party leaders?
- 24 Historic Buddhist monastery in the Songshan mountains
- 25 Career number for sluggers
- 27 Slugs
- 28 Spanish pronoun
- 31 El \_ : second-largest city in Bolivia
- 32 Drill
- 33 "Let's go for a drive!"
- 34 God celebrated on Janmashtami
- 35 Ornamental trees with acorns
- 36 Evil Queen's disguise in "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs"
- 37 Peruvian prairies
- 39 Hot
- 40 Online discount
- 41 Sportscast tech
- 43 WNBA pt.
- 44 25-Down, for one
- 47 Norm
- 48 Tennis star
- 50 DOD arm

## FRIDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION

D	I	G	U	P	O	N	E	G	S	U	I	
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## TELEVISION

9/14/24	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00
4.1 WRC (NBC)	• <b>Big Ten</b>	• <b>College Football</b> Indiana at UCLA (Live)							• <b>News</b>
4.2 WRC (IND)	Monk	Columbo							Las Vegas
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	• <b>Extra</b>	• <b>College Football</b> UCF at TCU (Live)							• <b>Fox 5</b>
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• <b>Studio</b>	• <b>College Football</b> Georgia at Kentucky (Live)							• <b>News</b>
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	• <b>Postga.</b>	• <b>College Football</b> Colorado at Colorado State (Live)							• <b>9 News</b>
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	• <b>De viaje Derbez</b>	• <b>Fútbol</b>	• <b>Fútbol</b> América vs. Chivas de Guadalajara (Live)						• <b>Fútbol</b>
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	• <b>FamFeud</b>	• <b>FamFeud</b>	• <b>Fox 5 News</b>	• <b>FamFeud</b>	• <b>FamFeud</b>	• <b>FamFeud</b>	• <b>FamFeud</b>	• <b>FamFeud</b>	• <b>Grand</b>
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	(6:00) • <b>Beatles</b>	• <b>All New Rock</b>							• <b>Simon &amp; Garfunkel</b>
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• <b>Viewers' Favorites</b>				• <b>Feast Your Ears-WHFS</b>				• <b>Viewers' Favorites</b>
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	• <b>Weekend</b>	• <b>Workin'</b>	• <b>A Suitable Boy</b>		• <b>American Masters</b>				• <b>12 Hours</b>
50.1 WDCW (CW)	(6:30) • <b>College Football</b> Ole Miss at Wake Forest (Live)						• <b>DC News Now</b>		• <b>Neighbor</b>
66.1 WPXW (ION)	• <b>NWSL-P.</b>	• <b>NWSL</b> Angel City FC at Racing Louisville FC	• <b>NWSL-P.</b>				• <b>NWSL Soccer</b>		
<b>A&amp;E</b>	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage	Storage
<b>AMC</b>	(5:30) Movie: <b>Jaws 2</b> ★★ (1978)	Movie: <b>Forrest Gump</b> ★★★★★ (1994) A slow-witted Southerner experiences 30 years of history.							Movie: <b>Replace...</b> ★★ (2018)
<b>Animal Planet</b>	Louisiana Lockdown	Louisiana Law	Louisiana Law	Louisiana Law	Louisiana Law	Louisiana Law	Louisiana Law	Louisiana Law	Louisiana
<b>BET</b>	(5:00) Movie: <b>Bad Boy...</b>	Movie: <b>Bad Boys II</b> ★★ (2003) Two detectives battle a drug kingpin in Miami.							
<b>Bravo</b>	(5:00) Movie: <b>The Blind Side</b> ★★★★★ (2009) A well-to-do white couple adopts a homeless black teen.								Movie: <b>Ocean's 8</b> ★★ (2018)
<b>Cartoon Network</b>	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	American	American	American	American	Rick
<b>CNN</b>	<b>CNN Newsroom</b>	<b>Real, Bill Maher</b>	<b>Have I Got (P)</b>						Whole Story
<b>Comedy Central</b>	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	Movie: <b>Longest Yard ...</b>
<b>Discovery</b>	Expedition Unknown	Expedition Unknown	Expedition X						Expedition X
<b>Disney</b>	Big City	Big City	Movie: <b>Toy Story 4</b> ★★★★★ (2019)	Primos	Primos	Primos	Primos	Primos	Hamster & Hamster &
<b>E!</b>	(5:00) Movie: <b>Harry Potter &amp; the H...</b>	Movie: <b>Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows: Part 1</b> ★★★★★ (2010)							
<b>ESPN</b>	<b>College Football</b> Texas-San Antonio at Texas (Live)						• <b>Scoreboard</b> (Live)		• <b>Football</b> San Diego State at California
<b>ESPN2</b>	(6:30) <b>Scoreboa.</b>	<b>College Football</b> New Mexico at Auburn (Live)							• <b>Scoreboard</b> (Live)
<b>Food Network</b>	Halloween Baking	Halloween Baking	Halloween Baking	Halloween Baking	Halloween Baking	Halloween Baking	Halloween Baking	Halloween Baking	Halloween
<b>Fox News</b>	<b>Weekend</b> (Live)	<b>Life, Liberty &amp; Levin</b>	<b>One Nation</b>				• <b>Saturday Night</b> (Live)		<b>Gutfeld!</b>
<b>Freeform</b>	(6:45) Movie: <b>Ratatouille</b> ★★★★★ (2007) A French rat longs to become a chef.	(:25) Movie: <b>Luca</b> ★★★★★ (2021)							
<b>FX</b>	(5:00) Movie: <b>Mission: Impossible - Ghost P...</b>	Movie: <b>Mission: Impossible - Fallout</b> ★★★★★ (2018) Ethan and the IMF team must stop a terrorist nuclear attack.							The Old Man
<b>Hallmark</b>	(6:00) Movie: <b>Branching Out</b> (2024)	Movie: <b>The Heiress and the Handyman</b> (2024) (P)							Movie: <b>Head Over Heels</b> (2024)
<b>Hallmark M&amp;M</b>	Hailey Dean Mysteries	Hailey Dean Mysteries	Hailey Dean Mysteries	Hailey Dean Mysteries	Hailey Dean Mysteries	Hailey Dean Mysteries	Hailey Dean Mysteries	Hailey Dean Mysteries	Murder ...
<b>HBO</b>	(5:55) Movie: <b>Independence Day: R...</b>	Movie: <b>Civil War</b> ★★★★★ (2024) (P)	(:50) <b>Industry</b>						(:55) <b>Chimp Crazy</b>
<b>HGTV</b>	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters	Hunters
<b>History</b>	The UnXplained	The UnXplained	The UnXplained	The UnXplained	The UnXplained	The UnXplained	The UnXplained	The UnXplained	The UnXplained
<b>Lifetime</b>	(6:00) Movie: <b>Girl Locked Upstairs: Tan...</b>	Movie: <b>The Face I Can't Forget</b> (2024) (P)							(:05) Movie: <b>Would You Kill for Me?</b> Mary Bailey Story (2023)
<b>MASN</b>	Golf/World	Tennis	Pro Football Plus	Touchdown Baltimore	Sports	Beat			• <b>SportsW.</b>
<b>Monumental</b>	(5:30) Brin... Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	Mystics	District
<b>MSNBC</b>	<b>Ayman</b> (Live)	<b>Ayman</b> (Live)							• <b>MSNBC Live: Democracy 2024</b>
<b>MTV</b>	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous	Ridiculous
<b>Nat'l Geographic</b>	To Catch a Smuggler	To Catch a Smuggler	<b>Catch a Smuggler</b>						• <b>Disaster Autopsy</b>
<b>Nickelodeon</b>	SpongeB...	SpongeB...	SpongeB...	SpongeB...	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends
<b>NWSN</b>	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNat.</b>
<b>Paramount</b>	(6:35) Movie: <b>Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom</b> ★★★★★ (1984)	Movie: <b>Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade</b> ★★★★★ (1989)							
<b>Paramount+Sho</b>	(5:25) Movie: <b>Sasquatch Sunset</b> ★★	Movie: <b>Foxcatcher</b> ★★★★★ (2014)							(:15) Movie: ...
<b>Syfy</b>	(6:05) Movie: <b>The Mummy</b> ★★ (1999)	Movie: <b>The Mummy Returns</b> ★★ (2001) Imhotep's minions kidnap the O'Connell's precocious son.							
<b>TBS</b>	(5:00) Movie: <b>Indepen...</b>	Movie: <b>Captain America: Civil War</b> ★★★★★ (2016)							Movie
<b>TCM</b>	(5:45) Movie: <b>Monsieur Verdoux</b> (1947)	Movie: <b>Bend of the River</b> ★★★★★ (1952)							Movie: <b>Winchester '73</b> ★★★★★ (1950)
<b>TLC</b>	Welcome to Plathville	<b>Welcome</b>	<b>Welcome</b>						<b>Welcome</b>
<b>TNT</b>	(5:30) Movie: <b>Ocean's Eleven</b> ★★★★★ (2001)	<b>All Elite Wrestling: Collision</b>							Movie: <b>Ocean's Twelve</b> ★★★★★ (2004)
<b>Travel</b>	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adventures	Ghost Adv
<b>TruTV</b>	<b>College Football</b> Kennesaw State at San Jose State (Live)								<b>College Football</b>
<b>TV Land</b>	Mike	(:35) Mike	Raymond	Raymond	(:20) Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Seinfeld
<b>TV One</b>	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford
<b>USA Network</b>	(6:00) <b>Motorcycle Racing</b>		Chicago Fire	Chicago Fire	Chicago Fire	Chicago Fire	Chicago Fire	Chicago Fire	Chi. Fire
<b>VH1</b>	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin
<b>WNCN</b>	<b>WorldNe.</b>	<b>Paid Prog.</b>	<b>20/20</b>						<b>WJLANe.</b>
									<b>WJLANews</b>
									<b>Attkisson</b>

LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs ♦ High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated

# Justin Timberlake pleads guilty to impaired driving violation

BY SAMANTHA CHERY AND HAILEY CLOSSON

Justin Timberlake showed up to a small, brick, municipal courthouse in Sag Harbor, N.Y., with tinted sunglasses and a heavy entourage Friday morning. He dipped inside for more than an hour, then reemerged to tell a gaggle of reporters that he had pleaded guilty to a noncriminal traffic violation — driving while impaired — after his arrest more than two months earlier in the affluent Long Island village.

"I try to hold myself to a very high standard ... this was not that," Timberlake said after the hearing. "Even if you've had one drink,

don't get behind the wheel of a car." Timberlake avoided jail time, but his license was suspended for 90 days and he was ordered to pay a \$500 fine and \$260 surcharge, complete 25 hours of community service at a nonprofit of his choice and give a public service announcement.

"Today, Mr. Timberlake chose to plead guilty and accept responsibility for driving while his ability was impaired by alcohol," Suffolk County District Attorney Raymond A. Tierney said in a statement. "We appreciate his willingness to hold himself accountable for his behavior, and for using his platform to increase public awareness about the dangers of drunk

driving." The 43-year-old Grammy winner was driving a 2025 BMW after going out with friends at the American Hotel when he ran a stop sign and failed to stay in his lane on June 18, according to a Sag Harbor Police Department news release. The officer who stopped him found that he was "operating his vehicle in an intoxicated condition."

A Sag Harbor police report alleges that Timberlake was pulled over with "bloodshot and glassy" eyes and the smell of alcohol on his breath. He said he had only a martini, according to the report, but refused a breathalyzer test and was "very unbalanced" and "un-

able to follow instructions correctly" during field sobriety tests.

Timberlake addressed the incident later that week, while playing in Chicago for his ongoing Forget Tomorrow world tour. "I know sometimes I'm hard to love," he said. "But you keep on loving me, and I love you right back."

After the hearing Friday, Timberlake's attorney Edward Burke Jr. stood beside his client and argued that the plea deal — reduced from an initial charge of driving while intoxicated — was a victory for justice.

"The evidence revealed that my client finished the contents of one drink in two hours at the American Hotel," Burke Jr. said. "Con-

trary to what was reported, he wasn't drinking other people's drinks or warned in advance not to drink."

"He wasn't rude, he wasn't obnoxious, he wasn't belligerent," the lawyer continued. "In fact, he was polite, and he was cooperative, and he was respectful during his entire encounter with law enforcement, as they were to him."

Throughout the media spectacle, Alisa McMorris had stood by holding a photo of her 12-year-old son Andrew, who was killed by a drunk driver in 2018. After Timberlake and his lawyers left the courthouse, she spoke to reporters.

"I have a lifetime consequence with my baby," McMorris said, voice trembling. "He's lucky that his consequence is just this today where he has to stand up and do this for his children, and do this for so many."

McMorris detailed an interaction between the pop star and her father-in-law, who she said had been unfamiliar with Timberlake when he met the singer on a skiing trip in Montana 12 years ago. When he learned Timberlake was a musician, she said, her father-in-law gleamed and said his grandson, Andrew, probably knew all his music.

"Andrew can no longer sing and dance," McMorris told reporters, addressing her message to Timberlake. "I'd like to believe that what I heard in that courtroom touched my heart, and only time will tell."

## MOVIE DIRECTORY

**DISTRICT**

**AMC Georgetown 14**  
3111 K Street NW

**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 11:00AM-3:00  
**Am I Racist? (PG-13)** 12:20  
**Despicable Me 4 (PG)** 12:05  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 11:05-4:00-7:35-10:30  
**Inside Out 2 (PG)** 2:25  
**Twisters (PG-13)** 12:00  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 11:10-12:25-5:05-7:45-9:40-10:30  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 1:00-3:45-6:30-9:00  
**It Ends With Us (PG-13)** 1:20-4:20-7:20-10:15  
**The Critic (R)** 11:00-4:50  
**Look Into My Eyes (R)** 2:55  
**Blink Twice (R)** 5:35-8:05-10:35  
**Alien: Romulus (R)** 4:40-7:40-10:25  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice: The IMAX Experience (PG-13)** 11:30-2:00-4:45-7:30-10:00  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 4:50-8:05  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 12:10-2:45-5:20-7:50-10:20  
**The Front Room (R)** 11:05-10:30  
**Am I Racist? (PG-13)** 2:50-5:30-7:15-8:00-9:45  
**Usher: Rendezvous in Paris** 12:00-7:00  
**Transformers One Early Access (PG)** 5:00  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 2:00  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 8:20-3:30-4:15-5:45-7:00-8:30-9:30  
**Blink Twice (R)** 1:30  
**Alien: Romulus (R)** 1:50  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 1:35

**MARYLAND**

**AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center**  
8633 Coleville Road

**Between the Temples (R)** 0C: 2:20  
**His Three Daughters (R)** 0C: 12:05  
**Fame (1980) (R)** 11:30AM  
**Foxy Brown (R)** 9:20  
**The Lion 11:45AM**  
**Ishitar (PG-13)** 7:00  
**Between the Temples (R)** 4:40-7:05  
**His Three Daughters (R)** 2:10-6:30-8:45  
**Dan Da Dan: First Encounter** 4:30  
**Godzilla, Mothra and King Ghidorah: Giant Monsters All-Out Attack (NR)** 2:15-9:15  
**Movie Movie (NR)** 4:45

**AMC Academy 8**  
6198 Greenbelt Road

**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 12:45-4:00-7:40-9:40  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 2:00-4:30-7:30-10:10  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 11:45-1:00-2:15-3:30-4:45-6:00-7:15-8:30-9:45  
**The Forge (PG)** 1:40-4:40-7:20-10:20  
**Blink Twice (R)** 7:10-10:30  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 1:30-4:15-7:00-9:30  
**The Front Room (R)** 1:25-4:50-7:10-9:50  
**Usher: Rendezvous in Paris** 12:00  
**Transformers One Early Access (PG)** 5:00

**AMC Annapolis Mall 11**  
1020 Annapolis Mall Road

**Despicable Me 4 (PG)** 10:00-2:30  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 10:00-1:00-4:05-7:30-9:50  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 11:20-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:30  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 12:10-2:45-5:20-8:00-10:35  
**It Ends With Us (PG-13)** 6:50-9:30  
**The Forge (PG)** 11:00-2:10  
**Alien: Romulus (R)** 10:50-1:50-4:50-7:40-10:20  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 12:30-3:40  
**God's Not Dead in God We Trust** 5:00  
**Riyadh Season Noche UFC: O'Malley vs. Dvalishvili** 10:00  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 12:20-5:30-8:15-10:50  
**The Front Room (R)** 7:50  
**Am I Racist? (PG-13)** 12:40-3:10-5:40-8:10-10:45  
**Usher: Rendezvous in Paris** 10:05-12:00-7:00-10:40  
**Transformers One Early Access (PG)** 5:00  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 2:15  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 12:15

**AMC Magic Johnson Capital Center 12**  
800 Shopping Way

**Despicable Me 4 (PG)** 12:45-5:40  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 1:15-4:15-7:15-10:15  
**Inside Out 2 (PG)** 3:10  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 5:00-7:45-10:30  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 3:00-5:45-8:30  
**The Forge (PG)** 12:15-3:15-6:10-9:10  
**Blink Twice (R)** 7:50-10:25  
**Alien: Romulus (R)** 1:50-7:30-10:30  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice: The IMAX Experience (PG-13)** 1:45-4:30-7:15-10:00  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 12:15-2:50-5:30-8:10-10:45  
**Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG)** 2:15-5:00  
**The Front Room (R)** 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00  
**1992 (R)** 8:10-10:40  
**Am I Racist? (PG-13)** 3:00-5:30-7:00-9:30-10:40  
**Usher: Rendezvous in Paris** 12:00-7:00  
**Transformers One Early Access (PG)** 5:00  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 2:15  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 12:15

**AMC Germantown**  
2000 Century Boulevard

**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 1:10-4:20-7:30-10:45  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 11:30-2:10-4:50-7:40-10:20  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 11:20-12:00-1:00-2:00-3:40-4:40-5:20-6:20-7:20-8:00-9:00-10:00-10:45  
**The Forge (PG)** 12:10-3:10-6:10-9:10  
**Alien: Romulus (R)** 12:30-3:30-6:40-9:40  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 1:50-7:00  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 12:30-3:10-6:05  
**Ajayante Randam Moshanam** 11:50-10:10  
**The Front Room (R)** 9:30  
**The Greatest of All Time** 1:20-5:00-8:50  
**Stree 2** 2:30  
**The Buckingham Murders** 12:20-3:00-6:10-9:10  
**Canelo vs Berlanga** 8:00  
**Mathu Vadalara 2** 1:30-5:50-9:20  
**Ni Lin** 5:20  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 6:00

**Regal Hyattsville Royale**  
6605 America Boulevard

**Despicable Me 4 (PG)** 11:25-2:50-5:50-9:00  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 12:30-3:30-6:50-9:55  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 11:45-12:20-1:00-1:50-2:20-3:40-4:10-5:10-5:40-6:40-7:40-8:10-9:40  
**Alien: Romulus (R)** 12:15-3:30-6:45-10:15  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 10:15-1:45-5:30-9:00  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 10:30-1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30  
**Usher: Rendezvous in Paris** 3:00

**Regal Westview**  
5243 Bucklestown Pike

**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 1:10-4:10-7:20-10:20  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 2:00-4:45-7:40-10:25  
**The Forge (PG)** 12:25-5:50-9:10  
**Alien: Romulus (R)** 1:45-4:40-7:50-10:45  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 12:05  
**The 43rd Movie (R)** 11:55-2:30-4:55  
**God's Not Dead in God We Trust** 3:55-6:30  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 1:05-4:00-7:10  
**Dan Da Dan: First Encounter** 3:30  
**Canelo vs Berlanga** 8:00  
**Transformers One Early Access (PG)** 5:00  
**Mathu Vadalara 2** 9:05  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 9:55  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 12:00-2:50-6:00-9:00  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 11:00-3:30-5:45-9:40  
**Despicable Me 4 (PG)** 12:00-2:30  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 11:00-12:00-2:00-4:00-6:00-8:00-10:00  
**Twisters (PG-13)** 11:30-12:30-2:00-4:30-5:30-7:00-8:00-9:30-10:20  
**Between the Temples (R)** 10:45-1:45  
**The Critic (R)** 2:05-7:10  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 1:15-6:45-9:25  
**Will & Harper (R)** 10:30-1:00-3:30-7:15-9:45  
**How to Make Millions Before Grandma Dies** 11:15-4:25  
**Dan Da Dan: First Encounter** 12:00-1:00-4:00-6:00-8:00-10:00  
**Usher: Rendezvous in Paris** 3:10

**AMC Potomac Mills 18**  
2700 Potomac Mills Circle

**Speak No Evil (R)** 10:30  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 10:15-12:00  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 5:40  
**Encanto (PG)** 3:00  
**Despicable Me 4 (PG)** 12:00-2:30  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 11:00-12:00-2:00-4:00-6:00-8:00-10:00  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 11:45-2:15-4:45-6:00-8:30-9:50  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 11:30-12:30-2:00-4:30-5:30-7:00-8:00-9:30-10:20  
**Between the Temples (R)** 10:45-1:45  
**The Critic (R)** 2:05-7:10  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 1:15-6:45-9:25  
**Will & Harper (R)** 10:30-1:00-3:30-7:15-9:45  
**How to Make Millions Before Grandma Dies** 11:15-4:25  
**Dan Da Dan: First Encounter** 12:00-1:00-4:00-6:00-8:00-10:00  
**Usher: Rendezvous in Paris** 3:10

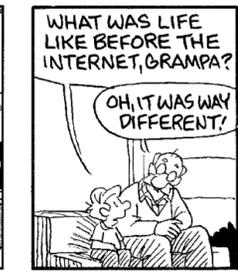
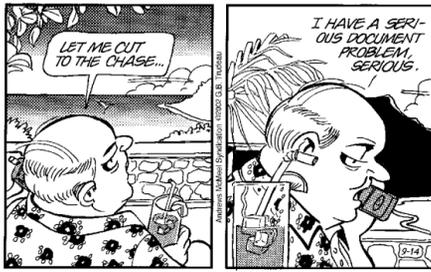
**Regal Ballston Quarter**  
671 North Glebe Road

**Despicable Me 4 (PG)** 11:50-2:40-5:20  
**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 12:20-3:50-7:20-10:20  
**Inside Out 2 (PG)** 12:10-3:10  
**Twisters (PG-13)** 6:00-9:00  
**Speak No Evil (R)** 1:10-4:10-7:10-10:10  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13)** 11:40-12:30-1:30-2:30-3:30-4:30-5:30-6:30-7:30-8:30-9:30-10:30  
**Alien: Romulus (R)** 12:50-4:20-7:40-10:40  
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**Reagan (PG-13)** 11:30-6:20-9:50  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00  
**The Front Room (R)** 8:00-10:45  
**Usher: Rendezvous in Paris** 3:00

**Regal Manassas**  
11380 Dulich Drive

**Deadpool & Wolverine (R)** 1:30-4:30-7:30-9:50  
**Inside Out 2 (PG)** 12:30-3:10-5:40-7:20  
**Twisters (PG-13)** 6:40-9:30  
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**Alien: Romulus (R)** 1:50-4:50-7:50  
**Beetlejuice Beetlejuice: The IMAX Experience (PG-13)** 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00  
**Reagan (PG-13)** 12:20-3:20-6:20-9:20  
**The Killer's Game (R)** 12:50-3:50-6:50-9:50  
**Inside Out 2 (PG)** 12:30-3:10-5:40-7:20  
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**Beetlejuice Beetleju**

CLASSIC DOONESBURY



BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE
NORTH (D)
K 5 4
K 2
K 7 3
A 6 5 4 2
WEST
Q 10 9 3
8 4 3
Q 10 4
Q 10
EAST
8 7 6
7 6
A 9 8 6
K J 8 7
SOUTH
A J 2
A Q 10 9 5
5 2
9 3

The bidding:
NORTH EAST SOUTH WEST
1 Pass 1 Pass
1NT Pass 4 All Pass
Opening lead - Q

In a beginning bridge class, you learn that you must follow suit. Declarer can take advantage of that obligation in the play.

In today's deal, 3NT would have been an easier contract, but South played at four hearts. West led the queen of diamonds, winning, and then the 10 and jack (not best). Declarer ruffed the third diamond, drew trumps, led a spade to dummy's king and returned a spade to his jack - losing. He also lost a club and went down.

If declarer leads clubs, the defenders must follow suit. After four club leads, only dummy will have one left, and then if trumps are drawn, that long club will be a winner.

After declarer ruffs the third diamond, he should play a low club from both hands, to preserve a needed entry. If East wins and leads a spade, South takes the ace, leads a club to the ace and ruffs a club. He cashes the A-K of trumps, ruffs a club and draws the missing trump.

South can then go to the king of spades to pitch his jack of spades on the fifth club.

DAILY QUESTION

You hold:
K 5 4 K 2
K 7 3 A 6 5 4 2
Your partner opens one spade, you respond two clubs and he bids two diamonds. What do you say?

ANSWER: You have enough strength for game. In a "Standard" system, jump to three spades, forcing. A bid of two spades would invite. A bid of four spades would show a hand such as K Q 3, 3 2, 8 7 6, A K Q 4 2. In a style where your two-club response forced to game, you could bid two spades. That style has benefits and drawbacks.

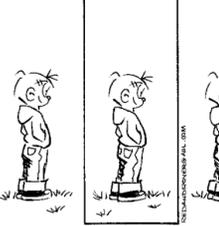
— Frank Stewart

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RED AND ROVER



FRANK AND ERNEST



CLASSIC PEANUTS



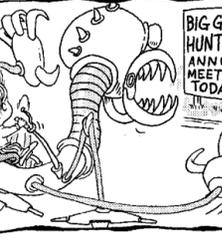
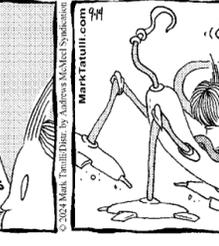
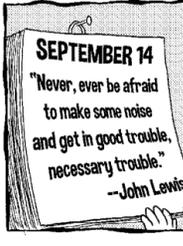
RHYMES WITH ORANGE



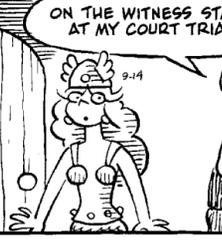
LIO



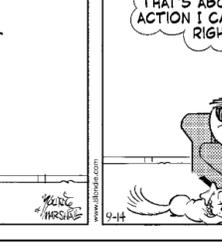
HAGAR THE HORRIBLE



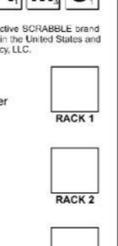
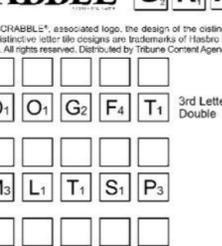
BLONDIE



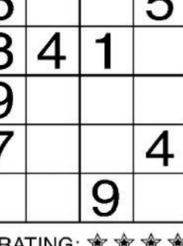
SHERMAN'S LAGOON



CURTIS



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

Sudoku grid with numbers 1-9 in some cells and empty cells for completion.

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★

SCRABBLE GRAMS

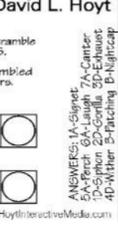
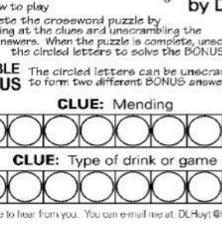
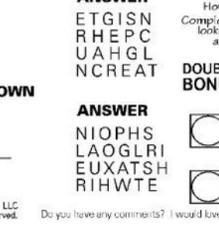
Scrabble Grams puzzle with a 7x7 grid and word lists: A1, E1, O1, O1, G2, F4, T1; O1, U1, M3, L1, T1, S1, P3; A1, Y4, T1, H4, D2, N1, R1; A1, A1, I1, N1, R1, G2, R1.

PAR SCORE 140-150 BEST SCORE 222 FOUR RACK TOTAL TIME LIMIT: 20 MIN

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS

Jumble Crosswords puzzle with a crossword grid and clues: 1. Mark, stamp; 5. Striped; 6. Chuckle; 7. Trot; 1. Pipe, funnel; 2. Mountain; 3. pipe; 4. Wilt.

AGNES



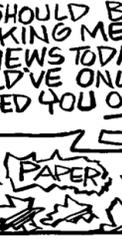
MIKE DU JOUR



MARK TRAIL



MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



BALDO



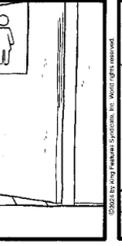
SALLY FORTH



CURTIS



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



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**MUTTS** PATRICK McDONNELL

**ZITS** JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

**HOROSCOPE**  
**BIRTHDAY | SEPTEMBER 14**  
 You have creative, intelligent, problem-solving skills, which is why people turn to you for advice. You are courageous, innovative and progressive. Simplicity is your theme this year. It's time to work and build both external structures as well as internal. Take charge of your health.

**HEART OF THE CITY** STEENZ

**JUDGE PARKER** FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

**MOON ALERT:** Avoid shopping and important decisions from 3 a.m. to 4:15 a.m. today. After that, the Moon moves from Capricorn into Aquarius.  
**ARIES** (MARCH 21-APRIL 19). This is a fantastic day to schmooze with others. In particular, you will enjoy the company of close friends, partners and spouses. However, you will also enjoy interactions with members of the general public.

**FRAZZ** JEF MALLET

**CANDORVILLE** DARRIN BELL

**TAURUS** (APRIL 20-MAY 20). Today you want to put pleasure before work. Nevertheless, relations with co-workers will be excellent. This is also a good day to invest in what you do, especially financially.  
**GEMINI** (MAY 21-JUNE 20). Fun vacations, social outings, the arts and enjoyable activities with children will be top choices for you today. The bottom line is simply this: You want to have fun! However, this is also an excellent day to pursue financial speculation or make a major investment.

**GARFIELD** JIM DAVIS

**BARNEY AND CLYDE** WEINGARTENS & CLARK

**CANCER** (JUNE 21-JULY 22). Invite family and friends over. You'll enjoy the company of others today because people will be in a friendly mood. It's the perfect day for social interaction, and for your sign, this interaction can take place at home.  
**LEO** (JULY 23-AUG. 22). Today you're happy with your world. Not only will you enjoy the company of others, you will also be impressed with the beauty of your daily surroundings. Today is an example of how when you look at things differently, the things you look at seem to change!

**DUSTIN** STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER

**FLASH GORDON** DAN SCHKADE

**VIRGO** (AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). Although this is a pleasant day to socialize, you can find ways to boost your income. Or you might make an important purchase. You also might see ways to invest money that will pay off in sports, the hospitality industry or the entertainment world.

**PRICKLY CITY** SCOTT STANTIS

**LOOSE PARTS** DAVE BLAZEK

**LIBRA** (SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). You are a social sign, and today is great day to socialize! Dress so you feel attractive. Go out to meet friends. See someone for a power breakfast.  
**SCORPIO** (OCT. 23-NOV. 21). Although this is a friendly, social day for most people, you might prefer to relax in the privacy of your home in familiar surroundings. Time spent by yourself will be meaningful for you as well as enjoyable.

**NON SEQUITUR** WILEY

**BABY BLUES** RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT

**SAGITTARIUS** (NOV. 22-DEC. 21). Time spent with friends will be rewarding today. Not only will you enjoy interacting with others, perhaps an introduction to a new contact or some advice might show you how to boost your income or make a good investment.

**BIG NATE** LINCOLN PEIRCE

**ON THE FASTRACK** BILL HOLBROOK

**CAPRICORN** (DEC. 22-JAN. 19). Today you make a great impression on bosses, parents and people in authority. In fact, whatever you do today might bring a raise or a promotion, or increase your wealth in some way.  
**AQUARIUS** (JAN. 20-FEB. 18). Fabulous opportunities to travel somewhere might fall in your lap today. Others will experience a legal victory or happy medical news. You might explore opportunities in the media, publishing or higher education as well.

**BEEBLE BAILEY** GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER

**PEARLS BEFORE SWINE** STEPHAN PASTIS

**PISCES** (FEB. 19-MARCH 20). Look for ways to improve your financial situation, because they exist today. Some might inherit. Someone might do a favor for you or give you a gift. You might see profitable ways to invest money, especially in entertainment or the hospitality industry.

**PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION**

9	1	2	5	4	6	3	7	8
4	3	5	9	7	8	2	6	1
7	6	8	3	1	2	4	9	5
3	5	1	7	6	9	8	4	2
8	4	7	2	3	5	6	1	9
6	2	9	4	8	1	1	7	5
2	8	4	1	5	7	9	3	6
5	9	3	6	2	4	1	8	7
1	7	6	8	9	3	5	2	4

**PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION**

T	U	M	A	U	L	T	1 = 8
F	I	L	H	A	T	E	2 = 70
H	E	R	S	E	L	F	3 = 71
L	L	L	E	G	A	L	4 = 58

PAR SCORE 145-155 TOTAL 207

**SPEED BUMP** DAVE COVERLY

**DENNIS THE MENACE** H. KETCHAM

**FAMILY CIRCUS** BIL KEANE

**REPLY ALL LITE** DONNA A. LEWIS

## FASHION WEEK FROM C1

gized many of the designers and celebrities who frequent Fashion Week. Political references — some subtle, some overt — graced the runways and the sidewalks of New York.

Some of the week's boldface names were the reference. For example: If you walked into a show with abundant security, including a few men and women in unfashionable suits eyeing you and the perimeter, that meant the vice president's stepdaughter was there. Ella Emhoff, who has been modeling ever since the fashion world fell in love with her at the Biden-Harris inauguration in 2021, walked the runway for Monday's Coach show at the High Line in an "I [heart] N.Y." T-shirt, leather miniskirt, black blazer, baseball cap and heels.

Emhoff, with Secret Service detail in tow, made several appearances throughout the week. There she was, in a custom denim jacket in the New York Public Library, celebrating the relaunch of J. Crew's catalogue. There she was at the Susan Alexandra and Rachel Antonoff show, for which adoptable shelter dogs tail-wagged down the runway. There she was at Tory Burch, at Collina Strada, at Sandy Liang, at Proenza Schouler.

Her itinerary did not intersect with that of first lady Jill Biden, who was also making the Fashion Week rounds: first at Ralph Lauren's show in Bridgehampton, then at Friday's "Fashion For Our Future" march, for which designers, models and brand employees sashayed down Broadway in matching Zac Posen-designed Old Navy T-shirts that encouraged people to vote.

For whom, they would not say. It was branded as a nonpartisan march, but it was also a non-nonpartisan march; the industry, given its heavily female and LGBTQ representation, tends to vote a certain way. One of the march's sponsors was Vogue, whose editor, Anna Wintour, had days earlier co-hosted a Harris fundraiser in Southampton with one of the rally's speakers, designer Aurora James, who is also famous for designing the "Tax the Rich" gown that Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.) wore to the Met Gala in 2021.

The very next day, James hosted another gathering: the Fashion Week edition of "Hotties for Harris," a party for young, cool supporters that popped up for the first time during the Democratic National Convention. The space was full of Instagrammable tableaux for guests (including actress Natasha Lyonne and socialite Lauren Santo Domingo): a "Wall of Weirdos" and "Hall of Hotties" featuring portraits of Republicans and Democrats, respectively; a room fitted to look like a '70s basement, with an ugly couch labeled "Property of JD Vance." Prints of artist Shepard Fairey's "Forward" poster of the vice president were the party favor. Spotted in double denim, near the bar serving "Madam President's spicy 'rita" was Ivanka Trump's sister-in-law, model Karlie Kloss.

Co-host Eva Chen, former editor in chief of Lucky Magazine, was showing James some "Brat"-green Harris/Walz buttons her kids had made. She pulled one out of her purse.

"Is it magnetic? I only do a magnetic pin," said James, who, to be fair, was wearing a sheer, ruffled black blouse that would be easily snagged (she later changed into an olive-green "Hotties for Harris" shirt).

Asked what she thinks Harris should wear to her inaugural ball, Chen replied that she "would love to see her in an independent designer." She mentioned a show by the designer Willy Chavarria, which she had seen earlier that day. "I think he represents a vision and a voice for a new America. I'd

# This year's election weighed on the shows, and vibe, at Fashion Week



JEENAH MOON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



JEENAH MOON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



PAUL MORIGI/GETTY IMAGES

**CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Designers, models and brand employees at the "Fashion for Our Future" march at Herald Square in New York on Sep. 6. Ella Emhoff, daughter of second gentleman Doug Emhoff, walks the runway at the Coach show on Sept. 9. A flag gown paired with an ornate, canary-yellow jacket at Ronald Van Der Kemp's Manhattan show on Sept. 11.**

love to see her in a Willy creation. I feel like Prabal Gurung has a really great streak with dressing first ladies and also women in politics in general."

Chavarria's show was among the most overtly political of the week. The theme was "America" — our country, as seen through an immigrant's eyes. Small copies of the U.S. Constitution had been placed on every seat.

"I thought it was a good idea that we each get one in our possession so we can check it now and then to make sure things are happening as they should," Chavarria said backstage after the show. The clothes were inspired by laborers and blue-collar workers; Chavarria emerged after the models' final walk wearing an ACLU T-shirt. Another party favor were red, white and blue stickers that read "Willy says vote."

A different perspective on America came from Wednesday's Ronald van der Kemp show. The Dutch-born designer dressed several of his models in campy red, white and blue garb from his 2008 collection and sent them down the runway in complete silence with no backing soundtrack.

Those clothes were created in a different America than the one they had resurfaced in now. Still, it was optimistic: The show ended with a musical cue: Patrick Juvet's 1978 disco track "I Love America."

Nostalgia! Two days earlier, Old Navy — another brand known for its flag-themed attire — hosted, along with The Cut, a 1994-themed party at Webster Hall. On the bill: Ja Rule, En Vogue, and one-time boy wonders Hanson (you remember "MMMBoP," of course). The first to walk the red carpet was Posen, Old Navy's chief creative officer.

Seeing everyone wearing his "Fashion for Our Future" T-shirts was "an incredibly proud moment," said Posen, in a green Old Navy track jacket. "I've never seen such camaraderie of the New York creative designer community in my life." Asked how fashion was playing a role in the election this year, he took a step back and shook a finger impishly, declining to comment.

Instead of asking the brothers Hanson (Isaac, now 43; Taylor, 41; Zac, 38) about politics and fashion, we ask them about nostalgia and fashion. They are now ap-

proaching middle age, with children who are rediscovering the fashion of when their hits were biggest. The brothers were playing a party celebrating a year that predated the birth of many of its guests. Singing a song they wrote in the throes of puberty, about the passage of time and growing old — what does *that* feel like?

"When what is old is now new, it's kind of fun," said Taylor Hanson. "You get the chance to reinvent and play with it."

It may have been the year the first Old Navy store opened, but 1994 was the year that another big launch took place in the Bay Area. A young Kamala Harris, then deputy district attorney of Alameda County, began to rise in the ranks of California politics.

We're just MMMBopping our way inexorably toward our uncertain fate Nov. 5, which isn't a lot of time.

"There is something incredibly immediate about this election," said "Saturday Night Live" star Bowen Yang at J. Crew's catalogue fete Thursday. Voters are "processing things through images. And what sort of more immediate delivery system is there for imagery than fashion?" Asked which campaign moment he would have wanted to spoof had SNL not been on summer hiatus, he replied without hesitation: "JD Vance at the doughnut shop."

What about after Nov. 5? For a vision of what that could be like, we look to Sergio Hudson.

There was nothing political about Hudson's spring collection, other than its subtext. Hudson makes suiting and gowns for strong, powerful women like the vice president, who wore his label to her 2021 inauguration (Michelle Obama wears his clothes, too). So watching Hudson's runway show felt like a little preview: If she won, would Harris wear one of these suits to her swearing-in? Maybe the blue pinstripes, or the silvery-gray power suit. Or maybe the navy sequined gown, for an inaugural ball. One of his models even looked like a younger version of Harris. It's worth noting that his final look — many designers send a showstopper gown last to make a final impression — was a sleek, simple lavender suit.

But enough of the vague allusions to Harris, the open-ended reminders to vote. What about a designer who wants to make a direct and actionable point?

For that, we go to Libertine, the Los Angeles brand founded by Johnson Hartig, who decided to stage his show in the Elizabeth Street Garden, a tiny, manicured oasis of green in Nolita. The city-owned spot has recently been singled out for partial demolition to build affordable housing. Supporters of the garden say that there are other sites that can be used for housing, that gardens are rare and worthy of preservation.

Libertine's outdoor show, whose guests included Martha Stewart and designer Thom Browne, carried the garden theme forth on the runway, with floral and skyscraper-print outfits, and models walking the runways with wheelbarrows and spades.

At the conclusion, the models reemerged to the tune of Joni Mitchell's "Big Yellow Taxi," holding Libertine-branded protest signs — equal parts statement, prop and accessory. Led by Hartig, they paraded through the garden — no twisted ankles from stilettoes on gravel paths, thankfully — holding signs that said "Save the garden" and "Trees are life."

It may still have been too late. The city can evict the garden at any moment. But it was both beautiful and actionable. And a reminder of an adage that applies to Fashion Week as well: All politics is local.

Rachel Tashjian and Ashley Fetters Maloy contributed to this report.

## Parents want to ensure son's cheating wife doesn't get inheritance



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

**Dear Carolyn:** My husband and I have grown children and grandchildren we adore.

One of our daughters-in-law has treated our son badly — cheated, gambled, etc. He is still with her. We know this is his choice and totally support his decision. He knows we are not happy with her, and we do our best to avoid her.

Currently our will splits our assets among our children. However, we prefer that our daughter-in-law does not benefit from our passing. We have been trying to figure out the best way to handle this and have spoken to our financial person and attorney. We were thinking of putting our son's portion into a trust with the stipulation that he

not receive anything unless they are divorced or she has passed away. Or, should we just let this go?

— Love Our Son, Not Our Daughter-in-Law

**Love Our Son, Not Our Daughter-in-Law:** Making a statement in death that you're unwilling to make to someone's face is a pretty reliable way to leave a bitter legacy.

Consider putting all portions to all heirs in trust. Adorable grandchildren aren't immune from iffy partners, either.

Just in general, you can't control where every penny goes and it's kind of icky to want to. But I sense that isn't your goal so much as just wanting your assets to protect beloved descendants, and you don't want anyone predatory to have access to the money. Putting everyone's portion in trust adds a layer of protection for all of them



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

without singling out the one you dislike.

A reader's thought:

• If you are trying to control your kid, get in therapy. But if you are trying to make sure your kid and grandkids have assets protected from bumper realities of life, then go for it. Giving your kid the assets that might make it possible to get out some day

could be an amazing legacy to leave. Trusts are incredibly flexible vehicles that, when structured right, put a layer of protection between individuals and their assets.

**Dear Carolyn:** We have three daughters and a granddaughter. While planning their wills, our son-in-law told our middle

daughter he does not want our youngest and her husband to be their child's guardians if the unthinkable happens because he does not care for his brother-in-law.

We are the first choice and our eldest daughter is second.

The problem is that our granddaughter adores our youngest, and they have a wonderful bond. Youngest daughter recently wondered aloud to me why her sister hadn't spoken to her about guardianship. I didn't say a word, and won't, but if it comes up between the sisters, how should it be handled?

— Guarded

**Guarded:** The only way it "should" be handled is by the people directly involved. So you say some version of, "Your sister is the only one who can answer that," on repeat forever.

It's also better to choose a

person who chooses the guardian(s), vs. specifying a guardian. Life changes so quickly. Someone who makes sense as a guardian now can be all wrong in a decade. Who knows if the marriage to the unsuitable brother-in-law will last, too, or if the youngest sister and your granddaughter will stay close. If the designated guardian moves overseas, say, would you really move a kid abroad who just lost both parents? Stuff like that.

You want someone who is wise and close enough to the child to choose well *under the current conditions*.

Meanwhile, the chances this will matter are very slim. Best to keep your worry in proportion to the likelihood you'll ever need to.

Write to Carolyn Hax at [tellme@washpost.com](mailto:tellme@washpost.com). Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at [wapo.st/gethax](http://wapo.st/gethax).

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at [washingtonpost.com/live-chats](http://washingtonpost.com/live-chats).

## Tagovailoa can't escape the danger of football



Jerry Brewer

We'll always worry about Tua Tagovailoa. His football career, iridescent when he's healthy, carries an unshakable burden because his brain seems especially vulnerable to a game that comes for the heads of every participant.

Athletes play football. Despite the dangers, there's a frisky nature to the way they compete, a wild exuberance that captivates Americans. Sadly, for Tagovailoa, there is little playful about how he must approach this game. His carefree spirit keeps diminishing. There is concern every time the Miami Dolphins quarterback gets hit. It's an irreparable predicament. In this sport, the primary function of a defense is to harass him.

On Thursday night, Tagovailoa suffered the third diagnosed concussion of his NFL career. It's his fourth official brain trauma going back to his college days at Alabama. And for the second time in less than two years, a prime-time audience witnessed the terrifying sight of Tagovailoa

SEE BREWER ON D8

## Deep dive into rushes by Daniels is revealing

Upon further review, Commanders rookie wasn't in peril in debut

BY SAM FORTIER

In a column this week, the esteemed Thomas Boswell made the case that Jayden Daniels running 16 times in his NFL debut was "coaching malfeasance," and many commentators agreed. Sure, seeing the franchise quarterback exposed to potential hits can be troubling — and a sober reminder of Washington's previous great hope, who shined bright and burned out fast.

But a deeper look at Daniels's running plays during the Commanders' season-opening 37-20 loss to the Tampa Bay Buccaneers should soothe some concerns.

Offensive coordinator Kliff Kingsbury's play-calling didn't overexpose his quarterback, and Daniels — whose reputation for recklessness can be overstated — mostly protected himself, even though it was disconcerting to see his helmet pop off twice.

Let's start here: Two rushes were technicalities. One was a kneel before halftime, and another was a swing pass that went backward and was therefore labeled a fumbled rush.

Of his 14 actual runs, seven were scrambles.

Scrambling seven times in one game is a lot. It happens only a few times each season. But in his NFL debut, against a blitz-heavy

SEE COMMANDERS ON D8

### Giants at Commanders

Sunday, 1 p.m., WTTG-5

### GYMNASTICS

After criticism, SafeSport reopens an investigation into two Southern California coaches. D2

### SOCCER

Mauricio Pochettino, the U.S. men's new coach, says time is on his side before the World Cup. D3

### BASEBALL

DJ Herz continues his run of good starts, and the Nationals beat the Marlins, 4-1, at home. D6



SCOTT TAETSCH/GETTY IMAGES

Lauren Coughlin and Sarah Schmelzel, making their first appearances at the Solheim Cup, never trailed in a 3-and-2 four-ball win.

# Opening statement

BY GENE WANG

Nelly Korda delivered a performance befitting the top-ranked women's golfer in the world. First-timers Lauren Coughlin and Sarah Schmelzel played like anything but rookies. That combination, along with exquisite putting from other Americans, produced a commanding 6-2 lead for the United States over Europe after the opening Friday of the Solheim Cup at Robert Trent Jones Golf Club.

Fueled by three wins in four morning foursome matches, Team USA carried momentum into afternoon four-ball with former president Barack Obama in attendance, collecting another three points behind Korda and Megan Khang's 6-and-4 rout of Eng-

## Veterans and rookies alike excel to give the Americans early lead at Solheim Cup

land's Georgia Hall and Ireland's Leona Maguire. Korda, along with Allisen Corpuz, beat England's Charley Hull and German rookie Esther Henseleit, 3 and 2, in the first foursome match, which began shortly after sunrise on the sprawling property in Gainesville that is hosting its first Solheim Cup.

Coughlin and Schmelzel played together in the third four-ball match and never trailed on the way to a 3-and-2 win against Denmark's Emily

K. Pedersen and Sweden's Maja Stark. Coughlin, ranked 14th in the world, and Schmelzel, one of three captain's picks, won their morning matches as well to help spark the Americans' bid to reclaim the Solheim Cup for the first time in four cycles.

"Things went according to plan today," U.S. captain Stacy Lewis said after watching her charges stake the Americans to a 6-2 lead after Day 1 for the first time in Solheim Cup history. "It was a really good day. The energy was awesome out there amongst our team and amongst the players. I think the highlight of my day was seeing [Korda] skipping out of the tunnel on the first hole."

Korda then unleashed a display of

SEE SOLHEIM CUP ON D3

United States leads 6-2 | Solheim Cup, Day 2: 7 a.m., Golf Channel; 3 p.m., NBC



JOHN FISHER/GETTY IMAGES

Wisconsin Coach Luke Fickell has a daughter, Luca, who is a sophomore volleyball player at Indiana.

## Football coaches gush about D-I daughters

Fickell's plays volleyball, DeBoer's softball

BY CHUCK CULPEPPER

The American culture long since plodded past the stage when it considered female athletes oddball and extraneous. It whisked past the moment when fathers started turning up at daughters' games and hectoring the referees with an equality of bellicosity. (What progress!) And as the respect for the female athlete has inched toward a level long since merited, here's the part where that heathenish old bunch known as football coaches beam and gush about their accomplished-athlete daughters.

That wrinkle gets a little bowl game of its own Saturday in Madison, Wis., where the father of an Indiana sophomore volleyball player will coach the home side (Wisconsin) while the father of a Washington freshman softball player will coach the visiting side

## Mystics seize reins of the last playoff spot

MYSTICS 72, DREAM 69

Once 0-12, they sit eighth with three games to play

BY KAREEM COPELAND

COLLEGE PARK, GA. — The Atlanta area has been good to the Washington Mystics this summer. Friday was no different.

In their last road game of the regular season, the Mystics put their horrendous start in the rearview and officially moved into the No. 8 playoff slot with just three games remaining with a 72-69 win over the Atlanta Dream at Gateway Center Arena.

The matchup was essentially a playoff game between two teams that began the day with identical records and one game back of the Chicago Sky for the last postseason spot. The Sky lost to the Minnesota Lynx on Friday, and the Mystics hold the tiebreaker over Chicago.

In June, the Mystics played the Dream on the road and broke their 12-game winless streak to open the season — the longest in franchise history. If they make the postseason, it would be the worst start to a season for any playoff team in WNBA history.

"I just think it shows how far we've come," Stefanie Dolson said. "We're a different team now than we were back then. They are, too. So it was kind of like two new teams playing each other. But this team has come really far, and a lot of the girls who are on this team have been fighting through the whole season to get us to this point. So, just proud of the whole group."

Brittney Sykes added: "It's not how you start. It's how you finish."

And the Mystics finish with home games against the Dream, first-place New York Liberty and Indiana Fever. The Dream has three games left — on the road in Washington and at home against the Sky and the Liberty. The Sky hosts the Phoenix Mercury before closing the regular season on the road against the Dream and Connecticut Sun.

Sykes, who tends to play well at Atlanta, finished with a game-high 20 points, attacking the rim and hitting jumpers all night long. She finished 3 for 3 from behind the arc. She scored 18 in that first meeting June 11. Dolson had 13 points to go along with eight rebounds, and Ariel Atkins had 10 points.

"I always have a fun time coming back to Atlanta," Sykes said.

Dolson added: "Something about Atlanta, I guess. She tends to go off."

Allisha Gray had 17 points and 10 rebounds for the Dream.

The victory certainly didn't come easily. The Dream rallied

SEE MYSTICS ON D3

### Dream at Mystics

Sunday, 3 p.m., Monumental

### COLLEGE FOOTBALL SATURDAY: GAMES TO WATCH

Nationally  
4 Alabama at Wisconsin

Noon, Fox

24 BC at 6 Missouri

12:45 p.m., SEC Network

Locally  
Maryland at Virginia

8 p.m., ACC Network

(Alabama). In that vein, maybe 51-year-old, second-year Wisconsin coach Luke Fickell and 49-year-old, first-year Alabama coach Kalen DeBoer emblemize a grown-up era.

"I see pride," Amy Fickell said

SEE COACHES ON D4

# THE DAY IN SPORTS

## HOCKEY

### Driver who struck Gaudreaus to be held

The driver charged with killing NHL hockey player **Johnny Gaudreau** and his brother **Matthew** as they bicycled on a rural road had a blood alcohol level of 0.087, above the 0.08 legal limit in New Jersey, a prosecutor said Friday.

Gaudreau, 31, and brother **Matthew**, 29, were killed near their childhood home Aug. 29.

The driver, **Sean M. Higgins**, 43, of Woodstown, N.J., is charged with two counts of death by auto, along with reckless driving, possession of an open container and consuming alcohol in a motor vehicle.

At a virtual court hearing Friday, a judge ordered that he be held for trial after prosecutors said he had a history of road rage and aggressive driving.

## GOLF

### Woods has surgery on back for sixth time

**Tiger Woods** had yet another surgery on his lower back. This one he hopes will relieve some of the spasms he experienced this year.

It was the sixth surgery on his lower back in the past 10 years. ...

**Patton Kizzire** shot a 7-under-par 65 for a one-stroke lead over **David Lipsky** after the second round of the PGA Tour's Procore Championship in Napa, Calif. ...

**Matteo Manassero** made two eagles on his way to a 5-under 66 for a one-shot lead in the Irish Open in Newcastle, Northern Ireland, on the DP World Tour. ...

**Brooks Koepka** birdied his last three holes for an 8-under 62, staking him to a four-shot lead over **Paul Casey** after the first round of LIV Golf Chicago in Bolingbrook, Ill.

## PRO BASKETBALL

### Clark sets assist mark, but Fever falls to Aces

**Chelsea Gray** scored 19 points, and the Las Vegas Aces held off the Indiana Fever, 78-74, in Indianapolis.

Fever rookie **Caitlin Clark** broke the WNBA's single-season assist record as part of her 18-point, nine-assist, eight-rebound night. She has 320 assists, breaking the mark of 316 set last season by **Alyssa Thomas** of the Connecticut Sun. ...

**Skyler Diggins**'s two free throws with 17 seconds left lifted the Seattle Storm to an 83-81 victory over the Dallas Wings in Arlington, Tex. ...



FREDERIC SIERAKOWSKI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

### Still the one in the 100

Olympic 100-meter champion **Julien Alfred** wins the Diamond League final in Brussels. **Sha'Carri Richardson** finished eighth.

## TELEVISION AND RADIO

### MLB

1 p.m.	<b>Boston at New York Yankees</b> » MLB Network
4 p.m.	<b>Miami at Washington</b> » MASN, WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)
6 p.m.	<b>Baltimore at Detroit</b> » MASN2, WYYY (97.9 FM), WSNB (630 AM)
7:20 p.m.	<b>Los Angeles Dodgers at Atlanta</b> » MLB Network
10:30 p.m.	<b>Houston at Los Angeles Angels</b> » MLB Network (joined in progress)

### COLLEGE FOOTBALL, SEE PAGE D4

### AUTO RACING

8 a.m.	<b>Formula One: Azerbaijan Grand Prix, qualifying</b> » ESPN2
12:30 p.m.	<b>NASCAR Cup Series: Go Bowling at the Glen, qualifying</b> » USA Network
3 p.m.	<b>NASCAR Xfinity Series: Mission 200 at the Glen</b> » USA Network

### GOLF

7 a.m.	<b>Solheim Cup, Day 2</b> » Golf Channel
1 p.m.	<b>LIV Golf: LIV Chicago, second round</b> » WDCW (Ch. 50), WNUV (Ch. 54)
3 p.m.	<b>Solheim Cup, Day 2</b> » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
3 p.m.	<b>Korn Ferry Tour: Simmons Bank Open, third round</b> » Golf Channel
6:30 p.m.	<b>PGA Tour: Procore Championship, third round</b> » Golf Channel
3 a.m. (Sunday)	<b>DP World Tour: Irish Open, final round</b> » Golf Channel

### SOCCER

7:30 a.m.	<b>English Premier League: Manchester United at Southampton</b> » USA Network
8:30 a.m.	<b>French Ligue 2: Metz at Paris FC</b> » BeIN Sports
9 a.m.	<b>Italian Serie A: Bologna at Como</b> » CBS Sports Network
10 a.m.	<b>English Premier League: Leicester City at Crystal Palace</b> » USA Network
10:45 a.m.	<b>French Ligue 1: Nice at Marseille</b> » BeIN Sports
11 a.m.	<b>FIFA Futsal World Cup: Netherlands at Uzbekistan</b> » Fox Sports 2
12:30 p.m.	<b>English Premier League: Everton at Aston Villa</b> » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
1 p.m.	<b>French Ligue 1: Monaco at Auxerre</b> » BeIN Sports
3 p.m.	<b>French Ligue 1: Brest at Paris Saint-Germain</b> » BeIN Sports
7 p.m.	<b>USL Championship: Birmingham at Loudoun United</b> » WDVW (Ch. 20)
7:30 p.m.	<b>MLS: New York City FC at D.C. United</b> » Apple TV Plus, WONK (104.7 FM), WTSD (1190 AM)
7:30 p.m.	<b>NWSL: Angel City FC at Louisville</b> » Ion
10 p.m.	<b>NWSL: San Diego at Utah</b> » Ion

### TENNIS

6 a.m.	<b>WTA: Jasmin Open, semifinals; Davis Cup finals, group stage</b> » Tennis Channel
7 p.m.	<b>WTA: Guadalajara Open, semifinals; Davis Cup finals, group stage</b> » Tennis Channel

**Napheesa Collier** scored 20 points as the Minnesota Lynx routed the Chicago Sky, 83-66, in Minneapolis.

## COLLEGES

### UNLV scores late TD for victory at Kansas

**Kylin James** scored on fourth down from the 1 with 1:51 left to lift UNLV past Kansas, 23-20, in Kansas City, Kan.

The Rebels are 3-0, while the Jayhawks dropped to 1-2. ...

Florida State asked a judge in Leon County to decide key parts of its lawsuit against the ACC without a trial, hoping for a quicker resolution and a path to a possible exit from the league.

Florida State sued the ACC in December, challenging the validity of a contract that binds member schools to the conference and each other through media rights and claiming the league's exit fees and penalties for withdrawal are exorbitant and unfair. ...

Georgia cornerback **Daniel Harris** was arrested on a reckless driving charge and released on \$50 in bonds after police said he was driving 106 mph.

## SOCCER

### Messi poised to return after two months away

**Lionel Messi** has been cleared to play for Inter Miami after taking two months off with an ankle injury and will return to the MLS club's lineup Saturday at home against the Philadelphia Union. ...

American-born **Fabian Hurzeler**, 31, became the youngest winner of the English Premier League manager of the month award for his impressive start at Brighton (3-0-1).

## MISC.

### Duplantis sets record in Diamond League

Paris Olympics gold medal-winning pole vaulter **Armand Duplantis** capped a "beautiful season" with a meet record in the Diamond League final in Brussels, clearing 5.92 meters (19 feet 4 inches), which is far from his world record of 6.26 meters (20-5).

Jamaica's **Ackeem Blake** won the men's 100 in 9.93 seconds in a photo finish with Americans **Christian Coleman** (10.00) and **Fred Kerley** (10.01). ...

The United States secured its place in the last eight of the Davis Cup finals by beating Slovakia, 3-0, in Zhuhai, China.

— From news services

# SafeSport reopens probe of gymnastics coaches after report of abuse claims

BY GUS GARCIA-ROBERTS AND MOLLY HENSLEY-CLANCY

The U.S. Center for SafeSport reopened an investigation into two top Southern California gymnastics coaches after former gymnasts told The Washington Post the coaches were physically and emotionally abusive to them as young girls.

The center, an independent watchdog created by Congress in the wake of revelations of sexual abuse by USA Gymnastics doctor Larry Nassar, shelved its investigation of coaches **Artur Akopyan** and **Galina Marinova** in 2022, citing a lack of witnesses.

But 10 former gymnasts told The Post that Akopyan abused them or their teammates when they were girls, including allegations that he threw, dragged or slapped them. One gymnast said she was never contacted by SafeSport even though a fellow athlete gave her name to investigators.

The decision to reopen the investigation followed criticism by Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa), who in a letter to SafeSport cited The Post's reporting and expressed concern that the center "has been slow to investigate allegations of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, allowing child athletes to remain in the care of their alleged abusers."

Akopyan and Marinova, whose star pupils have included Olympic gold medal winner **McKayla Maroney**, still operate a bustling gym in Calabasas, Calif. Police also investigated Akopyan in 2010 over allegations that he dragged a young girl by her neck and arm, bruising her, The Post reported, but no action was taken against him after a city hearing.

SafeSport recently contacted two gymnasts named in The Post's article and informed them that it was reopening the investi-

gation, emails reviewed by The Post show.

Sydney Freidin, the former gymnast who initially complained to SafeSport about Akopyan and Marinova in 2020, said she planned to cooperate with the investigation but was keeping her expectations "pretty low." She criticized both SafeSport and USA Gymnastics, the sport's national governing body, for what she described as an apathetic response to her and other gymnasts' allegations — until they resulted in bad publicity.

"It's not for a lack of ability; it's just a lack of care," Freidin said. "And the only time they care ... is when it affects how they look."

SafeSport said in a statement that it "reopens investigations when new information" or claimants emerge, "which can happen as a result of media coverage."

"We are grateful for the participation of Claimants in our process because it increases our ability to fairly and thoroughly investigate matters," the statement read. "We know it can be challenging, and we are working every day to improve communication, efficiency, and trauma-sensitivity."

A spokeswoman for USA Gymnastics told The Post that she could not comment on SafeSport investigations.

Akopyan and Marinova did not respond to a message seeking comment on the reopened investigation. They have previously denied all allegations of abuse.

The Post investigation found that Akopyan and Marinova were among several high-profile gymnastics coaches who remained in the sport despite being accused of physical or emotional abuse in the years after the Nassar scandal. Despite investigating at least six coaches of recent U.S. Olympians or alternates accused of abuse after Nassar, The Post found,



RONALD MARTINEZ/GETTY IMAGES

### Ten ex-gymnasts said coach Artur Akopyan, shown with Olympian McKayla Maroney, abused them or teammates when they were girls.

SafeSport has not penalized any of them, and most of those investigations remain open.

At Nassar's sentencing hearing, victims said the sport's toxic culture — and specifically their coaches' physical and emotional abuse — enabled Nassar's misconduct to continue for years. **Mattie Larson**, an elite gymnast who competed for Akopyan and Marinova since childhood, testified that she was too afraid of Akopyan and Marinova to tell them what Nassar was doing to her.

Freidin told The Post that when he was angry, Akopyan would frequently grab her and throw her to the ground when he was supposed to be spotting her on the uneven bars. Once, she said, she witnessed him throwing

a young gymnast into the air after she made a mistake during an aerial flip.

She provided a SafeSport investigator with a list of witnesses to corroborate and add to her allegations, emails show. But in 2022, SafeSport "administratively closed" the investigation, telling her that it didn't find enough evidence to move forward but that the case could still be reopened.

Among the potential witnesses Freidin shared with SafeSport was **Abigail DeShazo**. That former gymnast later told The Post that she had also seen Akopyan violently throw the young athlete during an aerial flip. But DeShazo said that she was never contacted by SafeSport.

"I definitely was expecting to

be reached out to by someone at some point and, like, was waiting on it," DeShazo said.

Grassley's office sent letters to the chief executives of SafeSport and USA Gymnastics last month, demanding answers about languishing cases identified by The Post and about why the organizations seem reluctant to place restrictions on accused coaches during pending investigations.

"Given the apparent fact that young athletes remain in potential danger because of your decisions," Grassley asked of SafeSport CEO **Ju'riese Colón**, "why should you remain in your position at SafeSport?"

In a letter Colón sent to Grassley in response, she defended SafeSport's commitment to putting "athlete wellbeing above money and medals." Colón did not respond directly to Grassley's request that SafeSport provide figures on how often the organization has relaxed protective measures, instead only writing that SafeSport "rarely" did so. (A SafeSport spokesperson told The Post that the center doesn't yet track such instances, though it is "improving" its data collection.)

SafeSport bars governing bodies such as USA Gymnastics from conducting their own investigations in cases it takes jurisdiction over. But it has recently emphasized that governing bodies can take independent action against coaches by "safety plans" that limit contact with athletes during investigations. USA Gymnastics has not put safety plans in place for any of the prominent coaches probed by SafeSport, including Akopyan and Marinova, and did not do so following The Post's investigation.

In response to Grassley, USA Gymnastics President and CEO **Li Li Leung** said that in practice, it is virtually impossible for governing bodies to take action them-

selves because SafeSport "lacks transparency" and "refuses" to share information gathered during investigations, leaving governing bodies in the dark.

Leung said USA Gymnastics and other governing bodies are "too often left to hope that [SafeSport] will take swift action to protect athletes."

But SafeSport has said that it must be judicious with what information it releases to governing bodies out of concern for the confidentiality of its claimants and the possibility of retaliation. In a statement to The Post, Colón referred to USA Gymnastics' role in the Nassar scandal.

"The mishandling of abuse allegations by USA Gymnastics is the very reason the U.S. Center for SafeSport exists," Colón said. "While progress has been made, they don't have the independence, expertise, nor have they earned the trust to investigate matters of sexual misconduct."

Freidin said that the nearly two years she invested in SafeSport's initial stalled investigation of Akopyan worsened her trauma and exacerbated health issues, including an eating disorder.

There are already indications that SafeSport does not plan on moving much more quickly this time. Freidin and DeShazo have not been contacted by an actual investigator at SafeSport, they said. A SafeSport coordinator informed DeShazo in an email only that that step would occur "as soon as practicable."

But Freidin said that she felt obligated to aid SafeSport again for her own closure and to prevent Akopyan and Marinova from continuing to be able to coach young gymnasts.

If the reopened investigation also ends in disappointment, Freidin said, "I don't think it can really hurt worse than the first time it happened."

# Pochettino, new coach of the U.S. men's soccer team, says time is on his side

BY STEVEN GOFF

NEW YORK — In the 20 months before the 2026 World Cup, Mauricio Pochettino will gather the U.S. men's national soccer team at training camps to shape the roster, create bonds, implement tactical changes and restore confidence in a program that lost its way this summer.

On the surface, it seems like ample time. And in the context of all his past coaching assignments — Tottenham Hotspur, Paris Saint-Germain and Chelsea, among them — it is a long runway to complete a project.

But the 52-year-old Argentine, renowned for his expertise in club soccer over 15 years, is no longer on the league circuit, where the work is all-consuming, the matches come rapidly and the offseason passes in the blink of an eye.

Pochettino, for the first time, is stepping into the international arena, tasked with elevating a U.S. squad that will carry heightened expectations into a World Cup played on home ground.

He has eight opportunities to prepare. That's it. Eight windows on the FIFA international schedule for camps, friendlies and regional competitions. And then the World Cup — and the stage for a long-stalled breakthrough by the U.S. program — will arrive.

"Everyone thinks that is no time to prepare and to arrive in our best condition to the World Cup," Pochettino said at his introductory news conference Friday, three days after his hiring was announced.

"I am in the opposite side," he said. "I don't want to bring an excuse and say, 'No, we don't have time to buy the new ideas, the new philosophy.' We have time, and we need to really believe in big things. We need to believe that we can win, that we can win not only a game but win the World Cup."

His work begins in earnest in about four weeks, when the U.S.



EVAN BERNSTEIN/GETTY IMAGES

**Mauricio Pochettino will coach his first games with the U.S. men's national team in October friendlies against Panama and at Mexico.**

team will play friendlies against Panama in Austin and at Mexico in Guadalajara.

"It can definitely give a jolt of energy at the beginning," star forward Christian Pulisic said. "Guys know they need to show what they can do and make a good impression, step up their game to have a chance with this guy."

Making it all work in the long term, Pochettino conceded, "is going to be a massive challenge."

Ideally, a coach would prefer additional time to work with an

unrefined team. The U.S. program is not like Argentina's or France's, where a new leader steps into a strong situation. But the USSF's decision last year to rehire Gregg Berhalter backfired this summer, and a team that seemed headed in the right direction is back to square one after advancing to the 2022 World Cup's round of 16.

In recent months, the Americans crashed out of Copa América in the group stage and, under an interim coach, gave dingy performances against Canada and

New Zealand.

Now it's on Pochettino to revive hope.

"We have very talented players," he said. "Of course, the confidence was low [after the latest set of results]. But we are going to work to create the right pattern, to recover the confidence and start to perform together."

Before he gathers the team for the first time, Pochettino will continue operating from his home in Barcelona, the city he and his wife fell in love with when

he played for, then coached, La Liga club Espanyol. From that base, he will visit U.S. players in their club settings — most of the player pool is employed overseas — and strengthen relationships with officials at the players' respective clubs.

He also plans to begin house-hunting in greater Atlanta, where the national training center is scheduled to open in 2026.

The USSF is banking heavily on Pochettino, the highest-profile coach to oversee the program since Jürgen Klinsmann before

the 2014 World Cup. His salary was not disclosed, but considering he earned an estimated \$13 million at Chelsea last season, he will undoubtedly have the largest contract in USSF history — and one of the, if not the, highest of all national team coaches worldwide.

Berhalter's base salary was \$1.4 million.

To be able to afford Pochettino, the USSF went outside its walls to raise funds, collaborating with hedge-fund billionaire Kenneth C. Griffin, among others.

Without that assistance, the Pochettino deal "absolutely doesn't happen, unless he was willing to work for much less," USSF President Cindy Parlow Cone said.

The USSF recruiting efforts received a boost from the women's national team coach, Emma Hayes, whose previous job was also at Chelsea, where she and Pochettino became friends.

"Emma was kind of our secret recruiter," Parlow Cone said, laughing.

She said USSF officials "spent a lot of time with him and were open and honest and transparent about the good, the bad, the ugly of U.S. Soccer and what he was stepping into."

But, she said, "it helped Mauricio to have someone at the federation that he could talk openly to about the federation and figure out, 'Are these people for real?'"

Pochettino's contract will run through the World Cup only, even though he spoke of helping build the program for the long term.

"One of the things that attracted him to this role was the opportunity to have a broader impact," USSF CEO JT Batson said, "but he also knows we have got to perform in the World Cup."

With a new leader, the players see a bright future.

"He's going to bring a lot of our group," forward Ricardo Pepi said. "It's been a tough one, but we're ready to turn it around and ready to get to work."

# Americans storm to a 6-2 lead over Europeans on first day of the Solheim Cup

SOLHEIM CUP FROM D1

power and precision that has yielded a season almost unmatched in the sport's history; she won a record-tying five tournaments in a row while becoming the first player to win six of seven starts since the LPGA Tour began keeping such records. The two-time major winner became the first American to win two matches on the first day by at least three holes.

Rose Zhang was another of the Americans to collect two points, winning her afternoon match with fellow Stanford alum Andrea Lee, 5 and 4, over Sweden's Linn Grant and Hull.

"Everyone played so well today, and it was so fun to see everyone vibing off the crowd and vibing off each other," Korda said. "Even in the team room, our caddies are all getting along, and we're all getting along, and we're all hanging out and having fun. That's what this week's all about."

The day began, however, with muted excitement stemming from a transportation glitch that limited crowd size significantly at the first tee. By the time the galleries finally began packing the fairways and surrounded the greens, supporters of Team USA had plenty of reason to cheer.

The Americans stormed past Europe in the opening foursomes, earning each of their three wins



MATT YORK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Megan Khang teamed with top-ranked Nelly Korda to rout Georgia Hall and Leona Maguire, 6 and 4.**

by a 3-and-2 margin. It was the fifth time and second straight year the United States had won at least three points in the first session of the Solheim Cup.

Korda and Corpuz went out first for Team USA, rallying on the

back nine to win holes 14 through 16 to secure the first point of this Solheim Cup. Following a pair of victories at last year's event in Spain, Korda and Corpuz became the first American pairing in Solheim Cup history to claim three

straight foursome matches.

Zhang and Coughlin followed a similar script to dispatch Swiss rookie Albane Valenzuela and France's Celine Boutier, the highest-ranked European at No. 10. Zhang and Coughlin won holes 12

through 14 before closing out the match.

In her Solheim Cup debut, Coughlin received especially robust support from late-arriving fans. The ACC individual champion at Virginia in 2016 lives in Charlottesville with her husband, a former Cavaliers football player, roughly 90 minutes from Robert Trent Jones.

"I think we've been playing really, really good golf; both Sarah and I have all year," said Coughlin, who began the year outside the top 100 in the world rankings before climbing with a sizzling close to the summer. "So I don't think, at least to me, it was a surprise that we played really well, because we've been doing it all year. Also just it was pretty special to get to do it together."

In the morning anchor match, which they never trailed, world No. 2 Lilia Vu and Schmelzel held off Grant and Spain's Carlota Ciganda after going 3 up through 13 holes.

The only blemish for the Americans in the morning was Ally Ewing and Jennifer Kupcho, another captain's pick, losing to Stark and Pedersen, 2 up. Ewing and Kupcho found themselves 4 down through five holes but came back to threaten to earn a halve until Ewing missed a six-footer at No. 17 that would have tied the match.

"I want to say we played oppo-

nents that are playing fantastic golf. That's number one," European captain Suzann Pettersen, who directed her side to a 14-all tie last year to retain the title, said after getting swept in Friday morning foursomes. "Sometimes we almost invited them to play even better sometimes. At the same time, we have to face reality, and we have a massive job to do. We proved to ourselves we were capable of doing this last year, so the belief is there."

The start of the Solheim Cup included an alarming amount of elbow room at the first tee, where stadium seating had been installed for the anticipated crush of spectators at the biggest international team event in women's golf.

But shuttle buses from satellite parking at Jiffy Lube Live were in short supply, leaving thousands waiting for hours and watching the opening matches on their mobile devices.irate ticket holders posted images on social media of long lines that began before sunrise and continued through the morning.

"We recognize and deeply apologize to all fans affected by the challenges with shuttling from parking to the golf course," the LPGA said in statement. "We've made significant changes to our transportation system to mitigate these issues moving forward, and we're working on ways to express our regret to those impacted."

# Mystics get big road win in contest between teams fighting for final playoff spot

MYSTICS FROM D1

from a seven-point fourth-quarter deficit and even took a 67-66 lead with 2:07 remaining. Atkins made a pair of free throws to put the Mystics back up one before Emily Engstler arguably had the defensive play of the game. She slid over from the weak side and blocked Naz Hillmon's layup attempt, forcing a shot-clock violation. Dolson hit a layup on the

next possession with 1:04 left, and Washington never trailed again. Atkins closed out the game with a pair of free throws.

Former Mystics player Tina Charles (13 points, five rebounds) missed a contested three-pointer with 6.3 seconds left that could have tied the game.

"At one point we were all in the huddle, and [Atkins] was just like, 'Everybody breathe,'" Sykes said. "Just kind of snapped us

back into just becoming that poised team that we're hunting to be.

"[We had] just simple talk and just understanding the severity of the situation."

The Mystics led 34-30 at halftime. Atlanta seemed to have the energy early and jumped out to a 20-10 lead, but a pair of Mystics baskets before the end of the first quarter cut lead to six.

But that was just the start of a

19-4 stretch in which the Dream didn't connect on a field goal until just 1:31 remained before halftime — a three-pointer banked in by Gray. That was the only field goal of the quarter for Atlanta; it went 1 for 19 from the field.

"For a really young team, we took their runs, we responded, and we just found a way to grind it out," Mystics Coach Eric Thibault said. "More than playing great

basketball and cruising to a win, sometimes those are more important to the team as it's developing. So I like the way we just stayed in it mentally."

Shakira Austin (left ankle), the 2022 No. 3 overall pick, missed her 25th game of the season because of injury. She traveled with the team for the final road trip of the season — in Chicago and Atlanta — but was ruled out the day before both games.

Aaliyah Edwards had moved into the starting lineup with Austin out, but she tweaked her right ankle late in the second quarter. She tried to play through it but never came out of the locker room after halftime.

Engstler started the second half in her place. Thibault said Edwards would have an MRI exam on the ankle when the team returned to D.C. but didn't have any further details.

# Retropolis

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The Washington Post



## SATURDAY'S COLLEGE FOOTBALL TV GAMES

## EARLY SHIFT

Noon	Alabama at Wisconsin » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
Noon	LSU at South Carolina » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
Noon	Memphis at Florida State » ESPN
Noon	Oklahoma State at Tulsa » ESPN2
Noon	Cincinnati at Miami (Ohio) » ESPNU
Noon	Arkansas State at Michigan » Big Ten Network
Noon	Louisiana Tech at North Carolina State » ACC Network
Noon	North Texas at Texas Tech » Fox Sports 1
12:45 p.m.	Boston College at Missouri » SEC Network
1 p.m.	Massachusetts at Buffalo » CBS Sports Network
2 p.m.	Charleston Southern at Richmond » Monumental Sports Network

Alabama's game at Wisconsin will mark only the third time the Crimson Tide has played a true road game against a Big Ten team, with the last coming in 2011 at Penn State. Last weekend, Alabama led South Florida by only a point entering the fourth quarter before scoring 28 points in a 10-minute span for a 42-16 win. The Badgers were the complete opposite against the Football Championship Subdivision's South Dakota: They took a 14-0 first-quarter lead but struggled to pull away in a 27-13 win. Opposing quarterbacks averaged only 2.7 yards per passing attempt in two games against the Crimson Tide this season (only Missouri has been better in that category), but South Florida rushed for 206 yards last weekend, just the fifth time an Alabama opponent has topped 200 rushing yards since 2021. ...

Boston College enters Saturday's game at Missouri ranked in the Associated Press top 25 for just the second time since 2009, and it's the Eagles' first ranked-vs.-ranked game since a 27-7 loss to No. 2 Clemson in 2018. The Tigers have yet to allow a point this season, though their opposition (Murray State of the FCS and Buffalo) hasn't exactly been stout. These two teams last met three years ago in Chestnut Hill, Mass., and Missouri Coach Eli Drinkwitz unwittingly gave BC's fans some bulletin board material by referring to "the great state of Massachusetts" in pregame remarks. Massachusetts is a commonwealth, and the Eagles' fans stormed the field after a 41-34 overtime upset.

## SWING SHIFT

3:30 p.m.	Oregon at Oregon State » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
3:30 p.m.	Texas A&M at Florida » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
3:30 p.m.	Notre Dame at Purdue » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
3:30 p.m.	Tulane at Oklahoma » ESPN
3:30 p.m.	West Virginia at Pittsburgh » ESPN2
3:30 p.m.	Ball State at Miami » ACC Network
3:30 p.m.	Prairie View A&M at Michigan State » Big Ten Network
4 p.m.	Troy at Iowa » Fox Sports 1
4 p.m.	Appalachian State at East Carolina » ESPNU
4:15 p.m.	Alabama Birmingham at Arkansas » SEC Network
4:30 p.m.	Utah at Utah State » CBS Sports Network

Days after Oregon State and Washington State announced they were reconstituting the Pac-12 by poaching four Mountain West programs, both the Beavers and Cougars get a chance for revenge against the in-state schools that left for the Big Ten, hastening the conference's demise.

Oregon State hosts Oregon in the first Civil War game played in September (it traditionally takes place the last weekend of the regular season). The Ducks' lofty preseason hopes were dented by unimpressive victories over Idaho and Boise State, but they still enter Saturday's game as sizable favorites against a Beavers team that hasn't been tested much in wins over Idaho State and San Diego State. Washington State and Washington likewise have never met in September.

## NIGHT SHIFT

6:30 p.m.	Mississippi at Wake Forest » WDCW (Ch. 50), WNUV (Ch. 54)
7 p.m.	Texas San Antonio at Texas » ESPN
7 p.m.	Kennesaw State at San Jose State » TruTV
7:30 p.m.	Georgia at Kentucky » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
7:30 p.m.	Indiana at UCLA » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
7:30 p.m.	Colorado at Colorado State » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
7:30 p.m.	Central Florida at TCU » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
7:30 p.m.	New Mexico at Auburn » ESPN2
7:30 p.m.	Toledo at Mississippi State » ESPNU
7:30 p.m.	Air Force at Baylor » Fox Sports 1
7:30 p.m.	Northern Iowa at Nebraska » Big Ten Network
7:45 p.m.	Kent State at Tennessee » SEC Network
8 p.m.	Maryland at Virginia » ACC Network
9 p.m.	BYU at Wyoming » CBS Sports Network
10:30 p.m.	San Diego State at California » ESPN
10:30 p.m.	New Mexico State at Fresno State » TruTV

There isn't much to recommend in the prime-time slate, though Colorado-Colorado State is always a sneakily salty rivalry that has gotten only more fractious with Deion Sanders leading the Buffaloes. In last year's game, the Rams led host Colorado by 11 in the fourth quarter before letting things slip away in a double-overtime loss, and don't think Colorado State has forgotten about it. "We owe them one. That's been sitting on everybody's minds since we came back from break. We owe them," Rams wide receiver Tory Horton told CBS News Colorado this week. "I don't feel like we left it all on the field, because we should have murdered them guys. They came out with that attitude as they were on top of the world. This ain't no Cinderella story." Said Colorado State quarterback Brayden Fowler-Nicolosi: "We'll see how far Instagram followers gets them."

— Matt Bonesteel

## ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY FOOTBALL

## Watkins's late scamper boosts the No. 15 Bruins

BROADNECK 35,  
ARUNDEL 31

BY NOAH FERGUSON

For the first 46 minutes of Friday's game, CJ Watkins was Broadneck's distributor. The senior quarterback relied on his arm for much of the Bruins' heavy-weight bout against No. 20 Arundel, throwing three touchdown passes before the final drive.

But with time waning in the fourth quarter and No. 15 Broadneck suddenly in a three-point hole, Watkins called his own number. Standing on the 6-yard line, the quarterback received a shotgun snap, pressed the ball into the body of running back Ian Mauldin and tugged it back into his own grasp before jetting out to his right.

A sea of green grass opened, and Watkins scampered in for a touchdown, providing the go-ahead score in a thrilling 35-31 win. Friday's bout, a battle for Anne Arundel County supremacy, lived up to its billing in a back-and-forth affair.

"We just put the county on notice," Watkins said following the win. "We're going to keep working, [get right] back to practice on Monday."

The two heavyweights wasted little time trading blows in the opening quarter. The first score came on the second play from

scrimmage, when Watkins slotted a pass into the arms of senior Joey Smargissi, who broke loose for a 55-yard touchdown. Arundel responded just three plays later with a long touchdown of its own as senior quarterback Ahmir Lowery launched a deep ball to junior Darius Burton for another quick score.

The Wildcats (1-1) and Bruins (2-0) traded long touchdown drives on the ensuing two possessions to end the quarter knotted at 14, but the pace started to slow in the second quarter. The fireworks picked back up when Watkins grabbed a low snap off the turf and lofted a pass over the heads of two defenders and into the arms of junior wide receiver Carson Pierce with 45 seconds left in the first half. Broadneck led 21-14 at the break.

"I just had to make a play," Watkins said.

Arundel, a senior-laden team with state championship dreams of its own, came out swinging in the third quarter. Senior running back TJ Mordecai scored two of his three touchdowns to give the Wildcats a late lead. But in the fourth quarter, Watkins calmly led his team down the field in the final few minutes. After he put the Bruins on top, their defense held off a late Arundel surge with seconds left to clinch the win.

"I see a team that's resilient. I see a team fighting, and I see a team that sticks together," Broadneck Coach Rob Harris said.



VASHA HUNT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Alabama Coach Kalen DeBoer, whose team plays at Wisconsin on Saturday, is also the father of a freshman softball player at Washington.

## Fickell, DeBoer cheer on D-I daughters

## COACHES FROM DI

by telephone this week.

With that she described the countenance she notices on her husband while he's watching the volleyball of Indiana setter Luca Fickell, the Fickells' second child and a veteran of five brothers (including two sets of twins). It's a look he has never lacked yet one he has honed, even as the idea of a football coach co-raising a volleyball child does brim with its amusements.

The DeBoers declined to comment for this story through spokespeople at Alabama and Washington, particularly as infielder Alexis DeBoer remains an incoming freshman at Washington, where her father coached football for the past two seasons before his football-historic cross-country relocation to replace Nick Saban. As for Kalen DeBoer as softball dad, a gem of a detail came in spring 2023 from the outstanding Mike Vorel of the Seattle Times, who witnessed Kalen DeBoer witnessing Alexis DeBoer smash a high school home run off a shed roof beyond right-center field.

"Did you see that?" her father marveled as the elder of two daughters rounded the bases.

"It means a lot," Alexis DeBoer said to Vorel of Kalen's presence, "because I know he has 100 [football] players to deal with—and he still comes to my games and deals with me."

As Luca Fickell pointed out straightaway by phone, there's one vital day-to-day, nuts-and-bolts area in which a future college athlete benefits from having a football coach as a father: It lends her a routine glimpse beyond the bright lights everyone sees and into the hidden grind almost no one sees. "Growing up, just being able to know exactly what it takes to be a college athlete," she said, has proved invaluable given that "a lot of people

don't see all sides to college athletics." Tucked crucially into that would be something germane to all of life: treating setbacks as foreseeable realities to be coped with rather than as jolting come-downs to be dreaded.

"Where there are low points," Luca Fickell said, "you have to keep going. ... I think it just allowed me, seeing how he worked through those low points," to learn how to "use them as opportunities rather than as setbacks."

"You know, first of all, I would say she's a lot like him," Amy Fickell said. "I think he sees a lot of his own drive in her, so the fact she's a female athlete and is just as driven as a male athlete is pretty awesome for him to see." And while he always carried this sort of sensibility, she said, "I think when you experience it firsthand, it becomes more personal."

"I have the utmost respect for what my daughter and her fellow athletes go through," Luke Fickell said this week. "It's a grind just like our guys go through. When Luca had the choice to pick which level to compete at, I was hoping she'd choose the level where it's very demanding because that's what life is. To see what they have to do and what they go through all the summer just like our guys, I have the utmost respect for them, that's for sure."

As with many a family, there's an old story somebody doesn't remember but that has been retold enough that the somebody who doesn't remember can retell. Here it's Luca Fickell who doesn't remember—she might have been "8 or 10" years old, she said—but who retells. It came from a swim meet. Luca swam backstroke, a detail she doesn't remember but her mother does. "She didn't win, so that was really hard for her," Amy said, and then her father mentioned something about maybe just kicking her legs "a little bit harder."

"And it broke her heart," Amy Fickell said.

"I got mad," Luca Fickell said. "She was so upset that it bothered him [how upset she was]," Amy Fickell said.

"He was like, 'I remember seeing the look on your face, and I never want to make you upset again,'" Luca Fickell said.

So he made a hard note of that one and, his daughter said, "That's when he first realized that I think, like, he put 'Dad' first, and then if I needed help," he could adopt the role of "Coach."

Of course, he couldn't do that all that much anyway with the mysteries of volleyball. "When I started playing volleyball," Luca Fickell said, "he didn't really know much about volleyball. At first he would try to help me, and I was like, 'You don't really know what you're talking about.'" That evolved to this: "Well, just like when I first started playing, he wouldn't know any of the rules," she said, "so something would happen, and he would be like, 'Why did the play stop?'" Or: *What do the jersey colors mean?*

"It actually, I think, was a gift," Amy Fickell said, "because you watch volleyball, you're not educated in it, you can't lay into your daughter, 'You're doing this wrong, you're doing this wrong,' whereas with football, he really knew."

And so: "The tables were turned," she said, and it became "unique watching her teach him about a sport."

Along the way, as former Ohio State and NFL lineman Luke Fickell coached at Ohio State (2002-16) and Cincinnati (2017-22) before Wisconsin, volleyball began to serve an unforeseen purpose, one Amy Fickell saw as a "reprieve." He could bond with fellow head coaches cross-sport, which helped with the inherent loneliness of head coaching. Amy would begin to notice Luke occasionally watching volleyball

games not involving Luca. "He loves to watch [Wisconsin] as well," Amy said. When Indiana volleyball visited Wisconsin last season, Wisconsin's football coach took Indiana's whole crowd to dinner and reveled in the occasion. And because a football coach must analyze things—must!—Luca noticed her father coming up with edified insights such as how one side in a match "couldn't get a really good first touch."

"Leadership is really important," Luke Fickell said, "and my daughter plays a position that is like the quarterback. As we went through club volleyball, I used to be on her about leadership and how you've got to get on people. I actually learned from her—even more than I already knew—that everybody does lead in their own way and you have to do it authentically. Sometimes when I used to talk to her about leading, I was wanting her to lead the way I would want to lead. She showed me that she can lead in a way that she wants to lead and what's most natural to her personality. But it's still leadership. I learned a lot from watching her as she grew, in particular at that position as a leader."

Of course, big-old football breathed all around all along, a truth found intensively in six words Luca spoke here: "I grew up around Ohio State." Then her older brother played on the offensive line for Cincinnati. "I knew how big men's sports were and how big the platform was," she said. But: "I never really felt that as a woman athlete it wasn't as important. Growing up, I never really knew that much of a difference."

Now that she has grown up and moved out and looked around, she could spot the difference except that the difference keeps shrinking. It's detectable in many places. Those include her father's face.

## VIRGINIA PATRIOT DISTRICT FOOTBALL

## Stallions' second-half turnabout buries Spartans

SOUTH COUNTY 43,  
W. SPRINGFIELD 25

BY NICKY WOLCOTT

South County entered half-time of Friday's game against West Springfield facing a three-point deficit. A young offense featuring a wide receiver at quarterback had turned the ball over three times and struggled to find a consistent tempo before the break.

But the Stallions' new-look offense settled in when it returned to the field in the second half and scored 29 consecutive points to top West Springfield, 43-25, in Lorton. Tyler Orth, South County's new starter under center who played wide receiver last year, threw for one touchdown and ran for two more, and running back Seif

Koroma scored the Stallions' other three touchdowns.

"We all knew we weren't going to play to the scoreboard [after halftime]," Koroma said. "We're just going to play to our advantage, we're going to play fast, and we know they can't keep up with us."

West Springfield hadn't beaten South County since 2010, having lost 16 consecutive matchups before Friday's game. But the Spartans (0-2) looked poised to break that streak after building a halftime lead on the strength of three interceptions and an explosive trick play.

Spartans junior Brady Davies made an acrobatic interception on the first pass of the game and was on the receiving end of a 32-yard flea flicker for a touchdown from quarterback Brian Walrath, who also scored a rushing touchdown in the first quarter. West Springfield led 17-14 at the break.

But from there, South County (2-1) took control. Wide receiver Trevion Campbell linked up with Orth for a 17-yard touchdown in the first quarter and helped the Stallions move the chains with explosive plays throughout the second half.

Whenever South County moved into the red zone, Koroma did the rest. The running back scored from eight yards out in the first quarter and added scores from five and three yards in the second half. Orth added 10-yard and one-yard rushing touchdowns as he settled into a smoother offense in the second half.

"He was our emergency plan," Coach Gerry Pannoni said of Orth, who has started at quarterback with junior Nicholas Simay still recovering from an ankle injury and junior Henry Miska out after a knee surgery. "Now he's our plan."

"I played quarterback freshman and sophomore year a little bit, but receiver is my main position," Orth added. "Scoring like that on offense just makes me feel like I could be a better quarterback."

South County's defense also responded in kind after halftime, shutting out West Springfield until a late Spartans touchdown.

After a narrow season-opening win over Robinson and a blowout loss to No. 5 Quince Orchard, Friday's Patriot District triumph could prove crucial as the new-look Stallions continue to jell.

"I don't know if I've seen them grow. It's an honest answer," Pannoni said. "Because they're so young, sometimes they believe in what they're doing and sometimes [they don't]. But they're getting there. They're definitely getting there, and that's the most important thing."

# BASEBALL

## National League

EAST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Philadelphia	88	59	.599	—	7-3	L-1
New York	81	66	.551	7	8-2	W-2
Atlanta	80	67	.544	8	6-4	W-1
Washington	66	81	.449	22	5-5	W-1
Miami	55	93	.372	33½	4-6	L-1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>—</b>

CENTRAL	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
x-Milwaukee	84	62	.575	—	4-6	W-1
Chicago	75	72	.510	9½	4-6	L-2
St. Louis	74	73	.503	10½	5-5	L-1
Cincinnati	72	77	.483	13½	6-4	W-1
Pittsburgh	70	77	.476	14½	6-4	L-1

WEST	W	L	PCT	GB	L10	STR
Los Angeles	87	60	.592	—	5-5	L-1
x-Arizona	82	64	.562	4½	6-4	W-3
x-San Diego	82	65	.558	5	5-5	L-1
x-San Francisco	72	75	.490	15	4-6	L-1
Colorado	56	92	.378	31½	5-5	W-2

x-Late game

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	BIBBS	OA	VG
Crews rf.....	4	1	1	0	0	2.42
Wood lf.....	4	0	1	0	0	2.73
Chaparro dh.....	4	0	0	0	0	2.20
Tena 3b.....	3	1	0	0	1	1.31
García 2b.....	3	1	1	0	0	2.82
Gallo lb.....	3	0	0	0	0	1.54
Millas c.....	3	1	0	0	0	2.50
Young cf.....	2	0	1	0	1	1.57
Núñez ss.....	3	0	0	0	0	1.33
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>

NATIONALS	AB	R	H	BIBBS	OA	VG
Crews rf.....	4	1	1	0	0	2.42
Wood lf.....	4	0	1	0	0	2.73
Chaparro dh.....	4	0	0	0	0	2.20
Tena 3b.....	3	1	0	0	1	1.31
García 2b.....	3	1	1	0	0	2.82
Gallo lb.....	3	0	0	0	0	1.54
Millas c.....	3	1	0	0	0	2.50
Young cf.....	2	0	1	0	1	1.57
Núñez ss.....	3	0	0	0	0	1.33
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>

MIAMI.....000 100 000 — 1 8 3  
WASHINGTON 200 000 20X — 4 4 0

E: Cabrera 2 (3), Edwards (5). **LOB:** Miami 7, Washington 3. **HR:** Lopez (5), off Herz; García (16), off Veneziano. **RBI:** Lopez (3), García (64), Young (35). **SB:** Crews 2 (8), Tena (4), Núñez (6), Millas (4). **CS:** Young (8).

**MARLINS IP H RERBSO NPERA**  
Cabrera.....6 1 2 0 1 91004.55  
Veneziano.....1 2 2 1 0 0 72.45  
Petersen.....1 1 0 0 0 0 90.00

**NATIONALS IP H RERBSO NPERA**  
Herz.....5 4 1 1 1 5 873.70  
Salazar.....1 1 0 0 0 0 161.17  
Ferrer.....2 2 0 0 0 1 253.42  
Finnegan.....1 1 0 0 0 0 173.36

**WP:** Herz (4-7); **LP:** Cabrera (4-7); **S:** Finnegan (37). **HBP:** Cabrera (Young). **PB:** Fortes (3). **T:** 2:16. **A:** 20,584 (41,376).

### HOW THEY SCORED

**NATIONALS FIRST**  
Dylan Crews singles. James Wood called out on strikes. Dylan Crews steals second. Andres Chaparro strikes out swinging. Jose Tena walks. Dylan Crews steals third, Luis García reaches on error. Jose Tena scores. Dylan Crews scores. Fielding error by Edward Cabrera. Joey Gallo strikes out swinging.

**NATIONALS 2, Marlins 0**  
**MARLINS FOURTH**  
Jonah Bride pops out. Otto Lopez homers. Griffen Conine grounds out. Cristian Pacheco grounds out.

**NATIONALS 2, Marlins 1**  
**NATIONALS SEVENTH**  
Luis García homers. Joey Gallo pops out. Drew Millas reaches on error. Fielding error by Javier Edwards. Jacob Young singles, tagged out at second. Drew Millas scores. Nasim Núñez lines out.

**NATIONALS 4, Marlins 1**

### NATIONALS' LEADERS

Entering Saturday's game.

BATTERS	AVG	2B	HR	RBI	BB	SB
Calli	.343	9	5	14	12	5
Núñez	.313	1	1	1	6	6
Tena	.311	5	2	12	6	4
Yepez	.287	14	5	22	15	2
García	.282	25	16	64	26	21
Wood	.273	11	5	34	12	3
Young	.257	23	35	27	32	2
Winkler	.257	18	11	45	14	4
Vargas	.257	16	1	29	17	8
Thomas	.253	16	4	30	28	8
Calli	.250	1	1	3	4	4
Baker	.250	0	0	0	0	0
Ramírez	.243	4	1	16	2	1
Crews	.242	3	3	8	6	8
Abrams	.239	27	20	65	39	29
Finnegan	.231	11	3	42	21	2
Chaparro	.230	10	14	36	1	1
Ruiz	.228	20	13	50	2	1
Adams	.224	5	2	8	10	1
Senzel	.209	10	7	28	21	1
Lipscomb	.207	3	2	10	16	11
Rosario	.183	11	7	16	13	8
Gallo	.154	9	6	17	29	3
Blankenhorn	.129	1	0	5	1	0
Robles	.120	0	0	2	5	4
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>.244</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>578</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>207</b>

### PITCHERS

W	L	ERA	ER	BB	SO	
Salazar	0	1	11.7	3	11	20
Floro	3	0	2.06	12	13	40
Williams	5	3	2.22	14	16	47
Law	7	4	2.89	26	21	65
Finnegan	3	6	3.26	22	20	56
Ferrer	0	0	3.42	9	6	20
Herz	4	7	3.70	33	30	98
Irvin	10	12	4.19	80	44	145
Harvey	2	4	4.20	22	12	60
Parlier	7	9	4.24	67	39	127
García	3	5	4.33	26	16	69
Gore	8	12	4.34	71	59	158
J.Barnes	8	12	4.38	30	17	52
Vargas	0	0	4.50	1	0	0
Rutledge	0	0	4.76	3	2	7
Rainey	0	0	5.09	26	28	37
Corbin	5	13	5.60	99	51	126
Weems	1	1	6.70	31	24	35
M.Barnes	0	0	6.75	4	10	4
Adair	0	0	6.75	8	3	9
LaSorsa	0	0	7.45	8	3	0
Bryzyk	0	0	12.27	5	3	3
Ribalta	0	0	13.50	5	2	3
Gray	2	2	14.04	13	5	9
Willingham	0	0	18.00	2	0	1
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>4.32</b>	<b>625</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>1193</b>

### NL leaders

Entering Friday's games.

BATTING	ARRAZZ	SD	ATL						
Arreaz, SD	.....	317							
Ozuna, Atl	.....	303							
Turner, Phi	.....	298							
Marte, Ari	.....	295							
Ohtani, LA	.....	292							
Bohm, Phi	.....	290							

### HOME RUNS

Ohtani, LA	.....	47
Ozuna, Atl	.....	37
Schwarber, Phi	.....	35
Marte, Ari	.....	31
Alonso, NY	.....	31
Lindor, NY	.....	31

### ERA

Sale, Atl	.....	2.38
Wheeler, Phi	.....	2.61
Imanaga, Chi	.....	3.03
King, SD	.....	3.05
Sánchez, Phi	.....	3.33

### STRIKEOUTS

Sale, Atl	.....	213
Guero, Tor	.....	212
Judge, NY	.....	206
Alvarez, Hou	.....	205
Altuve, Hou	.....	202
Diaz, Hou	.....	201

### HOME RUNS

Judge, NY	.....	51
Santander, Bal	.....	41
Soto, NY	.....	39
Rookie, Oak	.....	36
Henderson, Bal	.....	36

### ERA

Skubal, Det	.....	2.50
Valdez, Hou	.....	2.91
Lugo, KC	.....	2.91
Blanco, NY	.....	2.99
Miller, Sea	.....	3.12
Gilbert, Sea	.....	3.15

### STRIKEOUTS

Skubal, Det	.....	214
Ragans, KC	.....	211
Crochet, Chi	.....	191
Gilbert, Sea	.....	191
Kikuchi, Hou	.....	183
López, Min	.....	183



ADAM HUNGER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

## Power restored

Slugger Aaron Judge ended the longest home run drought of his career — 16 games — with this seventh-inning grand slam in the Yankees' 5-4 win over Boston.

### Yankees 5, Red Sox 4

New York rallied against fading Boston on Aaron Judge's grand slam in the seventh inning and — with Baltimore's loss to Detroit — opened a three-game lead in the American League East title race, its largest cushion since leading by 3½ before a June 15 defeat to the Red Sox that started a 4-14 slide.

### Royals 8, Pirates 3

Salvador Perez and Kyle Isbel homered and drove in two runs each, Alec Marsh struck out 11 in 5½ innings, and Kansas City snapped Pittsburgh's four-game winning streak.

### Mets 11, Phillies 3

Francisco Alvarez, Brandon Nimmo and Harrison Bader hit three-run homers; Jose Quintana allowed three hits in seven scoreless innings; and New York routed Philadelphia for its 12th win in 14 games.

### Tigers 1, Orioles 0

Meadows cf.....4 0 2 0 0 0 2.37  
Carpenter dh.....3 1 1 1 0 1 2.89  
McKinstry ph-dh.....0 0 0 0 1 0 2.23  
Verlingier 3b.....4 0 0 0 1 1 2.56  
Greene lf.....3 0 1 0 0 0 2.65  
Keith zb.....3 0 0 0 0 1 2.59  
Torkelson lb.....3 0 1 0 0 0 2.17  
W.Pérez rf.....3 0 1 0 0 0 2.42  
Dowson ss.....2 0 0 1 1 2.24  
Dingler c.....3 0 0 0 0 0 1.34  
**TOTALS 28 0 1 0 1 13**

### REDSOX

Duran cf.....	4	1	3	0	1	2.88
Devers 3b.....	3	0	1	0	1	2.77
O'Neill lf.....	4	0	0	0	3	2.56
Yoshida dh.....	4	1	2	0	0	2.88
Wong c.....	4	0	0	0	2	2.83
Abreu rf.....	4	0	0	0	2	2.62
Casas lb.....	4	1	1	0	2	2.41
Story ss.....	4	1	2	0	2	2.26
Isbel cf.....	4	2	2	1	0	2.22
<b>Rafaela</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2.49</b>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>

### ROYALS

Pham lf.....	5	1	2	0	0	3.04
Witt ss.....	5	0	1	0	0	3.32
Perez c.....	3	2	2	1	0	2.79
Fermin c.....	0	0	0	0	0	2.85
Massey 2b.....	4	0	0	0	0	2.55
Renfoef rf.....	4	0	0	0	2	2.37
Grossman dh.....	3	1	0	1	3	2.14



In the first inning, Dylan Crews singled, stole two bases and scored the Nationals' first run on an error.

# Young trio lead the Nats over Miami

## NATIONALS 4, MARLINS 1

### Crews and Garcia back Herz's latest solid start

BY SPENCER NUSBAUM

Baseball does not allow for lone heroes and usually needs more than three to account for a win. In Friday's 4-1 win over the Miami Marlins, though, Dylan Crews, DJ Herz and Luis Garcia Jr. shouldered just enough of the load for the Washington Nationals to skirt by the National League East's worst team at Nationals Park.

The Nationals' coaching staff continues to stress the importance of these September games, relaying to the players that they could be just a season away from playing important games at this juncture. Solid outings from three of those players, supported by a clean night from the bullpen, should offer limited yet tangible credence to that idea.

That began with Crews, who secured a leaping grab at the wall in the first inning, contorting his body to pluck the ball and what looked like guaranteed extra bases from Connor Norby out of the sky. He led off the bottom of the inning by beating out a routine groundball — the Nationals' only hit in six innings against Marlins starter Edward Cabrera — before stealing second and third, then scoring on a groundball that Cabrera dropped while trying to cover first. José Tena came around as well on the play for an early 2-0 lead.

"The way he plays, the way some of these other guys play, that's what we're looking for," Manager Dave Martinez said when asked about Crews. "When he plays like that, I think he motivates the other guys to do the same thing. So I love it. I really do. I told him, 'Don't change who you are, no matter what.'"

"Lot of good things happen when you hustle," Crews said. Garcia, finally getting a reprieve from Cabrera's dominance (two unearned runs, nine strike-

outs) in the seventh, launched the second pitch left-hander Anthony Veneziano threw over the wall in right field, a solo shot that allowed Washington (66-81) to glide through the final two innings against Miami (55-93) with a comfortable cushion. Jacob Young added another insurance run in the seventh, singling Drew Millas home.

And then there was Herz, who continued his run as Washington's most effective and consistent pitcher of the second half, finishing with four hits, one run and one walk allowed with five strikeouts over five innings of work.

Yes, Herz got behind early in counts, leading to an inflated pitch count of 87 that saw him exit after the fifth inning. And yes, he left a change-up down the middle that Otto Lopez smoked over the wall for a solo shot in the fourth inning. He said he didn't have his best stuff.

And even then, Martinez said: "His stuff plays. It really does."

Those were the only demerits to speak of. Across the first four innings of each of his past four starts — 16 innings in total — he has allowed four total hits. Even when he ran into trouble in the third inning Friday, when the Marlins strung together a walk, a bloop single and a bunt single to load the bases, he got a called strike three on Norby (framed just below the zone by Millas) and twirled a low slider that got Jake Burger to whiff.

Herz strutted off the mound with his fist clenched, keeping his emotion in as best he could. That, alone, is a significant development in the eyes of Martinez, who described Herz as "all over [the place]" when he first saw him. The 23-year-old left-hander has a 2.79 ERA since the all-star break, the 10th-best mark among pitchers with at least 10 starts. (The rest of the starting rotation ranks in the bottom 10.)

"I'm very proud of myself, but I also believed in myself," Herz said. "I kind of show that confidence on the mound, that I believe in myself, and I knew this time was going to come. I knew I could do it."

For all of Miami's struggles against Herz, Washington was

### NATIONALS ON DECK

vs. Miami Marlins	
Saturday	4:05 MASN
Sunday	1:35 MASN

### at New York Mets

Monday	7:10 MASN
Tuesday	7:10 MASN
Wednesday	7:10 MASN

### at Chicago Cubs

Thursday	7:40 MASN
Friday	2:20 MASN2
Sept. 21	2:20 MASN2
Sept. 22	2:20 MASN2

Radio: *WJFK (106.7 FM), WDCN (87.7 FM)*

even less effective against Cabrera, flailing at his change-up until Marlins Manager Skip Schumaker pulled him. Garcia — who has finally started to get opportunities against left-handed pitching at the behest of his manager — saw a sweeper he liked up in the zone and pulled it 415 feet.

It was his first home run off a lefty this season and brought his OPS against same-handed pitching up to .665.

"The more I face left-handed pitching, the more comfortable I get," Garcia said through an interpreter. "I've faced them lately a little bit more often, and I felt a lot better and more comfortable. ... Every player wants to play 162 games. Whether I'm facing a righty or lefty, I want to play out there."

Note: CJ Abrams was a late scratch Friday with left shoulder stiffness. The shortstop made a diving stop in the third inning Thursday, and though he remained in the game, his shoulder was sore when he woke up. There is no MRI exam scheduled, though that could change if the problem persists into Saturday. Martinez said Abrams could be available to pinch-hit, though he never appeared in the game.

In his absence, Nasim Núñez went 0 for 3, though he reached on an error and played clean defense at shortstop.

### PRO FOOTBALL

#### NFL

NFC						
EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Dallas	1	0	0	1.000	47	17
Philadelphia	1	0	0	1.000	34	29
N.Y. Giants	0	1	0	.000	6	28
Washington	0	1	0	.000	20	37

SOUTH						
New Orleans	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Tampa Bay	1	0	0	1.000	37	20
Atlanta	0	1	0	.000	10	18
Carolina	0	1	0	.000	10	47

NORTH						
Chicago	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Detroit	1	0	0	1.000	26	20
Minnesota	1	0	0	1.000	28	6
Green Bay	0	1	0	.000	29	34

WEST						
San Francisco	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Seattle	1	0	0	1.000	32	19
Arizona	0	1	0	.000	28	34
L.A. Rams	0	1	0	.000	20	26

AFC						
EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Buffalo	2	0	0	1.000	65	38
New England	1	0	0	1.000	16	10
Miami	1	0	0	1.000	30	48
N.Y. Jets	0	1	0	.000	19	32

SOUTH						
Houston	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Indianapolis	1	0	0	1.000	29	27
Jacksonville	0	1	0	.000	17	20
Tennessee	0	1	0	.000	17	24

NORTH						
Pittsburgh	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Baltimore	1	0	0	1.000	18	10
Cincinnati	0	1	0	.000	10	16
Cleveland	0	1	0	.000	17	33

WEST						
Kansas City	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
L.A. Chargers	1	0	0	1.000	22	10
Denver	0	0	0	.000	20	26
Las Vegas	0	1	0	.000	10	22

#### WEEK 2 THURSDAY'S RESULT

Buffalo 31, at Miami 10

#### SUNDAY'S GAMES

N.Y. Giants at Washington (4-1), 1 (Fox)  
Las Vegas at Baltimore (8-1), 1 (CBS)  
Cleveland at Jacksonville (3), 1 (CBS)  
Indianapolis (-3) at Green Bay, 1 (Fox)  
L.A. Chargers (-4½) at Carolina, 1 (CBS)  
N.Y. Jets (-3½) at Tennessee, 1 (CBS)  
New Orleans at Dallas (-6½), 1 (Fox)  
San Francisco (-5½) at Minnesota, 1 (CBS)  
Seattle (-3½) at New England, 1 (Fox)  
Tampa Bay at Detroit (-7½), 1 (Fox)  
L.A. Rams at Arizona (4), 4:05 (Fox)  
Cincinnati at Kansas City (-5½), 4:25 (CBS)  
Pittsburgh (-2½) at Denver, 4:25 (CBS)  
Chicago at Houston (-6½), 8:20 (NBC/Peacock)

#### MONDAY'S GAME

Atlanta at Philadelphia (-6½), 8:15 (ESPN)

### SOCCER

#### MLS

WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
LA Galaxy	15	6	7	52	53	38
Los Angeles FC	14	6	6	48	48	32
Real Salt Lake	13	6	4	47	52	28
Colorado	13	9	5	44	43	45
Seattle	12	9	7	43	45	45
Vancouver	12	8	6	42	44	35
Houston	11	8	4	41	37	31
Portland	11	9	4	40	55	46
Minnesota United	10	11	6	36	44	45
FC Dallas	9	12	7	34	44	45
Austin FC	9	11	7	34	30	38
Sporting KC	7	14	7	28	45	53
St. Louis City SC	5	10	11	20	26	53
San Jose	5	20	2	17	34	63

EAST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Inter Miami CF	18	4	5	59	62	40
Cincinnati	16	8	3	51	48	32
Columbus	15	9	4	47	52	28
New York	10	5	13	43	44	36
New York City FC	11	10	6	39	40	36
Charlotte FC	10	9	8	38	31	29
Orlando City	10	10	7	37	42	41
D.C. United	11	15	3	40	56	46
Atlanta	8	12	7	31	36	38
Philadelphia	7	11	9	30	47	43
New England	8	15	3	27	30	51
Air Force	6	12	8	23	56	40
Chicago	6	14	8	26	34	50
Nashville	6	13	8	26	26	44

#### SATURDAY, SEPT. 7

D.C. United 2, at Chicago 1  
St. Louis City SC 2, at New England 2  
Sporting KC 1, at New York 1  
Seattle 4, at Columbus 0  
Los Angeles FC 0, at Houston 0  
FC Dallas 0, at Vancouver 0

#### SATURDAY'S MATCHES

New York City FC at D.C. United, 7:30  
Nashville at Atlanta, 7:30  
Philadelphia at Cincinnati, 7:30  
Philadelphia at Miami, 7:30  
Charlotte FC at CF Montreal, 7:30  
New England at Orlando City, 7:30  
Austin FC at Toronto FC, 7:30  
New York at Chicago, 8:30  
Real Salt Lake at Houston, 8:30  
Minnesota at St. Louis City SC, 8:30  
Portland at Colorado, 9:30  
San Jose at Vancouver, 10:30  
Los Angeles FC at LA Galaxy, 10:30

#### NWSL

Orlando	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Orlando	14	0	6	48	36	12
Air Force	13	4	2	41	39	21
Kansas City	11	3	6	39	43	28
Gotham FC	11	4	4	37	23	16
North Carolina	10	8	2	32	27	21
x-Portland	8	8	3	27	29	27
Bay FC	8	11	1	25	32	32
x-Chicago	7	10	2	23	25	28
Angel City	6	10	3	21	22	31
Seattle	5	9	5	20	23	27
Louisville	4	8	7	19	26	32
San Diego	3	9	6	16	24	24
Utah	4	12	3	15	13	31
Houston	3	11	5	14	13	29

#### FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Bay FC 1, at North Carolina 1  
Kansas City 0, at Orlando 0  
Chicago at Portland, late

#### SATURDAY'S MATCHES

Angel City at Louisville, 7:30  
San Diego at Utah, 10

### TENNIS

#### WTA

**GUADALAJARA OPEN**  
At Panamerican Tennis Center; in Guadalajara, Mexico  
Purse: \$922,573  
Surface: Hardcourt outdoor  
**WOMEN'S SINGLES — QUARTERFINALS**  
Olivia Godec, Australia, def. Martina Prizmic, Russia, 6-3, 6-2, 3-6, 6-1; Caroline Garcia (4), France, def. Marie Bouzkova (6), Czechia, walkover; Camila Osorio, Colombia, def. Kamilla Rakhimova, Russia, 7-6 (8-6), 6-2; Magdalena Frech (5), Poland, def. Marina Stakusic, Canada, 6-4, 6-3.

#### JASMIN OPEN

At Skanes Family Hotel Monastir; in Monastir, Tunisia  
Purse: \$267,082  
Surface: Hardcourt outdoor  
**WOMEN'S SINGLES — QUARTERFINALS**  
Rebecca Sramkova, Slovakia, def. Sara Sorribes Tormo, Spain, 1-6, 7-6 (7-5), 7-5; Lucia Bronzetti (7), Italy, def. Antonia Ruzic, Croatia, 6-2, 6-1; Eva Lys, Germany, def. Zeynep Somnez, Turkey, 7-5, 6-3.

#### WOMEN'S DOUBLES — SEMIFINALS

Anastasia Zakharova and Alina Korneeva, Russia, def. Aliona Falei, Belarus, and Elena Prizmic, Russia, 6-3, 6-5, 6-4; Maiar Sherif Ahmed Abdelaziz, Egypt, and Anna Blinkova, Russia, def. Ekaterina Yashina, Russia, and Anita Wagner, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 6-1, 6-2.

### TRANSACTIONS

**MLB**  
Chicago White Sox: Placed RHP Matt Foster on the 15-day IL retroactive to Sept. 12. Recalled LHP Jake Eder from Charlotte (IL).  
Cleveland Guardians: Sent RHP Carlos Carrasco on a rehab assignment to Akron (CL).  
Kansas City Royals: Sent RHP Michael Lorenzen to Omaha (IL) on a rehab assignment.  
Oakland Athletics: Sent LHP Jack O'Loughlin outright to Las Vegas (PCL).  
Tampa Bay Rays: Activated RHP Edwin Uceta.

### SCOREBOARD

### COLLEGE FOOTBALL

#### NCAA

**WEEK 3 THURSDAY'S RESULTS**  
**SOUTH**  
at South Alabama 87, Northwestern State 10  
**SOUTHWEST**  
Arizona State 31, at Texas State 28

#### FRIDAY'S GAMES

**MIDWEST**  
UNLV 23, at Kansas 20  
at Kansas State 31, Arizona 7

#### SATURDAY'S GAMES

**EAST**  
Howard (1-1) vs. Morehouse (0-0) in East Rutherford, N.J., 3  
Mercyhurst (1-1) at Robert Morris (0-2), noon  
Lehigh (1-1) at LIU Brooklyn (0-2), noon  
Marist (0-1) at Lafayette (1-1), 12:30  
Stony Brook (1-1) at Fordham (0-2), 1  
Georgetown (2-0) at Sacred Heart (1-1), 1  
Massachusetts (0-2) at Buffalo (1-1), 1  
Holy Cross (0-2) at Bryant (1-1), 2  
Coastal Carolina (2-0) at Temple (0-2), 2  
Waynes (1-1) at Delaware State (1-1), 3  
Towson (1-1) at Villanova (2-0), 3:30  
West Virginia (1-1) at Pittsburgh (2-0), 3:30  
Monmouth (N.J.) (0-2) at Maine (1-1), 3:30  
Merrimack (0-2) at Bucknell (1-1), 6  
Cannell (1-1) at Rhode Island (1-1), 6  
Stonehill (0-1) at New Hampshire (1-1), 6

#### SOUTH

Maryland (1-1) at Virginia (2-0), 8  
Virginia Tech (1-1) at Old Dominion (0-2), 6  
Georgetown (0-0) at Alabama A&M (1-1), 7  
Virginia Lynchburg (0-1) at Presbyterian (1-1), 7  
Charleston Southern (1-1) at Richmond (0-2), 7  
LSU (1-1) at South Carolina (2-0), noon  
North Greenville (0-0) at The Citadel (1-1), noon  
Memphis (2-0) at Florida State (0-2), noon  
Louisiana Tech (1-0) at North Carolina State (1-1), noon  
Delaware (1-0) at North Carolina A&T (1-1), 1  
Stetson (2-0) at Furman (0-2), 2  
Texas A&M (1-1) at Florida (1-1), 3:30  
VMI (0-2) at Georgia Tech (2-1), 3:30  
Ball State (1-0) at Miami (2-0), 3:30  
Hawaii (1-1) at Norfolk State (2-2), 4  
Appalachian State (1-1) at East Carolina (2-0), 4  
Appalachian State (1-1) at Alcorn State (0-2), 5  
North Dakota State (1-1) at East Tennessee State (1-1), 5:30  
Western Carolina (0-2) at Elon (1-1), 6  
Mercer (2-0) at Chattanooga (0-2), 6  
South Carolina State (1-1) at Georgia Southern (1-1), 6  
William & Mary (1-1) at Wofford (2-0), 6  
Florida International (1-1) at Florida Atlantic (0-2), 6  
North Carolina Central (1-1) at North Carolina (2-0), 6  
Texas El Paso (0-2) at Liberty (2-0), 6  
Connecticut (1-1) at Duke (2-0), 6  
Gardner-Webb (0-2) at Charlotte (0-2), 6  
West Georgia (1-1) at Eastern Kentucky (0-2), 6  
Mississippi State (2-0) at Wake Forest (1-1), 6  
North Alabama (0-3) at Tennessee Martin (0-2), 7  
Western Kentucky (1-1) at Middle Tennessee (1-1), 7  
Vanderbilt (2-0) at Georgia State (1-1), 7  
Tennessee State (1-1) vs. Ark. Pine Bluff (1-1), 7  
Alabama State (1-1) at Samford (0-2), 7  
Southern U. (1-1) at Jackson State (1-1), 7  
South Florida (1-1) at Southern Mississippi (1-1), 7  
Toledo (2-0) at Mississippi State (1-1), 7:30  
Georgia (2-0) at Kentucky (1-1), 7:30  
New Mexico (0-2) at Auburn (1-1), 7:30  
Kent State (0-2) at Tennessee (2-0), 7:45  
Stephen F. Austin (1-1) at McNeese State (1-2), 8

#### MIDWEST

Arkansas State (2-0) at Michigan (1-1), noon  
Central Michigan (1-1) at Illinois (2-0), noon  
Alabama (2-0) at Wisconsin (2-0), noon  
Cincinnati (1-1) at Miami (Ohio) (0-1), noon  
Boston College (2-0) at Missouri (2-0), 12:45  
Western Illinois (0-2) at Illinois State (1-1), 1  
Idaho State (1-1) at North Dakota (1-1), 2  
Duquesne (0-2) at Youngstown State (1-1), 2  
Prairie View (1-1) at Michigan State (2-0), 3:30  
Notre Dame (0-1) at Purdue (0-1), 3:30  
Morgan State (1-1) at Ohio (1-1), 3:30  
Nevada (1-2) at Minnesota (1-1), 3:30  
Troy (0-2) at Iowa (1-1), 4  
Rushen (0-2) at Alcorn (0-2), 6  
Bethune-Cookman (0-2) at Western Michigan (0-2), 6:30  
Jacksonville State (0-2) at Eastern Michigan (1-1), 7  
Augustana (S.D.) (0-0) at Southern Dakota (1-1), 7  
Incarnate Word (1-0) at Southern Illinois (1-1), 7  
Eastern Illinois (1-1) at Northwestern State (1-1), 7:30  
Northern Iowa (2-0) at Nebraska (2-0), 7:30

#### SOUTHWEST

North Texas (2-0) at Texas Tech (1-1), noon  
Oklahoma State (2-0) at Tulsa (1-1), noon  
Tulane (1-1) at Oklahoma (2-0), 3:30  
Alabama Birmingham (1-1) at Arkansas (1-1), 4:15  
Texas San Antonio (1-1) at Texas (2-0), 7  
New Mexico State (1-1) at Central Arkansas (1-1), 7  
Weber State (1-1) at Lamar (1-1), 7  
Grambling State (1-1) at Texas A&M Commerce (0-2), 7  
Hawaii (1-1) at Sam Houston State (1-1), 7  
Louisiana College (0-0) at Houston Christian (0-2), 7  
Purdue (0-1) at Colorado State (1-1), 7:30  
Central Florida (2-0) at TCU (0-1), 7:30  
Rice (1-1) at Houston (0-2), 8

#### WEST

Morehead State (2-0) at Montana (1-1), 3  
Washington (2-0) vs. Washington State (2-0) in Seattle, 3:30  
Oregon (2-0) at Oregon State (2-0), 3:30  
Abilene Christian (1-1) at Northern Colorado (0-2), 4  
South Dakota (1-1) at Portland State (0-2), 4  
Albany (N.Y.) (1-1) at Idaho (1-1), 4  
Utah (2-0) at Utah State (1-1), 4:30  
Kennesaw State (0-2) at San Jose State (1-1), 7:30  
Colorado (1-1) at Colorado State (1-1), 7:30  
Indiana (2-0) at UCLA (1-0), 7:30  
Western Oregon (0-1) at California Poly (0-2), 8  
Nicholls (0-2) at Sacramento State (0-2), 9  
Brigham Young (2-0) at Wyoming (0-2), 9  
New Mexico State (1-1) at Fresno State (1-1), 10:30  
San Diego State (1-1) at California (2-0), 10:30

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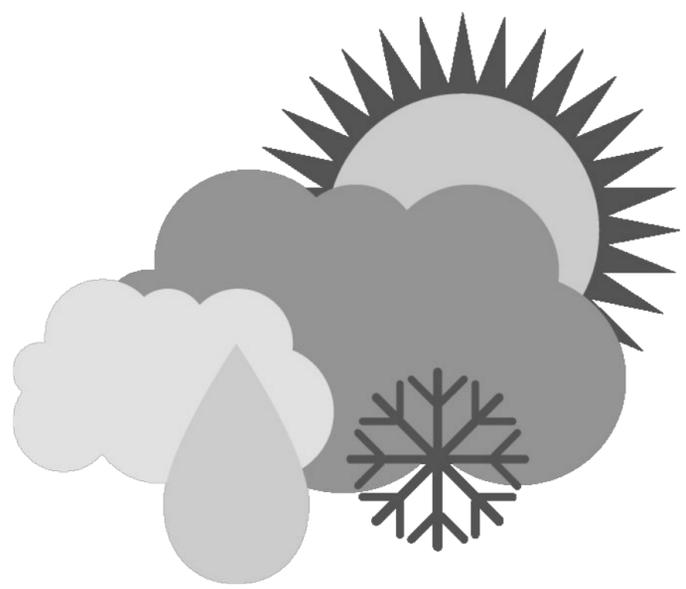
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# Run attempts by Daniels fueled a rush to judgment

COMMANDERS FROM D1

defense, it made sense that Daniels would lean on his legs as an escape hatch. If he played the game again, he probably would “let it rip” a few times instead of taking off, Coach Dan Quinn said. “We’d love to see him remain a passer first, and I think it’s going to come with more experience,” he added.

Now let’s look at the seven designed runs. Three were zone-read keepers, a concept Daniels has excelled at since Pop Warner, and perhaps surprisingly Kingsbury ran him four times in short-yardage situations.

The first one worked beautifully: Daniels faked a handoff and outran a linebacker to convert on fourth and one.

The second did, too: He took a zone-read keeper basically untouched into the end zone.

The last two, back-to-back at the goal line, led to more contact.

Going forward, the Commanders will have to grapple with the risks and rewards of using Daniels in short-yardage situations, especially near the goal line, where he could take big hits. At the college level, Arizona State and LSU used Daniels similarly; he even regularly sneaked successfully.

Kingsbury’s most curious calls were two runs that seemed targeted inside, where Daniels wouldn’t have much space.

The first was on first down early in the third quarter. Daniels pulled the ball and ran between the tackles for two yards.

The second was early in the fourth. Daniels cut outside and got down before he could be hit.

Those concepts seem better suited to a heavier quarterback, such as the Philadelphia Eagles’ Jalen Hurts, and may have bothered Quinn.

“We certainly don’t want the [runs] that are inside and where his helmet gets knocked around,”



PETER JONELEIT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Commanders quarterback Jayden Daniels took only four hits on run attempts against the Buccaneers.

he said after the game. “Those are things that we can work through, for sure.”

In the end, Daniels took four hits while running — three on

designed runs and one on a scramble that was flagged for being helmet to helmet. He was also hit twice on sacks in the pocket.

It’s easy to understand the concerns. It’s valid to have PTSD from Robert Griffin III. But after a thorough review, the worry over Daniels is a bit overstated.

## Huge home opener

Sunday’s home opener provides a chance for Quinn and the Commanders to bounce back — and forget some past transgressions. Under Coach Ron Rivera, Washington was 2-5-1 against the New York Giants and endured some humiliating losses, including last season against undrafted rookie quarterback Tommy DeVito.

This is Washington’s most winnable game of the season, according to Inpredictable, a sports betting analysis site. The Commanders are generally favored by about 2½ points.

They must stop Giants quarterback Daniel Jones, who didn’t look good in his return from an ACL tear suffered last season in a 28-6 loss to the Minnesota Vikings this past Sunday.

But Jones has historically been outstanding against Washington, completing nearly 70 percent of his passes for 10 touchdowns with just three interceptions.

It’s important for the Commanders, in the first year of a rebuild, to prove they’re growing by ending the season above the Giants in the standings.

JERRY BREWER

# Injury brings back dread in watching Tagovailoa

BREWER FROM D1

frozen briefly in what appeared to be a fencing posture, his right arm in an unnatural position, an indication of a significant head injury.

While others play, Tagovailoa drudges through this dangerous game. He is 26 years old, but he may be closer to the end of his career than anyone wants to ponder. It’s frightening how unremarkable violence can look on a football field. The quarterback scrambled on a fourth-down play in the red zone, eager to give his struggling team a boost. Buffalo Bills safety Damar Hamlin came forward to stop him, and Tagovailoa lowered his helmet to administer rather than absorb a blow, plunging into Hamlin’s torso. Just a normal play, it seemed. It

happens dozens of times each week. But for Tagovailoa, it produced the latest ghastly scene.

In the first game of Week 2, the sport experienced a moment that will be referenced for the remainder of the season. It was a message that no one can ignore. The fact that the play included Hamlin — who came back from life-threatening cardiac arrest after a routine collision in January 2023 — made it seem less random and more like a message from beyond. The next play can wait. Let us all pause, focus on Tagovailoa’s health and proceed with greater wisdom and empathy.

Miami Coach Mike McDaniel spoke to Tagovailoa on the sideline before the quarterback walked to the locker room. After the brief remarks, McDaniel

kissed Tagovailoa on the side of his head. On Friday morning, the coach shared more about the exchange with reporters.

“I told him he’s the starting quarterback of his family, to go to the locker room, take a deep breath, and I’ll see you soon,” McDaniel said.

It was a poignant nod to Tagovailoa’s priorities. He should feel no pressure to return quickly. Depending on what the doctors say, he should feel no pressure to return at all. My guess is that he will want to resume playing, but if he needs a few games or a few months, he should take the necessary time.

Two years ago, when Tagovailoa suffered two known concussions and showed symptoms during another game, the Dolphins did a poor job caring for him initially. They know better now. While most of the decisions will be made above McDaniel, the coach has set a tone with his compassionate leadership this time.

His love for Tagovailoa and respect for their partnership — which has produced one of the most explosive offenses in recent

memory — were clear. Normally quick-witted, McDaniel stammered through answers, wrangling with his emotions and trying to be transparent while making sense of a crisis in real time. It has been oddly therapeutic to watch him struggle. This is no time for a starchy football captain to scream, “Next man up!”

The career of a standout player, one who just signed a \$212 million extension, is at stake. So are the hopes of a Dolphins team hoping to grow from making the playoffs to advancing in the postseason. But bigger than all of that is the life of a young man from Hawaii who has matured from quiet talent to the face and voice of a franchise.

“I’m just worried about the human being,” McDaniel said. “And he’ll drive the ship when we get the appropriate information.”

When watching Tagovailoa, you appreciate his mind the most. He throws with exceptional anticipation, seeing action before it happens, fitting spirals into windows that appear closed upon release. At 6-foot-1 and 225 pounds, he is from the

Drew Brees mold, a smallish quarterback with functional mobility who is mastering the subtleties of the position. He becomes more impressive as you keep looking at him.

The Dolphins have complemented him perfectly by building perhaps the speediest team ever, with wide receivers Tyreek Hill and Jaylen Waddle and a stable of big-play running backs. With McDaniel directing the offense, Miami has built an offensive system that is simple, clever and pliable enough to conform to Tagovailoa’s preferences. He played a full season in 2023, starting all 17 games and racking up a league-leading 4,624 passing yards. After some tough negotiations, the Dolphins gave him a franchise-record contract and stabilized their future.

But it’s risky to think too far ahead with Tagovailoa. One season without a concussion proved to be a reprieve. There’s no absolution from the burden. He took jujitsu classes to learn, in essence, how to fall safely. He continued to improve his pocket presence. He has done

everything he can to avoid those gruesome plays in which his head slams into the turf.

Yet there’s always a play that requires a quarterback to abandon caution to get a first down. On Thursday night, Tagovailoa went for it. He got it. And it landed him back in medical hell.

Another concussion. Another long wait for definitive answers. Another difficult decision to make about when — or even whether — to take the field again. For a quarterback who reads the game so well, Tagovailoa cannot possibly anticipate what’s next. He’s left to recover one day at a time, and even when he feels good again, concern about his health will persist.

If he wants to compete again, Tagovailoa will learn to block it out. Many of the people watching him won’t be able to do the same. He becomes more worrisome as you keep looking at him.

Repeated blows to the head aren’t like broken bones that obey a healing cycle. During and after his football days, the dread is forever with him now.



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